Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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VOLUME I, NUMBER 3. AUTUMN, 1966

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

IN THIS ISSUE

Featured in this issue is *Dialogue's* first special section, "Reappraisals of Mormon History," which has been guest edited by Leonard Arrington in cooperation with the Mormon History Association, of which he is president. The association held its first annual meeting (in conjunction with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American History Association) on August 31 at Reed College in Portland, Oregon; several papers were read, one of which, Davis Bitton's "Anti-intellectualism in Mormon History," appears in this issue. James Allen's critique of Bitton's essay, which was made at the meeting, is also included. The formation of the Association and the work they have already done is concrete evidence of the possibility of an exciting new era in the writing of Mormon history, a possibility discussed in detail by Richard Bushman in his introduction to the special section. We wish the Association well and thank them for their support of *Dialogue*.

In addition to publishing important new interpretations of Mormon history, *Dialogue* will make available important historical documents. In this issue, James Allen publishes for the first time substantial portions of two early accounts by Joseph Smith of his First Vision which became known in modern times and (to just a few people) only in the past two years. For our next issue, Karl Keller has edited an unpublished account by Sidney Rigdon's son of the life of his father, who was one of those closest to Joseph Smith.

Our next special section will examine "The L. D. S. Family in a Changing World" and will be guest edited by Lowell Bennion, Lecturer in Sociology and Associate Dean of Students at the University of Utah. The purpose of special sections is to bring writers with a variety of experiences, professional resources, and points to view into detailed study of a significant area of Mormon culture and concern. We welcome suggestions for these special sections and invite readers to submit their ideas for the section on the L. D. S. family, as well as their articles and essays, to Dean Bennion.

We also invite letters to the editors. Our Letters section is reduced in this issue because of space considerations — but also because response to the second issue has as yet been somewhat sparse and timid. We again urge readers to participate in *Dialogue* by sending responses to specific essays or ideas and the journal and its purposes — or short reflections on anything that might be interesting.

Finally, we regret to announce that we must increase our subscription rates in order to maintain the quality of the journal. *Dialogue,* which has no foundation or institutional support, has been possible only through the voluntary efforts of many people. We are still hopeful that individual financial contributions can allow us to improve our subscription service, to invest in wider advertising of the journal, and to increase the quality and interest of our format through art reproduction — but to even stay solvent we must share the basic printing cost among all our subscribers (presently, as the saying goes, we lose a little on each copy but we make it up in volume!). However, *renewals* (which can be made for up to five years in advance) and *gift subscriptions* can be obtained at the *old rates* if submitted before the fourth issue is published in December. Please use the enclosed form, and *Dialogue* will send a special Christmas announcement, using art from previous issues, for all gifts ordered during this period.

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ART CREDITS:

Art direction and design: PAUL G. SALISBURY
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MAYHEW, JOSEPH; *The Mormons or the Latter-day Saints* (London: 1852) Courtesy, Salt Lake Public Library 23, 46, 47, 63

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Dialogue also wishes to thank Frank Ferguson *for the original sketches used throughout this issue.*

Letters to the Editors

Dear Sirs:

. . . . The first issue specified that "*Dialogue* is not a journal of conservative opinion or a journal of liberal opinion, an evangelical journal or a journal of dissent; it is a forum for exchange of research and opinion across a wide spectrum." All I can hope is that this policy will be followed. I would hate to see *Dialogue* degenerate into fostering the particular viewpoint of its editors, though I realize that this is difficult to avoid. Not only must the Scylla of becoming an official viewpoint of the Church be avoided, but also the Charybdis of developing into a liberal or even anti-Mormon publication. Both would be equally disastrous!

Though I do not personally agree with much so-called "conservative" opinion among Mormons on political, theological, and other matters, I recognize that it represents the feeling of a considerable number of our members. . . . I am not particularly opposed to the "biting" character of Dr. McMurrin's response to his reviewers in the Summer issue, as long as those who may disagree within the Church (Hugh Nibley, Chauncey Riddle, David Yarn, Louis Midgley, Truman Madsen, etc.) are privileged to answer *in kind.*

John J. Hamond
Provo, Utah

Both Richard Anderson and Louis Midgley have responded to Sterling McMurrin and their letters follow.

It should be obvious by now that DIALOGUE *practices complete editorial impartiality with regard to point-of-view. All that can prevent the appearance in* DIALOGUE *of any person's responsible viewpoint is his unwillingness or inability to write.* [*Ed.*]

Dear Sirs:

I do not wish to perpetuate Professor McMurrin's literary genre, the Review of the Reviewers, but protest his pattern of taking my statements out of their context. As but one example, his recent *apologia* taxes me with a humanistic view of salvation on the basis of the definition contained in the following sentence, which obviously makes precisely the opposite point:

> However, if one takes the position, as L.D.S. theology does, that salvation is the cumulative achievement of building a sin-free character, then salvation is in a deep sense earned, but at the cost of many mistakes, the consequence of which, the revelations affirm, are forgiven through the atonement of Christ.

It is a traditional concept of higher education that inability to read in context is corrected by careful training in the philological skills, the mastery of which seems to have given B.Y.U. a bad reputation as viewed by

McMurrin. There is a great need in the world of scholarship generally for less pontification and more documentation. How does one know that he reads Plato correctly without philology?

Richard Lloyd Anderson
Brigham Young University

Dear Sirs:

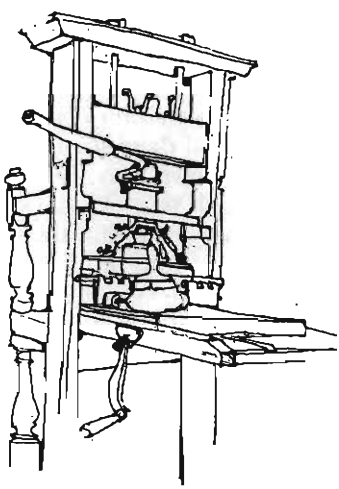
. . . . It was disturbing to note that Sterling McMurrin seemed unwilling to really face up to the issues that his reviewers, especially Richard Anderson, raised. It is McMurrin's position that Mormon theology incorporates what he calls "a liberal doctrine of man," and by this he means, at least in part, that "Mormon theology is a Modern Pelagianism." There are ways in which the Mormon doctrine of man can be called "liberal," though they are not always those suggested by McMurrin. And there are elements in Mormonism that are obviously similar to Pelagianism, especially in the radical stress given by both to freedom of choice, or, to use the scriptural term, agency. But Mormon theology, i.e., that theology found in the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, is unlike both Pelagianism and Liberal Protestantism on the question of the necessity of divine grace and the character of the atonement, for the Mormon scriptures always bear witness to the saving power of Jesus Christ. Mormon theology is a theology of redemption; the Book of Mormon is simply filled with passages asserting man's radical dependency upon God's mercy and grace for forgiveness of his actual sins and hence for his salvation from the estrangement and spiritual death that he has brought upon himself by the exercise of his agency. Clearly this is not the traditional orthodox Augustinian doctrine of original sin and prevenient grace. It is, however, a doctrine that stresses the moral responsibility men have for their actual sinfulness and and the absolute necessity of divine grace to free man from the consequences of his actual sins.

I do not believe that one can find Augustinianism or Protestant fundamentalism in the Book of Mormon; neither do I believe one can find scriptural support for McMurrin's claim that Mormons are Pelagian or like the Protestant liberals on the question of the atonement. Why should one desire to force Mormon theology into one or the other of these alternatives? Any such procedure does violence to features that are truly unique in Mormon theology, as well as, I believe, simply true. It seems to me that Anderson tried to make this point and Robert McAfee Brown also sensed the difficulties in McMurrin's description of Mormonism and asked some very appropriate questions.

McMurrin is certainly correct in saying that popular versions of Mormon theology often neglect the scriptures. I sometimes have the feeling that the Gospel is a rather well kept secret. However, the worst offenders are often those few intellectuals who like to be thought of as Mormon "liberals." There has been a tendency for some Mormons to engage in rather harmless forms of moral idealism; to insist, for example, on the necessity of faith in such things as the future, man, that all will turn out well, and so forth. It is even argued that the genius of Mormonism is to be found in the predominantly liberal and humanistic character of the religion, qualities that are grounded in an optimistic, life-affirming, positive conception of man. However, this kind of religion does not stand up too well under crisis, either personal or cultural. The reason is that optimism is merely a mood and it disappears when

challenged. A genuine faith in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer and Savior of man is not subject to the often violent alternations in mood between optimism and pessimism that result when some "likeness of the world" is treated as if it were God. My own conviction is that the Gospel offers an assurance to those who believe in it that God has the power to overcome what otherwise must seem to be the tragedy of this world — a power not possessed by man alone.

Talk about a liberal, positive, life-affirming assessment of man and the related optimism about man and his worldly destiny once had a certain



attractiveness for me. (I first heard the language of religious humanism from Sterling McMurrin.) I have turned away from liberal humanism for several reasons. First, humanism is radically inconsistent with the doctrinal content of the Mormon scriptures; I believe the Book of Mormon to be true, and I have come to see that this entails taking the book seriously as doctrine. Secondly, the slogans of humanistic liberalism do not speak to my own spiritual needs, nor to what I see as the tragedy of a lost and fallen world; humanism offers no answer to the human predicament. The nonscriptural and popular forms of Mormon thought, in all their wide variety, now appear as banal trivialities, sentimental nonsense, or simply nice ideas that are hopelessly irrelevant to a world challenged by meaninglessness, sin, and extinction. I have the feeling that Mormons generally take their scriptures more seriously now than they did in the "good old days" before World War II. Of course, there has been, I believe, a similar and closely related and rapidly growing interest in scriptural theology among Mormon intellectuals. I feel there is now a stronger commitment to the Gospel among educated Mormons than there ever has been.

McMurrin opposes these trends; he is, for example, quite hostile to those who take the book of Mormon seriously as either history or doctrine. This may account for his outburst against what he calls the "theological atrocities" that are being committed at Brigham Young University by people like Hugh Nibley. He has some rather harsh things to say about those who cannot accept his belief that Mormon theology ought to follow what is now an old fashioned Protestant liberalism on such questions as the atonement and the moral assessment of man. He charges Mormon intellectuals with having betrayed what is genuine in Mormonism, but I cannot believe his readers will judge this matter the way he does. And he is not always consistent on these matters. I was amused to see him scolding Richard Anderson for having "abandoned all sense of the tragedy of existence and the meaning of redemption." It is McMurrin who bitterly complained of those who, like Anderson, favor the message of salvation and the description of man and the human predicament found in the Mormon scriptures. Furthermore, it is

Protestant liberalism and naturalistic humanism that issue in the belief that the Church is simply an ethical society. . . . .

The answer to the question raised by Professor Bennett concerning truthfulness of Mormon theology is to be found, I believe, to the extent that it can be found, in the kind of thing that is being done by Hugh Nibley. McMurrin rejects as "dogmatic speculation" the idea that revelation may tell us something that is true. In dealing with the question of the factual validity of Mormon assertions about the eternal intelligences, McMurrin supposes "that there is not the remotest possibility of any empirical evidence bearing upon its truth or falsity." I appreciate the difficulties in these matters and I do not wish to seem to underestimate them, but the Prophets who gave us the idea that men are eternal intelligences also gave us scriptures which make some well-known historical claims. These can be tested. McMurrin hints at this when he admits that Mormon theological statements are not in principle meaningless by even positivist standards. If this is true, and McMurrin seems to admit that it is, a full and rigorous examination of Mormon truth claims is quite possible. The beginning of such an undertaking is to be found in the work of Hugh Nibley, but McMurrin brushes him aside simply by referring to "a sophistical effort to square the doctrines with ancient and esoteric lore, scriptural and non-scriptural," which he thinks does not get at something called the "facts of life." Apparently, there is as much anxiety about Mormonism being true, not just intellectually strong, as there is about the possibility that it may be false.

Louis Midgley
Brigham Young University

Dear Sirs:

Just recently purchased a copy of your Spring *Dialogue* and were so impressed that we decided to order a subscription. What a refreshing addition *Dialogue* has been to our reading. We found the material tasteful and challenging.

My husband is a student working on his Ph.D. in psychology at the University of Utah. Previous to this, he taught math and sciences for the Church in the South Pacific. Since returning to "Zion" . . . he does counseling with college students, and the thing that is throwing them into pangs of guilt and doubt regarding the Church has not been the atheistic or scientific approach to life as taught in the college, but the conflict with the Church through parents, friends, etc., who say it is wrong to question and deny them the chance to find their own way. It is because we do not wish to make the same mistake with our children that we welcome *Dialogue* into our home. . . .

It seems to me we need to get off our "high horse" and get down to earth. We need to get the cobwebs out of our brains and spirits and get a live faith working for us. We need to stop patting ourselves on the back. We need to stop blaming colleges for ruining our youth and take a bold look at *why* they are able to wreak such havoc. We need to face the questions of our youth and not push them aside with, "We must not question!" . . .

Mrs. LaVere E. Clawson
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

I must admit that I put off subscribing to your publication for fear that it would end up being a journal of moaning and complaining, but having now seen the first issue I am

most excited about the intellectual appeal and quality of what I judge to be a long over-due organ within the Church.

Ralph H. Morris
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

. . . . The effect that *Dialogue* has thus far had upon me is to enliven an awareness that the "blame" for that which concerns me about a number of facets of Mormonism must most certainly rest upon me (and others like me) and not be cast at those who lead me, for it is I who complain but do nothing more. And my desire to be of *meaningful service* to my Lord is being rekindled.

Bartell W. Cardon
University Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs:

In the words of a friend, "*Dialogue* is the best thing to hit Mormonism since polygamy!" Keep up the good words.

Nancy H. Cottam
Sherman Oaks, California

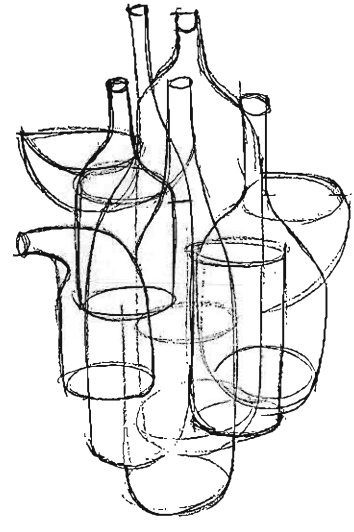
Dear Sirs:

In the Summer edition of *Dialogue,* Dr. J. D. Williams has nailed his seven questions to the Church Office door. Perhaps it's time for us to take an honest look at the role of the Church in politics. Until recently, our leaders have been faced with a terrible dilemma: How to remain "impartial" and keep the Church safe for Republicanism. To many outsiders it appears that the Mormon concept of political impartiality consists of equal time for both the Birchers and the Eisenhower Republicans, with General Authorities to represent both points of view.

Dr. Williams has laid the cards (pardon the expression) right on the table. He is to be commended for his honesty at a time when most of us have developed huge political blind spots. This is a serious, vital issue that threatens the very integrity of the Church and deserves to be brought into the open. Bravo, J.D.!

Hyrum Coon
Lebanon, New Jersey

A very different response is Robert M. Frame's, "An Uncasual Review of Williams," in Notes and Comments. [Ed.]



Dear Sirs:

. . . . Having talked with people in Santa Barbara, Salt Lake, and this week at Portland, I can report that *Dialogue* has won a loyal following already, as you know. It is a sign of health in the Church — a constructive effort which in the long run can do nothing but good. Those of little faith, fearful of questions, should thank the Lord that this enterprise is in your hands rather than in those of grim, bitter apostates.

Davis Bitton
University of Utah

Dear Sirs:

It has taken several months for me to assimilate my outrage over *Dialogue* number one. The article on "honesty" by Menlove was the chief irritant and my reading of it soon degenerated into counting all the "shouldn'ts" and the "mustn'ts" and the "demands." I thought I had a strong case for "crying aloud" for emotional honesty as something far more noble and vital than "intellectual" honesty, and so was eagerly gathering forces for a well-aimed and vigorous blow. My first assault went out in the form of a personal letter to a member of your editorial staff. It was to be followed by a passionate discourse on emotional honesty and its hazards. (One can lose friends that way.) But in the midst of this battle plan I read Karl Keller — in issue number two. Suddenly, surprisingly, the edge of my belligerence dissipated. Imagine my frustration! I was captivated. Enchanted. Something deep down inside rang and pulsed and began surging upward. I cried and sighed with him as he and I together experienced the South. There is something princely and noble about spontaneous religion, isn't there?

Eugene Kovalenko
Los Angeles, California

The Church glories in all progress and advancement in science, in art, in literature, and in every avenue of human endeavor and activity, for every conquest of a physical inhibition or limitation upon the freedom of the human soul makes for perfection. The Church makes its own every truth that comes. It casts away all error. It suspends adoption where truth and error still contend, until truth prevails and bares her face, then it takes her to its bosom and makes her part of itself. . . . No truth, no principle of well-being or right living is discountenanced, withheld or forbidden. This has been the rule of the Church from the beginning.

J. Reuben Clark

Dialogue: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

EARLY MORMON CHURCHES IN UTAH

A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Douglas Hill

Douglas Hill, an instructor in English at Brigham Young University spent 1962-1963 in Ireland studying Anglo-Irish literature. He has long been interested in the visual arts and most recently in photography. His work has appeared in The Great Basin Naturalist *and in several monographs.*

The following photographs are geographically and, I believe, architecturally representative of early Mormon churches in Utah. I have concerned myself only with existing churches that were built between 1861 and 1905. A truly representative selection obviously would include a thorough search of the archives for pictures of buildings that have been razed.

However, I have not been primarily interested in making a photographic record of early churches, although this ought to be done in the near future. If these photographs someday prove valuable to a historian, I'll be pleased; but the pleasure I take will be from a value that is secondary and derivative. Admittedly I was first motivated to take these photographs because of a growing apprehension that many of the old churches would be replaced before they were recorded on film. But later my personal response to them became immensely more important.

I began to suspect that a methodical, scholarly examination of

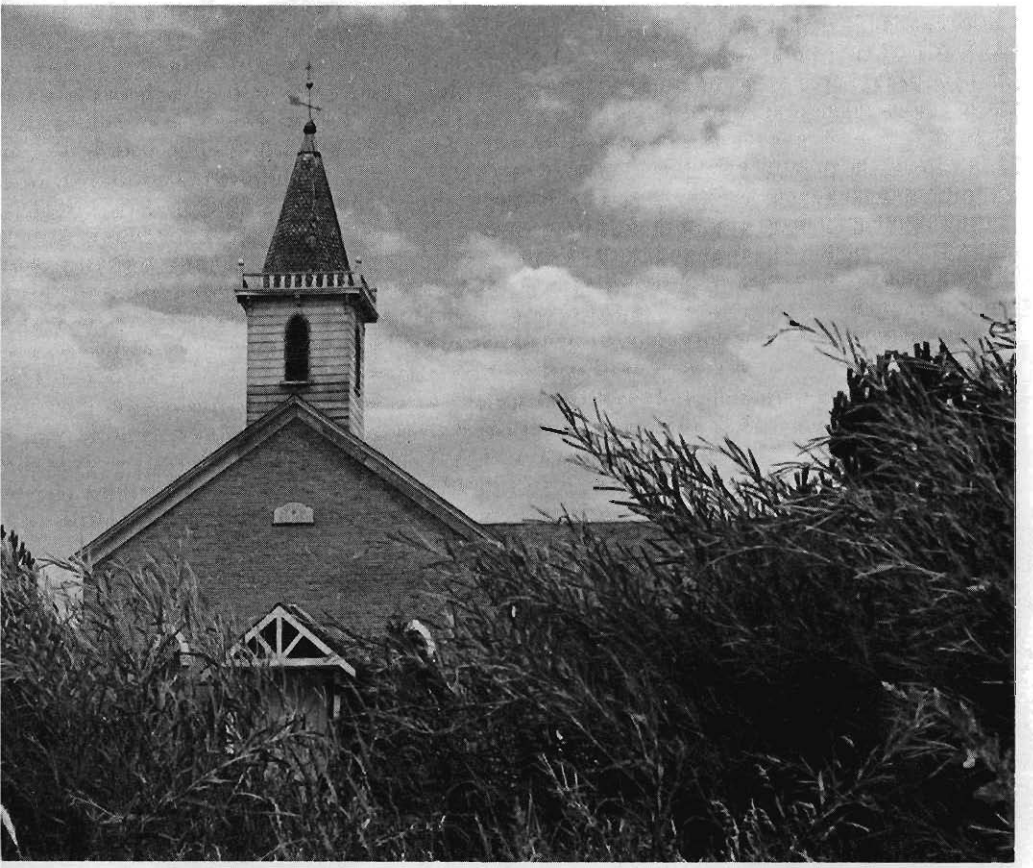
churches would ultimately falsify my vision. There is a great difference between an architectural blueprint and a "diagram of prayer." Seeing the church as a center of spiritual fulfillment, consecration, and purification is much more important than recording exposed beams or lintel ornamentation. The steeple is less important as an architectural achievement than as the embodiment of religious aspiration. To photograph a church without the spiritually creative power that went into it is the kind of falsification I have tried to avoid. Unfortunately, guarding against the trite, the superficial, and the picturesque often required more study than I had time for; consequently, I left many churches feeling that I had betrayed their significance.

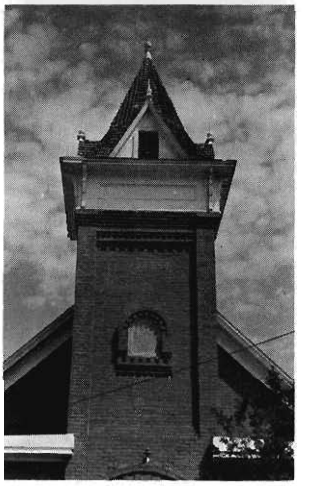
In addition, a wholly unexpected problem arose when the photographs were assembled. As I traveled about the state taking pictures I saw the churches less as individual expressions of faith than as a living web of belief. I no longer saw the churches singly but in relationship to each other — a relationship that was dramatized by the distances I traveled and the diversity of locale. Brought together as photographs, shrinking space and time, the churches became vulnerable as a collection of historical curiosities or architectural eccentricities — dignified in some cases; in others, pathetic in their abondonment. I can only hope that these will be occasional rather than inevitable conclusions. I cannot supply in these photographs the sudden delight at finding a sturdy rock church set in well-watered fields or shaded by protective cottonwoods. The Pine Valley meeting house was built by a faith that brought Mormon pioneers thousands of miles and through countless hardships. Yet the church, with its minimum of ornamentation and so-called papal artistry, is simple and serene, reflecting the strength of purpose and the devotion of the people who built it.

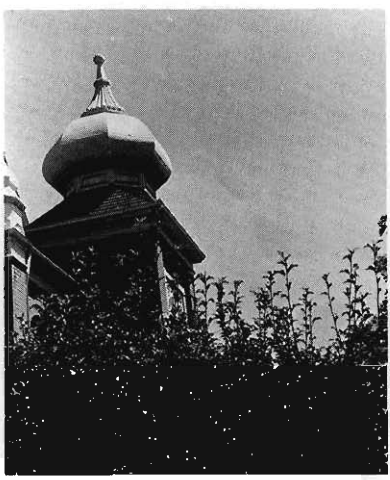
The distances separating these churches is still great; in 1870 they were overwhelming. The environments were frequently inhospitable. The ease with which these churches in photographs can be examined seems to be in inverse ratio to the difficulties encountered when they were built.

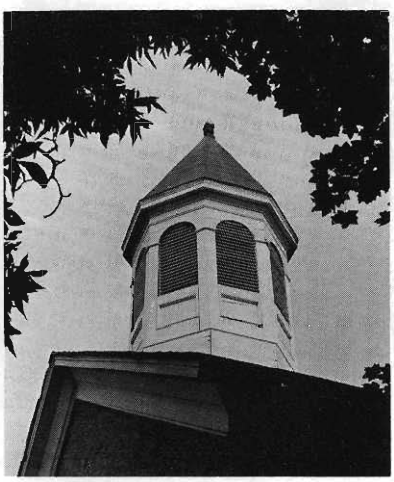
All photographs were taken by the author. The place references are all in Utah.

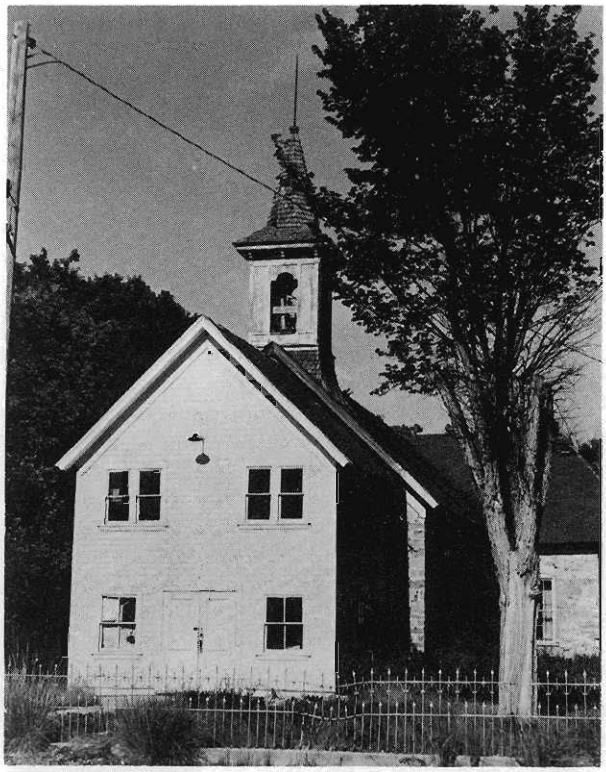
Page 12, Flowell. Page 15, Echo.
Page 16 *top,* Holden; *btm,* Eden.
Page 17 *top,* Cannonville; *btm l,* 19th Ward, S.L.C.; *r,* Meadow.
Page 18 *top l,* Snowville; *r,* Levan; *btm l,* Nephi; *c,* Tropic; *r,* Enterprise.
Page 19 *top,* Pinevalley; *btm. l,* Flowell; *r,* Teasdale.
Page 20, Pinevalley.

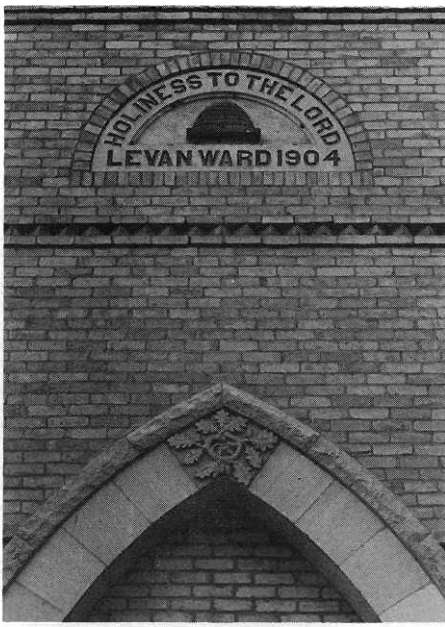


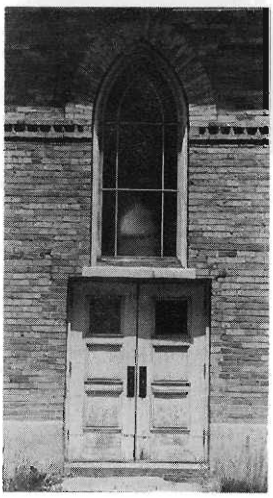


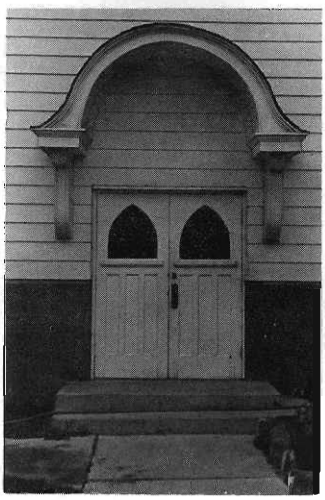


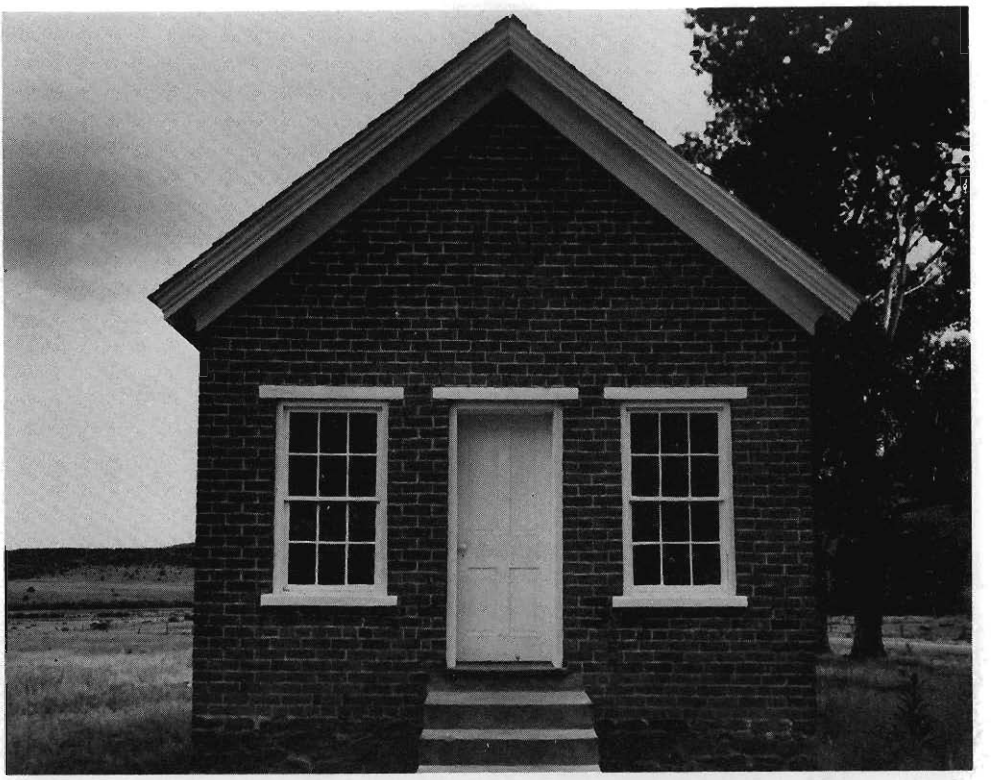


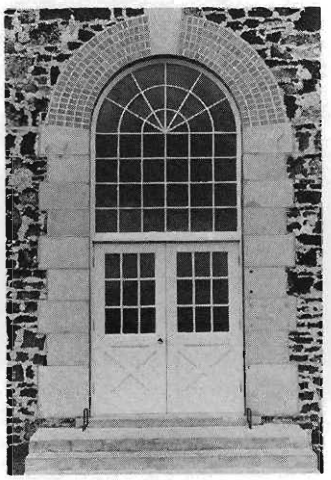


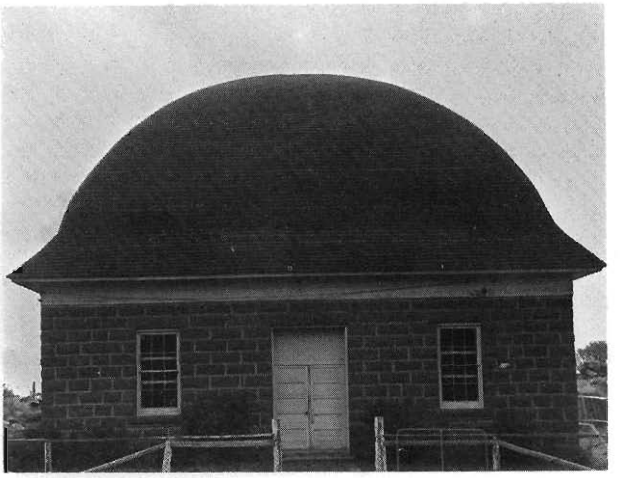

HOLINESS TO THE LORD
LEVAN WARD 1904

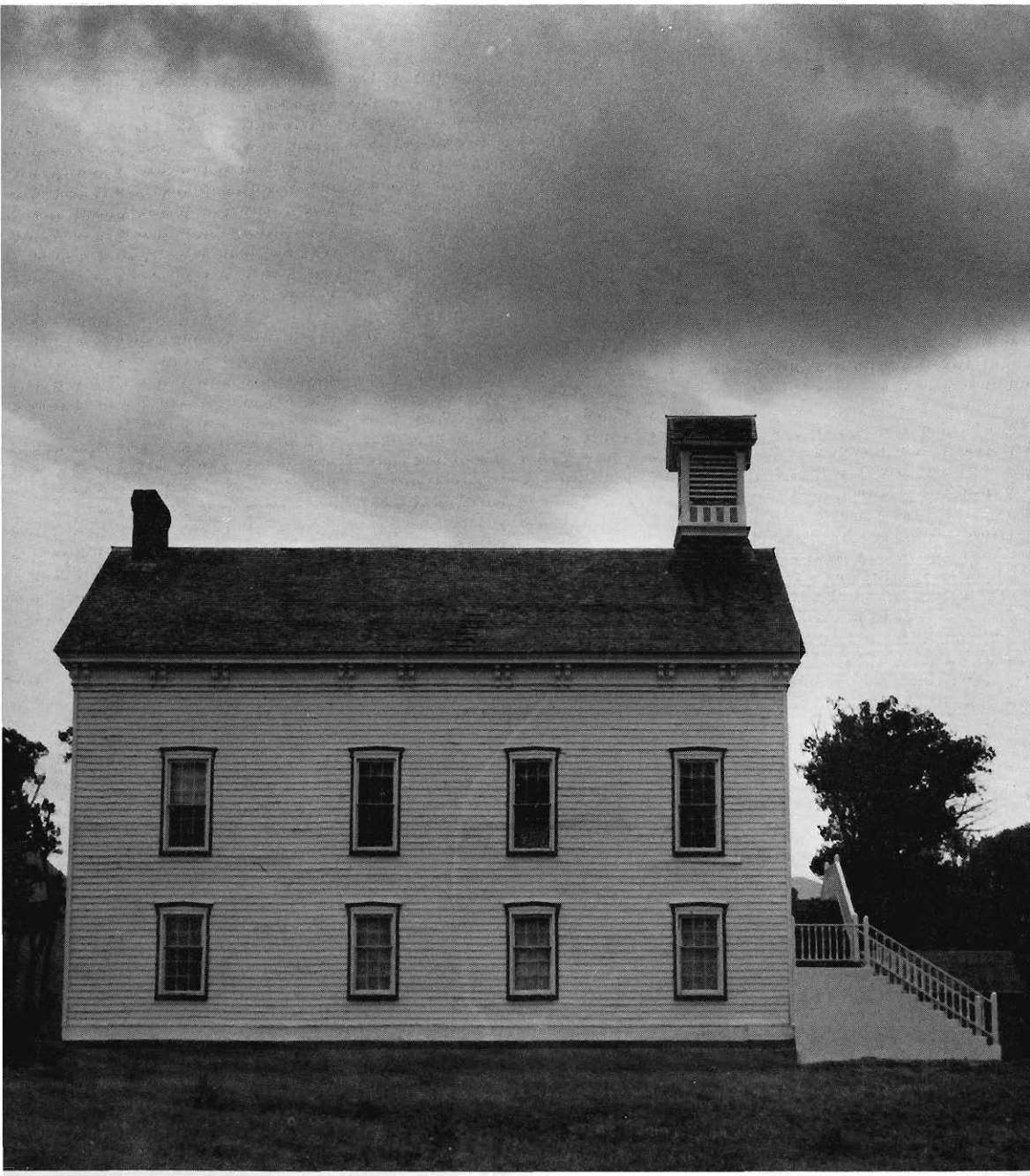








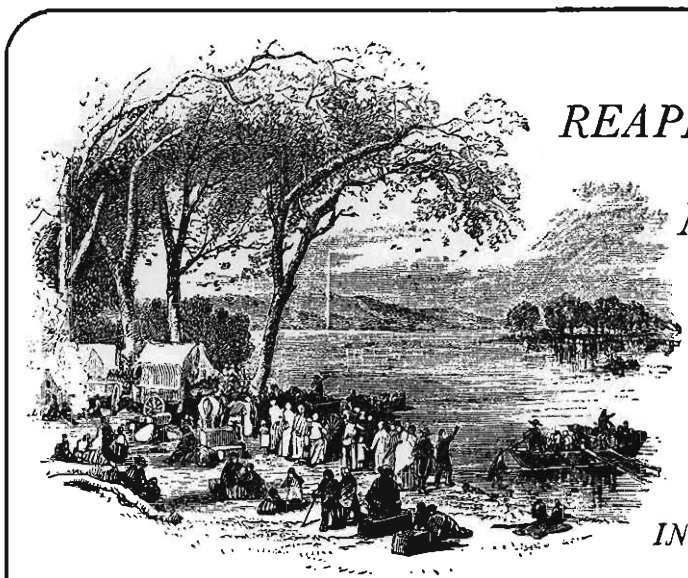




REAPPRAISALS OF MORMON HISTORY

Guest Editor; Leonard Arrington in cooperation with

The Mormon History Association



Encampment of Mormons on the Missouri River.

REAPPRAISALS OF MORMON HISTORY

PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

PREFACE

The articles in this section reveal the strength and vibrancy of current Mormon historiography. In December, 1965, in connection with the meetings of the American Historical Association at San Francisco, approximately 100 Mormon historians, mostly under 40 years of age, formed the Mormon History Association. Dedicated to the promotion of understanding, scholarly research, and publication in the field of Mormon history, the Mormon History Association was pleased to accept an invitation from *Dialogue* to prepare its first special section. From the essays presented here, readers will be able to sample the impressive research, original thought, and capable writing which are increasingly characteristic of Mormon studies.

Leonard Arrington
Guest Editor

INTRODUCTION: THE FUTURE OF MORMON HISTORY

Until recently the conventional division of books on Mormonism into pro- and anti- was the most important and revealing brief comment one could make in a bibliography. Although in the heat of the nineteenth century's war on the "Mormon Menace," an occasional author stood apart from the fighting and left a record which can be read without heavy discounting, for the most part works of history were tracts in crusades either to destroy the Mormons or to defend them. Both parties cast the Utah landscape as a battleground of good and evil and the figures marching across it as heroes or demons. The pro- and anti- bias did more than simply warp the narrative; it provided the very intent and purpose of the work, the interest and the moral of the story.

The end of polygamy and admission to statehood relieved the pressure and changed the course of Mormon historiography. Embattled works continue

to appear, but in recent years many Mormon historians have readily admitted there were some faults in the early leaders and accepted blame on behalf of the nineteenth century Church for bringing persecutions on itself. In this issue, Thomas Alexander's essay on Judge McKean finds redeeming virtues in a man whom earlier Mormon historians saw as an unmitigated blackguard. Similarly, Mormon-baiting has gone out of fashion with gentile writers — in the best circles anyway. Neither the sardonic cynicism of the twenties nor the fierce hatred of the ninteenth century will do. A kindly and fair tolerance which permits an occasional chuckle at Mormons' colorful ways and an implicit repudiation of their beliefs is more appropriate for our time.

Robert Flanders' essay, which charts and documents this tradition, raises questions about the direction Mormon history will now take. His list of works that offend neither Mormon nor gentile and that contribute to the common understanding starts a hope that the Church's clouded past can at last be cleared and the ghosts that have haunted it laid to rest. The list proves there is an audience ready for an unvarnished account. Mormons need no longer be so defensive: an admission of weakness will not be exploited by enemies but accepted with a measure of sympathy; the admirable qualities of the Saints will be recognized. For a time some Mormons may not fully realize that a frank presentation, fairly measuring strengths and weaknesses, is far more believable and persuasive than undiluted praise; but when they do the Church's archives may be less restricted. P.A.M. Taylor, the British historian who in an essay in this section expresses his fear that the biography of Brigham Young will never be written for lack of available materials, may yet be proven wrong.

We should not be deceived, however, by the illusion that at long last we have learned to write objective history. In the past three decades historians have discarded the myth of scientific history which inspired them at the beginning of the century. Every historian reflects personal and cultural values in his tone, in his selection of facts, and even in his subject. The objective history of our age, like that of every age before us, will in time appear subjective. Moreover, to have it otherwise would drain history of its power, its meaning, and its zest. To call forth a man's best efforts, history must involve him personally. Historians will continue to search for meaning in Mormon history, for some moral to the story that can be the equivalent for today of attack and defense in the nineteenth century.

Modified forms of the pro- and anti-theme continue to grip some historians, many of whom (such as Bernard DeVoto, Dale Morgan, Fawn Brodie and Wallace Stegner) grew up among the Mormons. Underneath the fairminded posture, their writings bear the marks of personal tensions. On the other hand, Mormons like Hugh Nibley and Richard Anderson energetically defend the Church and stand ready to reply to criticism which they consider unfounded. The interest in the Mormon past for these people comes from varying combinations of love and resentment, similar to the emotional mix of nineteenth century historians, except that the feelings are more restrained and the work more scholarly.

For a growing number of younger men, represented in this issue by James Allen, Klaus Hansen, and Davis Bitton, the study of history is in part a search for identity. Mormons can be criticized, as can Americans generally, for refusing to believe that we have a history, which is a somewhat over-subtle way of saying that we deny any essential changes in our aggregate personality. We have

moved, been persecuted, enjoyed some triumphs, built chapels and temples, organized auxiliaries, but the essential we, our feelings, beliefs, and moral attitudes, have remained the same from the beginning. Challenging this position, these three authors point to ways in which we have changed. Allen argues that while belief in the reality of the First Vision has remained constant, the moral and doctrinal lessons drawn from it have steadily expanded. Hansen's essay suggests that Mormon society and belief were once directed by an organization — the Council of Fifty — and an aspiration — imminent theocratic world government — which contemporary Mormons have scarcely heard of. Britton argues that Mormons in general were once much more prone to use reason in defending their belief, more open to the learning of their day than now. He expressly states that present attitudes are an historical overlay and not the essential Mormonism. All three are asking what time has wrought upon the faith and morals of the Saints.

This reexamination of the Mormon past is primarily a family affair — Mormons talking to Mormons in an effort to find out who we are. A question of greater interest to the larger community is the place of Mormonism in America. Where do Mormons fit in the growth of the nation and of its religion? Mormons have generally been assigned their place according to the interpretations of the American past current among professional historians, in our time notably those of Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles Beard. Turner's frontier thesis, which holds that American character and politics emerged primarily from the process of settling the wilderness, easily accommodated the Mormons' story. Mormonism's birth in a new community, its extraordinary beliefs, its break with convention, not to mention the Church's part in settling the West, fit nicely into Turnerian categories. In the Heroic Saga of the frontier thesis, the western setting and the trek remain in the foreground, but the courage and fortitude of the people are made to sound more loudly in the narrative. To a lesser degree, Mormon history has fallen under the influence of Beard's notion that American history is the conflict of propertied interests with the common people, and Church leaders in some histories have been identified with business interests.

Nowadays, however, both Turner and Beard are losing ground among historians, and their influence on Mormon history is likely to fade. Their passing will probably leave a vacuum similar to the one created by the dissipation of animosities at the end of the nineteenth century. Historians will be compelled to look for new meaning in the Mormon past. History writing will go on, of course, and with added vitality, as the articles in this issue demonstrate. For the time being this work will draw upon the earlier interpretations for its ultimate significance, but, if the past is any guide, as American historians propose new interpretations for the nation's history, we may confidently expect new interpretations of Mormonism. One need only observe the currents within the profession to predict the direction of Mormon historiography.

So far Church historians have never proposed a distinctively Mormon interpretation of the Church's place in America. Inside the Church, Mormons view themselves as a saying remnant whose destiny is to redeem the nation as it normally deteriorates, but no Mormon has been able to persuade outsiders that this belief is more than pitiful ethnocentrism. Acquiescence to the dominant professional interpretations has been the natural recourse. A convincing presentation of Mormons' own view of their relationship to America would re-

quire a far more thorough revaluation of American history as a whole than Mormon scholars seem prepared to make.

They would have to discover large, continuing problems in American life for which Mormonism offers convincing solutions. For example, the current controversies over the "new morality" and the "death of God" theology, added to the anarchism of the New Left, may point to a recasting of the American past in which it will be seen that American emphasis on freedom from control ultimately tends to dissolve all structure in personal and social life. Then Mormonism with its peculiar beliefs about God and about man's power to become as God could be conceived as a valid alternative for preserving order while still allowing scope to the human yearning for liberty and personal power. In another vein, the miseries of our overgrown cities and the deterioration of community in mass society might be contrasted to Mormon stress on small, tightly-knit communities exemplified in the past in the Mormon village and today in the ecclesiastical wards. Or the erosion of individuality in bloated business and governmental bureaucracies could be compared to the stress on personal relationships in Church organization.

These are but a few of the avenues which might be followed by Mormon historians. A distinctively Mormon interpretation of American history calls for an identification of problems in American civilization with deep roots in the past and a comparison with the traditional Mormon ways of solving the problems. Historians would focus on the question of why Mormon culture developed in one way and American culture in another.

As massive as the task may seem, the resources are available. The Church's conception of its role as a social and economic as well as an ecclesiastical organization enables Mormons to find in their own experience a broad range of values which contrast sharply with general trends. Implicit in the Mormon tradition is an elaborate critical apparatus for analyzing and evaluating American history.

It is doubtful that non-Mormons could ever accept entirely the validity of Mormon values or even of a Mormon formulation of the problems. But the saving remnant thesis could be made somewhat more plausible, and, at the very least, concentration on the contribution of the Mormon sub-culture, with its alternatives to the dominant patterns, would enrich American pluralism.

Future Mormon historians might well take as their model Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kngdom,* which implicitly contrasts the Mormons' cooperative settlement with the rugged individualism prevailing elsewhere. Mormon historians could also profit from Thomas O'Dea's insight that in some ways Mormons became a nation unto themselves. Guided by that notion, Mormon scholarship would seek less to fit Mormonism into the overall American scene than to map the distinct paths taken by the two cultures and to assess their efforts to engage in fruitful exchange with each other.

Richard L. Bushman

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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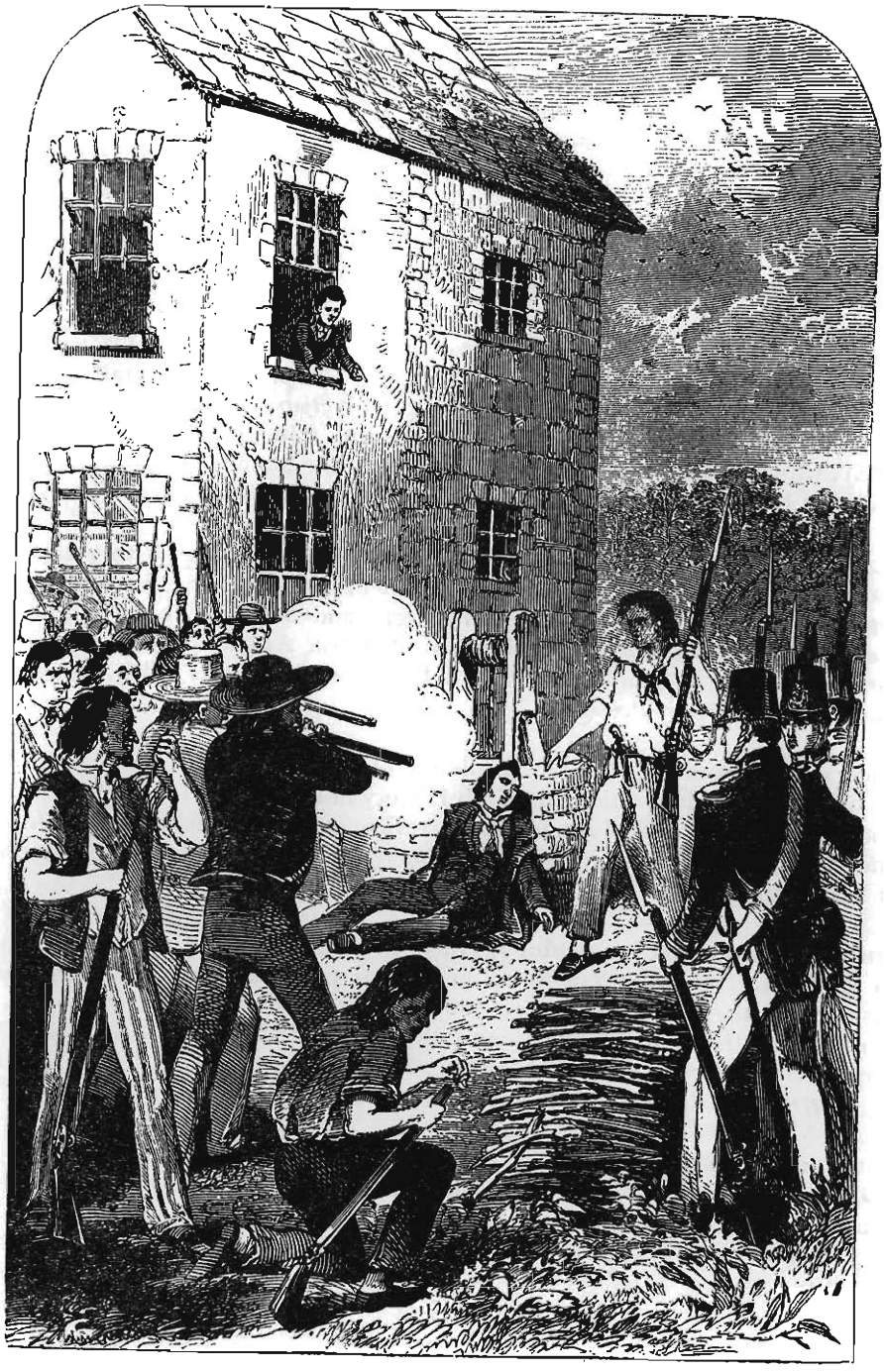
DAVIS BITTON was formerly Associate Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he was in the presidency of his Elders' Quorum. He has just taken a position as Associate Professor of History at the University of Utah and returned with his wife and five children to Mormon Country.



"One of the gang raised him up and placed him against a well, and while in this position, four others among the mob advanced to the front rank with loaded muskets, and fired at the "Prophet."

INCEPTION OF MORMONISM—JOSEPH SMITH'S FIRST VISION.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOSEPH SMITH'S "FIRST VISION" IN MORMON THOUGHT

by James B. Allen

In the year 1838 Joseph Smith began writing his formal *History of the Church.* The history commenced with the now famous account of what has been termed the "first vision," in which he told of the appearance to him, in 1820, of two heavenly personages. The vision, according to the Mormon prophet, came as a result of his prayerful inquiry concerning which church to join, and in it he was forbidden to join any of them, for all were wrong. While not specifically named in the story, the two personages have been identified by Latter-day Saints as God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ; Joseph Smith indicated that the one said of the other, "This is My Beloved Son, Hear Him!"

This singular story has achieved a position of unique importance in the traditions and official doctrines of the Mormon Church. Belief in the vision is one of the fundamentals to which faithful members give assent. Its importance is second only to belief in the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth. The story is an essential part of the first lesson given by Mormon missionaries to prospective converts, and its acceptance is necessary before baptism. The nature and importance of the vision is the subject of frequent sermons by church members in all meetings and by General Authorities of the Church in semi-annual conferences.

Not only is belief in the first vision of primary importance to Mormonism, but the story of the vision has what might be termed a number of secondary, although highly important, utilitarian functions. Joseph Smith's original purpose in writing the story was ap-

parently to help demonstrate his reasons for not joining any church. In our time, however, it is used by church leaders and teachers to demonstrate for believers many other aspects of the Mormon faith: the idea that God actually hears and answers prayers; the concept that there is a personal devil who tries to stop the progress of truth; and, perhaps most fundamental of all, the Mormon doctrine that the divine Godhead are actually separate, distinct, physical personages, as opposed to the Trinitarian concept of traditional Christianity.

The person who would understand the history of any institution must be concerned not only with chronology, but also with an understanding of what the people in that institution were thinking, what they were being taught, and how these ideas compare with present-day thought. In connection with the story of the vision, then, it is important to ask certain questions: When was it first told? When was it first published? Did it have the significant place in early Mormon thought that it has today? If not, when did it begin to take on its present significance in the writings and teachings of the Church? Some thoughts on these questions might open the door to a better understanding of Mormon history and also demonstrate by example the gradually changing pattern of thought which one would expect to find in any church.

PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE STORY

According to Joseph Smith, he told the story of the vision immediately after it happened in the early spring of 1820. As a result, he said, he received immediate criticism in the community. There is little if any evidence, however, that by the early 1830's Joseph Smith was telling the story in public. At least if he were telling it, no one seemed to consider it important enough to have recorded it *at the time,* and no one was criticizing him for it. Not even in his own history did Joseph Smith mention being criticized in this period for telling the story of the first vision. The interest, rather, was in the Book of Mormon and the various angelic visitations connected with its origin.

The fact that none of the available contemporary writings about Joseph Smith in the 1830's, none of the publications of the Church in that decade, and no contemporary journal or correspondence yet discovered mentions the story of the first vision is convincing evidence that at best it received only limited circulation in those early days. In February, 1830, for example, a farmer who lived about fifty miles from Palmyra, New York, wrote a letter describing the religious fervor in western New York and particularly the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. No mention was made, however, of the idea

that Joseph Smith had beheld Deity.[1] The earliest anti-Mormon literature attacked the Book of Mormon and the character of Joseph Smith but never mentioned the first vision. Alexander Campbell, who had some reason to be especially bitter against the Mormons because of the conversion of Sidney Rigdon in 1830, published one of the first scathing denunciations of Joseph Smith in 1832. It was entitled *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon.* It contained no mention of the first vision. In 1834 E. D. Howe published *Mormonism Unvailed* [*sic*], which contained considerable damaging material against Joseph Smith, including letters of the Mormon apostate Ezra Booth, but again no mention of the first vision. In 1839 John Corrill, another Mormon apostate, published a history of the Mormons, but he made no reference at all to Joseph Smith's claim to having conversed with the members of the Godhead. In 1842 J. B. Turner published *Mormonism in All Ages,* which included one of the most bitter denunciations of the Mormon prophet yet printed, but even at this late date no mention was made of the first vision.[2] Apparently not until 1843, when the *New York Spectator* printed a reporter's account of an interview with Joseph Smith, did a *non-Mormon* source publish any reference to the story of the first vision.[3] In 1844 I. Daniel Rupp published *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States,* and this work contained an account of the vision provided by Joseph Smith himself. After this time non-Mormon sources began to refer to the story. It seems probable, however, that as far as non-Mormons were concerned there was little, if any, awareness of it in the 1830's. The popular image of Mormon belief centered around such things as the Book of Mormon, the missionary zeal, and the concept of Zion in Missouri.

As far as Mormon literature is concerned, there was apparently no reference to Joseph Smith's first vision in any published material in the 1830's. Joseph Smith's history, which was begun in 1838, was not published until it ran serially in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842. The famous "Wentworth Letter," which contained a much less detailed account of the vision, appeared March 1, 1842, in the same

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[1] The letter is reproduced in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* (New York, 1958), p. 28.

[2] It is probable that Professor Turner had not seen Joseph Smith's written account of the vision when he was preparing his book, for both were published the same year. Turner shows familiarity with the earlier publications of Church history and would certainly have included the history published in the *Times and Seasons* if he had seen it. Orson Pratt's account, published in 1840, may also have escaped him as he prepared his manuscript, for Pratt's work was published in England for circulation there.

[3] A quotation from the article appears later in this study.

periodical. Introductory material to the Book of Mormon, as well as publicity about it, told of Joseph Smith's obtaining the gold plates and of angelic visitations, but nothing was printed that remotely suggested earlier visitations. In 1833 the Church published the *Book of Commandments,* forerunner to the present Doctrine and Covenants, and again no reference was made to Joseph's first vision, although several references were made to the Book of Mormon and the circumstances of its origin. The first regular periodical to be published by the Church was *The Evening and Morning Star,* but its pages reveal no effort to tell the story of the first vision to its readers. Nor do the pages of the *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate,* printed in Kirtland, Ohio, from October, 1834, to September, 1836. In this newspaper Oliver Cowdery, who was second only to Joseph Smith in the early organization of the Church, published a series of letters dealing with the origin of the Church. These letters were written with the approval of Joseph Smith, but they contained no mention of any vision prior to those connected with the Book of Mormon. In 1835 the Doctrine and Covenants was printed at Kirtland, Ohio, and its preface declared that it contained "the leading items of religion which we have professed to believe." Included in the book were the "Lectures on Faith," a series of seven lectures which had been prepared for the School of the Prophets in Kirtland in 1834-35. It is interesting to note that, in demonstrating the doctrine that the Godhead consists of two separate personages, no mention was made of Joseph Smith having seen them, nor was any reference made to the first vision in any part of the publication.[4] The *Times and Seasons* began publication in 1839, but, as indicated above, the story of the vision was not told in its pages until 1842. From all this it would appear that the general church membership did not receive information about the first vision until the 1840's and that the story certainly did not hold the prominent place in Mormon thought that it does today.

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[4] See N. B. Lundwall (comp.), *A Compilation Containing the Lectures on Faith* (Salt Lake City, n.d.). It is interesting to observe, in connection with the general question of how certain precise teachings of the Church in the 1830's differed from those of today, that in *The Lectures on Faith* the Father is defined as a "personage of glory and power," the Son is defined as a "personage of tabernacle," and the Holy Spirit is defined as the mind of the Father and the Son (See Lecture Fifth). As far as the vision is concerned, the only possible allusion to it is in Section I of the Doctrine and Covenants, which reads, "Wherefore I the Lord, knowing the calamity which should come upon the inhabitants of the earth, called upon my servant Joseph Smith, Jr. and spake unto him from heaven, and gave him commandments; and also gave commandments to others, that they should proclaim these things unto the world." The same statement is in the 1833 *Book of Commandments,* but most would agree that it hardly constitutes a direct reference to the first vision.

IMPORTANCE IN EARLY MISSIONARY WORK

As far as missionary work is concerned, it is evident that here, too, the story of the first vision had little, if any, importance in the 1830's. The best missionary tool in that day was apparently the Book of Mormon, and most early converts came into the Church as a result either of reading the book or of hearing the "testimony" of others who declared their personal knowledge of its authenticity. Such important early converts as Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball all joined because of their conversion through the Book of Mormon, and none of their early records or writings seems to indicate that an understanding or knowledge of the first vision was in any way a part of their conversion. John Corrill tells of his first contact with the Mormons through Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson. These were the famous missionaries to the "Lamanites" of 1830. Their message concerned the Book of Mormon, but Corrill reported nothing of having heard of a prior vision.[5] When Parley P. Pratt converted John Taylor in 1836, the story he told him was of the angelic visitations connected with the Book of Mormon, of the priesthood restoration, and of the organization of the Church. There is no evidence that anything was said of the first vision. Rather, Taylor was converted on the basis of the Book of Mormon and the fact that Mormonism taught certain principles which he had already concluded were essential and which he had been waiting to hear someone preach.[6] The first important missionary pamphlet of the Church was the *Voice of Warning*, published in 1837 by Parley P. Pratt. The book contains long sections on items important to missionaries of the 1830's, such as fulfillment of prophecy, the Book of Mormon, external evidence of the book's authenticity, the resurrection, and the nature of revelation, but nothing, again, on the first vision. It seems evident that, at least in the 1830's, it was not considered necessary for prospective converts to Mormonism to know the story. It is assumed, of course, that if they believed in the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, as well as the other claims of Joseph Smith to divine authority and revelation, the story of the first vision would not have been difficult for them to believe once they heard it.

To summarize what has been said so far, it is apparent that the story of Joseph Smith's first vision was not given general circulation in the 1830's. Neither Mormon nor non-Mormon publications made

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[5] John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (St. Louis, 1839), p. 1.

[6] Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1961), pp. 136-151.

reference to it, and it is evident that the general membership of the Church knew little, if anything, about it. Belief in the story certainly was not a prerequisite for conversion, and it is obvious that the story was not being used for the purpose of illustrating other points of doctrine. In this respect, at least, Mormon thought of the 1830's was different from Mormon thought of later years.

A possible explanation for the fact that the story of the vision was not generally known in the 1830's is sometimes seen in Joseph Smith's conviction that experiences such as these should be kept from the general public because of their extremely sacred nature. It is noted by some that in 1838 he declared that his basic reason for telling it even then, eighteen years after it happened, was in response to "reports which have been put in circulation by evil-disposed and designing persons" who had distorted the facts.[7] Furthermore, the young prophet said that he had been severely rebuffed the first time he told the story in 1820; and since it represented one of his most profound spiritual experiences, he could well have decided to circulate it only privately until he could feel certain that in relating it he would not receive again the general ridicule of friends.

Perhaps the closest one may come to seeing a contemporary diarist's account of the story is in the journal of Alexander Neibaur, which is located in the L.D.S. Church Historian's office. Hugh Nibley, grandson of Neibaur, makes the following commentary:

> The writer's great-grandfather, a Jew, one day after he had given Joseph Smith a lesson in German and Hebrew asked him about certain particulars of the first vision. In reply he was told some remarkable things, which he wrote down in his journal that very day. But in the ensuing forty years of his life . . . Brother Neibaur seems never once to have referred to the wonderful things the Prophet told him — it was quite by accident that the writer discovered them in his journal. Why was the talkative old man so close-lipped on the one thing that could have made him famous? Because it was a sacred and privileged communication; it was never published to the world and never should be.[8]

Nibley takes the point of view that the story of the vision was not told in those early years because of its sacred nature. With reference to Neibaur's journal, however, it must be observed that Neibaur did not become associated with Joseph Smith until the Nauvoo period,

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[7] B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1946), vol. I, p. 1; Paul R. Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts Relating Joseph Smith's Early Visions" (Master's Thesis, College of Religion, Brigham Young University, 1965), pp. 4-7.

[8] Hugh Nibley, "Censoring Joseph Smith's Story," *Improvement Era* (July, 1961), p. 522.

in the 1840's, and that the experience referred to did not take place until well after other accounts of the vision, including Joseph Smith's, had been written and published.

NEW EVIDENCE OF LIMITED CIRCULATION IN THE 1830'S

In spite of the foregoing discussion, there is some interesting evidence to suggest the possibility that the story of Joseph Smith's first vision was known, probably on a limited basis, during the formative decade of church history. One of the most significant documents of that period yet discovered was brought to light in 1965 by Paul R. Cheesman, a graduate student at Brigham Young University. This is a handwritten manuscript apparently composed about 1833 and either written or dictated by Joseph Smith. It contains an account of the early experiences of the Mormon prophet and includes the story of the first vision. While the story varies in some details from the version presently accepted, enough is there to indicate that at least as early as 1833 Joseph Smith contemplated writing and perhaps publishing it. The manuscript has apparently lain in the L.D.S. Church Historian's office for many years, and yet few if any who saw it realized its profound historical significance. The mere existence of the manuscript, of course, does nothing either to prove or disprove the authenticity of the story, but it demonstrates the historical fact that in the early 1830's the story of the vision was beginning to find place in the formulation of Mormon thought.[9] It might be noted that Fawn Brodie suggests that the story of Joseph Smith's first vision was something which he invented sometime after 1834.[10] If Mr. Cheesman's discovery is authentic, Mrs. Brodie's argument will have to be revised.

Another document of almost equal importance has recently been brought to light by a member of the staff at the Church Historian's office.[11] It is located in the back of Book A-1 of the handwritten manuscript of the *History of the Church* (commonly referred to as the "Manuscript History"). The writing of the "Manuscript History"

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[9] For a transcription of the entire document, see Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," Appendix D.

[10] Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1946), p. 25.

[11] The document was brought to the attention of this writer in June, 1966, and he had the opportunity to examine it. Since the document is bound with the "Manuscript History," it is unusual that someone had not found it earlier and recognized its significance. It seems apparent, however, that, as in the case of Cheesman's document, few if any people have been aware of it. The fact that the use of the "Manuscript History" is highly restricted, due to its extremely high value, and that any research done in it is done through a microfilm copy could help account for the fact that researchers generally had not discovered what was in the back of the book.

was personally supervised by Joseph Smith, beginning in 1838, although it is not known who actually transcribed each part of the work. Under the date of November 9, 1835, the story is told of a visit to Joseph Smith by a man calling himself Joshua, the Jewish Minister. The conversation naturally turned to religion, and it is recorded that the Mormon prophet told his guest "the circumstances connected with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, as recorded in the former part of this history."[12] From reading the "Manuscript History," therefore, as well as the printed *History of the Church,* one would get the impression that at this time Joseph Smith related only the Book of Mormon story. In the back of the book, however, is a most curious and revealing document. It is curious in several ways. First, it was apparently written in 1835 by someone other than Joseph Smith, for it records the day-to-day events in the prophet's life in the *third person,* as if it were a scribe recording them as he observed them. Next, it is not written in the finished style that characterizes the "Manuscript History," indicating that it was not intended for publication without some revision. Finally, in order to read the document, one must turn the book up-side-down, which suggests that the manuscript certainly was not intended to be part of the finished history. In short, it is almost certain that the document in the back of the book comprises the original notes from which the "Manuscript History" was later compiled, and is actually a daily account of Joseph Smith's activities in 1835, as recorded by a scribe. The importance of the manuscript here lies in the fact that the scribe wrote down what Joseph Smith said to his visitor, and he began not by telling the story of the discovery of the Book of Mormon, but with an account of the first vision. Again, the details of the story vary somewhat from the accepted version, but the manuscript, if authentic, at least demonstrates that by 1835 the story had been told to someone.

The only additional evidence that Joseph Smith's story was being circulated in the 1830's is found in reminiscences of a few people who were close to Joseph Smith in that decade. While reminiscences are obviously open to question, for it is easy for anyone, after many years, to read back into his own history things which he accepts at the time of the telling, some of them at least sound convincing enough to suggest that the story might have been circulating on a limited basis. In 1893 Edward Stevenson published his reminiscences. He first saw Joseph Smith in 1834, and, according to Stevenson:

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[12] Compare with Roberts edition, *History of the Church,* vol. II, p. 304.

> In that same year, 1834, in the midst of many large congregations the Prophet testified with great power concerning the visit of the Father and the Son, and the conversation he had with them. Never before did I feel such power as was manifested on these occasions. . . .
>
> Although a mere widow's son, I felt proud and blessed of God, when he honored us by coming under our roof and partaking of our hospitality. . . . We were proud, indeed, to entertain one who had conversed with the Father and the Son, and been under the tuition of an angel from heaven. . . .[13]

Lorenzo Snow heard Joseph Smith for the first time when he was seventeen years old. Years later he recalled the experience in these words:

> As I looked upon him and listened, I though to myself that a man bearing such a wonderful testimony as he did, and having such a countenance as he possessed, could hardly be a false prophet. He certainly could not have been deceived, it seemed to me, and if he was a deceiver, he was deceiving the people knowingly; for when he testified that he had had a conversation with Jesus the Son of God, and talked with Him personally, as Moses talked with God upon Mount Sinai, and that he also heard the voice of the Father, he was telling something that he either knew to be false or to be positively true.[14]

If this statement is accurate, it means that Joseph Smith was telling the important story in 1831. When reading the statement in context, however, it will be immediately noted that Snow did not say that he heard Joseph tell the actual story — only that he heard him testify that he had conversed with the Son and heard the voice of the Father. Other reminiscences may be found which would indicate that the story was being told in the 1830's, but at this point the extent of the telling is not clear, and the weight of evidence would suggest that it was not a matter of common knowledge, even among church members, in the earliest years of Mormon history.

THE STORY BECOMES SCRIPTURE

The question for historical consideration, then, is when and how did the story of Joseph Smith assume its present importance, not only as a test of faith for the Mormons, but also as a tool for illustrating and supporting other church doctrines.

It seems apparent that after Joseph Smith decided to write the story in 1838 the way was clear for its use as a missionary tool. It is not known, of course, how generally the membership of the Church

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[13] Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, 1893), pp. 4-5.

[14] Quoted in LeRoi C. Snow, "How Lorenzo Snow Found God," *Improvement Era* (February, 1937), p. 83.

knew of the story by the end of the decade, but in the year 1840 Orson Pratt published in England a missionary tract entitled *Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records.* This early pamphlet contained a detailed account of the first vision which elaborated upon several details that Joseph Smith touched on only briefly. Joseph Smith's account was published in 1842. In the same year Orson Hyde published in Germany a pamphlet entitled *A Cry From the Wilderness, a Voice from the Dust of the Earth.* This also contained an elaborate account of the vision. It is evident then that in the early 1840's the story of Joseph Smith's first vision took its place alongside the story of the Book of Mormon as a missionary message, and it is possible that Joseph Smith's decision to write it in 1838 was a sort of "go ahead" for this action.

By the 1850's the story of the vision had become an important part of church literature. In 1851 it appeared in the first edition of the Pearl of Great Price, published in England by Franklin D. Richards. This volume was accepted as one of the "standard works" of the Mormon Church in 1880.[15] By this time, obviously, the story had become well known both to members and non-members alike and was being used as a basic missionary tool.

UTILITARIAN FUNCTIONS

A more difficult question to answer concerns the various utilitarian functions of the story. Present-day Mormons use it to demonstrate such things as the factual existence of Satan, the doctrine that God can hear and answer prayers, and especially the concept of God and Christ as distinct and separate physical beings. It is clear, of course, that Joseph Smith taught these doctrines, but it is of special interest to note that, as far as any recorded material reveals, he never used the story of his vision specifically to illustrate them.

When did church members begin to make such use of the story? Apparently the early teachers of the Church relied upon scriptural evidence alone to demonstrate the Mormon doctrine of God, and not until well into the Utah period did they begin to use Joseph Smith's story to illustrate it. One of the earliest recorded sermons to make this use of the story was given by George Q. Cannon on October 7, 1883. Said President Cannon:

> Joseph Smith, inspired of God, came forth and declared that God lived. Ages had passed and no one had beheld Him. The fact that

[15] T. Edgar Lyon, *Introduction to the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, 1955), p. 209; James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, 1955), pp. 186-221.

> he existed was like a dim tradition in the minds of the people. The fact that Jesus lived was only supposed to be the case because eighteen hundred years before men had seen him. . . . The character of God — whether He was a personal being, whether His center was nowhere, and His circumference everywhere, were matters of speculation. No one had seen him. No one had seen any one who had seen an angel. . . . Is it a wonder that men were confused? that there was such a variety of opinion respecting the character and being of God? . . . Brother Joseph, as I said, startled the world. It stood aghast at the statement which he made, and the testimony which he bore. He declared that he had seen God. He declared that he had seen Jesus Christ. . . .
>
> After that revelation faith began to grow up in men's minds and hearts. Speculation concerning the being of God ceased among those who received the testimony of Joseph Smith. He testified that God was a being of body, that He had a body, that man was in his likeness, that Jesus was the exact counterpart of the Father, and that the Father and Jesus were two distinct personages, as distinct as an earthly father and an earthly son.[16]

Probably there were earlier sermons or writings that used the story of the first vision to demonstrate the Mormon doctrine of God. Evidence indicates, however, that they were rare in these early days and that only gradually did this use of the story find place in the traditions of the Church. Suffice it to say that by the turn of the century the device was regularly used. James E. Talmage, for example, in his *Articles of Faith,* used the story to illustrate the Godhead doctrine, and Joseph Fielding Smith, in his *Essentials in Church History,* makes a major point of this doctrinal contribution. In 1961 the official missionary plan of the Church required all missionaries to use the story in their first lesson as part of the dialogue designed to prove that the Father and the Son are distinct personages and that they have tangible bodies.

COMPARISON OF THE ACCOUNTS

As the story of Joseph Smith's vision was told and retold, both by himself and other persons, there were naturally some variations in detail. The account written about 1833 told of his youthful anxiety over the "welfare of my immortal soul" and over his sins as well as the sins of the world. Therefore, he declared,

> I cried unto the Lord for mercy for there was none else to whom I could go and to obtain mercy and the Lord heard my cry in the wilderness and while in the attitude of calling upon the Lord in the 16th [see footnote] year of my age a piller of light above the brightness of the sun at noon day came down from above and rested upon me and

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[16] *Journal of Discourses,* XXIV, pp. 340-341.

> I was filled with the Spirit of God and the Lord opened the heavens upon me and I saw the Lord and he spake unto me saying Joseph my son Thy Sins are forgiven thee, go thy way walk in my Statutes and keep my commandments behold I am the Lord of glory I was crucifyed for the world.[17]

In this story, only one personage was mentioned, and this was obviously the Son, for he spoke of having been crucified. If Edward Stevenson's account is correct, however, he heard Joseph Smith say in 1834 that he had seen both the Father and the Son.

In 1835 Joseph Smith's scribe heard him tell the story to a visitor. As recalled and recorded by the scribe, the Mormon leader's words were "nearly as follows":

> Being wrought up in my mind respecting the subject of Religion, and looking at the different systems taught the children of men, I knew not who was right or who was wrong but considered it of the first importance to me that I should be right in matters of so much moment, matter involving eternal consequences. Being thus perplexed in mind I retired to the silent grove and there bowed down before the Lord, under a realising sense (if the Bible be true) ask and you shall receive, knock and it shall be opened, seek and you shall find, and again, if any man lack wisdom, let of God [*sic*], who giveth to all men liberally & upbraideth not. Information was what I most desired, at this time and with a fixed determination to obtain it. I called on the Lord for the first time in the place above stated, or in other words, I made a fruitless attempt to pray My tongue seemed to be swollen in my mouth, so that I could not utter, I heard a noise behind me like some one walking towards me, I strove again to pray, but could not; the noise of walking seemed to draw nearer; I sprang upon my feet and looked around. but I saw no person, or thing that was calculated to produce the noise of walking. I kneeled again, my mouth was opened and my tongue loosed; I called on the Lord in mighty prayer. A pillar of fire appeared above my head; which presently rested down upon me, and filled me with unspeakable joy. A personage appeared in the midst of this pillar of flame, which was spread all around and yet nothing consumed. Another personage soon appeared like unto

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[17] As transcribed in Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," p. 129. Note that Mr. Cheesman interpreted the handwriting in the original manuscript as saying that this event took place in the 16th year of Joseph's age. In private conversation, Mr. Cheesman indicated that the original document actually was not clear — the number could have been either 16 or 14, but 16 appeared to be more likely. In Joseph Smith's 1838 account, he said it happened in the 15th year of his age. Orson Pratt and Orson Hyde both said that it happened when Joseph was "somewhere about fourteen or fifteen years old." The Wentworth letter said "when about fourteen years of age." Joseph's brother, William Smith, wrote that the Smith family's concern with the prevailing religions of the day came when Joseph was about seventeen. (See William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism*, Lamoni, Iowa, 1883.) William, however, did not record the story of the first vision. He related the religious revival which he described to the discovery of the Book of Mormon. The only contemporary account to date the vision in a definite manner as occurring in the spring of 1820 is that written by Joseph Smith in 1838.

> the first: he said unto me thy sins are forgiven thee. He testified also unto me that Jesus Christ is the son of God. I saw many angels in this vision.[18]

In this account Joseph emphasized the difficulty he had in uttering his first prayer, and the "noise of walking" seems to suggest the evil opposition which became an essential element in the official version of the story. Furthermore, he told of having seen two persons, although one preceded the other. The two persons looked alike, and the second assured him that his sins had been forgiven. The most unusual statement, however, is Joseph's declaration that he saw many angels in this vision.

When Joseph Smith finally wrote, or dictated, the "Manuscript History" in 1838, he told of his great uneasiness in the midst of the religious confusion of 1820 and his quest to determine which of the churches was right. After reading James 1:5 he retired to the woods and began to pray. In this account he told of a force of darkness which tried to stop him from proceeding, then the appearance in a pillar of light of two personages. When the light appeared, the force of darkness left. One of the personages said to Joseph, "This is my beloved Son, hear him." The crux of the message from the Son was that he should join none of the churches of the time, for all of them were wrong. "When I came to myself," he said, "I found myself lying on my back looking up into Heaven."[19] The story as told in Joseph Smith's published history of 1842 and in the Pearl of Great Price does not differ appreciably from his manuscript history.

The account published by Orson Pratt in 1840 contains a great deal of amplification upon the story as told by Joseph Smith.[20] He describes in more detail, for example, the problems running through young Joseph's mind when he was "somewhere about fourteen or fifteen years old." The appearance of the light is described in more vivid detail, and the whole account takes on a more dramatic air than any recorded story told by Joseph himself. Describing the light, for example, Pratt wrote:

> . . . as it drew nearer, it increased in brightness, and magnitude, so that, by the time that it reached the tops of the trees, the whole wilderness, for some distance around, was illuminated in a most glorious and brilliant manner. He expected to have seen the leaves and boughs

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[18] "Documentary History of the Church" (MS), located in L.D.S. Church Historian's Office. From a separate section in the back of Book A-1, pp. 120-121.

[19] For a transcribed copy of the handwritten manuscript, see Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," Appendix A.

[20] For a copy of the Pratt story, see Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," Appendix C.

> of the trees consumed, as soon as the light came in contact with them; but, perceiving that it did not produce that effect, he was encouraged with the hopes of being able to endure its presence. It continued descending, slowly, until it rested upon the earth, and he was enveloped in the midst of it. When it first came upon him, it produced a peculiar sensation throughout his whole system; and, immediately, his mind was caught away, from the natural objects with which he was surrounded; and he was enwrapped in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages.[21]

According to this account the young man was informed that his sins were forgiven and that the "fullness of the gospel" would be made known to him in the future. Neither of these statements is contained in the Pearl of Great Price account, but the first one is included in both the 1833 and 1835 manuscripts.

The Wentworth Letter, published in 1842, and Rupp's history, published in 1844, contained identical but very short accounts of the vision. The force of opposition was not mentioned, and the description of the visitation was shorter than in Joseph's earlier account. He told, however, of seeing two personages while he was "enwrapped in a heavenly vision" and said that "they" told him that all religious denominations were believing incorrect doctrines. The idea that the "fullness of the gospel" should be given to him in the future was recorded here, in agreement with Orson Pratt's account.

Orson Hyde's account, published in 1842, is similar to the stories told by Joseph Smith and Orson Pratt. The two personages were not defined or quoted directly, but they were said to exactly resemble each other in their features, and the promise to reveal the fullness of the gospel was mentioned.

The several variations in these and other accounts would seem to suggest that, in relating his story to various individuals at various times, Joseph Smith emphasized different aspects of it and that his listeners were each impressed with different things. This, of course, is to be expected, for the same thing happens in the re-telling of any story. The only way to keep it from changing is to write it only once and then insist that it be read exactly that way each time it is to be repeated. Such an effort at censorship would obviously be unrealistic. Joseph apparently told his story several times before he released it for publication. People who heard it were obviously impressed with different details and perhaps even embellished it a little with their own literary devices as they retold or recorded it.

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[21] O. Pratt, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. 5.

Joseph himself wrote at least two different accounts for publication. These were printed the same year in the same periodical, yet differed somewhat in their emphasis.

In this connection, four accounts are especially interesting, for they each suggest that, although two personages appeared in the vision, one preceded the other. The 1835 story is apparently the earliest that makes this distinction. In 1843 Joseph Smith told the story to a non-Mormon editor, who later quoted him in an article in the *New York Spectator*. As quoted by the editor, Joseph Smith said:

> While thinking of this matter, I opened the New Testament promiscuously on these words, in James, 'Ask of the Lord who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not.' I just determined I'd ask Him. I immediately went out into the woods where my father had a clearing, and I kneeled down, and prayed, saying, "O Lord, what church shall I join?" Directly I saw a light, and then a glorious personage in the light, and then another personage, and the first person said to the second, "Behold my Beloved Son, hear Him." I then addressed this second person, saying, "O Lord, what church shall I join?" He replied, "Do not join any of them, they are all corrupt." The vision then vanished.[22]

The third contemporary account to repeat the idea that one personage preceded the other is the diary of Alexander Neibaur. Writing on May 24, 1844, Neibaur said that Joseph Smith had told him that day of his early quest for religion. In Neibaur's words, Joseph Smith ". . . went into the woods to pray, kneels himself down . . . saw a fire toward heaven come nearer and nearer; saw a personage in the fire; light complexion, blue eyes, a piece of white cloth drawn over his shoulders, his right arm bear [*sic*]; after a while another person came to the side of the first."[23] A fourth reference to this idea is seen in the diary of Charles L. Walker on the date of February 2, 1893. Walker wrote of hearing John Alger declare in "Fast meeting" that he had heard Joseph Smith relate the story of the vision, saying "that God touched his eyes with his finger and said, 'Joseph this is my beloved Son, hear him.' As soon as the Lord had touched his eyes with his finger he immediately saw the Saviour."[24] The latter, of course, is only reminiscence, but together with the earlier narratives it demonstrates at least that a few people had this concept of the vision as it gradually took its place among

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[22] *New York Spectator*, September 23, 1843, as quoted in Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, 1946), p. 31.

[23] As quoted in Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," p. 29.

[24] Diary of Charles L. Walker, as quoted in Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts," p. 30.

the fundamental teachings of the Church. Other variations may be noted in all the foregoing documents.

Additional accounts by people close to the Mormon prophet would undoubtedly reveal similar variations and amplifications. Through it all, however, there seems to be no deviation from Joseph Smith's apparent intent in telling the story in the first place: to demonstrate that he had had a visitation from Deity and that he was told that the religions of his day were wrong . The account published in the Pearl of Great Price in 1851 has become the standard account and is accepted by the Mormons as scripture.

SUMMARY

This paper has been an attempt to trace the significance of the story of Joseph Smith's first vision in the development of Mormon thought. It seems apparent that if Joseph Smith told the story to friends and neighbors in 1820, he stopped telling it widely by 1830. At least it can be demonstrated that the public image of Joseph Smith and his spiritual experiences did not include the story of the first vision. Throughout most of the 1830's the story was not circulated, either in church periodicals or missionary literature. About 1833, however, Joseph Smith apparently made a preliminary attempt to write the story, but this account was never published. In 1835 he was willing to tell the story to a visitor. There is further evidence, based on reminiscences, to suggest that the story was known on a limited basis in the 1830's, but it is clear that it was not widely circulated. Non-Mormon accounts of the rise of the Church written in the 1830's made no mention of the story of the vision. It is apparent, furthermore, that belief in the vision was not essential for conversion to the Church, for there is no evidence that the story was told to prospective converts of the early 1830's.

In 1838, however, Joseph Smith decided to write the story for publication, and within a few years it had begun to achieve wide circulation within the Church. It was published first in 1840 by Orson Pratt as a missionary tool, and two of Joseph Smith's own versions were published in 1842. Since then both Mormon and non-Mormon writers have made reference to it when dealing with the history of the Church. The story was accepted as scripture by the Mormons in 1880.

When it was first told, the story of the vision was used primarily to demonstrate the concept that Joseph Smith had been visited by Deity and that he had been told that all contemporary churches were wrong. After Joseph's death, however, members of the Church gradually began to appreciate its usefulness for other purposes. By

the 1880's, if not earlier, it was being used in sermons as support for the Mormon doctrine of God, although Joseph Smith himself never used the story for that purpose.

In conclusion, this essay perhaps demonstrates the need for new approaches to Mormon history by sympathetic Mormon historians. Can we fully understand our heritage without understanding the gradual development of ideas, and the use of those ideas, in our history? It has been demonstrated that an understanding of the story of Joseph Smith's vision dawned only gradually upon the membership of the Church during his lifetime, and that new and important uses were made of the story after his death. In what other respects has the Mormon mind been modified since the 1830's? What forces and events have led church leaders to place special emphasis on special ideas in given periods of time? What new ideas have become part of the Mormon tradition since the exodus from Nauvoo, or even in the twentieth century; what old ideas have been submerged, if not forgotten; and what ideas have remained constant through the years? In short, the writing of Mormon history has only begun. As in the case of other institutions and movements, there is still room in Mormonism for fresh historical scholarship — not necessarily for the apologist, although he will always be necessary and will always make an important contribution, and certainly not for the debunker. What is needed, simply, is the sympathetic historian who can approach his tradition with scholarship as well as faith and who will make fresh appraisal of the development of the Mormon mind.

THE MORMONS,

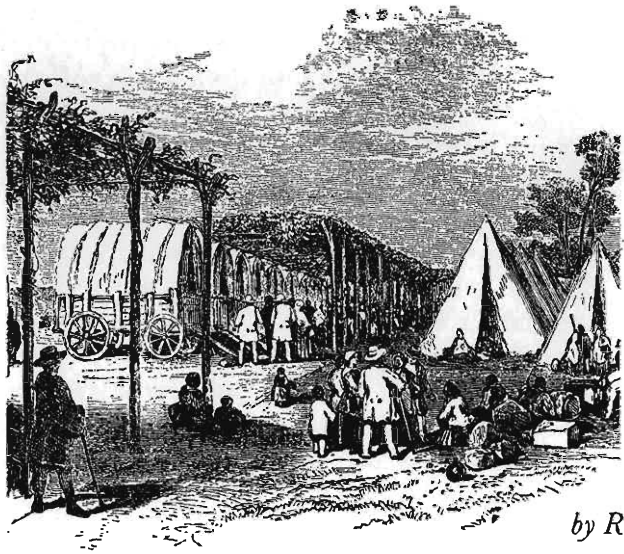
OR,

LATTER-DAY SAINTS:

A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

THE EXPULSION OF THE MORMONS FROM NAUVOO.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT 227 STRAND.
1852.



Mormon Tabernacle Camp.

WRITING ON THE MORMON PAST

by Robert Bruce Flanders

The Latter-day Saints are today a recognized and accepted part of the fabric of American life. The sharpness of Mormon-gentile conflict has long since faded, and acculturation and accommodation have taken its place. There has begun to be in the present generation a corresponding trend to detach the Mormon past from American mythology or hagiography and to fit it satisfactorily into the main stream of American history where it belongs and where it can be better understood. The folklore of funny stories and bad books still exceeds the competent historical literature both in bulk and in circulation. But now a third generation of Mormons and anti-Mormons has largely passed away; fears, hatreds, and tensions keenly and painfully remembered not many years ago are now merely "history." Animosity is giving way to curiosity; the appeal of polemics lessens and that of inquiry and analysis grows apace. The time is ripe for the study of Mormon history to emerge on a new plane of maturity.

Understanding Mormon history involves appreciating some of the formidable obstacles which confront those who seek to write it. There is still sensitivity among Mormons to probing that might bring embarrassment to cherished official views of Latter-day Saint origins, martyrs, or heroes (unfortunately not as yet balanced by a hope that a more accurate and penetrating presentation of that past would in many instances have the opposite effect). There are alleged instances of the suppression or destruction of historical materials feared to be damning should they fall into the "wrong hands." While abundant primary sources exist for the historian's use, many are scattered and

most need to be evaluated with care, produced as they were in the climate of controversy and contention surrounding early Mormon history.

The writing of Mormon history seems to be a profession especially unforgiving of emotional and intellectual shortcomings in its practitioners. More than sympathy and skill are necessary for success. There must be, for example, an adequate framework of ideas and assumptions underlying the work — a reasonable and plausible solution in the mind of the scholar to the basic "problems" of Mormon religious origins. To oversimplify for illustration: Is Mormonism conscious hoax, is it psychologically induced delusion explainable in terms of a unique milieu, or is it understandable only as involving genuine religious experience in association with mystical and supernatural phenomena? Is it even the working out step by foreordained step of a Heavenly Plan — all the predestined will of God? Or is it perhaps a subtle and disarming mixture of all of these? The student of Mormonism can only avoid such questions; he cannot escape them. His assumptions about them may be intimately related to his reasons for writing in the first place, and certainly they will color his work.[1] Finally, and perhaps of greatest import, the historian needs to come to terms with the multiverse of writings about Mormonism, so much of it bizarre and confusing, that has been accumulating from the beginning of the movement. The primary concern of this article is to assay the nature of that literature.

Since 1830 a great many people have written about Mormons and Mormonism, and for many reasons; the extent and peculiarity of the literature is bewildering. In the nineteenth century the bulk of it was anti-Mormon writing that may be termed a literature of exposé. Histories, autobiographies, pamphlets, articles, and depositions exposing the delusions, perversions, and dangers of Mormonism assailed mid- and later-nineteenth century America and did much to form and perpetuate anti-Mormon stereotypes and shibboleths in both the forum of public opinion and the councils of state. The authors of such works were typically Protestant ministers incensed over Mormon "sheep stealing" among their flocks, ambitious journalists who recognized the public taste for the shocking (there is a strong flavor of the lurid in Mormon exposé, including blood, sex, and sin, reminiscent of tabloid journalism and the Sunday supplement), aspiring politicians, or disgruntled ex-Mormons who had

[1] For a penetrating discussion of the sacerdotal phenomenon of Mormon authoritarianism, see Mario De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue,* I (Spring, 1966), 68-88.

left the Church for various reasons and were anxious to join the chorus of denunciation. Some wrote who had no base motives but only a desire that The Truth should prevail and that marriage, motherhood, and America should survive. A sample of the titles of exposé writing is instructive as to their *genre*:

Alexander Campbell, *Delusions; an Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (1832)

Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* [*sic*] . . . (1834)

E. G. Lee, *The Mormons; or Knavery Exposed* (1841)

John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (1842)

Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy* (1844)

William Hall, *The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed . . .* (1852)

Fanny (Mrs. T.B.H.) Stenhouse, *Tell It All; The Story of a Life's Experiences in Mormonism* (1874)

Ann Eliza (Webb) Young, *Wife No. 19; or, The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism* (1875)

John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled . . .* (1877)

Jennie A. Froiseth, ed., *The Women of Mormonism; or, The Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (1881-82)

Rev. C. P. Lyford, *The Mormon Problem; an Appeal to the American People* (1886)

Lou B. Cake, *Old Mormon Manuscript Found, Peepstone Joe Exposed* (1899)

A. F. Gray, *The Menace of Mormonism* (1926)

Of interest also are the publications, shortly after 1900, of a group calling themselves "The National League of Women's Organizations to Protect the Country Against the Treasonable and Polygamous Teachings of the Mormon Hierarchy, and to Maintain Christian Ideals of Marriage."

Certain appurtenances and tendencies of Mormonism, notably political and cultural parochialism, a mystic *hauteur* among its believers, the apparent union of church and state, and especially polygamy, lent a credence to these writings that helped them gain general acceptance as unimpeachably valid. A good example of the literature of exposé is John C. Bennett's *The History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism,* the earliest and one of most influential of such works to reach a national audience. A suave gentleman-dandy who was a kind of professional adventurer, Bennett for a short time occupied a position of trust in Nauvoo. Governor Thomas Ford later wrote of him:

> This Bennett was probably the greatest scamp in the western country. I have made particular enquiries concerning him, and have traced him in several places in which he lived before he joined the Mormons, in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and he was everywhere accounted the same debauched, unprincipled, profligate character. He was a man of some little talent, and in 1840-1841 had the confidence of the Mormons, and particularly that of their leaders.[2]

In 1842 Bennett himself was exposed, and he lost his position in the Mormon hierarchy. He then began the publication of a series of scurrilous and well-publicized articles in anti-Mormon Illinois newspapers. It was the sensational journalism of the day and provoked a wave of anti-Mormon feeling in the Middle West. In the fall of 1842 Bennett published his book in Boston and quickly received national attention. "The Mormon hierarchy," wrote Bennett in a memorable passage,

> are guilty of infidelity, deism, atheism, lying, deception, blasphemy; debauchery, lasciviousness, bestiality, madness, fraud, plunder; larceny, burglary, robbery, perjury; fornication, adultery, rape, incest; arson, treason, and murder; and they have out-heroded Herod, out-deviled the devil, slandered God Almighty, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Angels . . . . (p. 257)

Such lurid attacks not only influenced a credulous reading audience in the 1840's, but have had a continuing influence upon many historians who have accepted them as valid judgments by reliable contemporary observers. Historians ought to have known better (probably some of them did). The literature of exposé gives little insight into the Mormon movement, but it does provide a clue to the origins and character of anti-Mormon feelings which reached a fever pitch on a number of occasions in the nineteenth century.

Mormonism was less alarming to Americans as a false and deluded religion than it was as a threat to republican government, middle-class morality, and the general conformist spirit of Jacksonian America. There were faiths abroad in the land which the majority considered heretical but whose adherents were left alone. The Mormon Church however was an aggressive, dynamic, fiercely independent corporation given to talk about its own government, the "Kingdom of God." All this seemed subversive to a generation much concerned with internal threats, real or imagined, to a traditional American way of life. The attacks upon Mormonism were a kind of "nativist" attack similar to those which have appeared from time to time in American history in response to suspected subversion. The American

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[2] Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), p. 263.

Party, or "Know-Nothings," of the 1850's, the Klans of the 1920's, and "McCarthyism" in the 1950's are examples of such phenomena. Although Mormonism was indigenously American in its origins, to the majority of citizens it began to appear, from the characterization of the exposé writers, to be non-conforming, un-American, anti-American, and dangerous. There were concurrent and similar exposés of Catholics, Masons, abolitionists, and "slave-power conspirators," as well as the better-known attacks of the Know-Nothings upon foreign immigrants. Not surprisingly, all the literature of exposure is much alike, regardless of what is under attack. Wrote one historian of this occurrence:

> If Masons, Catholics, and Mormons bore little resemblance to one another in actuality, as imagined enemies they merged into a nearly common stereotype. Behind specious professions of philanthropy or religious sentiment nativists discerned a group of unscrupulous leaders plotting to subvert the American social order. Though rank and file members were not individually evil, they were blinded and corrupted by a persuasive ideology that justified treason and gross immorality in the interests of the subversive group. Trapped in the meshes of machine-like organization . . . these dupes followed orders like professional soldiers and labored unknowingly to abolish free society, to enslave their fellowmen, and to overthrow divine principles of law and justice. Should an occasional member free himself from bondage . . . he could still be disciplined by the threat of death or dreadful tortures. . . . According to nativist prophets, leaders of such groups chose to subvert American society because control of America meant control of the world's destiny.[8]

Mormon exposé literature, read in this context, does much to illustrate the dark, irrational milieu of countersubversion. Such a climate of thought sustained the anti-Mormon persecutions and threats of persecutions that finally helped to make Mormons a defensive and culturally isolated people.

Early Latter-day Saint writers responded to the attacks of the exposers by producing a literature about their own movement which was apologetic and defensive as well as evangelistic. Their response was naturally colored by the nature of the provocation, and it is difficult to understand early Mormon polemics apart from the persecution which provoked them. In 1840 Apostle Parley P. Pratt wrote a pamphlet entitled *Late Persecutions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Ten Thousand American Citizens robbed, plun-*

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[8] David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Countersubversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* LXVII (September, 1960), 208. This important essay develops the thesis quoted above and concludes that the countersubversive mania had its origins in the insecurities and rootlessness of a rapidly changing society.

dered, and banished; others imprisoned, and others martyred for their religion in order to publicize the Far West, Missouri, persecutions. Other similar tracts followed through the years, developing the notion that all unfriendly gentiles were "enemies" in league to destroy God's kingdom and that the history of the Latter-day Church was a kind of divine drama on Earth, in which the ultimate design of deity was being worked out in every act and would in the end prevail against all odds. Even serious setbacks were but a test of the faithful.

The traditional genre of Mormon history is perhaps most clearly illustrated in a mass of juvenile and "faith promotion" literature which seeks inspiration in the deeds of founders and pioneers. It is not really history, but historical myth spun into morality plays, where hero fights against villain, knight jousts with dragon, and good contends against evil. Even in more professional writings polemics persist, as is illustrated by the works of Brigham H. Roberts, official historian of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints until his death in 1933. His *Comprehensive History of the Church — Century One* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930) was the centennial history. In formative and useful, it displays throughout the hand of the competent historian. It is nevertheless an official apologia and evidences the strong flavor of Mormon-style historical determinism. For example, after a fairly comprehensive and fair-minded treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Roberts concludes:

> . . . let the finger of accusation point at whom it may, and the just verdict of history pronounce guilty whom it will, this much I hold to be clear, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints bears no stain, and carries no responsibility for bloodshed at any time or any place. Her law was announced from the beginning, by the Son of God, saying, ". . . Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills, shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come . . ." (IV, 176-177)

Such testimonials are common in the historical writings of Mormons and betray values and motives which, however commendable in other settings, have no legitimate place in historiography.

The Mormons created a unique society and economy in the hostile Great Basin environment at a considerable human cost in sacrifice and deprivation. Pride in the accomplishments of pioneer forebears, common in histories of the American West, is in Mormon history coupled with a conviction that the survival and relative prosperity of the mountain kingdom of the Saints is a vindication of the Church and the Mormon religion itself. Zion was destined to be built "in the tops of the mountains" according to the ancient prophet; the feat was in compliance with the Divine Will and accomplished by the Mormon pioneers. So Utah Mormon history emphasizes the westering,

trans-montane, pioneering aspects. The early formative period of the movement in the Midwest has traditionally been viewed as merely preliminary to the Great Basin experience. The trials and failures of the pre-Trek years were but a necessary, even foreordained time of troubles, out of which the final accomplishment was born. Mormon chroniclers have seemed impatient to get the early Saints on the trail west to the land of saddle, sagebrush, and Great Salt Lake. The frames of reference for early Mormon history traditionally set by Mormons themselves have been far-western rather than mid-western or national, religious and social rather than economic or political, polemical rather than critical, defensive rather than objective. Thus Brigham Young rather than Joseph Smith is seen frequently as the central figure of early Mormon history, and relatively little history of the period before 1847 has been written by Mormons.

A crippling feature of the work of Utah Mormon historians and those influenced by them is that they tend to dismiss dissensions and conflicts within the Church and to ignore the schisms and divergent sects that resulted. Dissenters were apostates, and thus "enemies" — outside the purview of historical concern. This omission is a grievous one, since internal conflict and controversy were as influential in shaping Mormonism as was strife with the gentile world. There were "apostasies" at Kirkland, at Far West, and several times in Utah. The most serious occurred at Nauvoo in association with doctrinal controversy, the death of Joseph Smith, the accession of Brigham Young to power, and Young's program to remove the Church to the West. Young had both competition and opposition to his authority and policies, which were to become institutionalized in a number of anti-Brighamite Mormon sects, mostly centered in the Middle West. Such groups remained a goad to Young and a harrassment in his attempts to restore unity to Mormonism under his sceptre.[4]

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is the only one of the churches of the Mormon dispersion to produce an historical literature. Begun by anti-polygamous, anti-Brighamite Mormons who had not gone to Utah, it achieved a degree of maturity under the leadership of sons and grandsons of Joseph Smith the Prophet. Like the historical writing of the Utah Mormons, that of

[4] See for example Dale L. Morgan, "A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion," *Western Humanities Review*, VII (1953), 107-181; Milo M. Quaife, *The Kingdom of St. James* (1930); Robert Flanders, "The Mormons Who Did Not Go West," unpublished Master's thesis, U. of Wisconsin (1954); Inez Smith Davis, *Story of the Church* (1949); H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (1889), pp. 641 ff., and Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (1965), Chapters 9 and 11.

the Reorganized Church has been primarily polemical and "faith promoting." In addition to claiming as its own the common Mormon past prior to the "breakup" of 1844-47, Reorganized Church history has been at great pains to prove that Brigham Young was an usurper; that "Utah Mormonism" was aberrant and corrupt in doctrine, economy, and polity; and especially that polygamy was an abomination neither originated, practiced, nor sanctioned by Joseph Smith. The best illustrations of the nature of historical writing in the Reorganized Church are Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (4 vols., 1896-1903) and Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (1948). Both works are officially sanctioned; each is distinctly polemical. The former is a somewhat ill-digested collection of primary documents of various kinds and is more valuable as source than as history. The latter is selective in the subject matter that it treats and is apologetic and filio-pietistic. It emphasizes some of the dispersive movements of the post-Nauvoo period (including that of Lyman Wight, from whom Mrs. Davis was descended) and almost completely ignores "Brighamite" history. It represents the historical viewpoint still common in the Reorganized Church. "Reorganite" history is especially conscious of the Nauvoo dispersion because many Reorganized Church founders stem originally from Wightites, Strangites, Hedrickites, Bickertonites, Thompsonites, Cutlerites — even Brighamites.

While the historical viewpoint operative in the Reorganized Church is inadequate as a key to the Mormon past, just as is that of the better-known Mormon group, and partly for the same reasons, it is at least different; and it dispels the kind of monolithic concept of Latter-day Saint development that is so prevalent. Mormon history not only could have taken another path than that which led to Utah; it actually did.

Mormon historical writing of a class different from any yet discussed is that of the "apostate" who neither affiliated with any dissident sect nor joined the ranks of the typical exposé authors. Two such men were John Corrill and T.B.H. Stenhouse. Corrill, a high priest who left the Church in 1838 during the Far West, Missouri, episode because of procedural rather than doctrinal differences, straightway wrote a history of Mormonism which is surprisingly sympathetic yet perceptive and critical in its treatment.[5] Unfortunately Corrill wrote too early to include the momentous decade of the forties. Stenhouse, who wrote a generation later, missed the

[5] John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1839).

forties too. He was a Scots convert, a man of culture and ability who was a missionary in England, Italy, and Switzerland, where he published a church periodical in French and was president of the Swiss Mission, 1850-54. In 1859 he emigrated to Utah, where he later published his own newspaper.[6]

Stenhouse was sufficiently prestigious within the Church to be an emissary to the Lincoln administration. He became an associate in the "Godbeite Heresy" of 1869, a rebellion of a group of able and influential Mormons directed in part at the threat to individualism posed by the monopolistic aspects of church polity and the ironclad rule of Brigham Young (who drove the dissidents summarily from the Church). Leaving Utah for the East, Stenhouse published *The Rocky Mountain Saints; A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (New York, 1873), constituting, together with a work by his wife giving the distaff point of view, the most sensational exposé of Mormonism since John C. Bennett in 1842.[7]

Like the run-of-the-mill exposers, Stenhouse saw the Mormon theocracy as subversive and portrayed Brigham Young as a tyrant. But in other important respects there is dissimilarity. Stenhouse saw the Mormon faith as delusion, not hoax or fraud; he was critical of Smith and Young but did not doubt their sincerity; he considered polygamy perverse but saw polygamists generally as misguided zealots rather than as basically immoral or lecherous. He displayed a great deal of understanding for the Mormon people and their problems, and in purview of the Mormon experience he stood to some extent outside of and beyond any of the historical frames of reference yet discussed. *The Rocky Mountain Saints* is therefore something of an early landmark in Mormon historical writing, a forerunner of later descriptive and analytical works. It has been used since by less sympathetic or fairminded authors who have emphasized its sensational aspects.

Mormons and their establishments have been "tourist attractions" almost from the beginning, and travellers' accounts abound. Unfortunately, the observer often saw only what he wanted or expected to see and departed but little better informed than when he arrived. This is not to dismiss travellers' accounts as irrelevant, but only to suggest the obvious about what they often said. Certainly they are no sure key to truth as primary sources, but many are valuable. In 1844 Josiah Quincy and Charles Francis Adams stopped at Nauvoo. Their

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[6] Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* IV, 385.

[7] Ray B. West, *The Kingdom of the Saints* (New York, 1957), pp. 283, 294 ff.

visit with Joseph Smith provides one of the rare appearances of the prophet in literature as a real (albeit somewhat extraordinary) mortal.[8] In 1859 the intrepid Horace Greeley stayed in Salt Lake City while on his way to California and wrote his extensive impressions with refreshing honesty, wit, and candor.[9] Two foreign travellers, Jules Remy and Richard Burton, also visited the city of the Saints in the fifties and later published works of remarkable objectivity.[10]

Two writers whose accounts might be described as observations-at-length were Charlotte Haven and Thomas L. Kane. They were both gentiles who had extended contact with Mormons at one time or another and who were not unfriendly to them. Charlotte Haven was a young New Hampshire woman of wit and intelligence who came to Nauvoo in 1842 to live with a relative, also a gentile. Her letters constitute a record of impressions that change perceptibly from an early contempt to an easy tolerance and even sympathy. The Charlotte Haven letters show Nauvoo as it was seen by one neither a pro- nor anti-Mormon zealot.[11] Thomas Leiper Kane was a young Philadelphia lawyer with humanitarian instincts and Washington connections who espoused the cause of the driven Saints in 1846. He was their champion for many years, finally serving as a negotiating agent between Brigham Young and President Buchanan at the time of the "Utah War" of 1857-1858. Kane was one gentile whom the Mormons adopted as friend and brother, and whose accounts show both sympathy and a painstaking attempt at accuracy.[12]

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[8] Josiah Quincy, son of the Josiah Quincy who was mayor of Boston 1823-28 and President of Harvard (1828-45), became mayor of Boston in 1845. Quincy wrote a chapter on Smith in *Figures of the Past* (Boston, 1883) which is excerpted in William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* (1958), pp. 131-142. *Among the Mormons* is a fascinating documentary of the early Mormon experience.

[9] "An Editor Goes West; Salt Lake City and the Mormons," in Warren S. Tryon, ed., *A Mirror For Americans*, III, 729-745; from Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (1863).

[10] Jules Remy, *Journey to Great Salt Lake* (1861), and Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (1861). These works are discussed in West, op. cit., pp. xviii and xix, and excerpted in Mulder and Mortensen, op. cit., pp. 278-281, 328-334.

[11] First reproduced in the *Overland Monthly* (San Francisco) for December, 1890, as "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo," they are excerpted in Mulder and Mortensen, op. cit., pp. 116-127.

[12] See T. L. Kane, "The Mormons — A Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1850," in Pennsylvania Historical Society Address, vol. I; O. O. Winther, ed., *A Friend of the Mormons, the Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane;* and Mulder and Mortensen, op. cit., pp. 195-213.

In addition to the works mentioned above there were also Charles Mackay, *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints* (London, 1851); John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake . . .* (Philadelphia, 1852); and Samuel M. Schmucker, *The Religious, Social, and Political History of the Mormons* (Auburn, N.Y., 1852).

Perhaps the first real historian to write seriously about Mormonism was that ubiquitous and prodigious scholar Hubert Howe Bancroft. Bancroft began in 1880 to seek the confidence of the Utah Church authorities in order to gain admittance to private church documents, assuring them that he wanted to be fair to the Mormons while not ignoring the "gentile point of view." After considerable negotiation he succeeded. His history was written using Mormon sources to be sure, but it also utilized much Mormon guidance in the writing. It consequently reflects throughout the historical viewpoint of the Utah Church. *The History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), published as volume twenty-six of Bancroft's compendious series, is not without integrity. It is especially important for its use of interviews with eye-witnesses and participants in the events described. "Even today, after sixty-five years," wrote a commentator in 1954, "it is still a useful standard narrative and is indispensable as a bibliographical guide for the first forty years of Utah's history of settled occupation.[18]

The first half of the twentieth century has produced a group of books on the Mormon past which have quite a different aspect; they are both "objectivist-realist" (rather than polemical or sensational) in approach, and, to an extent, scholarly in method. William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (1902); I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith Jr.* (1902); M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (1925) ; Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (1931); and Fawn McKay Brodie, *No Man Knows My History; The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (1945) — all have such traits in common despite varying emphases, styles, and particular choices of subject within the generality of Mormon history. As such they are in a real sense pioneering works that play a part in the evolution of Mormon historiography. Unfortunately they tend to share the same serious limitations: They are all at heart books of exposé; and while they seek to expose the frauds, delusions, and dangers of Mormonism in a less Victorian and a more intellectually sophisticated mode than do their nineteenth century antecedents, they still do not escape the general frame of interpretation found in the earlier works. The exposure of Mormonism was for these writers apparently such a satisfying and final accomplishment that they were unable to ask or answer questions of larger

[18] George Ellsworth, "Hubert Howe Bancroft and the History of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXIII (April 1954), 100. Bancroft's manuscript sources were not fully utilized by the historian himself nor have they been exploited yet by later scholars. They are housed in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. See George Ellsworth, "A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library Relating to the History of Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXII (July 1954), 197-247.

historical significance. Thus, despite their important contributions to the scholarship of the Mormon past, they did not achieve a maturity in the endeavor. They might be called "neo-nativist," using as they do the same techniques to the same ends as an earlier generation, but clothing them in impressive, sometimes informative and provocative, modern dress.[14]

Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* a biography of Joseph Smith, deserves special consideration. The latest of the serious "neo-nativist" histories of Mormonism just alluded to, it is in a sense the culmination, the ultimate, of the type, and represents both the best and the worst of the tendencies common to the group. Mrs. Brodie's book is so exhaustive in its coverage and painstaking in its use of primary sources that it has become a recognized standard work on Mormon origins and early history. Doubtless in this respect the work is unparalleled in the field, and may remain so for some time, a guide to those who undertake less ambitious studies.

However, Mrs. Brodie was so anti-Mormon in her own intellectual orientation that she succumbed to the temptation to bring nineteenth century literature of Mormon countersubversion uncritically and in large doses into her own work.[15] The seemingly contradictory theses of *No Man Knows My History* are that Joseph Smith was a charlatan (and Mormonism a conscious, premeditated hoax) and that the main force perpetuating the Mormon religion through the generations is the persistent magnetism of Smith's personality. Mrs. Brodie's zeal to create the grand and ultimate exposé of Mormonism knew no bounds, and she utilized all the techniques previously devised to advance that purpose, including those of Linn, Werner, Riley, *et al.,* her neo-nativist predecessors on whom her work relies heavily, if tacitly. For example, *No Man Knows My History* displays Linn's tendency to dismiss the complex or arresting in Mormon history as ludicrous or absurd.[16] There is in both Brodie and Linn incredulity that anything connected with Mormonism (excepting its abominations) could ever be taken seriously. From Werner's *Brigham Young* came the grudging admiration reserved for the enormities of only the greatest, most magnificent rogues, together with a Twainesque humor that maintains urbanity in the presence of the

[14] Linn and Werner are still influential and widely relied upon. Indeed, they remain two of the most useful books written about Mormonism, despite their parochialism.

[15] For example, Mrs. Brodie devotes thirty-one pages to documenting the existence of forty-eight plural wives for Joseph Smith, proof so alleged, *ex-post-facto,* and circumstantial as to be unconvincing to this reader. See Brodie, pp. 434-465.

[16] Linn's response to Smith's intriguing views on national politics in 1844 was simply, "It seems almost incomprehensible that the promulgator of such political views could have taken himself seriously." Linn, *History of the Mormons,* p. 253.

impossible. From Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism,* Mrs. Brodie took the tool of psychoanalysis, more a hatchet than a scalpel in the hands of a crusading journalist; and finally from Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire,* came the style of flippant irony and the sly humor of the bawdy.[17]

Nevertheless, Mrs. Brodie's work, though synthetic, is ultimately her own, a subtle yet emphatic declaration of spiritual and intellectual independence from her Mormon origins and antecedents, set in a format of wide research and a popularized journalistic writing style, with an abundance of blood, sex, and sin.[18] Mrs. Brodie is a modern "apostate," her book an exquisite modern exposé. *No Man Knows My History* is a transitional work; while itself an emotional and intellectual captive of the primitive sectarian conflict, it demonstrated the possibilities for Mormon history that inhere in scholarly investigation.

In the generation since Mrs. Brodie wrote, the appearance of a whole new corpus of professional works has begun to revolutionize Mormon historiography. Some are authored by juring Mormons, some by Mormons only nominal in affiliation, and some by gentiles. They tend to have in common a desire to free the writing of Mormon history from the various parochial strictures of the past and to make it a part of a larger historical whole. Their writings recognize that the unique is not necessarily the aberrant or the pathological; furthermore, they tend to ignore or dismiss the subversive possibilities of Mormonism that so much obsessed earlier writers. Important examples of such works are: Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950); William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957); Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormons* (1957); Ray B. West, *The Kingdom of the Saints* (1957); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (1958); Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee; Pioneer, Zealot, Scapegoat* (1962); and Robert Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (1965).

The publication recently of several well-edited volumes of documents throws much additional light on Mormon history. They include: William Berrett and Alma Burton, eds., *Readings in L.D.S. Church History* (3 vols., 1953-1958); Robert Cleland and Juanita

[17] Ray B. West in the preface to *Kingdom of the Saints* has written an original and stimulating essay about some of the problems of the Mormon past, including a penetrating analysis of *No Man Knows My History.*

[18] Sensational writing which utilizes Mormon historical subjects seems not to die. See for example Irving Wallace, *The Twenty-seventh Wife,* which sports such chapter titles as "The Rebel of the Harem" and "The Adultress."

Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* (1955); William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* (1958); and Juanita Brooks, ed., *On The Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout* (1964). A somewhat special case is the publication of the journals of Joseph Smith, Jr., as *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I,* edited by Brigham H. Roberts (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1902). This is an official publication of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the editorial comment is frankly an extensive piece of Mormon apologetics. It has been alleged that the work is not a reliable edition of the original, which is presumably in the closed archives of the Church. Such allegations are unproven, however.[19]

In addition to book publications there have been in the present generation many scholarly periodical articles of which the following list is but a small sample: three articles by the economist and historian Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXI (1952), 1-20; "Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review,* IV (1953), 341-369; and "An Economic Interpretation of the Word of Wisdom," *Brigham Young University Studies,* I (1959), 37-49; M. Hamlin Cannon, "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review,* XIII (1944), 136-150; R. Kent Fielding, "The Mormon Economy in Kirtland, Ohio," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVII (1959), 331-358; Gustive O. Larson, "Land Contest in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XX (1961), 309-325; and James Lancaster, "By the Gift and Power of God," *Saints Herald,* CIX (November 15, 1962), 798 ff., a study of the translation of the Book of Mormon.

Finally, there is a large and growing body of unpublished doctoral dissertations which, although they are of uneven quality, are important sources in themselves and are a harbinger of increasing scholarly production in the field of Mormon history. Important examples are Therald Jensen, "Mormon Theology of Church and State" (University of Chicago, 1938); S. George Ellsworth, "History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (University of California, 1951); and J. K. Melville, "The Political Ideas of Brigham Young" (University of Utah, 1956).[20]

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[19] Joseph Smith's journal was first published from the 1840's to the 1860's in the periodical *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star.*

[20] For a discussion and assessment of doctoral dissertations and other recent scholarly writings on Mormon history, see Leonard J. Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue,* I (Spring 1966), 15-32.

As hopeful as these trends in historical writing may be, the fact remains that both factual knowledge of Mormon history and adequate intellectual constructs to explain it are scant. There is no satisfactory biography of either Joseph Smith or Brigham Young, and there are not likely to be such biographies in the near future. There is no adequate survey of Mormon history as a whole. There is very little written about the period before 1839, and the period before 1830 is almost as hazy as fable. Utah Church history since 1900 is as yet unexplored, and no scholarly work has been published about the history of the Reorganized Church. More disturbing than all of this is the fact that the chief "clientele' for Mormon history, i.e., Latter-day Saints themselves, do not as yet demand good history. Mature historical writing is most likely to result when thoughtful people raise important questions about the present which can only be answered by a resort to their past. The prevailing climate within Mormondom is as yet characterized by unconcern or timidity about such questions.

General Joseph Smith reviewing the Nauvoo Legion.

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

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

TOWARD A REINTERPRETATION OF MORMON HISTORY

by Klaus J. Hansen

Polygamy, contrary to popular opinion, probably seduced few men into the seraglio that was Mormonism in the mind of a prurient, Victorian America. Yet it lured several generations of historians — not to speak of journalists and popular novelists — into believing that its theory and practice provided the major key to an understanding of the "Mormon question." Not all historians succumbed to this point of view;[1] nevertheless, further evidence requires another look at the problem, suggesting that the idea of a political Kingdom of God, promulgated by a secret "Council of Fifty," is one of the important keys to an understanding of the Mormon past.[2] The polygamy conflict, it now appears, was merely that part of the iceberg visible above the troubled waters of Mormon history. Some Church leaders, for example, once they had reconciled themselves to the inevitability of the attack on polygamy, in a number of instances subtly invited assaults on the "relic of barbarism" in order to shield an institution of infinitely greater significance for Mormon history, the political Kingdom of God.

When, in 1890, Mormon President Wilford Woodruff issued the "Manifesto," ostensibly ending the practice of polygamy, he did so to save not only the Church but also the Kingdom of God. The semantic distinction between the two terms — the one denoting strictly an ecclesiastical body, the other a political organization intended to prepare the world for a literal, political government of Christ during the Millennium — originated with Joseph Smith, who taught those attending the secret sessions of the Council of Fifty in Nauvoo that

"The Kingdom of God is a separate organization from the Church of God."[3] To those who understand this difference, it will be apparent that if the Manifesto marked a watershed in Mormon history because it heralded the beginning of the end for polygamy, the following twenty years, though lacking the dramatic impact of Woodruff's pronouncement, divided Mormon history even more conclusively and permanently because they witnessed the decline and virtual disappearance of the idea of the political Kingdom of God, so vigorously promoted by the Council of Fifty in the nineteenth century. This kingdom had existed for the most part *sub rosa*. Therefore its death, though accompanied by much agony, failed to attract as much attention as the death of plural marriage. Polygamy died with a bang, the political Kingdom of God with a whimper. Hence only those who understand the history of the political Kingdom of God will be able to comprehend the magnitude of the political and intellectual transformation acompanying its death.

That history began formally in the spring of 1844, when Joseph Smith initiated some of his closest associates into the highly secret Council of Fifty with the purpose of setting up the "kingdom of

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[1] See for example Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958); David Brion Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," *The New England Quarterly,* XXVI (June 1953), 147-68; G. Homer Durham, "A Political Interpretation of Mormon History," *Pacific Historical Review,* XIII (June 1944), 136-50; Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862-1890* (Washington, 1941); Howard R. Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVIII (Oct. 1960), 377-87; William Mulder, *The Mormons in American History* (Salt Lake City, 1957); Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-1856," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXV (Apr. 1957), 117-31; Richard D. Poll, "The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXVII (May 1958), 111-26; Jan Shipps, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, 1965).

[2] Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City, 1958); Arrington, pp. 31-32, 39-40, 50-62; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York, 1945), pp. 356-57; Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee* (Glendale, Calif., 1962); Alfred L. Bush and Klaus J. Hansen, "Notes Towards a Definition of the Council of Fifty," MS, 1957 (Brigham Young University Library); James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (doctoral dissertation, Utah State University, 1958); James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVI (Apr. 1958), 130-48; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, 1965), pp. 278-305; Klaus J. Hansen, "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," *Brigham Young University Studies,* II (Spring-Summer 1960), 241-60; Klaus J. Hansen, "The Kingdom of God in Mormon Thought and Practice, 1830-1896" (doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University, 1963); J. Keith Melville, "Theory and Practice of Church and State During the Brigham Young Era," *Brigham Young University Studies,* III (Autumn 1960), 33-55; Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 165-68.

[3] Brigham H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (2d ed., 7 vols., Salt Lake City, 1946-50), VII, 382.

Daniel by the word of the Lord."[4] Officially known among its members as "The Kingdom of God and His Laws with the Keys and Powers Thereof and Judgment in the Hands of His Servants," the Council was described by John D. Lee as "the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the Earth, from which all law eminates, for the rule, government & controle of all Nations Kingdoms & toungs and People under the whole Heavens but not to controle the Priesthood but to council, deliberate & plan for the general good & upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on earth."[5] Joseph Smith even insisted that "there may be men acting as officers of the Kingdom of God who will not be members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."[6] Although it is doubtful that the Saints were able to persuade many Gentiles to join the Council of Fifty, their projected inclusion in the "Government of God" was absolutely essential, for it allowed the Mormons to insist that at least theoretically they observed the sacred American doctrine of separation of church and state.[7] This theory played an important role in defending the Saints from those perennial accusations, advanced by their enemies, that in Mormondom church and state were one.[8]

Yet even if the Gentiles had accepted this Mormon version of separation of church and state, there were other reasons why the suspected ideas and practices of the Council of Fifty became one of the major causes provoking the harrowing persecutions of the Saints. The non-Mormons clearly could not countenance the establishment of a separatist Mormon state, under whatever political theories. But the creation of a Mormon nation-state, to prepare the way for the Government of God, was precisely one of the major

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[4] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church,* VI, 365.

[5] Minutes of the Council of Fifty, April 10, 1880 (Brigham Young University Library); Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* (2 vols., San Marino, Calif., 1955), I, 80; Roberts, ed., *History of the Church,* VI, 260-67, 286, 331, 341, 343, 351, 356; VII, 379-80.

[6] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church,* VII, 382. See also Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., 1853-86; July 8, 1855), II, 310.

[7] John D. Lee, in *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis, 1877), p. 173, insists that a Gentile identified only as Jackson became a member of the Council of Fifty. Thomas L. Kane possibly may have been a member. At any rate, Brigham Young discussed matters with the "Colonel" of such a confidential nature as he was accustomed to discuss only in the privacy of the Council. See Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, September 1, 1858, in Edward Eberstadt and Sons, *Western America in Documents* (New York, 1963), p. 111. But it is not at all certain that Kane was a bona fide Gentile. Nor is it that Daniel H. Wells was; his baptism into the Mormon Church may have been temporarily deferred so that he might serve the Council of Fifty and the Church as a sympathetic Gentile in Nauvoo.

[8] Thus George Q. Cannon, as quoted in *Truth,* II (21 vols., 1935-56; 1 Aug. 1936), 43. It should be emphasized, however, that the Saints were hardly consistent. Parley P. Pratt, for one, could see no distinction between church and state: *Journal of Discourses,* I (Jan. 30, 1853), 173-4.

goals of the Council of Fifty.[9] For Joseph Smith and his successors believed that the Millennium could not be ushered in merely by spiritual preparation. If the Law was to go forth from Zion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem, both the Church *and* Kingdom had to be organized prior to Christ's reappearance in the clouds. This idea was in keeping with the strong Mormon belief that God required the active participation of man to fulfill His purposes. The Saints believed that the Lord, through His prophets, had indicated that His coming was imminent, and that His return would be delayed only if — through wickedness or sloth — they failed to pave the way. Among present-day Mormons few even of the most fervent and literal-minded are able to equal the zeal and the degree of expectation which compelled most of their ancestors to anticipate the Second Coming at any moment.[10]

In the imagery of Daniel's prophecy the Kingdom of God was likened to a stone which, loosened from the mountaintop without a hand, would crush all worldly governments and kingdoms in its path, finally filling the whole world.[11] The Gentiles, who could be quite as literal-minded as the Saints, therefore believed that the Mormon kingdom, like Mohammed's, was to conquer the world by fire and sword. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. Joseph Smtih insisted emphatically that the Kingdom was to be ushered in through peaceful means, although some of his followers, admittedly did not always follow this injunction.[12] Still, the Mormon prophet faced a problem — a problem that plagued the Saints not only in Missouri and Illinois, but that followed them relentlessly even into the recesses of the "everlasting mountains" — how to organize such a kingdom peacefully within the boundaries of the United States. Viewed from the vantage point of historical hindsight it is therefore clear that with the formation of a nucleus government for the Kingdom of God, primarily consisting of members of the Council of Fifty, the Prophet had crossed the Rubicon. That the Saints would cross the Mississippi had thus become almost inevitable.

To Joseph Smith, in 1844, this was of course not so obvious. True, he seems to have realized that a temporal kingdom of God in

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[9] Cleland and Brooks, eds., *Mormon Chronicle,* I, 80; John Taylor, *Journal of Discourses,* VI (Nov. 1, 1857), 23-4; Young to Kane, in Eberstadt, p. 111.

[10] See particularly the early issues of *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* especially VI (Oct. 15, 1845), 140-42, as well as numerous revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants, especially 34:7; 35:27; 43:17-35; 49:7; 52:43; 112:24, 34.

[11] Daniel 2:44-5.

[12] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church,* VI, 365: "It will not be by the sword or gun that this kingdom will roll on."

an area surrounded by Gentiles faced at best a precarious future. But what if, through a bold stroke, he could capture the United States for the Kingdom? The Council of Fifty thought there might be a chance and nominated the Mormon prophet for the Presidency of the United States. Council of Fifty member George Miller wrote hopefully, "If we succeeded in making a majority of the voters converts to our faith, and elected Joseph president, in such an event the dominion of the kingdom would be forever established in the United States."[13] As a result, the Council of Fifty decided to send all available Elders on missions to campaign for the prophet and to preach Mormonism at the same time. "If God goes with them," remarked Apostle Willard Richards, "who can withstand their influence?"[14]

To anyone who believed with the faith of a Willard Richards, Smith's candidacy clearly was not as irrational as it may appear from hindsight. Still, the Mormon prophet was realistic enough not to stake the entire future of the Kingdom of God on this plan. He therefore commissioned three members of the Council of Fifty to negotiate with Sam Houston for the acquisition of a large tract of land between the Nueces and Rio Grande rivers for the possible establishment of a Mormon state that would serve as a buffer between Mexico and Texas. The Mormon emissaries styled themselves plenipotentiaries, perhaps in a somewhat overeager anticipation of their hoped-for future status.[15] That these hopes were quite within the bounds of official teachings regarding the Kingdom of God is confirmed by as realistic a Mormon leader as George Q. Cannon, who as late as 1862 told a group of Elders about to depart for a church mission that the Kingdom of God was "to become a political power, known and recognized by the powers of the earth; and you, my brethren, may have to be sent forth to represent that power as its accredited agents . . . at the courts of foreign nations."[16]

As an alternate possibility to the Texas venture, Smith commissioned scouting expeditions of the Council of Fifty to search out a possible location for the Kingdom in the Transmississippi West.[17] At the same time, Orson Hyde, emissary of the Council in Washington, had instructions to negotiate with the Federal Government for that very purpose. Hyde, significantly, reported that the Saints could

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[13] *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander from His First Acquaintance with Mormonism up to Near the Close of His Life. Written by Himself in the Year 1855* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 20-23; Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, VI, 356.

[14] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, VI, 232.

[15] *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller*, p. 20.

[16] *Millennial Star*, XXIV (Feb. 15, 1862), 103.

expect little federal support for their plan and advised the prophet and his associates that "if the Saints [are to] possess the kingdom, I think they will have to take it; and the sooner it is done the more easily it is accomplished."[18] As it turned out, soon this was the only alternative left to the Mormons. For with the death of their prophet, which followed within weeks, the Saints had to bury any hopes of capturing the Kingdom through gaining the Presidency of the United States. The establishment of the Kingdom in Texas, meanwhile, had also become unfeasible. Under the forceful leadership of Brigham Young, therefore, the Council of Fifty attempted to set up the Kingdom in the Rocky Mountains.

Although the Council of Fifty never fully realized its goal of establishing the Kingdom of God as a separate nation in the Great Basin, it ceaselessly worked in that direction for as long as it seemed at all possible. When Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty organized the Exodus, they knew that the territory which they planned to colonize belonged to Mexico. In an epistle, circulated in the autumn of 1845, Young admonished the Saints that removal beyond the boundaries of the United States was a test of orthodoxy: "If the authorities of this church cannot abide in peace within the pale of this nation, neither can those who implicitly hearken to their wholesome counsel. A word to the wise is sufficient."[19] When the leaders of the Church finally learned of the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, however, there was nothing they could do, as Frederick Logan Paxson pointed out long ago, "but make the best of these facts and to seek from the United States the same sort of autonomy they had received from Illinois."[20]

As a matter of fact, the Council of Fifty tried to do better than that. Although Brigham Young apparently realized in 1847 that it was impossible to cut the political threads with the United States in the near future, he did his best to render those threads as thin and weak as possible. As a result, the Council of Fifty launched the State of Deseret at a time when it was in absolute political control of the Great Basin, so as to present the Federal Government with the accomplished fact of a Kingdom of God before the Gentiles could hamper its development. And even before the establishment of

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[17] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, VI, 222; James Emmett was instructed to establish a settlement at the Missouri River. Dale Morgan, ed., "The Reminiscences of James Holt: A Narrative of the Emmett Company," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (Jan. 1955), 7.

[18] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, VI, 275-77, 372.

[19] Ibid., VII, 478-9.

[20] Frederick Logan Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (New York, 1924), 349.

Deseret, the Council of Fifty observed at least a theoretical separation of church and state. As James Clark was the first to point out, the origins of Great Basin government can hardly be attributed to "well established precedents of frontier impatience and restlessness."[21] The fact is that the Mormons had migrated to the Rockies precisely for the purpose of setting up their own government, a government that was only incidentally an adaptation to frontier conditions. A commonly held opinion is that the State of Deseret was created because the United States had not yet provided a government for the region and because the presence of gold-seekers and other Gentiles required a civil magistrate.[22] This interpretation is incorrect. Had a government already existed in the area, the Mormons most likely would not have migrated there. On the other hand, even if gold-seekers and others had not come to the Great Basin, the Council of Fifty would still have set up a formal government, along precedents worked out by Joseph Smith in 1844.[23].

It was obvious, of course, that sooner or later the Saints had to supplement the State of Deseret with a governmental organization approved by Washington, if only to keep relations with the "states" as amicable as possible. Moreover, statehood need not necessarily have diminished the power of the Council of Fifty appreciably. The doctrine of States' Rights, which had worked to the detriment of the Saints in Missouri and Illinois, could be used to great advantage in maintaining a considerable degree of independence for the political Kingdom of God at a time when the Civil War amendments to the Constitution and their interpretation were still in the future. Had Deseret achieved statehood, the political control of the Council of Fifty probably would have continued with little outside interference. Utah Senator Frank Cannon's later assertion that the Mormons attempted to gain admission into the Union in order to escape its authority thus contains a kernel of truth.[24] That Deseret, in 1850, failed to be admitted as a state, however, was not a consequence of anti-Mormon sentiment in Congress, so evident in all later attempts. The sectional controversy worked just as effectively to frustrate

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[21] Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," p. 133. The Quotation is from Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire: The Exploration and Colonization of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1947), p. 313.

[22] Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, 1929), p. vii, and *The Founding of an Empire*, p. 312; Andrew L. Neff, *History of Utah, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 108.

[23] Brigham Young was always most emphatic that he was merely carrying out the plans of Joseph Smith in this respect. See *Journal of Discourses*, XVII (Aug. 9, 1874), 156; Journal History, January 19, 1863 (L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City).

[24] Frank J. Cannon and George L. Knapp, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York, 1913), p. 117.

Mormon hopes when the Southern bloc in Congress combined with Northern advocates of popular sovereignty to relegate the Mormon kingdom to territorial status under the Compromise of 1850.[25]

But even as a territory the Kingdom of God enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. Territorial Secretary Benjamin Ferris observed that from 1851 on "the laws of the United States have been *nominally* in operation," although in reality the Mormons governed themselves.[26] The Territorial Government ruled *de jure,* while the State of Deseret continued to be the real authority accepted by the Saints. When in 1855 Brigham Young could boldly announce that "The Kingdom of God is actually organized and the inhabitants of the earth do not know it,"[26] the context of the speech made it clear that he was not referring to the Church.[27] Only too soon, however, it became apparent that the Gentiles knew more about the Kingdom of God than the Mormons suspected. As a result, relations with the Federal Government deteriorated, culminating in the Utah War, 1857-58. When President James Buchanan sent an ill-starred expedition to Utah in 1857, it was as much to suppress an alleged Mormon rebellion as polygamy, although, as Richard Poll has pointed out, the Democrats were in dire need of stealing some of the thunder from the Republican "twin relics" platform of 1856 to prove to a reform-minded North that they, too, were against at least one relic of barbarism.[28]

To Brigham Young, the expedition meant something else. He announced publicly that perhaps the Lord was about to cut the thread between the Kingdom of God and the United States.[29] Privately, he wrote to Thomas L. Kane "that the time is not far distant when Utah shall be able to assume her rights and place among the family of nations."[30] This renewed enthusiasm for the Kingdom of God also affected the subalterns of the prophet. Thomas Tauner [Tanner?] of the Nauvoo Legion signed a letter to his commanding officer, Col. Ellerbeck, as "Captain of the Royal Artillery, Deseret."[31] Although the Lord, by allowing for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, indicated that He apparently did not want the thread cut at this time, Mormon leaders continued to prepare their Rocky Mountain empire for the day when they could permanently hoist the flag of the Kingdom.

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[25] Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-1856," p. 117.
[26] Banjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York, 1856), p. 167.
[27] *Journal of Discourses,* II (July 8, 1855), 310.
[28] Poll, "The Mormon Question . . . ," p. 131.
[29] Journal History, August 2, 1857.
[30] 1 September 1858, in Eberstadt, p. 111.
[31] Ibid., p. 106.

Three years later, these hopes seemed to be on the verge of realization, with the bombardment of Fort Sumter portending the fulfillment of Joseph Smith's prophecy that war, beginning in South Carolina, would envelope the earth and lead to the "full end of all nations."[32] Young taught that North and South would destroy each other, leaving the Kingdom of God to take over the reins of government of the United States.[33] As a result, the Council of Fifty vigilantly kept its organization intact for the time when the political Kingdom of God could send its accredited ambassadors abroad. In a special message to the legislature of the extra-legal state of Deseret in 1862, Brigham Young reminded its members, "This body of men will give laws to the nations of the earth . . . when the time comes, we shall be called the Kingdom of God . . . . Joseph Smith organized this government before, in Nauvoo, and he said if we did our duty, we should prevail over all our enemies. We should get all things ready, and when the time comes, we should let the water on the wheel and start the machine in motion."[34] But the time never came. In vain the Saints kept waiting for the finger of the Lord to lift the yoke of oppression from their shoulders and raise His chosen people to nationhood. Disappointment and frustration thus played an important part in the metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God.

Nevertheless, a Mormon nationalism of such profound intensity would not die overnight, especially in view of its strong theological and philosophical roots. This is a point that cannot be emphasized enough. For it may be possible to argue that the Mormons developed an incipient nationality primarily as the result of enforced unity and physical isolation on the frontier — an inevitable consequence of certain environmental and sociological phenomena. That this influence existed cannot be denied. Park and Burgess, those eminent American sociologists, called attention to it over forty years ago:

> Once the sect has achieved territorial isolation and territorial solidarity, so that it is the dominant power within the region that it occupies, it is able to control the civil organization, establish schools and a press, and so put the impress of a peculiar culture upon all the civil and political institutions it controls. In this case it tends to assume the form of a state, and become a nationality. Something approaching this was achieved by the Mormons in Utah.[35]

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[32] Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87.

[33] Diary of Charles Walker, April 28, 1861 (Utah State Historical Society).

[34] Journal History, Jan. 19, 1863. The best account of the Mormons in the Civil War is Gustive O. Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXXIII (Winter 1965), 55-77.

[35] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, 1921), pp. 872-73, as quoted in Thomas F. O'Dea, "Mormonism and the Avoidance

This influence, however, was only secondary. The primary source of Mormon nationalism in the Great Basin was intellectual and must be traced to the theology and political philosophy of Joseph Smith as it had originated in the Burned-over District and matured in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.[36] That the Rocky Mountain frontier placed its own indelible environmental stamp on this form of nationalism seems self-evident. Thus, although the concept of Mormon nationalism was not the product of the Great Basin environment, that environment encouraged the practice of such theories. It was, of course, precisely for this reason that Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty sought out their Rocky Mountain refuge. But regardless of any environmental influences, Mormon leaders had internal — i.e. theological — motivations for establishing the Kingdom of God, motivations that would have appeared in some form no matter where they had settled.

The same internal motivation resulted in Mormon political unity and a highly centralized control of all political activities. It is frequently claimed that this political cohesion, and the lack of pluralism, were primarily a response to persecution. In the absence of conflict, so the argument runs, Mormon institutions would have been as democratic as those of the United States itself. The disappearance of the Mormon People's Party after the Manifesto, to the subsequent dissolution of the anti-Mormon Liberal Party in 1893, and the alignment of Utah along national party lines are sometimes cited as proof of the validity of this point of view.[37] This explanation, however, is too simple, involving the old *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy. An examination of the political theory of the Kingdom of God reveals that persecution or no persecution, the Saints were committed to political unity.[38]

The practical results of such a philosophy, to the Gentiles at any rate, seemed singularly un-American. When William H. Hooper, a member of the Council of Fifty, "campaigned" for the seat of Territorial Delegate to Congress in 1856, Apostle George A. Smith, who

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of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality, *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (Nov., 1954), 293. O'Dea's article is one of the most stimulating on this complex problem.

[36] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, 1950), pp. 138-50.

[37] See, for example, Therald N. Jensen, "Mormon Theory of Church and State" (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938), pp. 82-95.

[38] For representative selections of the political thought of Mormon leaders on this question, see Heber C. Kimball, *Journal of Discourses*, VI (Dec. 13, 1857), 129; *Millennial Star*, V (March, 1845), 150; Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (Liverpool, 1855), p. 70; Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, V, 61; John Taylor, *Journal of Discourses*, VII (Oct. 7, 1859), 326.

accompanied the aspirant on his election campaign, informed the Saints of Mount Pleasant, "What we do we should do as one man. Our system should be Theo-Democracy, — the voice of the people consenting to the voice of God."[39] Needless to say, Hooper was "elected." As long as the Council of Fifty controlled politics, Mormon elections were hardly anything more than a "sustaining" of the official candidates. If, however, on rare occasions the people might actually nominate a candidate not approved by the hierarchy, "counsel" by the leaders usually sufficed to bring about the desired results. Hosea Stout, for example, recorded in his diary that on August 2, 1855, he went to Davis County in order to persuade the people to withdraw the name of a popular bishop, Anson Call, for nomination for the impending election to the Legislature and place John D. Parker in his stead. The change was apparently made without much protest. But what Stout did not record, and what the people of Davis County apparently did not know, was that Parker belonged to the Council of Fifty, having been called by none other than Joseph Smith.[40]

In the light of these ideas and practices it appears that the transformation of the idea of the Kingdom of God from a political to a purely ecclesiastical concept and the cessation of centralized control over Mormon politics by the hierarchy involved a penetrating and painful intellectual transformation of assumptions that were basic to the very fiber of the social and political systems of the Kingdom of God. What were the causes for this metamorphosis? They may be classified, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, into four categories: (1) persecution; (2) the decline of millennialism; (3) the inherent American patriotism of the Saints; (4) the fact that the Kingdom of God had fulfilled important functions and outlived its usefulness.

The promotion of the political Kingdom of God by Mormon leaders was one of the major reasons why the Saints were driven so relentlessly for over half a century. Although this point must have been obvious to Wilford Woodruff, it is quite evident that he believed that cessation of polygamy would end or at least diminish the reforming zeal of those crusading for monogamy, thus depriving the political enemies of Mormonism of indispensable support for their crusade against the Kingdom of God. The Manifesto, clearly, was primarily a tactical maneuver to save not only the Church but if pos-

[39] Journal History, July 12, 1865.

[40] Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout* (2 vols., Salt Lake City, 1964), II, 559. Parker was initiated into the Council of Fifty on March 19, 1844; see Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, VI, 267.

sible the political Kingdom as well. The preservation of the Church alone, as a religious institution, would have made the restitution of polygamy impossible — as demonstrated, indeed, by the history of Mormonism since 1890. But if the Kingdom of God could have been preserved, it might have been possible to continue polygamy once the Gentile onslaught had spent itself.

With the advantage of hindsight, this argument may appear as a mere begging of the question. But to Woodruff, continuation of the political Kingdom of God seems to have been a real alternative. True, in 1889 the First Presidency publicly declared "that this Church does not claim to be an independent, temporal kingdom of God, or to be an *imperium in imperio* aiming to overthrow the United States or any other civil government" and once again affirmed its traditional public position that "Church government and civil government are distinct and separate in our theory and practice, . . . "[41] To those who understood the political theory of the Kingdom of God, however, this declaration was in complete harmony with the one issued four years later, at the completion of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893, by a convocation of 115 select church leaders, who unanimously affirmed that "the Presidency of the Church are set to govern and control the affairs of the Church and Kingdom of God . . . that upon their shoulders rests the responsibility of teaching, governing, controlling and counselling the Church and Kingdom of God in *all* things on the earth."[42]

Perhaps Woodruff was merely clutching at straws in a desperate attempt to evade the inevitable. But he was not the only one who attempted to keep alive the belief that the Kingdom of God, and with it the Church, would be delivered from the enemy in the near future. In 1900, Woodruff's successor, Lorenzo Snow, affirmed at a special priesthood meeting in the Salt Lake Temple that "there are many here now under the sound of my voice, probably a majority, who will live to go back to Jackson County and assist in building that temple."[43]

By making polygamy the major issue, the church leaders could always maintain that the persecution of the Saints was of a *religious* nature, involving a violation of their constitutional rights. The

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[41] *Official Declaration* (Salt Lake City, Dec. 12, 1889).

[42] Diary of L. John Nuttall, April 19, 1893 (Brigham Young University Library). Frank Cannon, moreover, insisted that he had heard Woodruff remark "that it was the right of the priesthood of God to rule in all things on earth, and that they had in no wise relinquished any of their authority." Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston, 1911), p. 153.

[43] John Mills Whitaker, Journal No. 5, October 16, 1887 (University of Utah Library).

enemies of Mormonism, of course, also knew their constitution. Thus, John Hyde insisted that "as a religion, Mormonism cannot be meddled with; as a civil policy it may."[44] Frederick T. Dubois of Idaho, prominent leader in the anti-Mormon crusade, showed that the major motivations behind the attack on polygamy were political:

> Those of us who understood the situation were not nearly as much opposed to polygamy as we were to the political domination of the Church. We realized, however, that we could not make those who did not come actually in contact with it, understand what this political domination meant. We made use of polygamy in consequence as our great weapon of offense and to gain recruits to our standard. There was a universal detestation of polygamy, and inasmuch as the Mormons openly defended it we were given a very effective weapon with which to attack.[45]

"As the Mormons openly defended it"; this is the clue. To the frustration of the Gentiles, the Saints always denied the allegations pertaining to the political kingdom. And they could do this most effectively without being technically untruthful, for as mentioned above, according to the Mormon principle of separation of church and state, the political Kingdom of God was not a church organization. Thus, the Mormon leaders could keep their enemies quite effectively in the dark. The Gentiles, of course, sensed this, without being able to support their charges with sufficient evidence. When, and if, the full story of the role of the Kingdom of God in the anti-polygamy crusade is revealed, the verdict of future historians might well be that in 1890 the Saints merely lost a battle, being as yet undefeated in the war. The enemies of Mormonism apparently realized this; the continued altercations with the Saints for at least another twenty years, at any rate, seem to indicate that the Gentiles were less than satisfied with their "victory" in 1890. The Mormon leaders, all the while, continued their tactics of deflecting the renewed onslaught on the Kingdom. In the Smoot hearings, for example, Dubois charged that the Mormons were attempting to cloud the real issues (i.e., relationship of church and state in Mormon dominated areas) by "trying to force the protestants to issues which they themselves have never raised" (i.e., polygamy).[46] Thus, Dubois's tactics had

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[44] John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), pp. 307-8.

[45] Autobiography of Frederick T. Dubois, MS, p. 29 (Idaho Historical Society), as quoted in Grenville H. Gibbs, "Mormonism in Idaho Politics, 1880-1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1953), 291.

[46] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (4 vols., Washington, 1904-7), I, 126; see also Cannon and O'Higgins, pp. 34-6, 115. Homer Durham's observation that "any purposeful internal direction of the political power inhering in the church may be said

ironically backfired, providing the Saints with subtle means for defending the Kingdom. If these Mormon defense measures were partially successful, internal reasons may have been as important as external ones for the metamorphosis of the Kingdom.

Millennialism is perhaps the most obvious example. The Mormon Church can of course honestly assert that no transformation in doctrine has occurred. But the perpetuation of doctrinal theories does not preclude a fundamental intellectual transformation. To this day, orthodox Latter-day Saints believe that Christ will return and that in time all earthly governments but that of the Kingdom of God will disappear. Nevertheless, not many Mormons at the present time have organized their lives in such a manner that at practically any moment they can prepare themselves for and welcome this event as a literal occurrence. Not that nineteenth century Saints could always say that of themselves. But they experienced definite and sustained periods of profound expectation. As the years wore on, however, without deliverance in sight, a certain spirit of resignation spread among the faithful. True, some Mormons believed that the Edmunds Act was a harbinger of the Millennium, and in 1890 there was a widespread belief among church members that Joseph Smith's prediction of 1835, that fifty-six years would "wind up the scene," would be fulfilled.[47] But such enthusiasm was short-lived. In 1903, Patriarch Benjamin F. Johnson, an original member of the Council of Fifty, could not conceal his disappointment when he remarked that "we were over seventy years ago taught by our leaders to believe that the coming of Christ and the millennial reign was much nearer than we believe it to be now."[48] Johnson's belief seems to have been shared by the majority of the Mormons. By projecting the certain and inevitable return of Christ to an undetermined future date, the Saints had removed a major motivation for building the political Kingdom. Not even the optimistic pronouncements of a Lorenzo Snow could prevent this decline of millennial expectations.

Possibly of even greater significance for the transformation of the Kingdom was the basic American patriotism of the majority of the

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to have ceased with the dissolution of the People's Party, June 10, 1890," will thus bear revision: "A Political Interpretation of Mormon History," p. 148. Frank Jonas, who shared with a whole generation of Mormon historians the belief that the political struggle ended in 1890, has recently revised his former opinion, pointing out that "actually the transition from the turbulence of the territorial period to the relative quiet of later years was not easy": "Utah: Crossroads of the West," *Western Politics* (Salt Lake City, 1961), p. 274.

[47] Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, II, 182; *Millennial Star*, LII (Oct. 1890), 675-76.

[48] Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, April-October, 1903, MS, p. 18 (Brigham Young University Library).

Saints. This statement may appear to contradict implications of Mormon disloyalty to the government of the United States inherent in the separatist nationalism of the Kingdom of God. To the Gentiles, of course, the disloyalty of the Saints was merely axiomatic. And they could marshal enough evidence to prove to their own satisfaction that the Mormon protestations to the contrary were either untruthful or patently absurd. The Saints, on the other hand, pointed out that loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was a basic element of their faith.[49]

But how could such allegiance be reconciled with kingdom building? A circular letter which church leaders addressed to the world in 1846 reveals one attempted solution: "Our patriotism has not been overcome by fire, by sword, by daylight or midnight assassinations which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the *institutions* of our country."[50] Brigham Young, in cruder fashion, elaborated on this concept by drawing a distinction between the Constitution and the "damned rascals who administer the government."[51]

The intellectual position of the leaders of the Kingdom of God was nevertheless fraught with difficulties. The Gentiles clearly would not accept it. Judge Thomas J. Anderson, for example, had this to say: "Will men become attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States when they hear the government constantly denounced as tyrannical and oppressive? It would be as unreasonable to expect to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles."[52] What Anderson of course failed to understand was that men do not always think and do what appears reasonable to others. One of the major problems was that Mormons and Gentiles were using the same words in totally different contexts and with conflicting connotation. Moreover, equally authentic democratic and patriotic motives inspiring the Mormons existed side by side with the separatist tendencies that found expression in the political Kingdom of God.

As Thomas O'Dea has pointed out, these conflicting concepts could coexist because "the Mormons never worked out consistently the political implications of their religious philosophy."[53] But sooner

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[49] Doctrine and Covenants, 101:76-80; Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, III, 304.

[50] Quoted in Dale Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake* (New York, 1947), p. 223.

[51] Journal History, September 8, 1851, p. 4. For a brief discussion of this problem see Franklin D. Daines, "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917* (Washington, 1920).

[52] Quoted in M. W. Montgomery, *The Mormon Delusion* (Minneapolis, 1890), p. 310.

[53] O'Dea, *The Mormons*, p. 171.

or later there came a point in the lives of most Saints when they had to decide which loyalty took precedent. John D. Lee presents a moving illustration of this conflict in a journal entry made in 1851, while on his way to southern Utah as a member of the Iron County Mission. Among the colonists was a large group of converts from the British Isles who accused Lee of "causing national feelings by speaking of great battles that had been fought by the Americans." Vowed Lee, "I hope never again to excite that kind of National Feelings. All governments on earth but one are corrupt & that is the government of God that is my National Interest."[54] As a member of the Council of Fifty, Lee, of course, knew more about this "National Interest" than those who were traveling with him.

As Mormon isolation decreased after Civil War, however, a younger generation, which had experienced the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois and the hardships of the Exodus only vicariously, had little use for this national interest and exerted pressure upon the Kingdom to identify with the mainstream of American life.[55] The first important manifestation of internal discontent with separatism was the Godbeite movement. Although the chief demand of the insurgents was the cessation of economic isolation, these men also wanted a closer identification of Mormonism with the United States, both politically and culturally. Several years after his excommunication, Edward W. Tullidge, for instance, insisted that the idea of a separatist political Kingdom of God was in fact a distortion of what he conceived to be the true meaning and purpose of Mormonism. Rather, he affirmed, it was the divine mission of the Church "to give a more glorious destiny to the American nation itself."[56] Young, understandably, had the heretics excommunicated, primarily on the grounds that they refused to acknowledge the prophet's right to dictate to them "in all things temporal and spiritual."[57]

It is an ironic commentary on social and intellectual change that the liberalism of the Godbeites has become the conservatism of twentieth-century Mormonism, a change vividly illustrated by the

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[54] John D. Lee, "Journal of the Iron County Mission," ed. Gustive O. Larson, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX (July 1952), 260.

[55] This seems to contradict what I have said previously. It should be remembered, however, that the doctrinally determined, inherent separatist tendencies of Mormon nationalism inevitably came in conflict with the patriotic sentiments of the average Saint. Persecution thus served as an effective propaganda foil enabling Mormon leaders to keep the Saints unified. See also O'Dea, "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality."

[56] *Tullidge's Histories* (Salt Lake City, 1889), p. 154.

[57] Edward W. Tullidge, "The Godbeite Movement," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, I (Oct. 1880), 32.

testimony of the church leaders in the Smoot hearings. When in 1903 a powerful group of Senators protested against seating Reed Smoot, Senator from Utah, on the grounds that he was a member of a hierarchy controlling political affairs in Utah in violation of agreements presumably made in 1890 and that his election ignored the principle of separation of church and state, most of the Mormon leaders, Church President Joseph F. Smith among them, were subpoenaed by the committee. In a particularly significant statement that would have startled Brigham Young considerably, Smith testified, "Our people are given the largest possible latitude for their convictions, and if a man rejects a message that I may give him but is still moral and believes in the main principles of the gospel and desires to continue his membership in the church, he is permitted to remain and he is not unchurched."[58] This statement, of course, was an affirmation of future intention rather than past practice.

The political Kingdom of God, understandably, received considerable attention at these hearings, with the writings of Orson Pratt coming under particularly close scrutiny. These no self-respecting critic of Mormonism could ignore, particularly not the famous assertion that:

> The Kingdom of God . . . . is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized. God, having made all beings and worlds, has the supreme right to govern them by His own laws, and by officers of His own appointment. Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointment, are in direct rebellion against the Kingdom of God.[59]

Perhaps no other statement by a Mormon leader gained as much notoriety in anti-Mormon literature. The task of refuting Pratt before the committee fell to Apostle James E. Talmage, whom the Church had appointed to digest the massive testimony of its witnesses and iron out any contradictions. Talmage attempted to demolish Pratt's statement by drawing support from a remark by Brigham Young, who had once dismissed Pratt's "vain philosophy" as being "no guide for Latter-day Saints."[60] What Talmage did not reveal to the committee was that Young had levelled the charge in a totally different context and that the Mormon leader shared Pratt's views regarding the Kingdom of God.[61]

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[58] *Smoot Proceedings*, I, 97-8; an excellent introduction to Smoot in a broader context is Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Utah Politician* (Logan, Utah, 1953).

[59] Orson Pratt, *The Kingdom of God* (Liverpool, 1851), p. 1.

[60] Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, August 23, 1854.

[61] Especially revealing is a note by Brigham H. Roberts in the James E. Talmage Papers (Brigham Young University Archives), which is a request for information that would min-

Talmage's approach, however, was the only realistic one, especially since church leaders in the past had defended the Kingdom against the Gentiles only by pointing out that church and state were separate in Mormondom and that the charge of church control of politics was a distortion because in a Mormon community the political leaders inevitably belonged to the Church.[62] The Mormon leaders obviously could not publicly reverse their stand on a doctrine as fundamental as that of the political Kingdom of God, especially since they had always denied its existence to the Gentiles. Hence church leaders could only continue to affirm that a political Kingdom of God was in no way part of the Mormon dream. The hierarchy could exorcise the separatist tendencies of Mormonism only by insisting that they had never existed. The intellectual transformation of Mormonism could best be accomplished under the pretense that it was not going on.

Because Gentile accusations frequently distorted Mormon aims, and because the enemies of Mormonism were unaware of the distinction between church and kingdom, church leaders could quite effectively bury the political Kingdom of God by taking refuge behind semantics without being technically guilty of untruthfulness. Even before Talmage took the stand, the First Presidency had published an article in the 1903 Christmas edition of the *Deseret News* reiterating its public stand on the Kingdom of God. The Mormon organization, the article affirmed, "does not attempt to exercise the powers of a secular government, but its influence and effects are to strengthen and promote fidelity to the law and loyalty to the nation where its followers reside. The phrase 'church and kingdom' . . . [denotes] solely an ecclesiastical organization. It is separate and distinct from the state."[63]

The Presidency could not have chosen its words more carefully. The word *kingdom,* as used in this context, had always been synonymous with *church* in Mormon usage. Any mention of the *political* Kingdom of God was of course scrupulously avoided, although, ironically, the avowed purpose of the Church "to strengthen and promote fidelity to the law and loyalty to the nation where its followers reside" was applicable to the political Kingdom of God as well. The Mormon leaders must have known that this statement —

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imize the temporal and political aspects of the Kingdom of God: "The above references are wanted to aid Brother Talmage in forming testimony to be given before the Senate Investigating Committee." See also *Smoot Proceedings,* III, 25.

[62] For Talmage's testimony, see *Smoot Proceedings,* III, 35-38.

[63] December 19, 1903.

introduced by Talmage as evidence for the defense in the Smoot hearings and reminiscent of the one issued shortly after the Manifesto, as well as foreshadowing the official declaration of the Church regarding relations of church and state published in 1907 — could be interpreted by the Gentiles as a Mormon concession; yet to those who understood the true purposes of the political Kingdom, it was nothing of the kind. In fact, the statement could be viewed as a subtle statement of defense in behalf of the Kingdom. It was, of course, a supreme paradox that the Mormon leaders could apply a theoretical separation of church and state to the very purpose of preventing such a division.

Nevertheless, although the Saints regarded Smoot's vindication as a victory for their side, the church leaders would not have been able to survive many such victories. For with each new controversy the survival of the political Kingdom depended increasingly on a private interpretation of words. As time went on, it became more and more apparent that the Kingdom could not live by semantics alone, especially when it was being deserted by its own citizens.

Led by a vocal minority of intellectuals in the Godbeite tradition, a new generation of Mormons began to identify with the mainstream of American culture. Frank Cannon, later to become a notorious enemy of his own people, illustrated through a description of his patriotic feelings sentiments that were most likely shared by many young Mormons. During a stay in Washington some time before the Manifesto, he remarked, "I wonder whether another American ever saw that city with such eyes of envy, of aspiration, of wistful pride, of daunted admiration. Here were all the consecrations of a nation's memories, and they thrilled me, even while they pierced me with the sense that I was not, and might well despair of ever being, a citizen of their glory."[64]

On a more intellectual level, Nels L. Nelson, professor of English at Brigham Young University, attempted to show in his *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*[65] how much Joseph Smith had anticipated the thought of Charles Darwin, John Fiske, T. H. Huxley, and Herbert Spencer. Nelson was looking for evidence to demonstrate that Mormonism was in the mainstream of Western thought and culture and in the forefront of those forces that were pushing America ever onward and upward in a cosmic process of scientific and moral evolution; he was satisfied that he had found this evidence in abundance.

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[64] Cannon and O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah*, p. 66.

[65] (New York, 1904).

Even more important in this enterprise was the work of the historian. Liberal students of Mormon history, for example, insisted that the separatist tendencies of Mormonism had existed only as a figment of the imagination of the enemies of the Church. To these writers the Turner thesis provided a ready-made vehicle for the Americanization of Mormon history. In fact, these scholars probably would have invented Frederick Jackson Turner had he not existed, so readily did they apply the frontier hypothesis to the Mormon past. By portraying the Saints as typical frontiersmen, they created the impression that Great Basin social and political institutions, from their inception, reflected the values of American democracy. Whatever departures had occurred from the main currents of American thought and behavior were mere back eddies, explainable as temporary but necessary responses to a hostile environment. Once the Mormon pioneers had conquered this environment, the true American character of the pioneers, both socially and politically, would reveal itself. These historians had thus employed one of the most time-honored uses of history — that of reading the present into the past in order to reshape the future along ways parting from the old — to the reconstruction of the Mormon past.[66]

Yet all these efforts might have failed had it not been for the fact that Mormon nationalism had outlived its usefulness. The idealistic conception of a temporal Kingdom of God that would dominate the world could comprise a powerful motivating force for a society of farmers and artisans to carve an inland empire out of a hostile environment and thus provide a physical basis of survival for Mormonism. In fact, the positive leadership of the Council of Fifty may well have been one of the primary reasons why Mormonism, unlike most sects originating in the early half of the nineteenth century, not only survived but continued to thrive. Yet, having success-

[66] Some representative Mormon works in this tradition are Creer, *Utah and the Nation* and *The Founding of an Empire*, Milton R. Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Salt Lake City, 1943); Neff, *History of Utah;* and Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah* (New York, 1923). Of considerable interest is a letter of Neff to George H. Brimhall, president of Brigham Young University, April 1, 1906 (Brimhall Papers, Brigham Young University Archives): "To my mind the greatest fact in American history is the spread of settlement from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific ocean. And I hope to ascertain the relative part of the Mormons in blazing the trail and opening up of the continent to settlement." Others following this same interpretation are Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1949) pp. 532 ff.; Dean D. McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith" (doctoral dissertation, George Washington University, 1929); and Thomas Weldon, "The Turner Thesis and the Mormon Frontier" (master's thesis, Stetson University, 1964). Two carefully reasoned studies refuting the concept of Mormonism as a frontier religion are Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District,* pp. 138-50; and S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1950), pp. 327-42.

fully accomplished its important mission of establishing a home for the Saints, the Council of Fifty may have found it difficult to employ the millennialistic vision of a world empire as the justification for the more mundane direction of everyday Mormon endeavors, especially in view of the onslaught of a hostile world that attempted to crush this empire, partly in response to the ideas and activities of the very organization that had created it.[67]

Several years ago, the founder and leader of the Theocratic Party, Homer A. Tomlinson, appeared on the campus of Princeton University to campaign for his election to the Presidency of the United States in preparation for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in America, with himself as king and president. Tomlinson proclaimed his doctrines to a cheering crowd of 1,500 undergraduates. After the speech, they mockingly paraded him around the campus. His picture, in jest, appeared on the front page of the *Daily Princetonian* the following day.[68]

The Mormon kingdom of God was spared such a fate — a fate far worse than persecution — because at one of the most crucial periods of its history it had responded to the values of twentieth-century American culture, at the same time preserving much of its identity. And yet, paradoxically, without the existence and the activities of the Council of Fifty, which contributed much to the building of the Great Basin Kingdom, Mormonism might well have failed to enjoy its present stature and prestige within the framework of accepted American religious values and persuasions.

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[67] Several of my colleagues, after reading the manuscript, have suggested that I have overemphasized the role and importance of the Council of Fifty at the expense of other church organizations. This is a distinct possibility, particularly since much of our knowledge about this organization is based on circumstantial evidence. Moreover, it may be difficult to decide in a particular instance whether Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders acted in their ecclesiastical capacities or as members of the Council of Fifty. And even if the two functions can be separated, such knowledge may not always prove very enlightening. Frank Jonas, for example, reports in "Utah: Crossroads of the West," p. 273, that "Former United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas (Utah, 1933-51) used to relate that Brigham Young, with the traditional American concept of separation of church and state strongly in mind, sat on one side of his desk in the morning, when he did state businesss, and then moved his chair to the other side, when he did church work in the afternoon." And yet, in the light of this very theory of separation of church and state, there can be no question that Mormon leaders, when performing political functions, acted in their authority as members of the Council of Fifty.

[68] December 2, 1960.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

GENTLEMEN--The undersigned residents of the Territory of Utah, of all parties, creeds and opinions, hereby petition your honorable body and respectfully ask that you will not enact either of the bills which have been recently introduced for the purpose of disfranchising the majority of the voting citizens of this Territory because of their membership in an unorthodox religious organization.

We consider such legislation a dangerous innovation upon the liberties for which the founders of this nation struggled and bled; that it would be inimical to the material interests of the Territory; that it would accomplish no practical purpose except the establishment of minority rule, for the benefit of a comparatively small class of the community, and that composed of elements which would not be truly representative of the better portions of any party or society; that it would create division between persons of different views who have become united in public and private business relations, and that it would be harsh, unjust and impolitic, in that it would virtually punish those who have not broken the law, with the same political penalties as have been framed against those who are charged with having violated the law.

For these and other reasons we earnestly protest against the passage of the proposed Utah bills, and ask that further action upon them be indefinitely postponed.

And your memorialists will ever pray, etc.

_____ City (or Town) _____ County, Utah, May, 1890.

Total No Names

Arizona	2080
Colorado	542
Idaho	5958
Nevada	113
New Mexico	31
Utah	43506
Wyoming	643

Grand Total 52,872 Names

FOUR WIVES.

FEDERAL AUTHORITY VERSUS POLYGAMIC THEOCRACY

JAMES B. McKEAN AND THE MORMONS 1870-1875

by Thomas G. Alexander

During the late 1860's and early 1870's, Utah was no place for a Gentile. What one historian has called a "full-blown boycott" had developed against non-Mormon businesses by the end of 1868. The local and territorial government was, by any measure, a theocracy, and only because Utah was a territory did anyone other than representatives of the Mormon People's Party have any part in the government.[1] Nevertheless, Gentiles, especially miners, merchants, and lawyers, came to Utah; and, principally owing to the economic opportunities in the territory, many stayed to make permanent homes. Of those jurists who came to Zion, none has been more criticized than Chief Justice James B. McKean.

McKean was born in Bennington, Vermont, on August 5, 1821.[2] His father, a Methodist clergyman, took the family to Half Moon, Saratoga County, New York, where McKean attended elementary school and worked on the family farm. The young man attended Jonesville Academy, where he was later appointed to the faculty. At the age of twenty-five he left the teaching profession to read law. After his admission to the bar, he moved to Ballston Spa, then to Saratoga where he married Kate Hay. McKean rose in the ranks of the bar in Saratoga and in 1856 he was elected county judge. A leader in the local Republican organization after its formation, he was elected to Congress in 1858. He remained until November, 1861, when he resigned to accept a commission as Colonel in the Seventy-seventh New York Volunteers. He served for twenty months, distinguishing himself in the Peninsular Campaign, until typhoid

forced him to resign. For six years thereafter he remained in Saratoga; then in 1869 he moved to New York City where he formed a successful law partnership. In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant, without McKean's solicitation, allegedly on the recommendation of Reverend John P. Newman of Washington, appointed the jurist to the post of Chief Justice of Utah. Grant wanted to enforce the federal laws, particularly the Morrill Anti-bigamy Act of 1862 which had heretofore been a dead letter.

INITIAL CONFLICT

Almost as soon as Judge McKean arrived in Salt Lake City, the seat of the Third District Court and traditional bailiwick of the chief justice, he found himself involved in a conflict between the federal government and territorial officials over the relative areas of their jurisdiction. Such issues as the jurisdiction of the territorial marshal and attorney, the extent of the power of the locally controlled probate courts, and the right of the governor to nominate territorial officials formed the crux of the Mormon-Gentile conflict.[8]

In the fall of 1870, shortly after he took the bench, McKean and his fellow judges ruled that the territorial courts were United States district courts. Consequently, from then until April, 1872, the United States marshal empaneled juries by open venire. In a decision which was possibly the biggest blot on McKean's career, the United States Supreme Court overruled him by decreeing that the courts were merely legislative courts of the territory created by federal statute and thus subject to territorial law. The case involved a

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[1] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 294; *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* XXVI (1876), 744-46 and *Journal of Discourses,* ed. George D. Watt (26 vols., Liverpool, 1854-86), VI, 342, both cited in Klaus J. Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History, 1829-1890" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), pp. 49 and 52; Shaffer to Cullom, April 27, 1870, cited in Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1942), p. 266.

[2] The sketch of McKean's early life is based upon *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* (hereafter cited as *Tribune*), January 7, 1879; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), II, 541-43; and Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict* (1862-1890) (Washington, 1941), p. 74.

[3] For a discussion of the problems see Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States,* 1861-1890 (Philadelphia, 1947), pp. 56-57; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century One* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), V; Whitney, II; Clair T. Kilts, "A History of the Federal and Territorial Court Conflicts in Utah, 1851-1874" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959); and Thomas G. Alexander, "The Utah Federal Courts and the Areas of Conflict, 1850-1896" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 1961).

judgment of $59,063.25 against Alderman and Justice of the Peace Jeter Clinton for the abatement of a saloon in Salt Lake City which refused to pay a city liquor license tax that it considered exorbitant. The federal decision in *Clinton* v. *Englebrecht* provided the legal basis for throwing out 130 indictments found by grand juries drawn in accordance with the practice in United States courts rather than the territorial statutes. This solved nothing, however, because the disputes over the appointment of the territorial marshall tied the hands of the court; the courts became little more than boards of arbitration, and by June, 1874, a backlog of ninety-five cases had built up in Third District Court.[4]

McKean and other Gentiles believed that the Mormons were afraid to allow trials of their brethren accused of murder and other crimes before impartial juries. The judge wrote to U. S. Attorney General George H. Williams in the fall of 1873 complaining that he could neither convict the guilty nor protect the innocent and that Utah had become a "theocratic state, under the vice regency of Brigham Young." President Grant called for legislation in his December, 1873, message, and twenty-six members of the Salt Lake City bar petitioned Congress in March, 1874. It is clear that the majority of Congressmen agreed that new legislation was needed. The Poland Act, which passed in June, 1874, abolished the offices of territorial marshal and attorney, vested the power to draw jury rolls in the clerk of the district court and judge of the probate court, and eliminated civil and criminal jurisdiction from the probate courts.[5]

VARIOUS MINOR DIFFICULTIES

Though the Poland Act cleared up the major issue of the relative jurisdiction of federal courts, a number of minor issues of conflict between the Mormons and Gentiles had so muddied the waters of Utah federal-territorial relationships that they were not very clear for many years.

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[4] *Clinton* v. *Englebrecht*, 80 U. S. 434, 1872; Hawley to Williams, November 9, 1872, and McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, "Department of Justice Selected Documents from the Appointment Clerk Files Relating to Utah Judges," Vol. I (Microcopy of documents in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., in the Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as Mf.1); *Tribune*, September 2 and October 5, 1870, October 5, 1871, April 25 and 26, 1872, April 3 and 7, October 22, 23, and 29, and December 10, 1873, and January 3 and 8, February 1, 6, 7, and 12, May 8, June 30, July 23 and 24, and December 19, 1874.

[5] Jacob S. Boreman, "Crusade Against Theocracy: the Reminiscences of Judge Jacob Smith Boreman of Utah, 1872-1877," ed. Leonard J. Arrington, reprinted from *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXIV (November, 1960), 30; *Tribune*, April 16, 1872, December 3, 1873, and March 8, 1874; McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, Mf. 1; Whitney, II, 737; *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 4466-75; 18 *Statutes at Large*, 253.

One source of conflict between McKean and the Mormons was the judge's ruling on naturalization of aliens. On October 6, 1870, two Mormons applied for citizenship. McKean questioned them on their belief in plural marriage and asked whether they considered the Anti-bigamy Act of 1862 binding on them. One told the chief justice that he believed he should obey the laws of God rather than the laws of man. McKean denied their petitions on the ground that they were not of good moral character. The Mormons considered this an infringement of their religious liberty.[6] Some Gentiles took the position that it was McKean's right to assure himself of the good moral character of the applicants and their willingness to obey the law.

To McKean this was not a matter of religion:

> In this country a man may adopt any religion that he pleases, or reject all religion if he pleases. But no man must violate our laws and plead religion as an excuse; and no alien should be made a citizen who will not promise to obey the laws. Let natives and aliens distinctly understand that in this country, license is not liberty, and crime is not religion.[7]

Mormon historians have since alleged that McKean meant to imply in this and subsequent decisions that "No Mormon need apply" for naturalization. He did, however, naturalize former polygamists and practicing Mormons who promised to obey the law.[8]

Another area of contention was the political control which the Mormons exercised over the counties of Utah. By the August, 1874, elections the Gentile population of the mining districts of Tooele County had grown sufficiently that non-Mormons were ready to challenge Mormon supremacy. On the face of the returns, the Gentiles won by an average of 200 votes in 2,200 cast. The county clerk, a Mormon, certified the results of the territorial secretary, and Governor Woods issued commissions to the Gentiles. After considerable legal battling over control of the records, the Gentiles retained the offices.[9]

The Mormons claimed that great numbers of Gentile votes were fraudulent. The *Tribune* challenged them to prove the allegations in court. A number of Mormon aliens who had voted on first papers

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[6] Whitney, II, 558; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City weekly hereafter cited as DN), October 19 and 26, 1870.

[7] *Tribune,* October 15, 1870.

[8] Roberts, V, 388; *Tribune,* July 11, 1871, October 24, 1872, December 18 and 24, 1873, September 10, August 2, 17, and 18, October 8, and November 21, 1874.

[9] Whitney, II, 749-751; *Tribune,* August 23, 25, and 29, September 4, 9, 12, 13, and 15, 1874; *Brown v. Atkin,* 1 Hagan (Utah), 267, 1874.

or on naturalizations performed by probate courts and a Tooele election judge were convicted and given token fines. The county court tally showed that both Gentiles and Mormons had voted illegally, but apparently no Gentiles were convicted despite the fact that both Mormons and Gentiles then sat on both the grand and petit juries.[10]

THE COURT AND POLYGAMY

If political controversy was important in Utah, social conflict was equally significant and a major issue was the practice of polygamy. Though the Anti-bigamy Act of 1862 had made the practice illegal, U. S. Attorneys were generally unwilling to bring such cases to trial. They feared they could not obtain convictions because, as one argued, "It was necessary to prove both the first and plural marriages." It was virtually impossible to prove the latter because the territory had no legislation on marriage and they were secret ceremonies performed in the Endowment House.[11]

In October, 1871, under McKean's rulings, Mormons who said that they did not believe a man who lived with more than one wife guilty of adultery were excluded from a grand jury empaneled on open venire. The jury found indictments under territorial statutes against Church leaders Brigham Young, George Q. Cannon, and Daniel H. Wells, and also apostate Henry W. Lawrence, for lewd and lascivious cohabitation and adultery.[12]

The Mormons decried Lawrence's arrest as a blind designed for effect. It seems probable, however, that McKean and the other officials simply wanted to show that their actions did not involve the religion of the Latter-day Saints but were designed to secure obedience to the laws of the land.[13]

After admitting Brigham Young to $5,000 bail, McKean denied a motion to quash the indictment with these words:

> The supreme court of California has well said: "Courts are bound to take notice of the political and social conditions of the country which they judicially rule." It is therefore proper to say, that while

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[10] *Tribune,* September 2, November 10, 11, 14, 19, and 24, and December 8 and 24, 1874; Whitney does not mention Mormons who voted on first papers. Whitney, II, 753; Territory of Utah, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah,* 1876, p. 104. It is possible that the oath was laxly administered by Mormon officials because the counties had begun the practice of either rebating taxes or not assessing them against citizens who were impoverished in the depressed conditions of 1874. *Tribune,* February 7 and August 11, 1874.

[11] R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1914) p. 38; Boreman, p. 18; *Legislative Journal,* 1872, p. 33.

[12] Whitney, II, 592; *Tribune,* September 19 and 23, and October 9, 1871.

[13] *Tribune,* October 9, 1871.

> the case at bar is called, *"The People versus Brigham Young,"* its other and real title is, *"Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy."* The Government of the United States founded upon a written constitution, finds within its jurisidiction another government claiming to come from God — *imperium in imperio* — whose policy and practices are, in grave particulars, at variance with its own. The one government arrests the other, in the person of its chief, and arraigns it at this bar. A system is on trial in the person of Brigham Young. Let all concerned keep this fact steadily in view; and let that government rule without a rival which shall prove to be in the right. If the learned counsel for the defendant will adduce authorities or principles from the whole range of jurisprudence, or from mental, moral or social science, proving that the polygamous practices charged in the indictment are not crimes, this court will at once quash the indictment and charge the grand jury to find no more of the kind.

The Phophet's lawyer, Thomas Fitch, filed a bill of exceptions to the statement.[14] It has been argued by Orma Linford that the use of these territorial laws was unwarranted because "the Mormons had not intended the adultery and lewd and lascivious cohabitation laws to apply to ther plural marriage system." One must, however, take the intent of Congress in passing the Morrill Act into consideration. It repealed any laws which were designed to establish, support, or maintain polygamy. If the local laws had been intended to countenance plural marriage then those features of the law were repealed. If they were not so intended or bore no relation to plural marriage, the Morrill Act made at least those contracted after its passage illegal, and those contracted before may have been illegal under the common law. If they were illegal, McKean's argument that "polygamous sexual intercourse is adultery" is valid. McKean refused even to agree with his colleagues that plural wives enjoyed the same immunity from testimony against their alleged husbands that legal wives did.[15]

A considerable portion of the Gentile as well as Mormon opinion was against McKean on this issue. Non-Mormons ranging from Patrick Edward Connor to the Walker Brothers deplored his action. U.S. Attorney George C. Bates could not understand why the Mormon leaders were indicted under local laws rather than the federal statute.[16] It is significant, however, that Bates secured no indictments under the federal statute either. The cases, of course, never came to

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[14] *Tribune*, October 10, 1871; Whitney, II, 592 and 599-602.

[15] Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases," *Utah Law Review*, IX (Winter, 1964), 331; 12 *Statutes at Large*, 501; *Tribune*, October 8, 1874; *Friel* v. *Wood*, 1 Hagan (Utah), 160, 1874

[16] Whitney, II, 603-605, 620, and 678.

trial because the Englebrecht decision overruled McKean's method of empaneling the grand jury.

Not until after the passage of the Poland Act were George Q. Cannon and George Reynolds indicted under the Morrill Act. Cannon did not come to trial at this time, and Reynolds was convicted only because the courts accepted the testimony of his plural wife that the marriage had taken place. Not until after the definition of unlawful cohabitation in the Edmunds Act could the government successfully prosecute polygamists.[17]

THE COURT AND BRIGHAM YOUNG

Several civil cases involving Brigham Young came before McKean's court, but undoubtedly the most celebrated was the attempt of Ann Eliza Webb Dee Young, the Prophet's twenty-seventh wife, to sue for divorce. The facts of the case are well known and need not be reiterated here. Judge Emerson at first referred the case to the probate courts. After the passage of the Poland Act, it was again returned to the Third District Court where McKean heard it. Brigham Young filed a counter petition stating that, though it was unknown to him previously, Ann Eliza was not divorced at the time of the marriage, which was at any rate a "plural or celestial marriage" and thus not legal. The defendant was, in addition, legally married to Mary Ann Angell.[18]

McKean placed the burden of proof on Young and ordered him to pay $500 per month alimony pending the outcome. He rightly pointed out that no matter what sort of marriage his union with Ann Eliza had been, it was a legal marriage, provided both parties were competent to marry, because Utah had no laws governing marriage. In Utah, it was incumbent upon Young to prove, either that Ann Eliza was not divorced from James L. Dee at the time of the plural marriage, or that he was legally married to Mary Ann Angell. If he could do so, McKean said that he would sustain Young's position.[19]

This ruling, of course, placed Brigham Young on the horns of a dilemma. It would be impossible to prove that Dee and Ann Eliza were not legally divorced because the Poland Act had legalized all action of probate courts where their divorce had taken place. On the other hand, if he were actually to prove he was legally married

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[17] *Tribune,* October 16 and 27 and November 13, 1874, February 26, 1875, and January 7, 1879; Baskin, pp. 61-68.

[18] Whitney, II, 757-58; *Tribune,* July 31, and August 1 and 29, 1873, and July 25 and August 26, 1874.

[19] *Tribune,* February 26, 1875.

to Mary Ann Angell, he would be bringing evidence which might have led to his conviction under the Morrill Act because of his prior admission under oath that he had also married Ann Eliza. Young chose simply to appeal to the territorial supreme court. He failed, however, to follow the proper procedure and on March 11, 1875, McKean sentenced the Prophet to a fine of $25 and one day imprisonment for contempt of court. Later, the divorce suit was thrown out after the intervention of the United States Attorney General on the ground that Ann Eliza could not have been Brigham Young's legal wife.[20]

In addition to demonstrating McKean's poor judgment in some matters, the Ann Eliza case served to show that the Mormons never bothered to define any legal status for plural wives. The only sanctions which the Church imposed were moral and religious, and anyone who chose to disregard them could do so with legal, and sometimes even religious, impunity. Brigham Young argued that the marriage could have no validity at law — that it was only an ecclesiastical affair. Yet on other occasions, Mormons argued that plural wives should have the same rights as did legal wives and they complained at the prosecution for adultery with plural wives. On occasion, as when George Q. Cannon was indicted for polygamy, they took the position that each polygamous wife was also a legal wife.[21]

In at least two cases which came before McKean's court, the husband had failed to follow the religious form before entering into plural marriage. The revelation to Joseph Smith required husbands to secure permission of their first wife before taking a second one, but this was not always done. Harriet Hawkins, wife of Thomas Hawkins of Lehi, came to Robert N. Baskin complaining that her husband had taken a second wife and later a third without her consent and had slept with the new wife in the same room as she did with only a flimsy drape hanging between the couple and her. Hawkins was convicted, but his conviction was overruled by the Englebrecht decision because the jury had been improperly empaneled. In a similar case, Catherine Reese sued for divorce from her husband John Reese, the Carson Valley pioneer, who had taken plural wives without her consent.[22]

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[20] Whitney, II, 761; *Tribune,* March 12, 1875; Boreman to Carey, November 10, 1875, Mf. 1; Boreman, p. 44n.

[21] *Friel v. Wood,* 1 Hogan (Utah), 160, 1874; Tribune, August 8, 1873, and August 28 and October 23, 1874.

[22] Doctrine and Covenants 132:61; Baskin, pp. 39-46; Whitney, II, 611 ff.; *Tribune,* August 8, 10, and 21, and October 20, 23, and 26, 1871, September 15, 1874, and February 28, 1875.

If McKean demonstrated poor judgment in the Ann Eliza case, he showed equally faulty discrimination in accepting the word of Bill Hickman, a confessed murderer, that Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, and Hosea Stout were implicated in the murder of Richard Yates and several others, which took place during the Utah War. McKean said that evidence other than Hickman's testimony was available, but the prosecuting attorney showed none. Some ground for McKean's belief was apparently found in the doctrine of blood atonement which Church leaders preached at the time. The Englebrecht decision also made it necessary to dismiss these cases together with cases against several members of the Salt Lake City police force for the murder of Dr. J. King Robinson in October, 1866.[23]

In the latter instance, two alleged eye witnesses, Charles W. Baker and Thomas Butterwood, presented testimony which Baker allegedly swore he had been paid to give. In a letter to the *Tribune* in April, 1874, Butterwood denied that he had perjured himself, but he said that one of the policemen had hired a lawyer named William Kirby to pay Baker to swear that he had lied. In addition, Butterwood apparently became the object of a vendetta by the police of Salt Lake City, where he was, according to court testimony, badgered with nuisance charges.[24]

THE COURT AND CITY GOVERNMENT

Many of the problems in which McKean became involved concerned the government of Salt Lake City. By 1873, Gentiles made up about one-quarter of the city's population. The Mormons looked upon them as interlopers, but many came with the idea of making homes and establishing businesses in the Mormon capitol. An 1874 study showed that Gentiles contributed $46,456.33 in taxes and license fees in a total city revenue of $110,000. The city was legally obliged to publish quarterly statements of receipts and disbursements, but it seemed to operate as a closed corporation; until 1874 very little was known about the uses of public funds. Gentiles charged that corruption existed and instituted unsuccessful proceedings to open the books.[25]

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[23] Baskin, p. 37; Whitney, II, 629-33, 638-41, 660-61, 663-64, 666-71, and 674; *Journal of Discourses*, IV (1857), 49-51, cited in Hansen, p. 147; McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, Mf. 1.

[24] *Tribune*, January 18 and April 11, 1874; McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, Mf. 1.

[25] *Tribune*, July 24, August 30, September 1, and October 27, 1871, March 8 and August 3, 1872, September 12, 1873, and January 15 and February 4, 1874, and February 10 and 26, April 2, 7, and 22, May 9, June 7, 10, 11, 16, and 30, July 1, 3, and 15, September 26, October 31, and November 26, 1874.

If a major problem of Mormon-Gentile relationships involved the use of money by the city, subordinate questions included the methods used to obtain the money and the regulation of business. An ordinance which caused considerable inconvenience to merchants was the requirement that all grocers and meat markets do business in a block in the center of the city of 20,000 people. McKean ruled that the ordinance was an unreasonable restraint on legitimate business and an inconvenience to the inhabitants of the city.[26]

The most serious conflicts came over the amounts charged to establishments for liquor licenses. In Salt Lake City in 1871, a retail license cost $750 per month, whereas, at the same time, Chicago dealers paid $56 per year. The territorial supreme court overruled an attempt to force William S. Godbe's drugstore to purchase a liquor license because he sold spirits on prescription for medicinal purposes.[27]

The Mormons averred that the issue was one of morality and that the Gentiles had brought the liquor problem with them to Utah. It was difficult, however, for the Gentiles to accept the Mormons' sincerity in the issue because the City of Salt Lake was in the liquor business and in effect used the Gentiles' license fees to furnish capital to compete with them. After several complaints, in July, 1872, Judge McKean restrained the city from arresting any liquor dealers until the courts could settle the issue.[28]

After some legal dealings, the city reduced the license fees to $1,200 per year for retail and $600 for wholesale. The *Tribune* commented favorably on the rates, but raised some question as to the principle of prohibiting sale between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. This license fee was not entirely satisfactory to all dealers, but McKean sustained the right of the city to set it even though he was "not aware that any other city in the United States demands so much as $1,000 for a liquor license."[29]

Other issues between Mormons and Gentiles which McKean was called upon to adjudicate involved billiard playing and gambling. Police Judge Jeter Clinton fined C. W. Kitchen, proprietor of the Clift House Hotel, $100 for refusing to pay a license tax of $1,400 per year levied on all billiard tables. The tax was nearly twenty times that of New York City, and Kitchen charged no money for playing and

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[26] *DN*, October 19, 1870, *Tribune*, March 4, 1871, and November 10, August 8, and November 14, 1872.

[27] *Godbe* v. *Salt Lake City*, 1 Hagan (Utah), 68, 1871; *Tribune*, April 21 and October 27, 1871.

[28] *Tribune*, May 3 and 4, July 10 and 30, and August 10, 12, and 17, 1872.

[29] *Tribune*, March 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13, 1873, and March 19, June 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, and 18, July 9, 10, 12, 1873, and April 8, 1874.

allowed no gambling. During the trial, City Attorney E. D. Hoge placed a pool player named Wilkins on the stand in an apparent attempt to show that gambling was involved in the game. Hoge asked the man what he did after the game was over, but Wilkins refused to answer. Hoge badgered him for some time, but Wilkins still refused to reveal what he had done. Finally, with some reluctance, Wilkins announced to the Court that after the game he had simply gone to the lavatory.[30]

In this case, gambling was not involved, and McKean ruled that though the city had an undoubted right to license gambling, it had no right to restrict innocent amusement. If billiards, played as they were at the Clift House, were to be licensed, the city would have the same right to license children's baseball games. In cases where actual gambling was involved, however, McKean and his fellow judges sustained the right of the city to pass and enforce fines against gamblers.[31]

Another issue which came before McKean was the problem of conduct of soldiers in Salt Lake City. The cases involved the apparent breaking of local ordinances by soldiers on the one hand and the alleged abuse of the soldiers by city policemen on the other. Eventually, after a severe altercation, the Secretary of War intervened and the territorial supreme court ruled that soldiers might be removed from the jurisdiction of the city in cases involving purely local police ordinances.[32]

As the conflict evolved, a considerable degree of violence took place between Mormons and Gentiles in which McKean or his court was directly involved. In October, 1870, one Major Offley attempted to kill E. L. Sloan, editor of the *Herald*. McKean's court convicted Offley of assault with intent to kill, but because of Sloan's appeal for leniency, Offley was fined only $100. A body of what McKean thought were either Danites or members of the Nauvoo Legion tried to intimidate the judge in court. In October, 1874, a group of armed men knocked Marshal George R. Maxwell down and hurt him while he was trying to serve a writ on Brigham Young to secure his testimony before a grand jury.[33]

McKean worked under what appear to have been extremely adverse conditions. When he first came to Utah, he held court in a hay loft over a livery stable called Faust's Hall. Under such conditions,

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[30] *Tribune*, September 11 and 16, 1873.

[31] *Tribune*, September 18, 1873; *Ex Parte Douglas*, 1 Hagan (Utah), 108, 1873.

[32] Whitney, II, 719-21; *Tribune*, January 28, February 4, 7, 15, 17, and 26, May 10, June 12 and 17, 1874; *Ex Parte Bright*, 1 Hagan (Utah), 145, 1874.

[33] Whitney, II, 519-20; McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, Mf. 1; *Tribune*, October 13, 1874.

mules "occasionally interrupted the judge with a bray of delight." In July, 1872, he moved to the Liberal Institute. But it was too small, and in March, 1873, after a sojourn in the suburbs near the Jordan River, he moved to the Salt Lake City Hall. The city government, however, evicted the court after John D. T. McAllister could no longer serve as Territorial Marshal. In 1874 the court moved to commodious rooms in the Clift House.[84]

REMOVAL FROM THE BENCH

McKean became a prominent figure in Utah Territory. Colonel Henry A. Morrow, commander of Fort Douglas, named his infant son after the judge. He was a founding father of the Utah chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic and supporter of the efforts of the Salt Lake City Library Association to provide a public library for the city. Unlike some who came to Utah, McKean planned to stay permanently, and in October, 1874, he purchased a lot in Salt Lake City to build a house. After his removal from the bench in March, 1875, he was admitted to the bar where he practiced until several months before his death of typhoid fever in Salt Lake City on January 5, 1879, the day before the United States Supreme Court handed down the Reynolds decision.[85]

It has been alleged that the legal fraternity did not respect McKean's judicial talent. In an attempt to secure McKean's reappointment, however, thirty-five of the most prominent members of the legal community of Salt Lake City, including J. G. Sutherland, one of the Church's attorneys, petitioned President Grant. McKean was, in fact, the first judge to be reappointed to a second term on the Utah bench.[86]

Why, then, was McKean removed less than a year after his reappointment? His removal can best be ascribed to a quirk of fate and possibly to his lack of judgment. He had the poor fortune to censure George E. Whitney, a Salt Lake City lawyer who happened also to be brother-in-law of both United States Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field and Senator Timothy O. Howe of Wisconsin, both of whom were friends of President Grant. In addition, the Ann Eliza case and the imprisonment of the aged Brigham Young for contempt of court, which many considered ill-advised, may have had something to do with the removal.[87]

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[84] Whitney, II, 622; *Tribune,* July 13, 1872, and March 14 and 20, June 3 and 5, and August 11, 1874; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as J. H.), June 3, 1874.

[85] *Tribune,* April 20 and September 9, 1872, July 8, 1871, December 21, 1873, October 16, 1874, March 25, 1875, and January 7, 1879.

[86] Whitney, II, 646; *Tribune,* May 16 and June 4, 1874; Pomeroy, pp. 117-18.

[87] *Tribune,* March 17, 19, and 20, 1875; Whitney, II, 761.

It seems probable, however, that the trouble with Whitney, rather than the difficulty with the Mormons, was the central reason for his dismissal. He had been reappointed in June, 1874, at a time immediately before the passage of the Poland Act. At that time the storm over his relationship with the Mormons raged at a much higher pitch than in March, 1875, when the only major unresolved conflict was the prosecution of George Rynolds, which President Grant supported, and the Ann Eliza case, which had not yet gone to trial.

Charges have been made that McKean overruled the Englebrecht decision with his interference in territorial and municipal affairs. The charge is without foundation. The ruling established the nature of his court, not territorial sovereignty. As the United State Supreme Court made clear,

> The government of the Territories of the United States belongs, primarily to Congress; and secondarily, to such agencies as Congress may establish for that purpose. During the term of their pupilage as Territories, they are mere dependencies of the United States. Their people do not constitute a sovereign power. All political authority exercised therein is derived from the General Government.[38]

More serious were the charges of judicial corruption lodged earlier by George Caesar Bates and the *Salt Lake Herald.* In June, 1873, Baskin placed Bates on the stand in a civil suit to testify concerning certain charges he had made in the pages of the *Herald* about the federal officials. Bates said that he had "no reference to him [Baskin] or any of the parties engaged in the proceedings before the court, nor to the United States attorney [William Carey], and certainly not to the court [Judge McKean]." Bates later reversed his position and said that he would publish full details in the *Herald,* which he did.[39]

The charge which affected McKean personally involved mining litigation in his court in which he was allegedly interested. The *Herald* again dredged up the charge in October, 1874. McKean denied the charge the first time, but this time he called the grand jury together, told them to look into the charges and indict him if they were true. If they were not, the jury was invited to indict the proprietors of the *Herald.* In the interim, affidavits were published sustaining McKean's position, but the *Herald* cried out that McKean was infringing on freedom of the press. When the grand jury issued its report, it vindicated McKean but refused also to indict the editors because of the freedom issue.[40]

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[38] Whitney, II, 546-49; *Snow* v. *United States,* 84 U.S., 317, 1873.

[39] *Tribune,* June 20 and 23, July 21, August 3 and 30, September 9, 1873; *Herald,* July 20, 1873.

[40] *Tribune,* October 20, 27, 30, and 31, 1874.

After this charge had been cleared up, another allegation was made that McKean was writing anonymous or pseudonymous articles in his behalf. The *Herald* charged McKean with publishing an article sustaining his position on the indictments for lascivious cohabitation. McKean himself appeared before United States Commissioner Dennis J. Toohey with evidence to refute the allegation, producing J. H. Beadle, the actual writer, but he withdrew the complaint which might have led to a slander indictment against the *Herald*.[41]

It has been charged that McKean gained control of the *Tribune* and either published articles himself or gave exclusive advance stories about pending court decisions. The charge that he wrote some editorials was probably true during a time in the fall of 1871. One can search the *Tribune* between the time of McKean's appointment and his removal in vain for evidence that decisions were known in advance or that other articles sustaining McKean were necessarily written by him.[42] The fact is that competent lawyers, including Robert N. Baskin, who was later to become Chief Justice of the Utah State Supreme Court, believed that McKean's views were legally sound.

Attacks also came from Bates, on McKean's appointment of Baskin as *ad interim* United States attorney after Charles H. Hempstead resigned. Federal statutes, despite a contrary assertion by Bates, who became Baskin's successor, authorized the judge to make such an appointment.[43]

JUDGMENT AND MOTIVATION

In retrospect it must be admitted that McKean used extremely poor judgment in some matters. Foremost among these was the indictment of Brigham Young and other prominent Church leaders for murder on the word of a man with the admitted background of Bill Hickman. Secondly, given the political climate, McKean's judgment that the jury composed of Gentiles would be fair and impartial in its treatment of these men is questionable. In the imprisonment of

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[41] *Tribune*, November 13, 1874.

[42] Anderson, p. 288. Tullidge says that Oscar G. Sawyer permitted McKean to write editorials for the paper sustaining his decisions and that McKean gave him advance information on the indictment of Brigham Young for lewd and lascivious cohabitation. Sawyer was shortly dismissed because he took a rabid anti-Mormon position whereas the Godbeites who owned the paper wanted to be moderate. There is no concrete evidence, however, that McKean gave any advance information. The *New York Herald* of Sunday, October 1, 1871, contained a telegraphic dispatch saying that Brigham Young had been indicted and that the Mormons were arming. The dispatch did not say for what offense, and both the *Salt Lake Herald* and the *Deseret Evening News* had already printed articles and continued to print them saying that both rumors had been current for some time. Surely no one would allege that McKean gave advance information to them also. *DEN*, September 28, 1871; *Herald*, September 29, October 1 and 3, 1871; Edward Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1885), pp. 528-29 and 588-90.

[43] Whitney, II, 567; 12 *Statutes at Large*, 768; Baskin, p. 38.

Brigham Young, the error was not that the Prophet was not guilty — he was technically guilty — but that McKean, together with so many other Gentiles in the territory, misjudged the feelings of the people of Utah. Many of them believed, quite erroneously, that the Mormons would gladly throw off the leadership of Church officials if given the chance.

On the other hand, in as far as the legality of McKean's actions is concerned, even though the Supreme Court overruled him in the Englebrecht and Snow cases, he had ample precedent for the positions which he took.[44] The idea that they had no basis because the federal supreme court overruled them is obviously wrong in view of the controversy among recognized lawyers over recent court decisions. In his ruling on the jurisdiction of probate courts the Supreme Court sustained him. His position that polygamous cohabitation was also adultery was sustained by other lawyers and by the fact that polygamous marriage was illegal. His rulings on the laws of Salt Lake City were based on the legal right of courts to inquire into the reasonability of local ordinances and are filled with citations of precedent to support the position.

The most thorny question in McKean's judgeship deals with his motivation. Orson F. Whitney and other historians have claimed that McKean and other federal officials made up a "Ring," which came to Utah for personal profit and for religious reasons to undermine local authority. The Mormons seemed to be unwilling to accept the view that McKean could have been motivated by any force except religion or personal gain. Mayor Wells said that to McKean " . . . there is but one crime in the world and that is polygamy. There is but one set of criminals and they are Mormons." In this, both Wells and Whitney, who cites Wells with approval, were apparently blinded by their close connection with the situation. The Gentiles affirmed that they were not asking the Mormons to give up their religion, unless by religion was meant polygamy and religious control of the secular life of the territory.[45]

Contrary to what Mayor Wells said, McKean made it clear to the grand jury in October, 1874, that they had a duty to investigate violations of all laws. He was convinced that "Utah is a Theocracy, a spurious Theocracy in the heart of the Republic!" There is no concrete evidence, however, that he conceived of his duty as even partly

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[44] See the brief filed in *Clinton* v. *Englebrecht,* 80 U.S., 434, 1872, and Baskin, pp. 33-35. For an opposing view see Whitney, II, 544-45.

[45] Whitney, II, 487-89, 546, 551-54, and 628; Anderson, p. 265; *Tribune,* September 10, 1870, November 19, 1873, February 5 and September 21, 1874; McKean to Williams, November 12, 1873, Mf. 1.

religious.[46] He saw his mission as essentially two fold: first, to halt crime and punish criminals, and second, to undermine the foundations of the theocracy which he viewed as a power in conflict with basic American principles and the paramount authority of the federal government in the territories.

The problem for McKean and the other judges was that the Mormons viewed both of these issues as religious. To them, polygamy, which he saw as a crime, was a God-given principle. The operation of government through the auspices of the Church was also, to them, in harmony with their religious beliefs. It has long been known that the Church officials considered themselves responsible for political and economic, as well as what others might consider religious affairs.[47]

By the mid-twentieth century, historians should recognize that the judges and other Gentiles and the Mormons misunderstood each other. McKean was not part of a sordid conspiracy to destroy the Mormon Church. Though balanced judgment failed him at times, he was primarily interested in sustaining federal authority in Utah Territory and punishing crimes. On the other hand, polygamy and adultery were not synonymous. The system of Church domination of politics and economics was not the personal despotism of Brigham Young. If anything, it was tyranny of the majority because members of the Church supported their leader. The main problem was the absence of any voluntary attempt on the part of the Mormons to take into consideration the needs of the Gentile minority.

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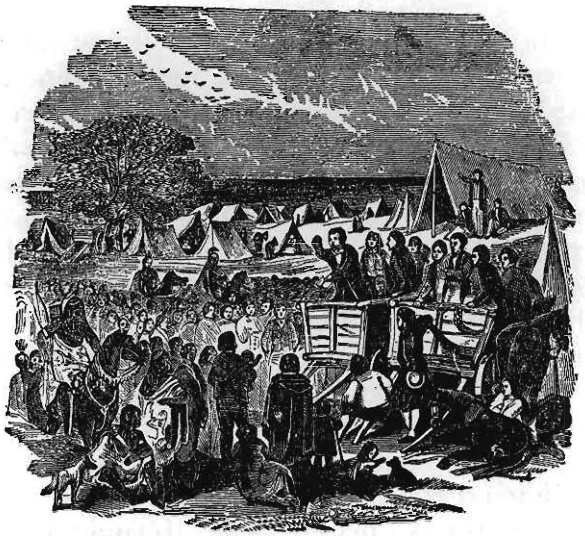
[46] *Tribune*, October 8, 1874. Tullidge says that: "In January, 1872, in the Ebbett House, in Washington, Judge McKean avowed his principles to Judge Louis Dent, brother-in-law of the President, in these precise words:

> "Judge Dent, the mission which God has called upon me to perform in Utah, is as much above the duties of other courts and judges as the heavens are above the earth, and whenever or wherever I may find the Local or Federal laws obstructing or interfering therewith, by God's blessing, I shall trample them under my feet." Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders* (New York, 1876), pp. 420-21. Tullidge does not say where he obtained the information. It contradicts the position which McKean took in his rulings in court and it seems probable that it was merely hearsay.

[47] On the problem of the political kingdom see Klaus J. Hansen, "The Kingdom of God in Mormon Thought and Practice, 1830-1896," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1963).



BRIGHAM YOUNG PREACHING IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE LIFE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

A BIOGRAPHY WHICH WILL NOT BE WRITTEN

by P.A.M. Taylor

On Sunday morning, October 5, 1856, Brigham Young stood before thousands of Mormons in Salt Lake City, to open the semi-annual conference of the Church. During the morning he spoke twice. His very first words were these:

> I will now give this people the subject and text for the Elders who may speak today and during the conference. It is this. Many of our brethren and sisters are on the plains, with handcarts, and probably many are now seven hundred miles from this place, and they must be brought here, we must send assistance to them. The text will be "To get them here." I want the brethren who may speak to understand that their text is the people on the plains. And the subject matter for this community is to send for them and bring them in before winter sets in. That is my religion; that is the dictation of the Holy Spirit that I possess. It is to save the people. This is the salvation I am now seeking for.

He called on the bishops to find sixty teams, twelve or fifteen wagons, forty teamsters, and twelve tons of flour. "They are in this Territory, and we must have them." He then repeated the demand, prefacing the list by saying, "This is dividing my text into heads." Later in the morning Young appealed to women to bring clothing, shoes, and blankets. He called for names, at once, of people ready to start the next day. On Monday Young reopened the business. Not only were names received of people willing to go or to contribute supplies and equipment, but Heber C. Kimball, First Counselor to the President, called out all blacksmiths from the assembly to work on the horses and wagons of the first relief party.[1]

Twenty-seven young men, with sixteen four-mule teams, set out on the morning of the seventh. By the end of the month, some 250 teams were on the trail. No doubt some early supplies could come from the Salt Lake City Tithing Office. Very soon, however, smaller communities joined in, and voluntary contributions were made. Provo raised its first quota, of a ton of flour and two mule teams, in contributions from forty-eight people. Three weeks later, when called on again, ninety-six people volunteered — one a horse, one a wagon, some no more than small quantites of produce.[2] Teams went more than a hundred miles east of South Pass, where they rescued hundreds of immigrants of the last two handcart companies.

The episode tells us much about Brigham Young and much about the Mormon Church. The President was accustomed to act decisively. He gave his religion a strongly practical tone. He translated principles rapidly into precise detail. The Mormon people responded, for the most part, with obedience and loyalty; again and again they abandoned comfort and security when counselled that their church required it of them.

Although many other episodes might have been chosen, to throw yet more light on Brigham Young, it must be admitted that we know far too little about him. On Joseph Smith we possess, recently reprinted, Mrs. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* which, however distasteful to some Mormons, is a work of serious scholarship, accurate in its research, skilful in its organization, and, to readers outside the Church, giving an impression of considerable sympathy towards Smith. Against this can be set nothing better than Preston Nibley's full and attractive, but wholly uncritical, biography of thirty years ago and Morris Werner's popular, somewhat hostile, and badly balanced account of ten years earlier still. For anything more, we have to search monographs and records; and when we have done so, we shall remain dissatisfied.

The events of Brigham Young's early life, it is true, are easy to discover. Born in 1801 in Vermont, migrating with his parents to western New York, a building-worker by trade and a dissatisfied Methodist by religion, he became a Mormon in 1832, two years after the Church's foundation and almost as long after he had first heard its message. He was a member of Zion's Camp, the abortive expedition launched in 1834 to succor the Saints in Missouri; and,

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[1] LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion, 1856-1860* (Glendale, Calif., 1960), pp. 120-3, based on contemporary accounts in the *Deseret News.*

[2] Provo Historical Record, Minutes of General Meetings (in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), October 6, 29, 1856. See also, in the same archives, Journal History of the Church, October 4, 7, 9, and November 9, 1856.

like others of its leading members, he was named in 1835 to the new, and highest, quorum, the Twelve. With Smith, he left Ohio in 1837. By the time the Mormons left Missouri for Nauvoo, Illinois, in the winter of 1838-1839, he was President of the Twelve. In 1840 and 1841 he was a missionary in Britain, and on his return journey he presided over one of the first emigrant companies of British converts. When Smith was murdered in 1844, Young and a majority of the Twelve established their control over the Church, led its members across Iowa a year and a half later, and planned the move to the Great Basin. In the spring of 1847, Young led the pioneer group which founded Salt Lake City in July. Returning to the Missouri River, he was recognized in Winter Quarters, at Christmas, as President and Prophet. He led one of the companies of the 1848 migration, then remained in Utah until his death in 1877.

Something of his appearance, manner, and tastes can be found in photographs and in words. Reading Sir Richard Burton's and other visitors' descriptions, we see a sober, tough, shrewd man. He dressed often in homespun. He had no wide literary culture; when he went to the theatre, he liked such plays "as will make the spectators feel well" rather than the melodramas which would cause "the child to carry home with it the fear of the faggot, the sword, the pistol, or the dagger, and suffer in the night from frightful dreams." On all the affairs with which he had to deal, however, he was well briefed.[8]

We can readily discover what he taught. From the time when he became President of the Church, Young issued not a single printed revelation to supplement the more than 130 of Smith's. The implication is, and was doubtless meant to be, that he accepted the entire body of doctrine as it stood in 1844 and added nothing. In a formal intellectual sense, this is true. As his hundreds of sermons show, Young was sure that the Mormon Church was the restored Church of the Apostles; that its Priesthood and ordinances were valid; that its duty was to preach throughout the world and to bring converts to Utah, where they would be guided by the Church's leaders towards building the Kingdom of God. He was sure that the perfect society which he and his associates were building would become the headquarters of the millennial order. That being so, all work done, great or small, was of value as contributing to the Kingdom. Equally, with that goal in view, all motives of personal gain or family convenience had to be subordinated to the higher purpose. The Church,

[8] Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London, 1861), esp. pp. 291-2; see also William H. Dixon, *New America* (2 vols., London, 1867), I, 205. *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., Liverpool, 1854-86), IX, 245.

too, had a duty towards people already dead. By identifying them and performing the correct ordinances on their behalf, all or almost all of them could be saved. Brigham Young preached all this, together with the associated features of tithing, patriarchal marriage, and the need for training and discipline.

Not only did he preach the characteristic Mormon doctrines, again and again he stressed his devotion to Joseph Smith. He rejoiced in his own entry into the Church. He ascribed to Smith all the fundamental thinking in Mormonism. He defined Smith's place as holder of the keys of salvation and as a strenuous worker, since his death, in the world of spirits.[4]

President Young's circumstances, however, were different from Smith's. The Mormons, indeed, were the same people, or their children, or foreigners they had converted. But the mountains and deserts of Utah, even the narrow strip of irrigable farm land, were very different from the Missouri prairies or the banks of America's greatest river. Then the Church had been at close quarters with its persecutors. Now the same persecutors, or others yet more powerful, were hundreds of miles distant. Although isolation imposed problems and hardships of its own, it gave quite new opportunities for building a united society under Church control.

Young, too, was a different man. His mind found congenial the massive practical tasks of a growing community in the arid West and of a widespread immigration and colonization system. While, from time to time, he talked of worlds to come, of the sacred ordinances, and of the nature of God, he was most at ease when expounding the doctrines of the Kingdom and of mission, not with any definitions theologically original, but with a new emphasis. In a sermon preached near the end of his life, he said:

> I have looked upon the community of the Latter-day Saints in vision and beheld them organized as one great family of heaven, each person performing his several duties in his line of industry, working for the good of the whole more than for individual aggrandisement; and in this I beheld the most beautiful order that the mind of man can contemplate, and the greatest results for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God and the spread of righteousness upon the earth.[5]

Not surprisingly, while accepting all the other-worldly doctrines of Mormonism, Young attacked those who emphasized them unduly:

> Elders may preach long discourses concerning what took place in the days of Adam, what occurred before the creation, or what will take place thousands of years from now, talking of things . . . of which

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[4] *Journal of Discourses*, III, 51, 266, 308-9, 320, 371-2; IV, 285.
[5] *Journal of Discourses*, XII, 158.

> they are ignorant, feeding the people on wind; but that is not my method of teaching. My desire is to teach the people what they should do now, and let the Millennium take care of itself.[6]

His emphasis was all upon the Kingdom and its tasks, upon the life-long mission in which all the faithful were engaged. That mission might involve preaching overseas, leading a company of emigrants, founding a settlement, building an industry, helping the poor, or bringing up children. Each task had value; each task must be done under counsel; each enterprise must have its president; and every task must be done with a sense of subordination to God's will as expounded by His Church:

> We are not our own, we are bought with a price, we are the Lord's; our time, our talents, our gold and silver, our wheat and fine flour, our wine and our oil, and all that there is on the earth that we have in our possession is the Lord's.[7]

We know Young's achievement in the Far West: the exploration of the habitable areas of Utah which he directed; the skilful use of the economic opportunities created by gold rushes; the warding-off of gentile threats in 1857-1858; the absorption of tens of thousands of British, Scandinavian, and other immigrants; and the founding of more than three hundred settlements. We know where he failed, as in the development of industry in Utah, or the complete containing of the economic and social effects of the end of isolation, which resulted from the coming of the railroad. We shall probably be willing to admit that, given all the circumstances, his successes far outweighed his failures.

Finally, we know a great deal about the style of Brigham Young's leadership. Although, in a community with so small a population, he could know personally most officers of the Church, he made great efforts, also, to gain close contact with the rank-and-file. Amid the hardships of life in the Great Basin and the sacrifices so often demanded by the Church, loyalty needed stimulation, even though Young was commanding volunteers, many of whom had already survived many temptations to desert. The printing of those leaders' diaries demonstrated that even the greatest Mormons had had their trials. Exchange of news between Utah and the missions showed how, in their several duties, the Saints throughout the world stood as one. Each July Pioneer Day celebrations were held at Salt Lake City and in many smaller places. By speeches, toasts, processions, and the use of simple symbols, they recalled the founding of Utah,

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[6] *Journal of Discourses*, XII, 228.
[7] *Journal of Discourses*, XIV, 88.

persecutions suffered, and blessings received. Twice a year thousands came to Salt Lake City for the Church's conferences, at which Young and his associates expounded doctrine, laid down policy, called for volunteers, dealt out criticism, but also received approval, fostered loyalty, and impressed themselves upon their audience. Frequently the President toured the settlements, giving, in one and the same sermon, theological teaching and detailed advice on practical affairs. In his later years, wintering in the south of Utah, he was able to visit, every year, a long line of villages.[8]

One further incentive to loyalty lay near the heart of his practice as leader. Smith had taught that the Church was destined to survive the destruction of all the kingdoms of this world. In the short run, however, the Church was assailed by enemies, from the mobs which tarred and feathered Mormons in Missouri in 1833, or murdered and raped there five years later, to the soldiers sent to Utah by the Federal government in 1857 or the 1860's. Consciousness of this persecution was fostered with the most elaborate care. Records of the early days were printed in Church periodicals. Sermons reiterated the theme. In their own homes, parents told children the sufferings of the past. The wrongs of former days, however, the present contrast between Zion and Babylon, and the expectation of future conflict did not make up the whole of Mormon teaching. The assurance of triumph was also preached: God, who had already done so much for His Saints by removing them to the valleys of Utah, would in the end crown their labours and bring their enemies under their feet.[9]

It is with all this in mind that we should approach the ugly strain of violence in early Mormon history. Because their Church was held to possess full apostolic authority, reinforced by continuous revelation, the Saints were always likely to be intolerant towards dissent. Because their Prophet had been murdered, they were exceptionally sensitive to all threats of outside attack. Again and again they spoke of revenge, whether to be meted out by the Lord or executed by

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[8] Further detail may be found in my article, "Early Mormon Loyalty and the Leadership of Brigham Young," *Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1962), 103-132.

[9] The themes of persecution and vengeance are important enough to warrant separate documentation. See, therefore, the speech of Sidney Rigdon at Nauvoo, in the *Times and Seasons,* II (April 15, 1841), 382; speeches at the ceremony of laying the Salt Lake Temple cornerstone in 1853, *Journal of Discourses,* II, 29-31; the speech of George A. Smith reported in Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* (2 vols., San Marino, Calif., 1955), I, 264; family scenes in the *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (1950 edition, Salt Lake City), p. 362, and *A Mormon Chronicle,* I, 239; the remarks of Joseph A. Stout, quoted in Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1962 edition, Norman, Okla.), p. 55 note; and the words of a patriarchal blessing in "Journal of Leonard E. Harrington," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* VIII (1940), 23.

themselves. Brigham Young and his associates molded these feelings to their own purposes, though certainly they did not need to create them. In private, wrongdoers were threatened with dire punishment. In public, the leaders freely cursed their enemies. Again and again, Young himself spoke of justice being laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet, or of sending enemies to hell across lots. On such occasions, the words were addressed as much to the entire Mormon people as to particular offenders. As was shown, for example, in 1853, when a huge audience yelled approval of his denuciation of the Gladdenites, Young was using violent words both to demonstrate his own decisiveness and to win a popular response.[10]

Violent deeds, of course, did occur in Utah, whether against schismatic Morrisites or the outsiders at Mountain Meadows. Beyond these open events lie sinister hints of violence on a smaller scale. John D. Lee records in his diary for 1849 a discussion in the Council of Fifty. It was agreed that a certain Ira E. West deserved execution. "But to dispose of him privately would be most practicable, and would result in the greatest good. The people would know that he was gone, in some strange manner, and . . . fear would take hold of them and they would tremble for fear it would be their time next."[11] Actually, of course, nothing of the kind happened to West. And it is clear that, considering his opportunities and his power, Brigham Young resorted to force less often, not more often, than one might expect. Looking at the scanty and mysterious evidence, however, I cannot resist the conclusion that, in promoting the solidarity of the Saints, the President, with his usual shrewdness, saw, and valued, the marginal effectiveness of his reputation as a dispenser of summary justice.

There is much, however, about Brigham Young that we do not know, and much that we may never know.

He appears before us always as a public man. Very little of his inner personality can be seen. We can only guess that by temperament he was unreflective, that he was satisfied with his official role. We know far more about such a lesser Mormon as John D. Lee, with his strange and convenient dreams, his obstinancy and quarrelling, his toughness and loyalty, his bitterness when abandoned by the Church to which he had given so much of his life. Lee we know from a voluminous diary, Young only from official pronoucements;

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[10] *Journal of Discourses,* I, 83; III, 226 is an example of an address delivered during the "Reformation" of 1856.

[11] *A Mormon Chronicle,* I, 98-9 (I have corrected the spelling); the previous entry, p. 98, has a more general definition of the justice to be meted out to sinners.

such of his early journal as is printed, in serial form during the 1860's in the British Mission's *Millennial Star,* is purely factual.

Even as President of the Church, moreover, much about Young is hidden from us. We know how decisions were announced, in print or verbally at conferences; how they were elaborated in successive sermons; how they were ratified by the raised hands of the congregation. We know how they were translated into working detail, downward through the Church, as when, in the 1860's, the year's quota for Church teams to help the migration was handed down from Presiding Bishop to Stake Presidency, from Stake Presdency to Bishop, to be made up, at the ward level, by a mixture of volunteering and social pressure among the Saints.[12] We know very little of how the original decisions were taken. In principle, the ruling groups had to be unanimous, but how was such unanimity achieved, and what did unanimity mean when there was present so forceful a leader as Brigham Young? Glimpses, but no more, may be found in Lee's diaries; and perhaps I should understand somewhat more if I had read the diaries of Hosea Stout and Wilford Woodruff. I am sure, however, that the problem goes far beyond the simple failure of one scholar to read the right records at the right time.

In searching for Brigham Young, we have at our disposal his collected addresses, printed as *Journal of Discourses;* the reports of early events in Utah, in the pages of *Deseret News;* and files of Church periodicals, the thoroughness of whose detail may be gauged from the fact that, in many years, the *Millennial Star* ran to more than 800 pages, double column, of small print. These are of great value. Anyone who can visit Salt Lake City finds further resources. For the Church as a whole, for each Stake in Utah, and for each Mission, there have been built up, since the late ninteenth century, collections of typed transcripts of documents, supplemented by newspaper cuttings. In these big volumes, for example, one can read the journals of emigrant companies or the records of the founding of new settlements or new economic enterprises. Yet, for two reasons, these resources are less valuable than they seem.

Both in the Church Historian's Office and in the London headquarters, the student finds a large measure of cooperation. Not only was I allowed, in London, to consult any item on the shelves, I often had a whole room placed at my disposal, while on one occasion five

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[12] On this see my *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 140-2, which gives full references.

stalwart young missionaries manhandled bookcases to afford me access to their contents. In the Church Historian's Office, much the same freedom of reading was given me. There, however, a subtle change of atmosphere could be detected. A senior official insisted on checking all transcripts. From time to time, I was requested to omit a proper name from my notes. Working as I was on immigration and colonization, I found these very small annoyances when set against the magnitude of the help I received. Yet they were symptoms of an attitude which needs to be defined and criticized. Another symptom is the lamentable proposal, of which I heard three years ago, to transfer to Utah the immensely valuable library in the London office, which contains, among many other items, the only complete files in Britain of the *Millennial Star* and the *Times and Seasons*. This Mormon attitude, I presume, is that the documents record the Lord's dealings with His Church; they are not raw material for independent research into mundane phenomena. The records, therefore, are not so much to be used as preserved.

The second impediment is more important though less obvious. The Journal History of the Church, and the equivalent compilations on stakes and missions, form, as it were, a screen erected in front of the original documents. In my own subject, whenever I have been able to compare this material with non-Mormon records, or against private diaries of Mormons outside the Church archives, I have been impressed by its accuracy. No one, however, can be sure that everything has been transcribed. What is hidden may do no more than corroborate what is on the shelves. It may, however, contain such items as full records of the proceedings of the Council of Fifty, most important and most mysterious of Mormon institutions. John D. Lee tells us, in an entry for February, 1849, that a group of Mormons asked permission to go to California to earn money at the mines. Brigham Young expressed himself freely on the project. "Gold was the root of all evil." Robert Crow, who presented the petition, was being led by his family, whom Young described as "rebellious, wicked, stubborn." He went on: "If they want to go to the gold mines, let them go, and he shall have fourfold and as many children as Job and as handsome ones. . . . Nine-tenths of those that went off for gold would go down to hell, and by and by those very characters would lead mobs . . . as some did in Missouri." Lee's report concludes: "The spirit of God bore record to the things spoken. Robert Crow wept like a child and said that he would obey council, and retired."[18]

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[18] *A Mormon Chronicle*, I, 95 (spelling again corrected).

How valuable would be the complete records, for the light they would shed on Mormon decisions and Mormon attitudes! As things are, no one can be sure what has been concealed, nor for what reasons. Harmless in the research upon which I was engaged in the early 1950's, this would be a crippling handicap to anyone engaged in an attempt to understand how the highest decisions were taken, or the part played in the Church's government by Brigham Young.

People in closer touch with the Mormon Church than I have suggested to me that policy may be relaxed, at any rate as soon as a new generation replaces the present venerable high command. I doubt this, for in the Church Historian's Office are shelves full of hostile literature, which few Mormons read but of whose existence they are conscious and which they expect to be added to in the future. They are bound to feel, therefore, that no undue encouragement should be given to scholars whose motives must be suspect. Yet I hope that I am wrong. I am sure that secrecy does more harm to the Church's reputation than could result from any disclosures from the archives; and this is no mere generalization about human nature. Mormon history has already been largely re-written in my lifetime. Scholars are no longer obsessed by the question of the validity of Mormon theology or the authenticity of Joseph Smith's claims. They are far more willing than half a century ago to accept Mormonism as one historical faith among others and to study its effects. They can give full value to the Mormon achievement in the West. They can feel sympathy for the Saints' hardships, perhaps even for their endless rehearsing of them.[14] The Church, therefore, has little to fear from a change of policy, from a freeing of the archives which might result in the exposure of a few discreditable episodes which occurred in a context a century old. What institution, after all, can claim innocence for every detail of its past record? Even the British government has annonunced that its documents will henceforth be closed to scholars only for the past thirty, and not, as previously, the past fifty years.

A liberal policy, if it is ever adopted, will benefit others, not myself, for I have already written my book about the Mormons. If the unlikely event of freer access to important documents leads to the writing of a satisfactory life of Brigham Young, I shall not have written it.

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[14] For a full treatment of these changes of approach, I refer readers to my article, "Recent Writing on Utah and the Mormons," *Arizona and the West,* IV (1962), 249-60, which is reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the British Association for American Studies, November 1959.

MORMON MISSIONARY PREACHING TO THE LOWER CLASSES IN LONDON

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN MORMON HISTORY

by Davis Bitton

WITH A REPLY

by James B. Allen

Almost from its beginning Mormonism was disparaged as fundamentally superstitious and irrational, with an appeal only for the poor and uneducated. Even before the description of Joseph Smith as "ignorant" and "illiterate" by the residents of Palmyra and the denunciation of Mormon beliefs as "subversive of human reason" by those dubious judges the "old settlers" of Jackson County, the stereotype was established of a low-brow, irrational religion.[1] This image was consciously promulgated, especially by the Protestant clergy, and became the standard view of Mormonism in the public opinion of the nineteenth century. If the term "anti-intellectual" had then been current, it doubtless would have been added to similar epithets used to describe "the Mormon delusion."

Sometimes early Mormon leaders simply admitted the essential accuracy of the charge. "I call upon the weak things of the world, those who are unlearned and despised, to thresh the nations by the power of my Spirit," said an early revelation to Joseph Smith.[2] But on the whole Mormons did not relish being portrayed as oafs and simpletons. Soon they were calling attention to passages in their scriptures which praised intelligence, thought, and the pursuit of knowledge, pointing with pride to the schools they established, and citing statistics of literacy and school attendance. This anti-image did not become widely accepted in the nineteenth century, and even today the older stereotype persists.

The fact of the matter is that Mormonism, like Western society in general, has had an ambivalent attitude towards intellect. A simple

label, ignoring contrary pressures and assuming a non-existent stability, will not do. Recognizing the interplay of opposing values, we need to examine the specific circumstances which have had an impact on Mormon attitudes and the modulations from one generation to another. Such an approach may enable us better to distinguish fundamental Mormon commitments from temporary, circumstantial attitudes, and may help us to see recent manifestations of anti-intellectualism in larger perspective.[8]

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In several respects the Mormonism of the nineteenth century was less hostile to intellect than the common assumption has had it. For one thing, Mormonism had much in common with the rationalistic Christianity growing out of the Enlightment. Rejecting the traditional Christian creeds, Mormonism turned away from the mystery of the Trinity, the creation of the world *ex nihilo,* the depravity of fallen man, predestination, and a hell of eternal punishment to the Godhead as comprised of three individuals united in purpose, the creation of the world from previously existing matter, free will, the dignity and high destiny of man, and a graded salvation for all — to beliefs, in other words, which were more satisfying, more readily understandable, and more "logical" to the average person. Although such a congeries of beliefs made the Mormon religion thoroughly unpalatable to Catholicism and the main branches of Protestantism, it was Mormonism which, in the context of the time, was easily more rationalistic.

It was possible, of course, to turn away from the traditional creeds not because they were irrational but because they were unscriptural. Nineteenth-century Protestant revivalism thus reacted against abstruse theology and returned with high fervor to the homely truths

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[1] B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), I, 324. For a critique of the Palmyra affidavits, see Hugh Nibley, *The Myth Makers* (Salt Lake City, 1961).

[2] *Doctrine and Covenants* 35:12. The oft-recounted meeting of Martin Harris with Professor Charles Anthon, cited as dramatic fulfillment of a prophecy in Isaiah, provided early Mormons with prototypes of the simple believer and the professorial fool.

[3] Definitions are important here, but it is not feasible in an interpretive essay to elaborate on the subtle distinctions already made by others. A convenient working definition of intellectuals is that offered by Merle Curti: "those men and women whose main interest is the advancement of knowledge, or the clarification of cultural issues and public problems." *American Paradox, The Conflict of Thought and Action* (New Brunswick, 1956), p. 73. The difference between "intelligence" and "intellect" is thoughtfully discussed by Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1964), pp. 24-33. As for literature and the arts, significant and relevant as they are, I have not attempted to include them in the present essay.

of the Bible. There is some of this same compulsion among early Mormon preachers, who prided themselves in being able to prove their claims out of the very Bibles of their opponents. Nevertheless, there are important differences. For the Mormons the Bible was only one among several scriptures; its message was often described as applicable to a certain time and place in the past, with modern problems requiring new revelation; it was seen as having been corrupted, distorted, and inaccurately translated, and was explicated with the aid of a panoply of additional scripture, inspired revision, and new revelations. The Mormons could scarcely be charged with Bibliolatry, and it is perhaps understandable that Protestant ministers saw Mormon criticism of the Bible to be essentially the same as that of the rationalists.[4]

Mormonism was also close to rationalism in its attitude towards science. For one thing, it did not retain the traditional dichotomy of spirit and matter; all things were material, although differing in density. God was not conceived as pure mind, without spatial extension, nor did He call the material world into existence from nothing. Closely connected with this forthright materialism was the belief in eternal laws of cause and effect. Laws of nature were held to be not derived from God but inherent in the cosmos; it was by using them that Deity worked out the divine purposes. Rejecting the deist conception of an absentee God, Mormonism regarded divine activity in the mundane dimension of space and time not as "intervention" but as a consequence of spiritual laws of cause and effect. Miracles were explained as the operation of laws not yet fathomed by human science. Once you understood the whole picture, everything would seem perfectly natural, perfectly scientific.

Not only was there little sense of conflict between science and religion in nineteenth-century Mormonism, there was a strong sense of identification. Both the Gospel and science were seen as consequences of the outpouring of the Spirit of God in preparation for the millennial reign. In both religion and science the Lord was "extending the Saints' understanding"; both through the heavenly visitations connected with the Restoration and through exciting new inventions the "veil" which had shielded the earth from divine communication was "beginning to burst." These associations made for an exuberant

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[4] J. B. Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages* (New York, 1842), argues rather convincingly that Mormons were so convinced of the inadequacy of the Bible and the apostate condition of Christianity that, if they ever abandoned Mormonism, they were almost inevitably agnostic toward all religion. Cf. Daniel S. Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York, 1906), p. 363.

optimism: both the coming of Elijah and the new technology seemed to herald the "dawning of a brighter day."[5]

There was even every expectation that the Saints, unhampered by incorrect first principles, would lead the way in scientific research. As H. Tate wrote in 1842: "The saints being of choice intellects, selected from the great mass of mankind, with free and independent minds, determined to think and know for themselves, are well situated by an attentive observation of the phenomena and laws of nature . . . to discover and demonstrate new truths. . . . If the world in confusion and under mental bondage have made valuable acquisitions, what may not the saints do?"[6]

The vast difference between human and divine knowledge was recognized, of course, but Mormon leaders seemed to have had little doubt that scientific conclusions were correct as far as they went, that scientific laws were firmly established, and that Mormonism and science were tending in the same direction. In 1871, Brigham Young said:

> I am not astonished that infidelity prevails to a great extent among the inhabitants of the earth, for the religious teachers of the people advance many ideas and notions for truth which are in opposition to and contradict facts demonstrated by science. . . . In these respects we differ from the Christian world, for our religion will not clash with or contradict the facts of science in any particular. . . . Our religion embraces all truth and every fact in existence, no matter whether in heaven, earth, or hell. A fact is a fact, all truth issues forth from the Fountain of truth, and the sciences are facts as far as men have proved them. In talking to a gentleman not long ago, I said, "The Lord is one of the most scientific men that ever lived; you have no idea of the knowledge he has with regard to the sciences. . . ."[7]

While the charge that the Mormons were superstitious is easy enough to understand — they were guilty of "seeing visions in an age of railways"[8] — it is important, I think, to recognize that to nine-

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[5] There are many references to scientific advances in Mormon sermons of the nineteenth century. As Parley P. Pratt wrote: "The triumphs of steam over earth and sea, the extension of railroads, and, above all, the lightning powers of the telegraph, are already, gradually but rapidly developing, concentrating and consolidating the energies and interests of all nations, preparatory to the universal development of knowledge, neighborly kindness, and mutual brotherhood." *Key to Theology* (Salt Lake City, 1965), p. 78. The most overdrawn attempt I have seen to equate secular progress with gospel dispensations is E. Cecil McGavin, "Why This Has Been a Century of Progress," *Improvement Era*, XXXIV (1931), 148ff.

[6] *Times and Seasons*, IV (1842), 46-47. A similar claim that direct access to God would enable the Mormons to excel not only in science but in all learning was made by John Taylor: "You will see the day that Zion will be as far ahead of the outside world in everything pertaining to learning of every kind as we are today in regard to religious matters." *Journal of Discourses*, XXI (1881), 100.

[7] *Journal of Discourses*, XIV (1872), 115-117.

teenth-century Mormons it was the "outside world" that was bound by false and superstitious traditions. In 1870, in an important sermon on the power of tradition, Brigham Young said:

> The world of mankind have no idea of the force of tradition upon them, it does not come into their hearts, they do not contemplate it; if they did they would correct many of their errors, and cease a great many of their practices, and adopt others more in accordance with the principles of life and truth.[8]

The power of false traditions — the "web woven around them in childhood's days," to use Young's compelling image — helped to explain why people were unable to perceive the truth of the Gospel when it was presented to them. If only they could disentangle themselves from the absurdities of their creeds and traditions, they could turn to a religion of light and intelligence. The contest, in the Mormon view, was between superstition, tradition, priestcraft, and closed minds, on the one hand, and truth, enlightenment, science, and the Kingdom of God on the other.

Thus confident that time was on their side, never doubting that the relentless march of science would be to their advantage, Mormon leaders made ringing declarations of their willingness to accept truth, from whatever source. As Brigham Young put it on one occasion: "If your doctrine is better than ours, let us know it, for we are searching after true riches."[9] And again:

> You may take the mother church of the Christian world, the reformers, universalists, deists, atheists, spiritualists and everybody else, and if any or all of them are right, we are sure that we are, for every particle of truth believed in by any one of them, and all the truth possessed by the whole of them combined is believed by the Latter-day Saints.[10]

This exultant spirit was given poetic expression in the hymn, still popular with Mormon congregations, "Oh Say, What is Truth?" The Gospel, as the Saints were often reminded, comprehended all truth. The theme was unoriginal, even largely tautological. It reflected a comfortably Victorian conception of truth as absolute ("eternal, unchanged, evermore," in the words of the hymn) and as readily discerned. But there was no tone of fearful suspicion here, no defensive lack of confidence.

Nor was there a lack of confidence in the missionaries who carried the good news of the Restoration to all nations. One missionary, lecturing in Boston's Boylston Hall, was described as follows: "His

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[8] *Ibid.*, XIII (1871), 238-241.
[9] *Ibid.*, I (1854), 39, 334.
[10] *Ibid.*, XIII (1871), 238, 241.

reasoning was logical, philosophical, and easy to understand."[11] And of another missionary an observer wrote: "If a thorough knowledge of the scriptures, talent, tact, sound reasoning, and powerful argument, are qualifications, then Elder Maginn is fully qualified for the duties of his office. . . . His reasoning was plain, logical and conclusive to the mind of every candid hearer."[12]

Mormon elders were often willing, even anxious, to engage priests and ministers in public debate. One Bostonian asked: "Where is the priest that dare meet the elders of the Mormons on any of these questions? I have heard Elder Page, time and again, publicly challenge the whole clergy of Boston to meet him on any of these questions, using their own hall free of expense, the Bible being the rule of evidence, and where is there one that dare do it?"[13] One can sympathize with the clergy, I think, for audiences were likely to be anticlerical and sympathetic to the underdog. And as presented by these fervent antagonists Mormonism was often an elusive target: the Mormon elders were well-armed with proof-texts and could use the Bible with great effectiveness; they could make the clergyman's interpretations appear as a craven effort to "explain away" the plain meaning of God's Word, or, alternately, could use any contradictions or lack of clarity to show the need for a modern prophet; and, most frustrating of all, they could at almost any time jump from the realm of logical discourse by "bearing" personal testimony.[14] But Mormons saw the ministerial reluctance as further evidence of the invincible logic of the restored Gospel.[15]

Not that conversion to Mormonism was a purely intellectual process. In practice the step was probably taken for a variety of motives which would be impossible to sort out even for a single individual. But everyone was agreed, I think, that final certainty of the Gospel's truth was by a witness of the Spirit. This witness did not come out of the void unsolicited, nor was it an anti-rational substitute for the use of the mind. As Oliver Cowdery discovered, he was first to "study it out" in his mind and then look for a "burning" of the breast

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[11] *Times and Seasons,* IV (1843), 125.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 206.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 358.

[14] In 1855, Apostle George A. Smith said that the opponents of the Church now "know that the 'Mormons' cannot be successfully contended with by argument. . . . they know that the priests have given it up years ago." *Journal of Discourses,* III (1856), 27. See Barbara Higdon, "The Role of Preaching in the Early Latter-day Saint Church, 1830-1846," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Missouri, 1961), especially chapter 9.

[15] Like war stories, the narration of missionary successes could get better with the telling. Before long it was almost a convention of Mormon meetings to hear of the untrained missionary who defeated the learned clergyman, by logic and the power of God.

if he had it right; the witness of the Holy Ghost which was promised as a manifestation of the truth of the Book of Mormon presumably came after "ye shall read these things" and "ponder them in your hearts."[16] Closely connected with study and prayer in the gaining of a testimony was evidence. Faith itself was described by Orson Pratt as "the result of evidence,"[17] and evidence was eagerly supplied to support the Mormon claims: witnesses, reports of archaeological discoveries, papyri, mummies, skeletons, brass plates, prosperity (or alternately, poverty), and of course the general pragmatic evidence of individual experience. Faith in the Gospel was, at first, a working hypothesis, supported by evidence and reason and later confirmed by experience and the witness of the Spirit. Reason at least had an important role in this paradigm of conversion, and, as later Mormon leaders pointed out, in some respects the whole process was not unlike the use of hypothesis and experiment in science. Mormons did not have the sensation of repudiating reason and common sense; they did not see their faith as a "leap" into the unknown.

To say that Mormon doctrine seemed reasonable to its adherents is not the truism it might appear. It is quite possible in religion to be unconcerned about reason, to seek above all else the mystical "flight of the alone to the alone," or to regard faith in the Anselmian sense of willingness to believe something which in the mind is impossible. The Mormons, on the other hand, were concerned about reason, about evidence, about logic, and about experience. They wished their religion to be intellectually as well as emotionally satisfying.

One other point is relevant, at least indirectly, to the general stance of Mormonism in the nineteenth century. A constant feature of Mormon history for its first seventy years or more was persecution. In the form of mob violence, legal harrassment, or the legislative and judicial crusade against polygamy, persecution was the inevitable and expected concomitant of the Gathering. The Mormons sought to gather the honest in heart from the world, erect their own City of God, and launch the millennial reign of Christ. In practical terms, the enterprise included setting up not only a church but also a set of political, economic, and social institutions which quickly won for the

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[16] *Doctrine and Covenants*, section 9; *Book of Mormon*, Moroni 10:4-5.

[17] Orson Pratt, *The Seer* (1853-1854), p. 198. The *locus classicus* on faith in Mormon scriptures — emphasizing the importance of desire, of "trying out" or practicing, of experience as confirming evidence, of "nurturing" faith lest it die — is Alma 32 in the Book of Mormon. Here, as always, epistemology is complex, with far-reaching implications. I know of no comprehensive treatment which relates faith, belief, and testimony, as understood by Mormons, to the general problem of cognition. See, however, Wendell O. Rich, *Distinctive Teachings of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City, 1962), chapter 8.

Mormons the reputation of being "un-American." The struggle in territorial Utah, which had been adumbrated earlier and which subsided only in the twentieth century, was concerned not with polygamy alone but also, perhaps more significantly, with alleged Church political control and with economic programs inimical to free-enterprise competition. Mormonism was no conventional church in a pluralistic society; it was, in its own consciousness, the embryonic Kingdom of God, destined to dominate the world.

One important consequence of this relationship was that it facilitated, even presupposed, Mormon criticism of national values and institutions. If one of the traditional roles of the intellectual is that of social critic, Mormon leaders often exercised the same prerogative with gusto. Orson Pratt, for example, deplored the consequences of economic inequality:

> An inequality in riches lays a foundation for pride, and many other evils. . . . Besides the great inequalities in regard to the actual comforts of life, it produces great inequality in education, in the social circle, in marriage associations, and in almost every other respect. Hence, an inequality in property is the root and foundation of innumerable evils; . . . it is a principle originated in hell; it is the root of all evil.[18]

Such a doctrine was closer to Saint-Simon than to Adam Smith.[19] Mormon leaders were outspoken in denouncing specific institutions and values of American and European society. Overcrowded cities, exploitation of industrial workers through wage slavery, prices determined purely by the market and at the expense of human needs, commercial insurance, and the social evil of prostitution, all came under fire from Mormon pulpits.[20] This was not merely sniping at indi-

[18] *The Seer,* p. 293.

[19] Current efforts to disassociate Mormonism from socialism, while obviously primarily concerned with present implications and seldom showing any cognizance of the diverse socialist movements of the past century, emphasize that there was not, according to the Law of Consecration, a complete redistribution of property. Quite true. But no one, I think, would describe Mormon communitarian programs as laissez-faire capitalism.

[20] When John Taylor described the institutions of "the world" as "shattered" and "cracked," just after his return from Europe, he meant not only religious institutions but also political and governmental institutions. *Journal of Discourses,* I, 16-17. When they denounced exploitation of workers (*ibid.,* III, 117-118), profiteering by merchants (*ibid.*), putting property and private interests before the public welfare (*ibid.,* p. 330), and expansionist warfare motivated by greed (*ibid.,* pp. 36, 288-289), when they showed some sympathy for revolutions (*ibid.,* II, 190), preached something very close to the labor theory of value (*ibid.,* II, 351; III, 117-118), and called for economic planning to further the common good (*ibid.,* III, 330), Mormon leaders were denouncing the same features of nineteenth-century capitalism as were nihilists, Chartists, socialists, and American patrician reformers, with differences of emphasis and ultimate objective. I cannot refrain from giving my favorite example of Mormon attack on one other Gentile institution. The speaker was George A. Smith: "We breathe free air, we have the best looking men and the handsomest women, and if they envy us our position, well they may, for they are a poor, narrow-minded, pinch-backed race of men, who chain themselves down to the law of monogamy. . . ." *Ibid.,* III, 291.

vidual abuses. It was a structural criticism which denounced the built-in values and institutions of acquisitive capitalism and proposed to erect a radically different society. Gentile social critics might have little use for the Mormon style and might indeed include polygamy as one of the evils requiring reform. But the Mormons could scarcely be accused of being apologists for the national Establishment.

II

It would be absurd to claim that Mormonism in the nineteenth century was a thoroughly intellectual religion, compatible in every respect with the intellectual fashions of that tumultuous age. But we have seen enough, I think, to recognize that, for the Mormons, there was a greater compatability than we had been led to believe, for their religion was shot through with the values of rationalism, science, education and social reform. It would be easy to point out contrary features: the level of Mormon converts, the practical limits of education, the lack of competent scholarship and publication, the anti-professionalism of the 1850's, and above all the pervasive atmosphere of millennial expectation which colored Mormon perceptions of almost everything else. But having recognized that Mormonism seemed in many respects to be aligned with specific opinions and prejudices of nineteenth-century thinkers, we are in a position to examine, with some sense of perspective, the configuration of attitudes which took shape around the turn of the century. For it was then that the comfortable alignment which nineteenth-century Mormonism had enjoyed with science and reason began to fall apart. Contributing to this development, and to the upsurge of anti-intellectualism in the Church of the twentieth century, were several factors which it will be helpful to consider.

Science and Religion. The apparent congruity of Mormonism and science in the nineteenth century seemed much less compelling by the middle of the present century. Mormon leaders of the pioneer period had not been entirely conversant with the science of their own day, often confusing it with technological innovations such as the railroad. When they spoke of scientific laws, they almost always assumed that these were "true" in an absolute sense, although other laws remained unknown.

The same general conception is reflected in a significant little book published in 1908 by John A. Widtsoe on *Joseph Smith as Scientist.* The thesis of the book was that the teachings of Joseph Smith "were in full harmony with the most advanced scientific thought of today, and that he anticipated the world of science in the statement of fundamental facts and theories of physics, chemistry,

astronomy and biology."[21] An example of such a "fact," apparently, was the luminiferous ether which supposedly prevaded all space. Said Widtsoe:

> There is at the present time no grander or more fundamental doctrine in science than that of the ether. . . . Together with the doctrines of the indestructibility of matter and energy, the doctrine of the ether welds and explains all the physical phenomena of the universe.[22]

Then, on the basis of Joseph Smith's statement that Spirit filled the immensity of space and his description of spirit as attenuated matter, Widtsoe concluded: " . . . it is not improbable that at some future time, when science shall have gained a wider view, the historian of the physical sciences will say that Joseph Smith, the clear-sighted, first stated correctly the fundamental physical doctrine of universal ether."[23]

But why attempt to show that Smith's teachings coincided with the scientific conclusions of 1850 or 1900? Widtsoe's basic argument, repeated in chapter after chapter, can be structured as follows: Joseph Smith had made a specific assertion; scientists had now proved something similar (not identical) to be "true"; *ergo* Smith had received this truth directly from God. But what happens to such a line of reasoning when scientists abandon, or at least drastically modify, the "doctrines" of the ether, the indestructibility of matter and energy, and even the Euclidean-Newtonian universe? It is not entirely advantageous, obviously, for theological assertions to be closely identified with the scientific orthodoxy of a given generation.[24]

The area of real tension, however, is less in the physical sciences than in the biological sciences and anthropology. Here a specific example of how the onward march of science can leave a religious belief behind is the Mormon doctrine of race. In regarding certain races as afflicted with a divine curse, the Mormons were among those who

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[21] John A Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as Scientist* (reprinted Salt Lake City, 1964), p. 9.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 23. The marginal heading reads: "The existence of the ether is a certainty of science." Widtsoe was in good company at the turn of the century, for although the experiment of Michelson and Morley had cast grave doubts on the ether hypothesis in 1887, "only the generation of scientists after 1900 could bring themselves to do without 'ether,' and then Einstein would formulate his new doctrine of relativity." C. J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism* (N.Y., 1941), p. 111.

[23] Widtsoe, p. 29.

[24] The tendency to think of science in terms of Victorian positivism is so widespread, among scientists as well as non-scientists, that it is scarcely surprising to find it in Mormon writings. But until we come to grips with Mach, Heisenberg, Schrodinger, and Planck, and until we have digested recent important works on the philosophy, sociology, and history of science, it is hard to see how our discussions can be more than shadow-boxing. Here is a sentence worth chewing on: "We may . . . have to relinquish the notion, explicit or implicit, that changes of paradigm carry scientists and those who learn from them closer and closer to the truth." Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Science Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962), p. 169.

were trying to fit the races of humanity into the Biblical framework, a respectable effort which in the mid-nineteenth century might or might not be used as an argument for slavery. In a sense, Mormon theology was here characteristically "rationalistic," proceeding from a set of accepted "facts" to an explanation consistent with the mercy of God: the observed inequality of treatment (including the Mormon policy of baptizing Negroes but not ordaining them to the Priesthood) was thus not capricious or arbitrary; it was "deserved," both because distant ancestors had incurred divine displeasure and because each individual person had behaved in the pre-existent state in such a way as to merit his present skin color.[25] In an age when belief in the moral and intellectual inequality of the races was fully consonant with current science the Mormon rationale did not seem at all obscurantist.[26]

In the early twentieth century, thanks largely to the work of anthropologists such as Franz Boas, the traditional notion of racial inequality was intellectually overthrown: there were no lower or higher races, even in the physical sense, no innate differences of intelligence capacity, no differences even of blood in the traditional sense of "blood of Israel," "Negro blood," or "Indian blood."[27] By the middle of the century the weight of anthropological and biological scholarship was so strongly agreed in rejecting traditional notions of racial inequality that the Mormon position, once scientifically respectable, now seemed scientifically absurd, if only because of the practical difficulty of determining race with certainty in individual cases. Moreover, the Mormon doctrine had implications — or could be made to carry implications — which to many seemed morally obtuse.

A similar, perhaps more basic, divergence of Mormon theology and science had to do with the age of the earth, prehistoric man, and the relationship (and mutability) of the species. All Christians of

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[25] I have presented this much more neatly than it appears in nineteenth century Mormon theology. The mention of the pre-existence, for example, seemed to come as an afterthought — perhaps because the few scriptural passages on the subject, while mentioning differences of intelligence, say nothing of determining race, and because a justification of inequitable treatment on the basis of the supposed pre-existent differences could, intrinsically, be extended to *any* injustice.

[26] The standard treatment of scientific views of race in the nineteenth century is William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960). See also T. F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas, 1963).

[27] See Franz Boas, "The Problem of Race," in V. F. Calverton (ed.), *The Making of Man* (New York, 1931), pp. 113-141; and Ashley Montagu, "Problems Relating to the Study of Race," and "The Myth of 'Blood'," in *Man in Process* (New York, 1961). [Notions of innate racial differences of intelligence are still advanced from time to time. My point here is that the weight of evidence for the past several decades has made it highly difficult, to say the least, to accept both Mormon presuppositions and scientific conclusions on the question.]

course faced the necessity of reconciling Genesis and science, and up to a point the Mormons seemed to retain their old strategic advantage in dealing with such questions. They were able to show in their scripture, for example, that the creation of the earth occurred not in six "days" but in six "creative periods."[28] And their doctrine of eternal progression was in some way a kind of long-range evolution.[29] But when all was said and done some Mormon beliefs regarded as basic failed to find scientific confirmation, and the Mormon position seemed disconcertingly close to that of Protestant Fundamentalism.

In the nineteenth century the Mormon use of the Bible had seemed free-wheeling, with modern scripture and revelation often providing the exegetical key. Now the range of possible interpretation was often narrowed by those very revelations, as well as by statements of early leaders. If the Book of Mormon used the phrase "the five books of Moses," the Pentateuch must be by Moses. If Joseph Smith once said that the birth of Christ occurred four thousand years after the Fall, the chronology of Bishop Usher was thereby canonized. Earlier there had been a willingness to criticize the Bible for its contradictions, its faulty transmisson, its inadequacy, all in the interest of showing the need for modern revelation. But even though rationalists such as Thomas Paine had furnished valuable ammunition, the early Mormons had never been all that radical, always assuming that the original texts of the Bible were accurate, divinely inspired, and not to be "evaded" by fancy allegory. Now any threat to the Bible their progenitors had openly critized was seen by Mormons as a threat to the presuppositions of their own religion. For all the differences of interpretation which could in fact be found among Mormons, there was no mistaking the pronounced literalism of their usual approach to the scriptures.[30] And for all of the persisting difference between them, Mormons and Protestant Fundamentalists were very close together in refusing to allow modern scholarship to shake their belief that (in Joseph Smith's words) "the Bible says what it means and means what it says."[31] Or, as Billy Sunday put it: "When the word

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[28] But modern scripture was not needed for this conclusion. "In the nineteenth century the six days of creation were frequently interpreted as six periods of indefinite length." John C. Greene, *Darwin and the Modern World View* (New York, 1963), pp. 18-19.

[29] This comparison was often made by John A. Widtsoe, as, for example, in *In Search of Truth* (Salt Lake City, 1930), pp. 67-70.

[30] There is no reliable study of Mormon exegesis. Despite Sterling McMurrin's opinion that "often their uses have been abuses and should best be forgotten," I can think of no single area of exploration which promises to be so fruitful in understanding the dynamics of Mormonism.

[31] When one minister asked Joseph Smith to show him his creed, he handed him his Bible. *Times and Seasons,* IV (1842), 362. More candid were the introductory phrases in a statement prepared for Rupp's *History of Religious Denominations:* "Believing the Bible

of God says one thing and scholarship says another, scholarship can go to hell!"[32]

It would be misleading to think of twentieth-century Mormonism as utterly anti-scientific. In many areas there was no occasion for conflict, and even in the more sensitive areas Mormon scientists have always felt free, I believe, to employ what some Mormon are fond of calling "the theories of men." Certainly there have been many Mormon scientists who have found their profession to be compatible with their religious faith. But gone were the days when Mormons could blandly assert, "Our religion will not clash with or contradict the facts of science in any particular."[33]

Accommodation and Respectability. Quite aside from intellectual currents, attitudes are obviously influenced by social and economic relationships. In the nineteenth century Mormons had tried to achieve a kind of separatism. When the result was persecution, it was easy to lash out at national values and institutions. Mormons had a distinct sense of "peculiarity," of "alienation," from national society, and some of their views coincided with those of individual intellectuals. All of this was changed by the series of adjustments which, between the late 1880's and 1914, added up to an accommodation to national norms. And since middle-class, conservative political and economic views became dominant, the previous partial alignment with intellectual social critics could not be maintained.

The Church had taken a step in the direction of free-enterprise capitalism as early as 1882, when the boycott of Gentile businesses was lifted and private retailing and manufacturing were allowed. During the next generation, many Church cooperatives and other concerns were sold to private interests. But the Church continued to exert efforts to promote the economy and acquired appreciable holdings in several different enterprises.[34]

Soon the upper councils of the Church became highly business oriented. I do not see this as any kind of conspiratorial take-over. Men chosen as authorities were leading men of their communities,

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to say what it means and mean what it says, and guided by revelation, according to the ancient order of the fathers, to whom came what little light we enjoy, and circumscribed only by the eternal limits of truth. . . ." *Documentary History* (Salt Lake City, 1950), VI, 10.

[32] McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday,* p. 138, as cited in Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life,* p. 122.

[33] See above, footnote 7. The malaise of the mid-twentieth century, after science had been used effectively by Hitler and after the invention of nuclear bombs threatened annihilation, must have contributed to make Mormons less willing to link the Restored Gospel to "scientific progress." Also, although archaeology may not have "disproved" the Book of Mormon claims in an absolute sense, confident claims of "tangible proof" of the Nephite civilization were now uttered only by the uninformed. Another subtle disillusion was settling in.

[34] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 384ff.

which often meant men of property. Besides, business acumen was needed to handle the complex financial negotiations of the beginning of the century and to manage investments as the century continued. For similar reasons lawyers became increasingly numerous in the hierarchy. The few individuals called from some other walk of life came to share many of the same values and habits of thought, especially as they came to be associated more closely with other General Authorities and, in some instances, served on boards of directors of corporations in which the Church held interest. Such men were highly capable, efficient, and hard-working; their faith and devotion to the church were abundantly demonstrated. But their background, their associations, and their desire to further the Church's financial interests, combined to make them conservative in fiscal and economic policy.[85]

At the same time, not surprisingly, the political identification of the Church became predominantly Republican. To be sure, there were early statements such as the following in the *Improvement Era,* in 1901: "Do not believe all the man says who declares that this party or that is false to every principle of good and true government. . . . No one party possesses all the good; no one party is wholly right nor all in the wrong."[86] There were Mormons in both political parties, but the majority of General Authorities undoubtedly considered themselves Republican, as did the majority of stake presidents and bishops. Although an effort was made to avoid "official" endorsement of individual candidates or pronouncements on specific legislation, such pronouncements as were made could be counted upon to be almost invariably pro-Republican or, on non-partisan issues, conservative in philosophy.[87] In short, the men favored for leadership in the Church were solid, conservative types, drawn largely from business and law. And with some exceptions their general political orientation was represented by Senator Reed Smoot, President Heber

[85] It is the rule rather than the exception for religions, after the initial burst of enthusiasm, to become "adjusted" to society, with the higher clergy identified with the ruling and dominant classes. There is undoubtedly some truth in Thomas F. O'Dea's opinion that the Mormons avoided becoming either an "established sect" or a "denomination." "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation," *American Journal of Sociology,* LX (1954), 285-293. But their leaders were mostly solid, middle-class Republicans. True, B. H. Roberts, a Democrat, showed some sympathy for more aggressive government economic action. See *Discourses of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City, 1948). But it is an understatement to say that he was an exception.

[86] *Improvement Era,* III (1901), 943-944.

[87] The conservative political orientation of the Church has been a familiar theme of books about Utah, as, for example, John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.,* but often they are offensive in tone, casting aspersions on individual motivation. A more measured, documented survey of the problem is J. D. Williams, "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," in *Dialogue,* I (Summer, 1966), 30-54.

J. Grant, and President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., — all conservative Republicans.[38]

The transformation of the Church from the 1880's to 1914 is replete with irony. As Mormon leaders, once vigorous social critics, tended to become Republican, the Republican Party itself was moving away from its earlier radical reform impulses.[39] And as the Church abandoned its earlier programs of social planning, economic equality, and public (Church) ownership, other churches were becoming more involved in social work and economic welfare. As the Mormons, large numbers of whom were immigrants of the first or second generation, became more closely aligned with business, other Christians were preaching the Social Gospel and attempting to support the cause of the working classes.[40] It is tempting to show similarities between Brigham Young and Walter Rauschenbusch with respect to business and labor, but since the context was different, it is probably more significant that the problems of urban industrialism of the turn of the century — against which the Progressive movement as well as the Social Gospel were directed — had not penetrated Mormon country. Not until World War II did industrialization on a large scale hit some Mormon communities with a significant impact, and even then no Mormon city faced the problems of slums, racial minorities, urban blight, juvenile delinquency, and crime of the same dimensions that created the sense of urgency in the large metropolitan centers. This represents a kind of generational 'lag" which goes far to explain Mormon attitudes. It is not surprising, for example, that a Church whose membership included few industrial workers, and whose leaders sat on boards of directors of corporations, showed little sympathy for organized labor or the reforms which labor was agitating for.[41]

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[38] An apostle before his election as U. S. Senator from Utah, Smoot later became one of the most influential Republican Senators. Heber J. Grant, who switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party at the beginning of the century, was a businessman when named an apostle. Later he was president of the Church. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., served as Ambassador to Mexico and Undersecretary of State under the Hoover administration. In 1933 he was called to be a counsellor to President Grant.

[39] See Carl N. Degler, "The Great Reversal: The Republican Party's First Century," *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* LXV (Winter, 1966), 1-11.

[40] See Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949). Simultaneously Reform Judaism was moving in the same direction, and reform-minded Catholics were preaching the principles of *Rerum Novarum,* Pope Leo XIII's great encyclical.

[41] Some statements were directed against capital as well as labor. In 1901, President Lorenzo Snow called upon the "toiling millions" to "cease to waste your wages" and to "seek for the union of capital and labor." The wealthy were urged to "use your riches to give employment to the laborer." *Millennial Star,* LXIII (1901), 65. But there was an instinctive aversion to strikes. In 1913, President Joseph F. Smith expressed concisely the trickle-down theory of helping the masses: ". . . when business and business conditions prosper, it is a sure indication that material advantages will accrue to and are shared by the people. . . ." *Improvement Era,* XV (1912-13), 555-557.

The Church entered the twentieth century in anxious pursuit of respectability. The Mormons had long been accused of being immoral and un-American. Now they were free to enter the "mainstream" of American life. The old grim days of dust, crickets, and homespun seemed farther and farther in the past. At last the Saints could be "respectable." They became zealously monogamous. They became not only loyal Americans but patriots, determined to prove their Americanism to any doubter. Soon after the turn of the century the new Boy Scouts of America program was adopted by the Church with great enthusiasm. Thousands of Mormon boys could now pledge to do their duty to God and country, with none of the old schizophrenia. The Mormons were becoming middle class with a vengeance.[42]

But if you have been accustomed to seeing the world as an Armageddon, how do you suddenly adjust to middle-class respectability? From 1830 to 1890, at least, the Saints had seen themselves as persecuted defenders of Zion, holding a beachhead where the Kingdom of God could be established as a prelude to the Second Coming and the millennial reign. If Mormon practices were ridiculed, if Mormon leaders denounced national institutions and values, it was then merely further evidence that the ways of Zion were not the ways of Babylon. A "garrison mentality" had long been influential in curtailing Mormon self-criticism and the free circulation of ideas, but it had at least stimulated Mormon criticism of Gentile society and emphasized the different character of Mormonism.[43] But with accommodation Zion had apparently succumbed to the monogamy, free enterprise, and political party maneuvers of Babylon. As the vocal opposition of Gentile businessmen, legislators and judges, and clergymen dwindled, it was difficult to maintain the "garrison mentality," the sense of separateness, at least in the old terms.

But there *were* forces threatening the work of the Church. The most important of these, to judge by the sermons and auxiliary programs of the first half of the twentieth century, were those contrib-

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[42] One reader has remarked that the quest for respectability was characteristic of all immigrants. The difference may be that this was a whole people and that for a generation or more an "artificial" obstacle had held them back, allowing an intense "status-anxiety" to build up.

[43] The term "garrison mentality," which I have heard used by Catholics in describing themselves, is even more descriptive of the Mormons. The authoritarianism of the Church in the nineteenth century is often misunderstood. It did not stifle every form of intellectual activity. But it was not conducive to free discussion. In this sense, the Godbeite heresy of 1869 may have tremendous symbolic significance. In effect the Church declared disagreement even on economic matters to be tantamount to treason. Since the Godbeites included among their number one of the few genuine intellectuals of the Church, Edward Tullidge, suspicion of the intellectual was strengthened.

uting to immorality and the loss of religious faith. Not that the same tendencies were unknown in the past century, but the "revolution in manners and morals" and the intellectual currents of the early twentieth century made the problems loom ever larger. In the fight against these "threats," these insidious influences of "the world," the old garrison mentality was readily maintained.

> Shall the youth of Zion falter
> In defending truth and right?
> When the enemy assails us,
> Shall we shrink or shun the fight?

Thus the song most frequently heard by Mormon young people in the Mutual Improvement Association. In spirit it is close to the time when the Saints, awaiting invasion by Johnston's Army in the 1850's, sang "Up awake, ye defenders of Zion." Only now the foe was not federal troops but destroyers of faith and morals — and prominent among these, as it appeared to the Church, were the intellectuals.

It was natural that the Church concern itself with the problems faced by young people growing up in an age of automobiles, pursuing higher education, moving to the cities, and marching off to war. A "new morality" was sweeping the country, and to doubt the faith of the fathers was becoming ever more fashionable. As they girded up their loins to fight cigarettes, whiskey, gambling, high hemlines, suggestive new dances, shocking novels, and ideas contrary to the Bible (interpreted literally), Mormons again found themselves shoulder to shoulder with the Protestant Fundamentalists of rural America. And on the other side were those devils, the intellectuals, who were writing "realistic" plays, experimental poetry, and stream-of-consciousness novels, with an uninhibited freedom of subject and frankness of language. It was intellectuals who were applying higher criticism to the Bible and coming up with conclusions which did not sound at all like "that old time religion." It was intellectuals who were purveying (and distorting) the teachings of Sigmund Freud as meaning "anything goes." It was intellectuals who were concluding with Franz Boas and other cultural anthropologists that ideas and values were relative to one's culture. And it was intellectuals who were teaching at the colleges and universities from which parents sometimes saw their children return worldly-wise and skeptical.[44]

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[44] This paragraph attempts to present the "intellectual" as he must have appeared to parents and to those who, quite understandably, were concerned with resisting the threats of faith and morals. It was a stereotype, of course, but one which has been incredibly influential in shaping Mormon attitudes.

If there was any doubt of the evil influence exerted by intellectuals on faith and morals, their disrepute among Mormon leaders was assured by their political views. How could respectable Republicans fail to look askance at intellectuals such as Veblen, Ross, Dewey, Beard, Pound, Brandeis, and others, who tended to be religious skeptics, reform Darwinists, advocates of positive freedom through state action, and who rejected the assumption of an absolute, sacrosanct, God-given Constitution in favor of one that was subject to inevitable interpretation.[45] As time went on most American intellectuals, if they were politically active at all, tended to range themselves in a bell-shaped dispersal from moderate Republican, to liberal Democrat, to some variety of socialist. Even had not the flirtation of prominent American writers with Communism during the 1930's confirmed their suspicions, Mormon leaders could not be expected to exhibit much warmth towards a minority group so insistently liberal.

To many Mormons, therefore, intellectuals were associated with all that was bad. This guilt-by-association way of thinking has usually been unfair: it ignores exceptions and often assumes a cause-effect relationship which obscures the complexity of the situation. But when devils are needed, stereotypes are near at hand. The old garrison mentality could be maintained. By fighting the threat to faith and morals the Mormons could still see themselves as a "peculiar people," a "royal army."

It is in such a context, I think, that we can best understand various efforts to seal off students from "worldly" ideas, the denunciation of pornography, the unwillingness in Church periodicals to include different points of view or even critical letters to the editor, the hypersensitivity to criticism, the thirst for praise, the patronizing editorials on "professors," the interminable self-congratulation at having the truth, lack of Mormon participation in ecumenical dialogue or even (with some exceptions) in cooperative charity programs, and the suspicion greeting the historian who wishes to study Mormon history. "Is it for us or against us?" The assumption is that the world is divided already between the sheep and the goats.

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[45] It is ironic that the Mormons, who rejected the universal applicability of the Bible (new conditions requiring new revelation), should ever have succumbed to a view of the Constitution as absolute. But their assumption that the meaning of the Bible (in its original form) was clear without interpretation made it easy to assume that the Constitution had only to be applied, not interpreted. This view of the Constitution was part of "the steel chain of ideas" (in Eric Goldman's phrase) with which the dominant groups in America sought to repel progressive reform. The Manifesto of 1890 acknowledged, in effect, that the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court was "the law of the land." But few Mormons were willing to accept the "new jurisprudence" of Holmes, Pound, and Brandeis, with its implications.

Some of the risks of this kind of thinking are suggested by Hans Kung:

> A Church thus turned in upon herself would become, in her relations with the world, a polemically defensive ghetto Church; clinging rigidly to forms whose value is all the past, she would be unable even to hear the demand for new ones, and would hold aloof from the world in proud self-sufficiency. Such a Church would mirror only herself, praising herself instead of the Lord; her arrogant sense of superiority over against the world would be only the reverse side of a sense of inferiority. The root attitude in such a Church would be fear. . . .[46]

In any case, the atmosphere of defensive suspicion had from the beginning stifled Mormon creativity, and it continued to do so during the early twentieth century.

In 1931, after an editorial in the *Salt Lake Telegram* appealing for Utah writers to begin producing works of quality had evoked a sympathetic response from Edgar Lee Masters among others, Bernard De Voto wrote as follows:

> I defy Mr. Masters or anyone else to find one artist or even quasi-artist, in all the wide expanse of Utah, from Soda Springs to Hurricane, from Roosevelt to St. George. No artist ever lived there ten minutes after he had the railroad fare out. If the presence of one should become known the Mormons would damn him as a loafer and the gentiles would lynch him as a profligate.
>
> Who, indeed, ever heard of a Utah painter, a Utah sculptor, a Utah novelist, or poet, or critic, or educator, or editor, or publicist — who ever heard of a Utahn? I am confident that Mr. Masters has not. Let him repeat a line of Utah poetry or the name of a Utah book — any work of the mind or spirit that may be associated with Utah.[47]

Such a letter could not go unanswered. Given the unenviable task of responding was J. H. Paul. DeVoto had been speaking from ignorance of Utah artists, and Paul mentioned Dallin, Fairbanks, and Mahonri Young. But the rest of his response was sheer torture. Had not DeVoto heard of the poets Sarah Carmichael Williams or of Orson F. Whitney? In drama there had been the Salt Lake Playhouse, some famous actors, and two playwrights, Pollock and Royle. There were novels by C. C. Goodwin, Howard Driggs, and Susa Young Gates. In history B. H. Roberts "may have rivaled Gibbon." In defense of Church music we read the following:

> Certain critics have said that the work of several of her [Utah's] composers, notably that of Stephens and Shepherd, is suggestive of

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[46] *The Council, Reform, and Reunion* (1961), p. 33.

[47] *Improvement Era* XXXIV (January, 1931), 133-134.

> the masters. The hymns of Careless have the classical tone; those of Fones, Smyth, and others are said to be deeply harmonic. . . .[48]

But why go on? By the second of his two articles, Paul, obviously frustrated by the whole assignment, conceded that DeVoto's charge was basically true.

The Mormon record in literature, the arts, and scholarship is not so dreary today. It would be much easier to name novelists, poets, composers, scientists, and historians of distinction — not many of more than local reputation, perhaps, but at least one or two in each area. But throughout the present essay we have been concerned not with individual exceptions so much as the general trend. And it is hard to deny that the general attitude, judged by many criteria, is still strongly anti-intellectual. To demonstrate this would be a thankless task. It would require discussion of sermons, of periodicals, of current exegesis, of apologetics, of the incursion of the New Thought, the recrudescence of discredited nineteenth-century Biblical anthropology, political maneuverings, efforts by some to declare discussion of Gospel topics out of bounds, uninformed dogmatism, and lack of respect for scholarly standards of accuracy and proper attribution.[49] More significant in a sense are the many small clues, trivial individually, which have the cumulative effect of denigrating the life of the mind.[50] It is no denial of the Church's many splendid qualities to recognize that in many respects it has not proved congenial to free inquiry and that its prejudices tend to be anti-intellectual.

To this charge various answers can be given. More common than one would think is the response that declares the question "out-of-bounds." Merely to raise the question within the Church, according to this line of thought, is bad form; it creates a "bad impression" and appears to be an "attack" on the Church. Once again, of course, this is the "garrison mentality" of the nineteenth century reasserting itself. It should be unnecessary to point out that an inability to engage in self-criticism will scarcely contribute to self-understanding. Nor does it in fact strengthen the real unity of the Church. Nor does it make for a "good impression" — it simply confirms the worst suspicions of those who have long deplored the "authoritarian" aspects of Mormonism.

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[48] *Ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1931), 253-256.

[49] One reader has called me to task for not including the Brigham Young University as Exhibit A of Mormon anti-intellectualism. I know that such a case could be made. But any survey of B.Y.U. should be highly specific in its evaluation as well as analytic — to avoid visiting the sins of the Administration on the heads of the faculty and to recognize excellence where it does, happily, exist. I do not propose to dispose of it in a single flippant paragraph.

[50] For example, the fact that recent laudatory statements about the Church and its leaders have come from Norman Vincent Peale, Russell Kirk, Max Rafferty, Robert Welch, and the Young Americans for Freedom, speaks volumes.

Another answer, which has the merit of speaking to the question, is a flat denial — the instinctive response of the loyal Mormon, who knows that his is not the base and primitive religion portrayed (and caricatured) in some anti-Mormon tracts. Most commonly heard in such a response are statistics of education, per capita listings in biographical dictionaries of celebrated men, or the names of individual Mormons of obvious attainment in science or letters. Permissible in certain situations, such an argument is disingenuous and evasive, for the existence of individuals of intellect and the reputable quantitative record in education of the Church were never in question. To deny any and all anti-intellectualism in the Church is not only unconvincing, it is itself unflattering, for a purely intellectual Church, if such were possible, would be a bleak and dreary thing.

More convincing is the response that admits the existence of anti-intellectual tendencies within Mormonism while pointing out that in this the Church is far from unique. Many similarities can be found, for instance, between Mormonism and American Catholicism, which had its own garrison mentality and lack of an intellectual tradition.[51] Or attention can be called to the long-standing prejudice against intellect in America in general, with the implication that Mormon distrust of higher education and abstract thought, preference for the plain and practical, and admiration of "doers" more than "thinkers," are simply reflections of American national character.[52] Such comparisons are valuable. The assertion that Mormon society was in many respects simply America in microcosm, made most eloquently and cogently by William Mulder,[53] is sufficiently true that it often seems to explain the whole story. However, it is hard to believe — and Mormons would not wish to believe — that their own basic values and their own series of experiences were irrelevant. They are Americans but, in Mulder's phrase, "Americans with a difference."[54] Their attitudes are best understood, I believe, in terms of their own values and the changing historical context.

Perhaps we can understand the problem more clearly if we recognize that there are different levels of anti-intellectualism in the Church. At bottom there is what appears to me to be a substratum of aversion to intellect inherent in any society. Since it is the nature of intellect to evaluate and criticize, it is inevitable that some tension

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[51] See Thomas F. O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma* (New York, 1958).

[52] See Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1964).

[53] *The Mormons in American History* (Reynolds Lecture, University of Utah, 1957).

[54] The validity of the concept of national character has been questioned. Are not all Americans — all subgroups — "Americans with a difference"?

exist between the intellectual and his fellow men. By his activities as teacher or writer he helps to conserve the values of society — or, in the present instance, of the Church. But by training and instinct he is constantly thinking, evaluating, criticizing, trying to separate the wheat from the chaff. This can lead to conflict with those who have a vested interest in old forms, who dislike hearing cherished customs described as obsolete or unessential, or who misconstrue faith to mean unthinking acceptance. The intellectual is not at ease in Zion. By the very nature of his reading and comparing, he confronts views which are different from his own. Not only does he suffer some alienation due to the suspicion of his fellow men, but also "he runs the risk of dissolving, by critical activity, the meaningful basis of his own life."[55] This is not to say that the intellectual is incapable of faith, loyalty, devotion, or emotional attachment to tradition. But to these he adds, at times, the kind of searching thought which may be salutary but is often unwelcome. Suspicion of intellectuals is thus inevitable in any society, and because Latter-day Saints are people in a society, they will display the same propensity.

On the next level there is aversion to intellect inherent in any revealed religion. The claims of revelation are *prima facie* absurd to scholars, whose naturalistic mode of explanation is ill adapted to the unutterable things of the Kingdom. "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" asked Paul.[56] Later, in the third century, Tertullian asked: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem, the Academy with the Church? What is there in common between the philosopher and the Christian, the pupil of Hellas and the pupil of Heaven?"[57] When God called an "unlearned boy" to be prophet of this dispensation, when Mormon scriptures warned of the dangers of pride in worldly learning, when the Christian clergy was ridiculed for relying on the dry husks of seminary study, and when the Saints were told that only the power of the Holy Ghost would enable them to know for themselves, Mormonism was evincing the attitude of *any* revealed religion in an unbelieving world.

There is another level of anti-intellectualism which stems from a specific feature of the Mormon Church. I am referring to the lay, or non-professional, basis of its organization. In an age when other Christians are groping towards a "theology of the laity" there can be no doubt of the many beneficial effects of the widespread participa-

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[55] This quotation and the whole analysis of the inherent ambivalence of the intellectual vis-a-vis society, I have taken from Thomas F. O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma,* pp. 29ff.

[56] 1 Corinthians 1:20.

[57] As quoted in C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (London, 1944), pp. 222-223.

tion and the deep individual involvement fostered by the Mormon polity. But there is another side which should be recognized. In practical terms the Mormon lay organization has meant no divinity schools, no theological journals, no class of men competent in languages, versed in the literature, and trained to handle theological ideas. While contributing to the admirable vitality of Mormonism, the non-professionalism of Mormon organization and worship has done much to create an atmosphere of hostility to special competence and to scholarship.

But if the present essay has demonstrated anything, it is that anti-intellectualism, far from being a fixed quantity, has varied in emphasis and application. The specific areas of tension have shifted from generation to generation. And they have been profoundly influenced by "extraneous" factors: education, experience, occupation, eschatalogical images, political and economic conditions, the moral atmosphere, various associational alignments, and the thrust of science. If this be true, a great deal of Mormon anti-intellectualism, including its most flagrant individual manifestations, should be regarded as not inherent but circumstantial.

Towards Gentile sophistication the Church can of course show a sturdy indifference, maintaining what Joseph Smith called "the even tenor of our ways." Mormon theology need not, as I have already suggested, try to conform to the latest trends of scholarship and science. But the question is not quite so simple. While continuing to seek the honest in heart among the meek and lowly, Mormon missionaries have found that leadership of local branches often requires some degree of education. And on general principle it seems a pity to exclude potential converts who are intellectuals. Many of course exclude themselves, but I am referring to those who are seeking. Quite understandably they are hurt by imputations of evil character, offended by suspicion of their motivation, and put off when partisan political and economic views of mid-twentieth century America are presented as part of the Gospel that is without beginning of days or end of years. To be sure, the gate is strait, but it can at least remain open.

Recognizing that the Church will always be composed mostly of non-intellectuals (a fact which is reassuring), we are left with the question: What, after all, is the place of the intellectual in the Church? In view of their traditional function in any society, to say nothing of their frequent lack of balance and puerile hypersensitivity, intellectuals should anticipate some degree of tension. Individuals will always face problems in maintaining faith, and some will leave the Church. This is to be expected and within limits is a sign of

health in the organism. But in view of the increasing numbers of Mormon writers, scientists, academicians, and laymen of broad interests, perhaps it is time to remind ourselves that they have souls worth saving, that they have in many instances demonstrated their devotion under trying conditions, and that they can contribute importantly to the work of the Church. This does not necessitate setting up an intellectual elite which scorns the faith that our parents have cherished. Nor need it represent a capitulation to the conclusions of Gentile scholarship. But the unnecessary affronts, those due to circumstantial alignments and an inherited garrison mentality, should be seen for what they are. For however understandable our prejudices may be in the light of the experiences of the past century, the modern scriptures and the living oracles have agreed, I take it, that the ultimate goals of the Church and the eternal aspirations of its members can scarcely be best furthered in an atmosphere of defensive nostalgia and obscurantism.

THOUGHTS ON ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM: A RESPONSE

James B. Allen

Whenever a young Mormon intellectual attempts to discuss anti-intellectualism within his Church, especially in the broad, 166-year historical context attempted by Professor Bitton, it seems to me that he is faced with at least three natural problems that tend from the outset to diminish his possible effectiveness (in other words, he almost has three strikes against him before he starts):

(1) Such a discussion by an intellectual is an examination of attacks upon his own attitude, insight, and intellectual commitment. For this reason it is usually defensive in nature. It is not difficult to fall into the trap of self-pity to which, as Richard Hofstadter suggests, intellectuals are sometimes prone, and the resulting discussion will tend to lack the complete objectivity to which historians are supposedly committed.

(2) It is obvious that a study of one phase of an institution cannot present a balanced view of that institution's historical development, or of its innate spirit. This hardly needs to be said, except for the fact that this particular issue, anti-intellectualism, is so sensitive that many will judge the essay too quickly on the basis of their own preconceptions and mind sets. Some ardent defenders of the faith will see in it, erroneously to be sure, an attack upon all that is good within the faith, while some who are critical of the Church will gleefully read into the essay a major intellectual rebellion which, I am sure, was not intended by the author. These are chances he must take, however, in approaching such a delicate subject.

(3) The complicated nature of anti-intellectualism itself militates against the success of a short essay if its intent is to present an in-depth or balanced view of the movement within the Church. The term "anti-intellectualism"

came into vogue only in the 1950's, and we are still wrestling with such problefs as its precise definition, is multiple and complex sources, its possible values, the possible values and contributions of intellectualism itself, and with the fact, clearly recognized by Professor Bitton, that the very nature of anti-intellectualism is constantly changing as intellectuals find new concerns in new historical settings. The best one can hope to do in the brief time and space alloted is present a tantalizing peek through the key-hole at a yet mysterious but important problem with Mormonism. This Professor Bitton has admirably accomplished.

The paper we have heard today is well informed, well written, and extremely thought-provoking. While it does not tread new ground as far as suggesting that the role of the intellectual is one of modern Mormonism's most complicated internal problems, nevertheless it is the first essay I know of in which the author attempts to place anti-intellectualism in the broad perspective of Church history. If I understand him correctly, the major thesis runs something like this: Even though Mormon converts of the nineteenth century tended to be uneducated, they were nevertheless impressed with the intellect, and with the use of reason in helping to provide answers to religious problems. In revealing new doctrines, in preaching, and in missionary work, the appeal to reason was common, and the acceptance of truths discovered by science was hardly questioned as being at all incompatible with religion. There were, of course, undercurrents of suspicion of the intellectual, but in general Mormonism was not hostile to ideas, and was actually "shot through with the values of rationalism, of science, of education for progress, and of social reform." In the twentieth century, however, Mormonism seems to have developed an antipathy to intellect, demonstrated by its lack of scholarly publication as well as by its resistance to new concepts of biblical scholarship, race, science, morality, and progressive political and economic reform. Again Professor Bitton notes some exceptions, but the general picture he presents is one of the intellectual it more difficult to express himself in the modern Church than he would have in the nineteenth century.

I find much food for thought in all parts of the paper, but my criticism will be limited to a few basic topics which I believe should receive further attention. In a sense this is not so much a criticism of the paper as a realization that the dialogue concerning anti-intellectualism in the Church must continue, and it seems to me that these are some of the questions that should be explored more thoroughly:

(1) First comes the matter of definition. Precisely what is anti-intellectualism anyway? Or, to put it another way, what is an "intellectual?" In his book *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* Richard Hofstadter spends no less than twenty-five pages trying to define these terms, demonstrating at least implicity that no single definition can satisfy everyone. In essense, however, the intellectual is pictured as one who is concerned with the life of the mind and with the role of reason in analyzing the problems of society. Complete freedom of thought and expression are paramount concerns. These things Professor Bitton also seems to suggest. But does this mean that the anti-intellectual is *ipso facto* opposed to reason, or that he does not value the workings of the unfettered mind? One of Hofstadter's most telling points is the fact that anti-intellectualism is not the creation of men hostile to ideas. He further suggests that "intellect itself can be overvalued, and that reasonable attempts to set it in its

proper place in human affairs should not be called anti-intellectual" (p. 21). Who, then, are the anti-intellectuals within Mormonism? I venture to guess that almost anyone who might be called such has taken occasional flights into the world of speculation, and has frequently emphasized the value of reason in the quest for truth, even though reason might frequently be subordinated to faith and revelation. It is obvious that no fine line can be drawn between the intellectual and anti-intellectual, but I am suggesting that in our future dialogue someone should at least try to draw some lines somewhere, if only for the purpose of creating a little more discussion on the matter of definition.

(2) A second problem in Professor Bitton's essay appears in his attempt to demonstrate the compatibility of the intellectual with the Church of the nineteenth century. While he demonstrates his awareness of the exceptions, he is naturally reluctant to multiply examples. I believe, however, that there are enough examples to raise serious question about the extent of this supposed compatibility. Seldom, for instance, do we find Joseph Smith relying on anyone else's judgment or upon free discussion when it came to defining a doctrine. True, as Professor Bitton emphasizes, Church doctrine may have *appealed* to reason, but it was certainly *promoted* by authority. In many cases full freedom of expression was allowed only so long as it did not threaten seriously to disrupt the program of the Church. To mention only a few examples: the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor;* the disaffection of Sidney Rigdon, one of the most important intellectuals in early Mormon history; the formation of the "Council of Fifty," with its peculiarly authoritative philosophy for the conduct of the political Kingdom of God; the fate of the Godbeites, a movement with both political and intellectual overtones in the late 1860's whose leaders were excommunicated for disagreeing with Church economic policy; the fact that even Apostle Orson Pratt, one of the most learned of the Utah Mormons, was once required to admit publicly that he had been teaching doctrines not in accord with the authoritative position of the Church. These and other incidents could be cited simply to illustrate that the compatibility of faith with reason and free expression may not have been quite as sweeping as Professor Bitton seems to suggest. It will take much more investigation to determine this for certain.

(3) On the other hand, I am also concerned with the implication that in the twentieth century Mormonism has become less hospitable toward the intellectual. True, there is a dearth of scholarly literature (but neither did it abound in the nineteenth century), and many intellectuals have become unpopular within the Church after playing the role of gadfly, some of them becoming uncomfortable and even totally disaffected from the Church. At the same time, however, many people whom I would class as intellectuals, or at least as having an attitude completely compatible with intellectualism, have found a great deal of comfort and accommodation within the Church, and I think investigation would show that certain trends toward better accommodation actually began to set in early in this century. In the 1930's, for example, certain Church educators became convinced that there might be too much "in-breeding" in Mormon education. As a result, certain promising young scholars teaching in the Church system were requested to leave Utah and go to eastern universities for advanced learning, with the idea that their return with new-found wisdom and knowledge of the world would upgrade the total educational program of the Church. Some of these men still play important

roles in Church education. Furthermore, such twentieth century General Authorities as Brigham H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, Adam S. Bennion and Hugh B. Brown have shown particular interest in the intellectual, and themselves have demonstrated noteworthy scholarship in some of their writings. It is also significant to note that long before world War II teachers of religion in the Church school system were particularly stimulated by Dr. Adam S. Bennion to conduct workshops and discussion groups at a very high intellectual level. Politically, B. H. Roberts, one of the General Authorities mentioned above, was among the most ardent supporters of the New Deal, and even saw in it the fore-runner of a coming world economic order based on principles very much like those of nineteenth century Mormon communitarianism. While it is apparently true that Church leadership today is oriented largely toward conservative Republicanism, it is also true that there are large numbers of liberal Republicans and Democrats who hold important positions throughout the Church, and who have no feeling of alienation from it.

One of the most highly respected intellectuals in the Church is Dr. Lowell L. Bennion, former director of the L.D.S. Institute of Religion in Salt Lake City, and now Associate Dean of Students at the University of Utah. Among other things, Dr. Bennion is a member of the recently-formed all-Church coordinating committee, which has the responsibility of examining the various programs of the Church and recommending adaptations to suit modern needs. It is significant to note that other members of this committee include some of the top educators of the Church. In 1959 Dr. Bennion published an interesting little book entitled *Religion and the Pursuit of Truth.* He wrote it for the benefit of young college students, and it is frequently used for reference by religion teachers. His main thesis is that there is no one road to truth, and he devotes a great deal of space to discussing the contributions of reason, science, and philosophy in this quest. He also suggests ways and means of interpreting the Bible, and this includes ideas from modern biblical scholarship. Certainly the acceptance of this book at least demonstrates the fact that the intellectual attitude is not wholly unpopular in Mormonism. Dr. Bennion is only one of hundreds of Mormon educators who could be classed as intellectuals who are teaching in universities all over the country, and who hold positions of trust within the Church. (And, believe it or not, there are many intellectuals even on the staff of B.Y.U.) Furthermore, a person does not have to look far in the Church's Institutes of Religion to find many with an attitude compatible with intellectualism, and this has been true since the founding of the Institute program in the 1920's.

These things are not said in any attempt to gloss over the very real restrictions which many intellectuals have felt, but merely to suggest that the problem may not be quite as ominous as some may believe. Incidentally, perhaps the most interesting recent development among the intellectuals is the beginning, this year, of a new quarterly called *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.* Not published or officially sponsored in any way by the Church, *Dialogue* is edited by a group of energetic young Mormons and is forthrightly designed to appeal to the intellectual. Its more important expressed purpose, however, is to demonstrate that intellectualism and faith are not mutually exclusive, and that writers interested in any aspect of Mormonism can express themselves freely without fear of recrimination. It solicits articles from both Mormons and

non-Mormons, and accepts them on the basis of quality rather than point-of-view. The immediate popularity of the new publication demonstrates a wide interest among the rank-and-file of the Church in things academic and intellectual. In spite of the fact that last week a *Time* magazine article quoted an un-named Church leader as saying that "*Dialogue* can't help but hurt the church," it is known that other Church leaders see real value in its publication and have quite openly encouraged it.

(4) A fourth question raised by Professor Bitton's paper has to do with the sources of anti-intellectualism within the Church, a topic which he has not pursued far enough to satisfy my curiosity. He correctly suggests, I believe, that it stems from many sources, including the new business orientation of the Church, certain political motivations, ruralism, and the traditional literalness of Mormon theology.

(5) Finally, I would like to suggest that some future writer concern himself more particularly with the *practical* side of intellectualism itself, for this is the area that will most concern Church members as a whole. What legitimate fears might some have of too much reliance upon the intellectual, and what are the specific contributions he could make to the Church? In 1950 an interesting series of unofficial and informal meetings was held at Utah State University by a group of Mormon educators who were concerned about education within the Church. Most of them were among those who could be classed as "intellectuals." One of them made a challenging remark which could perhaps explain the suspicion with which some Church leaders might view certain educators. Said he:

> Teachers have a peculiar responsibility not recognized by many of them and not shared by many others in that they must bridge the generations. The channels of thinking they assume responsibility for should be in tune with the large movements and trends which are to dominate the lives of people 25 to 100 years or more ahead. Teachers to a degree should be prophets as well as scientists — prophets in the sense that they can recognize and can measure important trends and have a developed feeling for strength and direction. A teacher who can do no more than teach young people how to live in a generation that has gone is a poor teacher indeed.

To most of us this would seem logical, but in one sense it could help account for the mistrust by a few of the teacher who is also an intellectual. If such a teacher, for example, assumes an ever-so-limited role as a prophet, what does this do to the prestige of non-academic Church leaders who are sustained as prophets, and who may have views of the future which differ from those of the teacher? I won't attempt to answer the question, but merely suggest that the question of practicality must be weighed heavily as intellectuals continue their quest for a more positive roll within the Church. Where should they play this role, and what would be their objectives? Is the intellectual really "safe" to any society? Again Richard Hofstadter speaks to the point:

> In a certain sense . . . intellect *is* dangerous. Left free, there is nothing it will not reconsider, analyze, throw into question. . . . Further, there is no way of guaranteeing that an intellectual class will be discreet and restrained in the use of its influence; the only assurance that can be given to any community is that it will be far worse off if it

> denies the free uses of the power of the intellect than if it permits them. To be sure, intellectuals . . . are hardly ever subversive of society as a whole. But intellect is always on the move against something; some oppression, fraud, illusion, dogma, or interest is constantly falling under the scrutiny of the intellectual class and becoming the object of exposure, indignation, or ridicule. (p. 45)

With such a general reputation, it is indeed understandable that some leaders committed to a religious program such as Mormonism would look upon the intellectual as almost *ipso facto* a challenge to the perpetuation of the fundamental goals of the Church.

In this connection, Hofstadter complicates the problem further by questioning whether or not the true intellectual can ever actually be committed to a program:

> Ideally, the pursuit of truth is said to be at the heart of the intellectual's business, but . . . as with the pursuit of happiness, the pursuit of truth is itself gratifying whereas the consummation often turns out to be elusive. Truth captured loses its glamor; truths long known and widely believed have a way of turning false with time; easy truths are a bore, and too many of them become half-truths. Whatever the intellectual is too certain of, if he is healthily playful, he begins to find unsatisfactory. The meaning of his intellectual life lies not in the possession of truth but in the quest for new uncertainties. Harold Rosenberg summed up this side of the life of the mind supremely when he said that the intellectual is one who "turns answers into questions." (p. 30)

The implication of all this is that the "true" intellectual cannot be unalterably devoted to any one idea or program. To the extent that he is so devoted, he becomes anti-intellectual, for he is no longer raising questions, he is promoting answers. With this kind of definition, of course, it would probably be impossible to find a "true" intellectual, but it nevertheless raises the question as to just how far the Mormon intellectual would go in supporting even his own ideas once he presented them, and just how practical his contribution to the programs and objectives of the Church could be. I rather suspect that the intellectuals will always remain a minority group within the Church, as will the anti-intellectuals. The vast majority of Church members care little for the sophisticated arguments that characterize the dialogue on either side. Rather, they see the Church as an inspired program to which they are committed and which, in turn, gives them certain definite spiritual and social opportunities and values. Their concern is not so much with in-depth analysis based on rigorous scholarly discipline, but more on how to make work a practical program which they can see is for the betterment of themselves and their families right now. In this kind of environment, what practical, positive contributions can the intellectual make? Certainly there are some, and I urge future writers on the subject of anti-intellectualism to carefully consider what they are and to try to come up with ways and means of demonstrating the importance and practicality of intellectualism within the Church.

In summary, Professor Bitton has presented a challenging and valuable paper, and has certainly demonstrated the existence of a strong anti-intellectual tendency within the Church. More important to me, however, is the fact

that his paper has opened the door (or, at least cleared the key-hole) on a flood of questions concerning not only anti-intellectualism but also the role of the intellectual, and the answers promise to be a long time in coming.

REJOINDER

Professor Allen's summary of my thesis is accurate on the whole. I do not believe, however, that I would go so far as to say that the intellectual finds it "more difficult to express himself in the modern Church than he would have done in the nineteenth century." I had never imagined some present-day person being transported back into the earlier period. Each age must be considered in its own terms, for there were important differences of environment. Nor is it simply a matter of "expressing oneself." What I have meant to say is that nineteenth-century Mormon intellectuals, such as they were in the context of that time, found their religion compatible with their intellectual commitments in several respects (not totally); and, further, that various changes have made a similar feeling of compatability much more difficult (although not impossible) in the present century.

The heart of the problem, it seems to me, is how you judge the general atmosphere. I am perfectly aware of the authoritation tendencies of the past century, but I think they are usually misread. Similarly, I am aware of individual examples of intellectuality in the present century, but I find them fewer, less impressive, and of much less influence in setting the general tone, than does Professor Allen.

I suspect that we are in substantial agreement in recognizing the inherent inability of most intellectuals to be completely at ease in any society, in deploring unnecessary affronts due to inherited prejudices, and in disapproving of any effort to so "intellectualize" the Church that it loses its vital influence in the lives of its members. But at present, if I may say so, over-intellectualizing is the least of our worries.

From the Pulpit

THAT THEY MIGHT NOT SUFFER:

THE GIFT OF ATONEMENT

Eugene England

This sermon was one of a series given in the first part of 1966 to introduce Mormonism to friends of L.D.S. students at Stanford University. Eugene England, an editor of DIALOGUE, *is a teaching assistant in the departments of of both English and Religious Studies at Stanford and a member of the Stanford Ward Bishopric.*

A deep feeling of estrangement haunts modern life and literature and thought. The feeling is not at all new to human experience, but in our time we seem especially conscious of it. More men seem caught up by the divisions in their lives to a terrible anguish or a numbed resignation.

We find ourselves cut off from *others,* relating to each other as things, not as personal images of the eternal God; unable to say our truest thoughts and feelings to each other, exterminating each other in the gas ovens of Auschwitz and the firestorms of Berlin, fighting unjust wars to satisfy our greed or pride, responding to the color we reflect to each other's eyes and not to our sense of each other's being.

We find ourselves cut off from *God,* without a deep sense of joyful relation to him; witnessing him die in us and our civilization through the dead forms of our concepts of him and the inflexible forms of our response to him in the world; unable to let our confidence wax strong in his presence through the feeling that our lives are in harmony with his will.

And we find ourselves cut off from *ourselves.* We sin. We act contrary to our image of ourselves and break our deepest integrity.

We do not just make mistakes through lack of knowledge or judgment but consciously go contrary to our sense of right; and therefore we not only suffer the natural consequences of all wrong action (however innocently done), but we also suffer the inner estrangement of guilt — that supreme human suffering which gives us our images of hell. This is an important distinction, made very clearly in Christian thought: "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth if no, to him it is sin" is James's definition. Christ had said, "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin, but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth." We all know sin. We are inescapably moral by nature in that we cannot evade the question that finally comes into all reflection: "Am I justified?" We have eaten of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and find the self of action tragically divided against the self of belief.

These are things we all know about. And if we are Christians we also know something about a claim which is incredible to most men — the claim that these estrangements can uniquely be healed through the Atonement of Christ. Atonement — a word whose pronunciation disguises its meaning, which is literally *at one ment,* a bringing to unity, a reconciliation of that which is estranged: man and man, man and God, or man and himself. That Atonement remains, as Paul described it, "unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness." We have no greater need than that there be a force of healing in all our public and inner strife: that there be some source of forgiveness and change for the oppressor as well as help for the oppressed; that there be something large enough in love to reach past the wrongs we each have done and can never fully make restitution for; that there be hope in the possibility that any man can be renewed by specific means to a life of greater justice and mercy toward others. But for most men the claim that such a possibility truly exists is scandalous.

The scandal to humanistic man is the idea that man cannot go it alone — that his reason will not save him. Knowing what is right is not enough; there must be power to *do* what is right, and men (as the appalling organized evil of this century has reminded us), no matter how sophisticated or civilized they become, continue to act against what they know is right — their additional knowledge and merely efficient reason capable of becoming, in fact, more powerful means of doing evil. The scandal to the non-Christian is that God would take the necessary reconciliation upon himself, but is somehow unable to do it except by descending below all men into particular events in the history of the Jews and finally into the particular body and life of one man, Jesus of Nazareth — and that as a man he would

enter the full range of human experience, including the very thing he was to save us from, estrangement itself. The scandal to the non-Mormon is the claim by a contemporary church of special insight into the meaning and means of the Atonement and of special authority in making it efficacious in the lives of men.

In his letter about Mormon beliefs to Chicago editor Joseph Wentworth in 1842, Joseph Smith said, "We believe that through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel." The Atonement makes it possible that *all* men *may* be saved — by obedience. God's concern is for the salvation of every man and he expresses that concern in the free gift of the Atonement, which, as we shall see, is directly related to man's actual growth through obedience — in fact, *makes such obedience possible.* The understanding that Joseph Smith had come to through a long process of revelation and study find succinct expression in this Article of Faith. It embodies a unique understanding of the harmonious relationship of grace and works and of the resulting effect of the Atonement on the moral nature of man, and it implies a unique role of the properly authorized Church in bringing to men the full power of that effect through the teachings and ordinances of the Gospel.

In traditional Christian thought, the Atonement of Christ has always been related directly to the Fall of Adam. For some, it has seemed a direct and relatively simple answer, a solution to the estrangement of God from man which was caused by God's rejection of Adam after Adam's rebellion had spoiled God's plan. But most Christians (and Jews) have been able to see that it is inconsistent with their understanding of the nature of God to imagine him turning his back on man, to suppose that man must propitiate God and win back his favor in the process of atonement. Clearly any rejection involved is the rejection of God by man and any reconciliation must be the reconcilation of man to God. As Paul said to the Corinthians, "[God] has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconcilation; to wit, God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them . . ." (II Cor. 5:18-19). But in too much Christian theology, as well as folk religion, the Atonement has remained an event remote from the common life of man, somehow involving Adam and God and mysterious supernatural realms such as the spirit prison or strange metaphysical structures such as absolute justice — something crucial, no doubt, and to be deeply grateful for, but having nothing very clear to do with redeeming the daily

round of studying differential equations and commuting to work and waking up in the night in the deep loneliness and pain of our regret.

Mormons are certainly not immune to this tendency to miss the immediate relevance of the Atonement to their day-to-day lives, but there are dramatically unorthodox resources in Mormon theology with which to involve man in that relevance. In Mormon scriptures Adam's action did in no way spoil God's plan but was, in fact, *part* of the plan — a preordained action, necessary to man's eternal development, which Adam entered into knowingly. Mormons do not look upon Adam as a depraved, willful sinner caught up in a pride of his own being and a desire to know which led him to rebel against God, but rather Mormons see him as a great, courageous figure who chose a difficult path necessary to his and all men's progression — the way of estrangement and reconcilation, of sin and resultant openness to redeeming love.

Mormon scriptures tell of Adam becoming, as it were, a Christian. Sometime after his expulsion from the Garden, in the time of his separation from God and extreme consciousness of the threat of death, Adam is taught by an angel of the Lord about Christ's mission, which would come to fruition on the earth in the far distant future. Christ's Atonement would include a Resurrection which would eventually reunite each man's spirit and body in a condition of *everlasting* life; and it would also include a Redemption that could immediately give to each man *who chose to respond to it* power to be reunited to himself and to God in a condition of *eternal* (or increasingly God-like) life. These scriptures, given in vision to Joseph Smith from the writings of Moses, unabashedly imply a notion heretical to most traditional Christian thought — *Felix Culpa,* the fortunate fall. Adam's response to the great message of the angel about the forthcoming Atonement is, "Blessed be the name of God, for because of my transgression my eyes are opened, and in this life I shall have joy, and again in the flesh I shall see God" (Moses 5:10).

A Book of Mormon prophet makes the point in these words: "Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy. And the Messiah cometh in the fulness of time that he may redeem the children of men from the fall. And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon . . ." (II Nephi 2:25-26). The clear implication is that the process of estrangement and reconciliation, of sin and atonement, is not a flaw, an accidental thwarting of God's plan, but an essential part of it, a necessary ingredient of man's eternal realization of his possibil-

ities as a child of God. Through this process, and apparently no other, he is able to reach the depths and thereby the heights of his soul's capacity — to know fully his capacity for evil and to know the full freedom and strength of soul that come uniquely through being caught up in response to the "pure love of Christ."

There is an additional important implication of this account of Adam, which is reinforced by many experiences in the Book of Mormon. It is clear that long before Christ had actually performed the central acts of the Atonement — the suffering in Gethsemane, the death on the cross, the resurrection — men were able to be affected by those acts through the prophetic knowledge that God was willing to perform them in the future. What this means is that the mechanics of the mission itself did not occur in time as a necessary precursor to their effect on men, as some theories of the Atonement would require; Christ's mission was not to straighten out some metaphysical warp in the universe that Adam's taking of the fruit had created. The effects of the Atonement were not metaphysical but moral and spiritual: they reach men living at any time and place through each man's *knowledge* of the spirit and events of the Atonement.

About 600 years before Christ was born, a young man living in Jerusalem, seeking confirmation of his father's spiritual experiences, was given a remarkable vision:

> . . . I looked and beheld the great city of Jerusalem, and also other cities. And I beheld the city of Nazareth; and in the city of Nazareth I beheld a virgin. . . . And it came to pass that I saw the heavens open; and an angel came down and stood before me; and he said unto me: Nephi, what beholdst thou? And I said unto him: a virgin most beautiful and fair above all other virgins. And he said unto me: Knowest thou the condescension of God? And I said unto him: I know that he loveth his children; nevertheless, I do not know the meaning of all things. And he said unto me: Behold the virgin whom thou seest is the mother of the Son of God, after the manner of the flesh. . . . And I looked and beheld the virgin again, bearing a child in her arms. And the angel said unto me: Behold the Lamb of God, yea, even the Son of the Eternal Father. (I Nephi 11:13-21)

After further explanation by the Angel, Nephi continues, "And the angel said unto me again: Look and behold the condescension of God! And I looked and beheld the Redeemer of the world, of whom my Father had spoken" (I Nephi 11:26-27).

We have here an important insight into the Atonement of Christ, an insight preserved by this young man and his people in their religious history as they journeyed to America and until their descendants six hundred years later welcomed Christ there after his death

and resurrection. The word chosen by Joseph Smith in his translation is crucial: *condescension* — descending with. Christ is the descending of God with man into all that man experiences, including his estrangement, and this is somehow the heart of the power of the Atonement.

Many years after this group of people had arrived in America, one of their great prophet-kings named Benjamin, approaching old age and death, gathered his people together to declare to them a great revelation of understanding that had come to him. After reminding them in very colorful terms of the implications of their human tendency to sin and the effects of guilt upon a man — "which doth cause him to shrink from the presence of God, and doth fill his breast with guilt, pain, and anguish, which is like an unquenchable fire, whose flame ascendeth up forever and ever" — King Benjamin tells them of a vision that had come to him of an event still 125 years in the future:

> For behold, the time cometh, and is not far distant, that with power, the Lord Omnipotent who reigneth, who was, and is from all eternity to all eternity, shall come down from heaven among the children of men, and shall dwell in a tabernacle of clay. . . .
>
> And lo, he shall suffer temptations, and pain of body, hunger, thirst, fatique, even more than man can suffer, except it be unto death: for behold, blood cometh from every pore, so great shall be his anguish for the wickedness and the abominations of his people.
>
> And he shall be called Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of heaven and earth, the Creator of all things from the beginning; and his mother shall be called Mary.
>
> And lo, he cometh unto his own, that salvation might come unto the children of men even through faith on his name . . . . (Mosiah 3:5, 7-9)

Here for the first time chronologically in all known scripture we have a clear reference to what seems to be the central experience of that part of Christ's Atonement that concerns our individual sins: "Behold, blood cometh from every pore, so great shall be his anguish for the wickedness and the abominations of his people." This is not a description of what occurred on the cross, but of what occurred in the Garden of Gethsemane in that night when Christ participated fully in the fearful loneliness that lies at the extremity of human experience — participated somehow in the anguish of estrangement. Christ descended, through capabilities which only he had as the literal Son of God, into the fullness, both in depth and breadth, of human guilt. We begin to get clearer insight into what occurred in that Garden through a revelation given by the Lord Jesus Christ to Joseph Smith in 1830.

> Therefore I command you to repent — repent, lest . . . your sufferings be sore — how sore you know not, how exquisite you know not, yea, how hard to bear you know not. For Behold, I , God, have suffered these things for all, that they might not suffer if they would repent: But if they would not repent they must suffer even as I; which suffering caused myself, even God, the greatest of all, to tremble because of pain, and to bleed at every pore, and to suffer both body and spirit — and would that I might not drink the bitter cup, and shrink — Nevertheless, glory be to the Father, and I partook and finished my preparations unto the children of men. (Doctrine and Covenants 19:15-19)

Although we certainly can't begin to understand all that happened in Gethsemane, especially *how* it happened, we can begin to feel the impact in our hearts of the divine love expressed there. Jesus Christ has somehow created the greatest possibility we can imagine: that our common lot of meaninglessness and alienation can be redeemed, that we might not suffer if we would repent. The God who planned and created and who directs our earth experience, who sent us here into tragic risk and suffering because only here could we experience further growth in his likeness, has sent his son, not only to guide and teach us through his revelations and his life, but to enter willingly into the depths of man's life and redeem him — not offering solutions without knowing the pain of the problem and not setting prior conditions, but taking into himself the fullness of pain in all human estrangement in some awful awareness of the full force of human evil. Because the love is unconditionally offered and comes freely from the same person who gives us our standard of right and will eventually judge us, it has the power to release man from the barrier of his own guilt and give him the strength to repent.

The effect of King Benjamin's revelation on his people was immediate and dramatic. After hearing his words,

> . . . they all cried with one voice, saying: Yea, we believe all the words which thou hast spoken unto us; and also, we know of their surety and truth, because of the Spirit of the Lord Omnipotent, which has wrought a mighty change in us, or in our hearts, that we have no more disposition to do evil, but to do good continually. And we, ourselves, also, through the infinite goodness of God, and the manifestations of his Spirit, have great views of that which is to come. . . . And it is the faith which we have had on the things which our king has spoken unto us that has brought us to this great knowledge, whereby we do rejoice with such exceeding great joy. And we are willing to enter ito a covenant with our God to do his will, and to be obedient to his commandments and all things that he shall command us, all the remainder of our days. . . . (Mosiah 5:2-5)

King Benjamin responded,

> Ye have spoken the words that I desired; And, now, because of the covenant which ye have made ye shall be called the children of Christ, his sons, and his daughters; for behold, this day he hath spiritually begotten you; for ye say that your hearts are changed through faith on his name. . . . And under this head ye are made free, and there is no other head whereby ye can be made free. There is no other name given whereby salvation cometh; therefore, I would that ye should take upon you the name of Christ, all you that have entered into the covenant with God that ye shall be obedient unto the end of your lives. (Mosiah 5:6-8)

A great thing is occurring here — the formation of a Christian community *in 125 B.C.* as a group of people respond in faith to the possibility that they can be at one with themselves through means provided by Christ. Struck to the heart by the meaning of God's love extended to them in the midst of their estrangement from him and themselves, they experience a mighty change which leads them into a covenant and the covenant sustains a process of development through continual repentance toward the image of Christ.

Fifty years later, another prophet among these people, clearly influenced by the prophecies and experiences which had been part of his people's history, discoursed on the sacrifice of Christ and made even clearer what had happened to King Benjamin's people.

> . . . it is expedient that there should be a great and last sacrifice, and then shall there be . . . a stop to the shedding of blood, then shall the law of Moses be fulfilled. . . .
>
> And behold, this is the whole meaning of the law, every whit pointing to that great and last sacrifice; and that great and last sacrifice will be the Son of God, yea, infinite and eternal.
>
> And thus he shall bring salvation to all those who shall believe on his name; this being the intent of this last sacrifice, to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice and bringeth about means unto me that they have faith unto repentance.
>
> And thus mercy can satisfy the demands of justice, and encircles them in the arms of safety, while he that exercises no faith unto repentance is exposed to the whole law of the demands of justice; therefore only unto him that has faith unto repentance is brought about the great and eternal plan of redemption. (Alma 34:13-16)

This prophet, named Amulek, seems to be saying that Christ's sacrifice — his suffering — is uniquely capable of striking through the barrier in man's nature which prevents him from overcoming his estrangement from himself enough to move on to achieve the exalting power to act as he believes. Here we must remind ourselves of

an amazing aspect of the eternal human personality. Paradoxically, man's moral sense of justice both brings him to the awareness of sin that must begin all repentance and yet interferes with his attempts to repent. He feels that every action must bear its consequences and that he must justify his actions to himself; since there is a gap between belief and action he is in a state which brings into his heart and mind a sense of guilt, of unbearable division within himself. This same moral nature, this sense of justice that demands satisfaction, causes him to want to improve his life but also to insist that he pay the penalty in some way for his sin. But of course there is no way he can finally do this. As Paul knew from his own experience and expressed so poignantly in his epistles, the law which men looked to for salvation in the Pharisaic tradition can inculcate great moral seriousness and indicate direction for change, but it can also be a terrible burden because man always fails to some degree in living it fully and it therefore stands as a continual reminder of his failure — a failure that the law's framework of justice demands be paid for, but which man is incapable of paying for. God pierces to the heart of this paradox through the Atonement, and it becomes possible for man to personally experience both alienation and reconciliation, which opens him to the full meaning of both evil and good, bringing him to a condition of meekness and lowliness of heart where he can freely accept from God the power to be a god.

Christ is the unique manifestation in human experience of the fullnes of that unconditional love from God which Paul chose to represent with the Greek term *agape.* As Paul expressed it, "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." Christ's sacrificial love was not conditional upon our qualities, our repentance, anything; he expressed his love to us while we were yet in our sins — not *completing* the process of forgiveness, which depends on our response, but *initiating* it in a free act of mercy. This is a kind of love quite independent from the notion of justice. There is no *quid-pro-quo* about it. It is entirely unbalanced, unmerited, unrelated to the specific worthiness of the object (except in that each man has intrinsic worth through his eternal existence and God-like potential), and that is precisely why it is redemptive. It takes a risk, without calculation, on the possibility that man can realize his infinite worth. It gets directly at that barrier in man, his sense of justice, which makes him incapable of having unconditional love *for himself* — unable to respond positively to his own potential, because he is unable to forgive himself, unable to be at peace with himself until he has somehow "made up" in suffering for his sins, something he is utterly incapable of doing. The demands of justice that Amulek

is talking about, which must be overpowered, are from *man's own sense of justice,* not some abstract eternal principle but our own demands on ourselves, demands which rightly bring us into estrangement with ourselves (as we gain new knowledge of right but do not live up to it) and thus begin the process of growth through repentance, but which cannot complete that process. An awareness of the true meaning and source of that last sacrifice and its intent has the power, as Amulek says, "to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice, and bringeth about means unto men that they may have faith unto repentance."

That the Atonement is performed by *Christ,* the son and revelation of God, is, of course, crucial. He represents to man the ultimate source of justice and is the one whose teachings and example bring man directly to face his need for repentance; he awakens man's own sense of justice and stands as a judge over all his actions and only he can fully release man from what becomes the immobilizing burden of that judgment, through the power of mercy extended unconditionally in the Atonement. It is possible, as King Benjamin's people found, to be moved to sufficient faith in a divine being by his redemptive act that there comes into the soul a power which can bring men to repentance as no other power can. I stand all amazed at this love — and that is precisely the point: This love can move us with suffiicient amazement through our knowledge of it to change our minds and our hearts, to release us from self-inflicted suffering as it creates in us the possibility of new being through repentance.

The question "Why is man's salvation dependent on Christ and the events surrounding his death?" is the most central and the most difficult question in Christian theology. The answers (and there are many) are, as I have said, the chief scandal of Christianity to the non-believer. Attempts to define logical theories of the Atonement based on New Testament scriptures have been largely contradictory and ultimately futile — mainly because the New Testament is not a book of theology, a logical treatise, but rather gives us the reactions, the varied emotional responses, of men to the Atonement as they experienced it and tried to find images for their joy. Some men clearly felt released from the powers of evil and darkness which they believed, much more literally than any of us today, were all about them. Some believed that their souls had been bought from the devil. Some felt that Christ had taken their place in suffering the just and necessary punishment under the law for their sins. The explanation I have tried to develop, based largely on Book of Mormon scriptures, is at significant variance with most of these theories,

especially on one major point: The redemptive effect of the Atonement depends on how *an individual man* responds to it rather than on some independent effect on the universe or God, which theories such as the ransom theory, the substitution theory, the satisfaction theory, etc., all tend to imply. Of course, the rich reality of the Atonement lies beyond any theory or explanation, including the one I am suggesting here, and some men bring themselves into redeeming relationship with God from within the framework of each of these theories as they somehow reach through to that rich reality. But the need for powerful personal response and for a release from the immobilizing demands of justice within man seem to me crucial and best served by an explanation different from the traditional theories.

The ransom theory, which was prominent in Christian thought into the middle ages, seems very crude to us today. The idea was that because of Adam's sin man deserved to die and go to hell, but God bought the souls of men from the devil with the sacrifice of Christ. Satan was deceived into believing that he could keep Christ's soul in exchange, but once the bargain was completed, the devil could not hold the soul of the divine, sinless Christ. Of course, this seems to require a concept of a God with whom the devil can make bargains and who in turn is capable of practicing a shabby trick on Satan. The more sophisticated "satisfaction" theory was put forth in the 12th century by Saint Anselm. In Anselm's view, God's nature, which includes absolute justice and mercy, demands satisfaction for man's sins even though God *wants* to forgive man. Man himself is incapable of providing that satisfaction because his sin is infinite, being rebellion against an infinite being. Therefore, to retain his honor and position, God himself, in the person of Christ, becomes a substitute for man in paying for sin through suffering. This view of the Atonement prevails in various forms down to the present day.

The popular image associated with the theory is that of the traffic court: Man has broken the law; justice must be satisfied, but man hasn't enough money; Christ steps forward to pay the fine and release man while still upholding the law. An immediate objection to this view is that it seems on the face of things to be a legalistic formula clearly influenced by the feudal times in which it grew up. It implies that God is in a position much like a feudal lord. If he allows his justice to go unanswered, if he allows people to get off easy, his position will be questioned in the minds of his subjects, which will lead to disrespect and rebellion. Of course, this is carried even further in the notion some have that there is some absolute principle of *retributive* justice (as opposed to natural law of

cause and effect) which God himself is bound by despite his own desires, that a certain amount of sin must be balanced in the scheme of things, sometime and by someone, with equivalent punishment and suffering — in addition to the natural consequences of actions. It is a very disquieting notion that God should be bound to an unfortunate situation and in a way that men clearly are not. In human experience, we continually are able as men to forgive each other without satisfaction and yet with redemption effect.

Anselm's contemporary, Abelard, was convinced that God *could* and that the problem lies in man's nature not God's. He denied the whole legalistic framework, believing that Christ's sacrifice has its redemptive effect by moving men to awareness of guilt and a change of life: "The purpose and cause of the incarnation was that He might illuminate the world by His wisdom and excite it to the love of Himself." The immediate danger of this position, which places the *moral influence* of Christ at the center of the Atonement, was immediately seen — and Abelard's work was rewarded by his denunciation as a heretic. The main problem is that his theory seems to leave the Atonement without a foundation of absolute necessity. In other words, if someone drowns trying to save me after I've fallen in a stream, it is one thing, but if he walks along a stream with me and suddenly jumps in and drowns, crying, "Look how much I love you; I'm giving my life for you," it's hard to see some kind of essential sacrifice taking place.

The Mormon concept of the Atonement which I have suggested seems to me close to Abelard's, with the important addition of an understanding of why the atonement is absolutely necessary. It is not necessary because of some eternal structure of justice in the universe outside man which demands payment from man for his sins, nor of some similar structure within the nature of God. The Atonement is absolutely necessary because of the nature of man himself, a nature that is self-existent, not the creation of God, and therefore uniquely impervious to metaphysical coercion. The problem is not that God's justice must be satisfied (or the universe's) but that *man's* own sense of justice demands satisfaction. When it creates a barrier to repentance that barrier must be broken through and it can not be broken by metaphysical tinkering with the nature of man; it can only be broken through by the powerful suasion of a kind of love which transcends men's sense of justice without denying it — the kind of love that Christ was uniquely able to manifest in the Atonement.

The Atonement is a necessary, but not sufficient, factor in men's salvation from sin — necessary because no one else can fully motivate

the process in the free agent, man, and insufficient because man must respond and complete the process. There is no reason to imagine God being unable to forgive. The question is what effect will the forgiveness have; the forgiveness is meaningless unless it leads to repentance. The forgiveness extended in the dramatic events of the Atonement is that kind of forgiveness uniquely capable of bringing "means unto men that they may have faith unto repentance." In other words, the forgiveness must be *accepted* in order to be efficacious: "For what doth it profit a man if a gift is bestowed upon him, and he received not the gift" (Doctrine and Covenants 88:33). As Paul Tillich has pointed out, the most difficult thing for man to do is accept his acceptance, to accept the fact that God accepts him, loves him — freely — even in his sins. Man's usual nature in his dealings with other men and, most important to my point here, in his dealings with himself, is to demand satisfaction before he can accept, to demand justice before he can forgive. This is not Christ's way and therefore his love (and the love which he tells us we can develop in response to that love) is redemptive. It has a quality of mercy which allows us to be at one with ourselves and thus gain the strength to be the new person that our sense of justice in the first place demanded that we be. We do not repent in order that God will forgive us and atone for our sins, but rather God atones for our sins and begins the process of forgiveness, by extending unconditional love to us, in order that we might repent and thus bring to conclusion the process of forgiveness. And the center of the experience somehow is Christ's ability to break through the barrier of justice, in those men who can somehow freely respond, with the shock of eternal love expressed in Gethsemane. It comes to us only through our deep knowledge of that event and our involvement in the process of sustaining that knowledge in our lives, through the continual reminding of ourselves of the event and recommitment to the implications of it which occurs in the ordinances of the Gospel. The process is a complex one, an ongoing one. It may be triggered by particular events and have climaxes, but essentially it is a lifelong process — one beautifully described towards the end of the Book of Mormon in these words from the prophet Mormon to his son Moroni:

> . . . repentance is unto them that are under condemnation and under the curse of a broken law. And the first fruits of repentance is baptism; and baptism cometh by faith unto the fulfilling the commandments; and the fulfiilling the commandments bringeth meekness, and lowliness of heart; and because of meekness and lowliness of heart cometh the visitation of the Holy Ghost, which comforter filleth with hope and perfect love. . . . (Moroni 8:24-26)

As a young missionary, I had never experienced the central drama of the Christian faith and of my Mormon faith in any decisive personal way, but towards the end of my mission experience in Hawai, in a new assignment different from previous assignments that had meant mainly teaching primary school and administration, I was suddenly faced with a very real human situation involving the central principles of the Gospel. A Southern sharecropper who had lived a life of extreme brutality and self-indulgence, had jumped ship in Hawaii, married a Japanese girl, and under her influence and the influence of children coming into his life had softened and opened — to the point of hearing the Gospel from missionaries. He had believed their message and came to me with a plea for help. He believed that certain principles were true but could not find the power to change his life to live in accordance with those principles and was suffering deeply. He was estranged from himself, his habits terribly opposed to his sense of God and what God hoped for him. As I tried to help him, searching again the scriptures and explanations of the scriptures having to do with the Atonement, as I gropingly expressed my growing sense of what the love of Christ meant to me and tried to express, along with my companion and the man's family, some of that same unconditional love to him, and as I watched him grow under that love and under his growing awareness that Christ was capable of loving and forgiving him in his present condition, he and I both came slowly and then suddenly to a deep sense of the kind of love that was expressed in the Garden that made atonement possible. I saw him change dramatically as the power inherent in an understanding of that experience came into his life. The burden of sin was lifted and the healing, renewing process of repentance made possible as he said to himself, "If God can have this kind of love for me, who am I to withhold it from myself?" My life didn't change as dramatically, but the beginnings of change were laid there, and the understanding of atoning love that began there has been increasingly vindicated in all my experience.

Men in our time have turned upon each other with incredible hate and cruelty. And the victims and dispossesed and their allies have turned back in kind. The ills of our time, which grow by escalation — blow for blow, hurt for hurt, raid for raid, riot for riot, all defended in the name of justice and personal or national rights — must eventually be subjected to more than justice.

Each of us must come to a kind of love that can be extended equally to victim and victimizer, dispossessed and dispossessor — and even to ourselves — a kind of love that moves us to demand justice

in society and within ourselves and then goes beyond justice to offer forgiveness and healing and beyond guilt to offer redemption and newness of life.

I am convinced by my thought and experience and the deepest whisperings in my soul that there is a source of that love — one that transcends all others and is therefore our salvation. In the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

Nothing can bring a greater feeling of joy and peace and satisfaction and security to us than to know that God is present and interested in us. This changes the outlook and lives of the people when they have discovered or rediscovered that prayer is a vital, vibrant link. Then their lives become meaningful and the change is evident to all. . . . (This) brings us to one conclusion, and that is, that men were deadened toward God, and not that God is dead. Until they are conscious of a living God to whom they can go, the Gospel means very little to them. . . . It is not what kind of God man can believe in, but what kind of man does the living God reach. . . . For those who have been worshiping an unknown God, or idols of some kind or other, the crumbling of these gods or idols may be a good thing, providing the worshipers can see beyond the idols. It may be that our cultures in the twentieth century are so sick and tired of false prophets that many are not listening to true ones and, in fact, not capable of acknowledgement that there ever were true prophets. Therefore, they feel no relationship to God, and no need of calling on him.

N. Eldon Tanner
L.D.S. Conference
April, 1966

Mary L. Bradford

JOSEPH

Joseph, according to the record just, angel-ridden
and consulted last, what glory may you claim?
Was yours a father's care, but, God-bidden,
respect for foster child you could not name?
Was your pride greater than any heart-hidden
common love for common men the same?

It was you who showed his hands the glory of the lathe
in shaping wood to meet its proper use.
But was it He whose growing shaped your faith
that you might stand in sorrow at that last abuse
as high above a puzzled world a wooden wraith
was raised to meet some deep excuse?

No doubt it is as said: you "received your reward
in Heaven" as do all who need not repent.
But you appear on earth at every Christian board,
leading the ass, your face intent
above the child, your eyes turned always toward
the path. You gave a joyous thing — consent.

ADVICE

Lift your withered hands and feel
The rush of words push from below.
Lift up your dying hands and write.

Trace the lifted arc of wheel
Pitting itself against the flow
Of earth's slow water in the night.

Force the rigid stone to peel
Back in layers row on row
Its living form against the light.

THE DIFFERENCE

This is not tragedy. A child
Cannot suffer nobly, nor fling a wild
Curse at the sky and die.
A child can only flinch and cry,
Soft hands outspread. No clenched fist
For you, my little one.
You are pathos, I the protagonist.

R. A. Christmas

AT TEMPLE SQUARE, SALT LAKE CITY

This was the dream, beginning with a quest
For isolated work, that brought them west
To Salt Lake Valley, looking for new starts
And land in Zion, pushing stock and carts
Out of the world into Millennium
In the Rocky Mountains. This was kingdom come:
To have their land, their God, and privacy,
Hold goods in common, try polygamy,
Rough out new law and language, colonize,
Convert the Indians, plow the hills to size.
They saw this Temple when the ground was bare
Of everything but sagebrush; from the Square
They measured streets by its unbodied touch,
As Second South, Eleventh East, or such:
Through forty years of building, here was grace
For every passing dream; this was the place.

This is the place! Now monuments are cast
As bronze and stone memorials to the past.
Seagulls, handcarts, and prophets on the lawn
Remind us of a season that is gone.
A large museum features guided tours,
Brigham Young's pants, and various furnitures
From Mormon history; and a guide invites
Our questions on religion, or the sights.

This is the place! Each hour a show begins,
An organ concert, talk, or drop of pins
To prove the fine acoustics in a hall,
And justify the ways of God to all.
This is the place! Outside is paradise!
New Salt Lake City, full of bright surprise
For modern pilgrims rushing out in cars
To find department stores, hotels, or bars.
This is the place that Brigham sought by dreams
And built for Christ: today the Temple seems
Abstracted from the life around the Square;
This is the place, but most are not aware.

And they no longer measure life by streets
Or dreams of Zion; and the past competes
Both with its opposite and something new,
The unexpected it should carry through,
But somehow comes up short behind the plaque
Or monument they raise to bring it back;
A half-success, the work less wrong than strange.
While the indifferent quality of change
Sends buildings higher, Temple Square grows dim;
And southward, neon pulses, from its rim
The valley bottoms out and falls away,
And men in business suits pursue their day.
Some watch for Christ, and after snow at night,
They wake to their Millennium of white
And count this blessing, quiet, soft and deep,
And think of dreaming, in a dreamless sleep.

Reviews

Edited by Richard L. Bushman

DIALOGUE *introduces a new kind of review to its pages in this issue. The short notices, which follow the other reviews, will permit us to call our readers' attention to a larger number of books of interest to Mormons and particularly to review more books coming from Mormon presses.*

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

R. Joseph Monsen, Jr.

The Vital Few: American Economic Progress and Its Protagonists. By Jonathan Hughes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966. vi + 504 pp. $6.95.

Joseph Monsen, Coordinator of Faculty Research and Professor in the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of Washington edits a series on business and society for Holt, Rinehart and Winston and is himself preparing a general study in this area. His most recent book, written with Mark Cannon,, is *The Makers of Public Policy.*

Jonathan Hughes has written a spritely book about those men, the vital few in American history, who have had a major impact on our economic growth. Brigham Young is selected as one of them. Hughes, an economic historian educated at Utah State, the University of Washington, and Oxford University and now teaching at Purdue, places Brigham Young along with William Penn, Eli Whitney, Thomas Edison, Andrew Carnegie, E. H. Harriman, and J. P. Morgan among the major protagonists in America's economic progress. Hughes sees four types of men who generate economic growth — idealists (where Penn and Young are placed), inventors, innovators, and organizers. In Brigham's case, however, all four types of characteristics are demonstrated. Such a simple classification is unconvincing. Hughes's theoretical framework as stated in his introduction is only a rather inept justification for some stimulating economic biography. If he discarded his introduction, the book would be better off. Despite this serious flaw, the book is, I think, still well worth reading.

Hughes handles Brigham Young sympathetically and in general, accurately. Brigham Young is used as a focal point around which Hughes relates the history of the Saints. Young's own portrait is merged into a general Mormon saga. The character of both leader and people is described as endowed

with "an excessive dosage of Protestant ethic." Perhaps this is not inaccurate, for in many ways the Mormons are the last Puritans left on our continent. And, as Hughes says, "our history reveals no hardier people." Even Young's much maligned family life is treated gently by saying that "to worry his married life is like deploring Joe Louis's golf game." The final movement to Salt Lake Valley was just "another of what was to be a long succession of pioneering masterpieces." Hughes sums up Brigham Young and the Mormons' place in history by acknowledging that, "without the Mormons' passionate — even fanatical — religious beliefs, the Great Basin would not have been settled as it was." Hunghes's argument that, "to the skeptical modern mind, the story [of the first vision] hardly bears close scrutiny but, then, to the skeptical mind what religion does?" may offend the LDS reader accustomed to the *Improvement Era*. Nonetheless, it is as sympathetic a reading as the national scholarly community is likely to give.

The case for placing Brigham Young among the makers of American economic history is not new to most Mormons, particularly after Leonard Arrington's magnum opus, *The Great Basin Kingdom*. What is more interesting is the fact that it is an economic historian who enlarges the Mormon experience beyond a paragraph or just a footnote in American History. Is it only in economic history that the Mormon saga will be given a major part by historians? If so, the Latter-day Saints have no one to blame but themselves. For up to now only Arrington has produced a significant scholarly study of Mormon history meriting attention outside the Church. The fact that Arrington's work is economic history — not social, political, religious or intellectual history — may well explain why scholars in other fields have given so little attention to the Church's part in our national development. Church scholars have their work cut out for them.

The theoretical structure of the book owes much to Carlyle's great man approach to history and to Schumpeter's thesis that entrepreneurs are the movers of economic history. Coming from Hughes this Carlyle-Schumpeterian interpretation is rather a surprise; for in my mind he has been associated with the "new" and controversial quantitative approach to economic history — at least judging from his co-authorship with Lance Davis and D. M. McDougall of a major American economic history text. Certainly, there is no way of fully testing Hughes's implicit thesis that it is the hero in history, whether entrepreneur or not, who makes the wheels go around and directs the course of human destiny. Doubtless there is merit in this approach. In fact, it is refreshing to find a literate and interesting book by a reputable scholar calling attention to the key role that individual men play in history, particularly when so many economic historians nowadays refuse to acknowledge anything if it cannot be measured.

Hughes has not intended to write a profound study of Brigham Young's character — that work remains to be written. Hopefully, it will be written soon, before his personality passes permanently into mythology — as that of so many historical figures such as Washington and Lincoln have already done. What the author has succeeded in doing is to remind us in a delightful way of the important role that men have played in our economic history. Personality will have to be fitted into the economist's model for economic growth. In this perspective Brigham Young takes his rightful place in American economic history.

ISRAELITES ALL

B. Z. Sobel

Jew and Mormon: Historic Group Relation and Religious Outlook. By Rudolph Glanz. New York: The Author, 1963. vii + 379 pp. $6.00.

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For those interested in expanding our understanding of the phenomena of Mormonism and of Judaism, the appearance of Glanz's *Jew and Mormon* should have constituted an event of some significance. Students of the history of religions, historians, sociologists, and for that matter knowledgeable laymen have, since the very first appearance of Mormonism, recognized and commented upon the obvious parallels existing between the two faith-communities: the sense of peoplehood, persecutions, charges of legalism, religious polity, etc. Glanz quotes from Ludlow's *The Heart of the Continent* to indicate this startling congruity:

> "It is curious to see how the very physical circumstances of Mormonism are a copy of the Jewish. The parallel is not a fanciful or accidental one. The Mormons acknowledge, in some points intend it, themselves. Kirtland and Nauvoo were their settlements in Egypt; Joe Smith was their Moses; and when he died too early for a sight of the promised land, Brigham Young became the Joshua who led them all the way home. They have founded their Jerusalem in a Holy Land wonderfully like the original. Like Gennesareth, Lake Utah is a body of fresh water emptying by a river Jordan into a Dead sea without outlet and intensely saline. The Saints find their Edomites and Philistines in the Indians . . . and in the troops of Uncle Sam. The climate is a photographic copy of the Judean; the thirsty fields must be irrigated through long seasons of rainless, cloudless heat, while the ridges of Lebanon, here called the Wahsatch, are covered with snow."

The historical parallels are of course plain enough, but the sociological implications of these are even more interesting and seminal, making Mr. Glanz's failure (and failure it is) all the more disheartening. I don't remember a book that I found more difficult to read, or to learn from, than this one. It is dry, where the raw materials have intrinsic flair, pedantic throughout, badly edited, over long and over drawn (a whole chapter is devoted to two [maybe one] Jewish convert[s] to Mormonism in the 19th century), and in general it adds little or nothing to anything that anybody might want to know something about. I came to the book expecting much and came away totally frustrated and just a little angry. In fairness to Mr. Glanz it must be noted that the work was intended to be an exercise in historical research, bringing together diverse materials of all sorts bearing on the relationships and contacts between Jews and Mormons. In large measure he has succeeded in doing this, but "bringing together" should apply to structure, analysis and the elaboration of *meaning* rather than mere *collecting,* and herein lies the book's failure.

In discussing the Mormon mission to the Jews, for example, it is not adequate to make passing references to the legitimating nature of this mission

and then devote the remainder of a lengthy chapter to recounting the instances and places where missionary contact occurred. One wants to know something about the special internal purposes and effects of this mission upon the unfolding Mormon praxis. Similarly, in taking note of Mormon particularism, economic innovation, church governance, minority status, it would have been useful to go beyond the notation of points at which Mormon and Jewish practices intersected to discuss ways in which they differed because of historical, ecological, and theological divergencies. In short, we are dealing with a fascinating datum of religious and social innovation, where questions about the nature of two distinct and yet curiously related phenomena could be raised which could make understanding of both more feasible, but where the author aborts in a miasma of trivia and simple cataloguing. I, for one, am amazed at how Mormons and Jews manifest similar loyalty to their faith-community even in the absence of theological commitment. What is it in the nature of the two structures that elicits this loyalty? One cannot help but be struck by the sense of group cohesion and mutual dependence that both manage to inspire in their adherents. Is there a common, isolatable element or group of elements that might account for this? I find the hostoricity that pervades both Mormonism and Judaism a source of wonder. Can this be understood to form a basic strut of support for both groups and a partial explanation for their strength? Similarly intriguing is the shared emphasis on the establishment, or at least the advancement, of the future celestial Zion here and now, the centrality of the Old Testament, the sanctification of family life, the dedication to pragmatism, the acceptance, indeed embracing, of science into the total framework of both groups. One wants to know how these elements emerged among the new "Peculiar People" and how (if at all) they are related to the dynamic that underlies normative Judaism — matters to which Mr. Glanz does not address himself at all.

Without demanding that Mr. Glanz write a book that he did not intend to write, I nevertheless feel that the raising of questions similar to the above are important in making sense of the raw historical data.

For all that I believe the book seriously deficient in most respects, I think some positive latent function has been served through its publication. It does, in fact, represent the first attempt to go beyond the occasional notation of Jewish-Mormon similarities on a sporadic and informal plane, suggesting that the exploration of this relationship in a systematic and scholarly fashion might prove beneficial and of interest. Without attempting to stretch parallels to an absurd degree, I wonder if something about the nature of minority group internal defenses and the problem of individual sub-group identity might be learned from intensive and close study of these two factors within the two cultures. Differences between the groups might prove similarly heuristic, for example, the Mormon "predilection" toward political conservatism and the Jewish community's seemingly unshakable commitment to political liberalism. Here we have two minority communities attempting to structure some kind of defensive stand *vis a vis* the embracing, larger culture, who have arrived at quite different behavioral and ideological positions. The various mechanisms — historical, ideological, theological — which have played a role in this drama are, I feel, worthy of further and deeper explication. Glanz's volume does not qualify as a major effort in this direction and it will remain a task for future scholars and researchers. The material is

too rich and too promising to be left in the archivist's dead hand, and I suspect that it will not be too long before a really first-rate work dealing with Jew and Mormon will emerge.

MORMONISM AND AMERICAN RELIGION

David Bertelson

History of Religion in the United States. By Clifton E. Olmstead. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960 xii + 628 pp. $11.65.
Religion in America. By Winthrop S. Hudson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965. xiv + 447 pp. $7.95.

David Bertelson obtained his Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization from Harvard University and now teaches in the History Department at the University of California at Berkeley.

In a sense this review can be termed an attempt to make much of fairly little, for the amount of space devoted to Mormonism in each of these works is very small — six pages out of 593 in Olmstead and five pages out of 425 in Hudson. Given the variety and complexity of the materials with which the authors deal, however, one hesitates to criticize these proportions, which serve as reminders of the fact that in the total religious experience of the nation Mormonism's place is rather small. Still, it is conspicuous enough to justify a consideration of the ways in which both authors approach it. But first I should like to say something about each work as a whole.

Olmstead's aim is "to achieve a fairly balanced treatment of American religion" by steering a middle course between a sociological and a theological emphasis. His technique is to sketch in the social, political, intellectual, and economic conditions in which religious organizations develop policies and doctrines. This is not to say that religious life is presumed to be simply a reaction to secular happenings, for Olmstead seems sympathetic toward its transcendent dimension and he also praises the responsiveness of religion to social needs. While the course of secular history provides an element of organization, the author relies essentially upon a series of classifications under which he includes brief treatments of relevant denominations, sects, organizations or individuals. This enables him to deal with a vast amount of information, which he treats for the most part objectively. On the other hand, a succession of categories followed by a rundown of facts pertaining to about a half dozen major denominations gives the book a mechanical quality, heightened by the sacrifice of historical continuity to the classification scheme. Thus throughout much of the last third of the book one shuttles back and forth in the period since the Civil War in order to cover a variety of topics ranging from missions and religious cults to movements toward Christian unity.

Hudson's aim is different from Olmstead's. He has given less attention to individual denominations, and his "central purpose has been to depict the religious life of the American people in interaction with other dimensions of their experience, and to depict the unity American religious life exhibits as well as its particularities." While Olmstead too is concerned with interaction, I do not get any sense of an inner unity to American religious life itself. The difference in approach can be seen in how each author begins

his book. Olmstead's first chapter is devoted to "The European Heritage," in which he classifies and discusses a variety of religions from left-wing Protestantism through the Church of England to Roman Catholicism and Judaism. Hudson begins with a consideration of "The American Context," in which he deals not only with the European roots of American religion but with the characteristics which seem to him to define the nation's religious life. The unity which he describes lies closer to social than to theological matters; thus he points out the way in which the Great Awakening helped to bind the nation together by developing a national consciousness. While sacrificing detail, this emphasis provides a greater thematic unity than one finds in Olmstead, and it also permits the author to pay greater attention to historical continuity. Hudson's marked sympathy for what he calls the "functional catholicity" which the major Protestant denominations have exhibited since the Great Awakening tends to make him impatient with any group that resists participation in the mainstream of American life. While this sympathy is one aspect of the thematic approach which he adopts, it is also something of a bias.

Olmstead relates the emergence of Mormonism to the frontier, which was "a natural breeding ground for bizarre cults and utopian societies which desired some virgin retreat" in which to build their paradises. Thus he sees Joseph Smith as a "fitting product of the paroxysmal erratic society of New York's Burned-over District." The Book of Mormon, he feels, can be fully explained in terms of Smith's experiences, for he "was probably a genuine and sincere man who expressed with both logic and emotion the prevailing ethos of his time." Much is made of the importance of the doctrine of polygamy in precipitating the tensions which ultimately led to Smith's murder and the trek westward. In dealing with the later history of Mormonism, Olmstead again dwells upon polygamy and tensions with the national government, though he also praises Brigham Young and notes the growth of the Church in the twentieth century through its missionary efforts. While the author's treatment is detailed and he seeks to be fair, one cannot read it without being strongly affected by the more exotic details of Mormon history, and these reinforce the initial picture of the context out of which Mormonism is seen to have sprung. One gets little sense of its theological tenets or of its more conventional adjustments to American life. Possibly because Olmstead takes religion seriously as a transcendent concern he is preoccupied with explaining away Mormon claims to revelation which challenge conventional Protestant beliefs.

It would be naive to expect non-Mormons to find these claims credible, but I suspect that Hudson's emphasis upon the social dimension of religion accounts for his much greater restraint in passing such judgments. Indirectly he allows Alexander Campbell to suggest that the Book of Mormon is an answer to all the problems of the Burned-over District, and he notes similarities with Campbellite doctrine. Still, Smith's quest for religious authority, the founding of the Church, the basic doctrines of Mormonism, and the events preceding the migration to the West are described objectively and fairly. Thus the general reader is given an accurate if brief sense of what Mormonism represented during the early years of its history. The author's suggestion that the Book of Mormon is a religious declaration of independence from the Old World similar to many contemporary declarations of independence

such as Emerson's "American Scholar" intrigues me. While I would insist upon some qualifications, I think there is much truth in the statement that "the Old World heritage was declared to be both obsolete and irrelevant, for the restoration of the true church was dependent upon the recovery of an independent American tradition which extended back to the time of the Babylonian Exile and had been validated by the post-resurrection appearance of Christ on American shores." Although Hudson suggests that in many ways Mormonism is an American religion, the over-all impression which he gives is of a peculiar people whose ties with the rest of the nation were at best tenuous. He argues that "it was abundantly clear that the Mormons were not a part of conventional society, and their separateness created antagonism. This hostility, in turn, increased their sense of separateness, and the sense of separateness encouraged further innovation."

Doubtless, Mormons would insist on other bases for innovation, but I think they would accept the suggestion of separateness. Though secular involvement has increased through the years so as to qualify the notion that Mormons are a separate or peculiar people, this accommodation has not been true of Mormonism as a religion. The Mormon Church has not participated significantly in the religious life of the nation during the past century, particularly in the area of "functional catholicity." Thus in terms of his emphasis Hudson is justified in omitting any treatment of Mormonism after the trek to Utah except to note the growth of the Church from 1916 to 1960.

The fact that recent statistical analyses of American religion have placed Mormonism in a much more prominent position than either of these histories do can be explained, I think, largely in terms of Mormonism's isolation from the major religious currents of the past century. These would include the Social Gospel, innovations and reformulations of theology including neo-orthodoxy, ecumenism, and the present-day commitment to social reform and especially Civil Rights. All of these activities have involved cooperative efforts among the various denominations, including most significantly in recent years Roman Catholicism, and have been characterized by complex interaction with the culture at large. It can of course be correctly asserted that great numbers of religious people in this country still adhere to a traditional theology and a very conservative emphasis upon personal religion, but these concerns are simply not likely to receive much stress in general histories of religion unless controversy with liberal elements is involved. It seems reasonable to suppose that a man whose commitments are narrowly denominational and who is hostile to doctrinal changes and social involvement is not very likely to write a history of American religion. Thus if Mormonism since the time of Brigham Young seems slighted, one would have to say the same thing about a much larger denomination, the Southern Baptists, who at present also adhere generally to an old-time religion and a conservative position on such matters as the ecumenical movement and Civil Rights.

One final observation seems in order. General religious histories must of necessity be based on the scholarly endeavors of others, and one cannot come away from either study without feeling that they could have benefited by the kind of investigation of the early history of Mormonism which Mario S. De Pillis points the way toward in the first number of this journal.

RELIGION IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

Glenn M. Vernon

The Sociology of Religion. By Thomas F. O'Dea. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. 120 pp. $3.95.

Glenn Vernon, whose text on the sociology of religion was published by McGraw-Hill in 1962, is head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Maine. He serves as Sunday School teacher and chorister in the LDS branch in Bangor.

The Mormon who reads a text on the sociology of religion such as this one by Thomas F. O'Dea of Columbia University, formerly of the University of Utah, will better appreciate the book if he understands that the purpose of sociological analysis of religion is to obtain sociological information not religious answers. While such a study may be of interest to the religious believer, the sociologist is concerned with the *social* or the *human* aspects of religion, whereas the religionist is concerned with the supernatural aspects. The sociologist examines man-man relationships, whereas the religionist is more involved with man-God relationships. The sociologist studies the *beliefs* which people have about what is moral, and how these beliefs are related to behavior, and is not concerned, as a scientific sociologist, with whether any moral standards are right or wrong. His scientific method of inquiry cannot provide such answers. Accustomed as religious people are to look for a moral dimension, they may not at first understand how behavior can be studied in an amoral or ethically neutral manner, and some would even question whether this can be done. It can.

When the chemist experiments in his laboratory, he does not ask if the resulting chemical combinations are beautiful or moral. He seeks answers of another type. The scientific sociologist studies religious behavior in the same way, restricting his attention to the observable, empirical aspects. He recognizes, of course (as does the chemist), that answers to the questions about beauty and morality can be secured, but by a method different from the one he uses, and he does not mix his methods when he functions as a scientist — at least not if he wants to call his answers "scientific." If they restrict themselves to the scientific method of study, sociologists reach essentially the same conclusions about religious behavior whatever their personal faith.

People who look primarily for faith-promoting material or the message that religion is good for man will be disappointed in this book, which has another purpose — to help one understand, among other things, why individuals desire to read faith-promoting stories, or why they wish to be told that religion is good for man. However, those who desire to understand the exceedingly complex social factors which impinge upon religious groups, and to which religious leaders from the Church President to the local Elders Quorum President are constantly giving consideration (although not always in sociological terms or from a sociological perspective) will derive stimulating insights from this volume.

The book is not concerned with any particular religious group. Mormons are considered only infrequently. There is little *direct* relationship between this book and O'Dea's earlier book, *The Mormons.* But his conclusions can be related to the Mormon Church.

Among the findings from current sociology of religion which O'Dea

presents is the principle that religious behavior with a supernatural orientation has also natural or social consequences. Whether or not religious beliefs and rituals are true by some religious criteria, they have identifiable social effects which may extend far beyond the perceived religious goals, and of which the participants may be unaware. It may come as a surprise to some to find that the religion to which one belongs is related to such things as the likelihood that he will have a heart attack, vote Republican, or engage in certain types of sexual behavior.

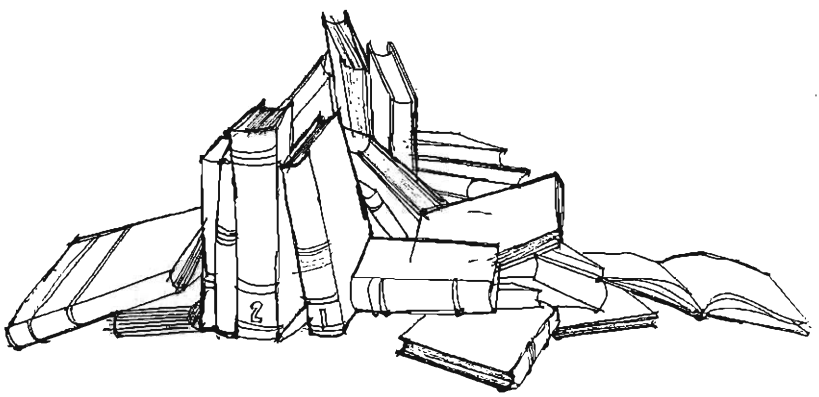
A functional analysis, as sociologists term O'Dea's approach, emphasizes that religion is involved in the maintenance of the society as a functioning entity, although every particular religious group may not be equally involved. Some religious groups may, in fact, serve more to tear a society apart than to solidify it, but they are, nonetheless, always related to other institutions such as the economy, education, politics and the family. Religious behavior and beliefs, even those about supernatural phenomena, are influenced by the social setting, and consequently a particular religious group cannot function equally well in all societies. It is no surprise to the sociologist, for instance, to find that Mormon doctrines endorse the American type of government and economic system. No religious group can grow very much unless it supports the major social aspects of its society. The conflict between the early Mormons and the larger society over the practice of polygyny underscores the importance of the interrelationships and the process of establishing harmonious patterns.

O'Dea's discussion of the "institutionalization of religion" illuminates Mormon Church history as well as that of religious groups generally. The Latter-day Saints have gone through a transition from "cult" to "established sect" and may be continuing toward "denominational status," terms which have a specific sociological definition. From the time of Joseph Smith to that of David O. McKay, the Church has changed from a small loosely organized group with a charismatic prophet-type leader to an efficient religious bureaucracy which serves a world-wide membership of over two million. Joseph Smith was an innovator, a creative agent of change. Today an elaborate social structure with different administrative procedures and techniques is concerned less with creativity and innovation as far as "gospel truths" are concerned than with protecting the established "truths" from change, while, it might be added, at the same time endorsing a belief in eternal progress or change.

Tremendous changes have occurred since Mormons were driven from Nauvoo. Today church leaders and members serve on the boards of directors of large secular corporations, Mormons are selected for the Cabinet, and a Mormon is seriously considered as a presidential candidate. Sociological analysis provides insights into the changes within the religious group and within the society which are involved in such a transition.

An important section of the book is devoted to a discussion of some of the dilemmas faced by religious groups. This section will be meaningful to those who have wondered if being called to the office of Bishop automatically makes one an effective marriage counselor or to those who have tried to reconcile statements by Church leaders that a working mother encourages delinquency in her children with statements by behavioral scientists that a mother's working outside the home is unrelated to delinquency. Whatever supernatural forces may be involved in religious behavior, religion involves human beings finding solutions to dilemmas such as these.

Awareness of the human factors in religious behavior may threaten the faith of some individuals, especially those who explain all behavior primarily in supernatural terms. This need not happen if one takes seriously the premise that the glory of God is intelligence and that revelation comes through honest scientific inquiry as well as by other means. If one wishes to seek answers out of the best sociological books, O'Dea's has much to offer.



SHORT NOTICES

The Everlasting Spires: A Story of the Salt Lake Temple. By Wallace Alan Raynor. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965. 203 pp. $3.25.

With the exception of a different title and the addition of one paragraph in Chapter VIII, *The Everlasting Spires* is a reprinting of Wallace Alan Raynor's Master's thesis at the Brigham Young University, completed in August, 1961. The thesis title, "History of the Construction of the Salt Lake Temple," more accurately describes the book's content than the present title does.

Raynor's work covers in minute detail the construction of the temple from July 28, 1847, when President Brigham Young proposed a forty-acre plot of ground for the temple block in Salt Lake City, to the last dedicatory session on April 24, 1893, after eighty-two thousand saints had participated in presenting their new temple to God. Raynor skillfully presents well-documented particulars about the excavation, the architectural and building plans, the stone quarry and stone work, the problems relating to the transportation of the stone (oxen, broken wagons, canals, and railroad spurs, etc.), the political and financial difficulties causing years of setbacks, the architectural design of the exterior and interior, the symbolic exterior stones (earth, moon, sun, cloud, stars, Saturn, big dipper, all-seeing eye, handclasp, and the Alpha and Omega stones), the ingenious suspension systems for the finials, the Angel Moroni statue, and the final dedicatory services.

With its numerous valuable photographs, maps, and diagrams (many never published before), and the biographies of all the key temple builders, as

well as the bibliography and index, Raynor's work of over 200 pages will become an interesting and valuable source for all conscientious students in L.D.S. Church history.

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Saint and Savage. By Helen B. Gibbons. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965. xii + 249 pp. $3.95.

Helen Gibbons has portrayed the early beginnings of St. George, Santa Clara, and Orderville, Utah, St. Johns, Arizona, and the Muddy Mission, as well as the proselyting among the Indians of the area, through the eyes of Andrew Gibbons, early Mormon Indian missionary and settler. With so much information at hand it is unfortunate that Mrs. Gibbons chose to turn to her material in an historical novel, injecting fictitious dialogue, as so many Mormon writers do, into a story that would be fascinating if only the bare facts were related. The reader is often made quite uncomfortable as he tries to decide which parts are fact and which are fiction, and of course the imaginary additions generally detract from the book as a work of history. Nevertheless Mrs. Gibbon's story is well documented and better than most in telling the story of devotion to a cause.

There are a few errors of fact and interpretation: the Nauvoo Temple was dedicated in parts at least four times, not just twice; and the Mississippi River was not frozen over on February 4, 1846 (p. 25) when the first Mormons left Nauvoo on their trek west. The book perhaps overemphasizes the Mormon side of the Utah War (p. 53). If Mrs. Gibbons had read the sermons of the times she would realize that there was some basis for government concern regarding Mormon loyalties. Probably Norman Furniss's *The Mormon Conflict* should have been read before writing this part of the book. The treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre avoids the pitfalls of many Mormon historians in this area, but the bibliography does not list Juanita Brooks's *The Mountain Meadows Massacre,* the best work on this subject.

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AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph Hansen

The historian, essentially, wants more documents than he can really use . . .
Henry James. *The Aspern Papers*

History is bunk.
Henry Ford

The books, periodicals, and manuscripts listed in bibliographies are of little value if the materials are not located and made available to those who might have an interest in using them. With this in mind we depart from our previous format to consider bibliographical control of Mormon Americana and the location of libraries and historical agencies which have significant holdings of Mormon materials.

The study of Mormonism should begin in Salt Lake City, where, according to Norman Furniss, "The best colection of materials about the Mormons exists . . . in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . ."[1] However, the Church Historian's Library is a "private facility" with the right of access controlled by the authorities who govern the Library. According to the official guide to the Library, ". . . the materials on file are *generally* available for use by the earnest researcher. The materials are not available to those whose purpose is to *discredit* the Church"[2] (italics mine). What does it mean to have materials available generally? Who is the judge of what scholar is out to find the truth or to discredit the Church? To further quote Dr. Furniss, "It is regrettable that the volumes are not open to the Gentile scholar, or even to most Mormon historians; the custodian of the portals, A. Wm. Lund, is adamant in his refusal to let all but the most faithful dip into this record."[3]

To the average member of the Church trained in the humanities or with any interest in Church history this information is not new or particularly startling. And both Mormon and "Gentile" writers have long since discovered that with the exception of some unique items (i.e., manuscript letters and diaries) they can find all the information about the Mormon Church that they need to write acceptable histories in other libraries in the United States, if they know where to look and take the trouble to go there. And so to a

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[1] Furniss, Norman F., *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), p. 236.

[2] *Guide to the Historian's Office Library-Archives* (Office of the Church Historian, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah).

[3] Furniss, *ibid.*

large extent the writing of Mormon history continues, sometimes with laudable results and other times failing to fulfill expectations.

A good illustration of my point is contained in the response in this issue of *Dialogue* by Stanley B. Kimball to Klaus Hansen's review (in the Summer issue) of Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi.* Kimball criticizes Flanders for neglecting a number of important collections of primary sources and in doing so reveals what those sources are (see pp. 189-193). We would add just one thing to Kimball's suggestions: To someone who has served on the staff of the Brigham Young University Library for a number of years it seems incredible that anyone working on a Mormon theme could avoid the Y and still claim to have made a thorough search of the records. But that it is being done is very evident. So that it will not be done as frequently in the future we have invited Dr. S. Lyman Tyler, former Director of the BYU Library, who is now Director of the Bureau of Indian Services at the University of Utah, to write an essay emphasizing the work being done at the Y to gain a modicum of bibliographical control of Mormon sources. Dr. Tyler refers to his work as an "informal essay . . . without being bothered by technical details."

We invite our readers at Harvard, Wisconsin, Princeton, California or wherever there are collections of Mormon materials to submit to *Dialogue* a brief description of holdings in their areas for future publication.[4]

THE AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MORMONS

S. Lyman Tyler

One might say of Mormonism, as the Apostle Paul said of Christianity in his testimony before King Agrippa, "This thing was not done in a corner." Before the Book of Mormon was off the press, references to it appeared in newspapers of the Palmyra area.

The origin, activities, migration, and growth of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and many of the basic ideas and ideals of Mormons and concerning Mormonism, have been of continuing interest to collectors of the literature about America and the West.

Beginning in 1832 the Church sponsored newspapers and periodicals which carried information about the Mormons to members and non-members alike. These publications also regularly referred to both friendly and unfriendly materials as they appeared in print elsewhere.

The library and archives of the L.D.S. Church Historian, 47 E. South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, represent an effort on the part of the Church to comply with Joseph Smith's request. For the first hundred years of its existence the Church not only acquired but published information concerning the output of the outside press as well as their own publications. The Historian's Library personnel continued to acquire and catalogue all materials

[4] For an excellent example of what can be done see S. George Ellsworth's, "A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library Relating to the History of Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXII (July, 1954), 197-247.

pertaining to the Church that come to their attention, and the catalogues they maintain of their collections are a good point of departure for any study of the Mormons.

Andrew Jenson's publication of information available in the Church Historian's Library and Archives is a very real contribution to scholars unable to visit the library. Although many are acquainted with his *Historical Record, Church Chronology,* and the four volume *Biographical Encyclopedia,* all are not aware that his *Encyclopedic History* is an indispensable bibliographical tool for the identification and description of early Church newspapers and periodicals, as well as an alphabetic listing and encyclopedic treatment of geographic units within the Church organization and of institutions that are a part of Mormon, Utah, and Western history.

The depression (1930-1940), with its federally sponsored work projects, had an effect on the availability of source materials and of bibliographic information relating to the Mormons. Dale Morgan and Juanita Brooks of the Federal Writers Project and Newbern Butt of Brigham Young University each had a role to play in this: Morgan collected information both of a narrative and bibliographic nature that began to bear fruit almost immediately; the journals, diaries, letters and other source materials that Brooks discovered, and was able to make more widely available by having copies placed in Utah and other western libraries, will continue to be a boon to countless scholars.

Through the National Youth Administration program for needy college students, Newbern Butt found a source of labor that made important contributions to two projects. Persons having diaries, journals, autobiographies, or other important source materials were invited to lend them to Brigham Young University, where typescript copies were made. The ribbon copy and one carbon remained in the university library and another carbon and the original manuscript went to the owner of the manuscript. (The library archivist is anxious now to locate these originals and to invite the owners to place them in the air-conditioned and humidified safety of the library's collection of manuscript materials.)

The second project was to supply indexes for both discontinued and current Church publications. In such early periodicals as *The Evening and the Morning Star,* the *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate,* the *Elders' Journal,* and *Times and Seasons* were to be found a contemporary record of the activities of the Church during its formative period. The *Millennial Star,* during the period of the exodus from Nauvoo and until the Church was firmly established in the West, is an essential source for contemporary occurrences.

Indexes have been supplied for these as well as the *History of the Church,* the *Comprehensive History of the Church,* the *Journal of Discourses, Conference Reports,* the *Improvement Era,* recent years of the "Church Section" of *The Deseret News,* and other publications significant to Mormon Church history.

If a scholar will use these indexes imaginatively he will find that they open up a variety of approaches to this store of information. Scholars also soon learn that when they have tied an event to a date through the use of an index, by searching other publications for the same period they may find additional information. As an example, for events of national or interna-

tional importance the index to the *New York Times* may lead one to articles in *The Deseret News* or *Salt Lake Tribune* of approximately the same date that will give local coverage of the same event.

One of the early private collectors of what is now referred to as Mormon Americana was Hubert Howe Bancroft. The Mormon and Utah material was collected as part of his larger project, to secure source materials for his multi-volume history of the "Pacific States." This included everything from Central America to Alaska and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

What Bancroft collected for his publishing venture eventually became the basis of the Bancroft Library, which is a part of the library system at the University of California, Berkeley. A decade or two ago persons doing research in Utah or Mormon history would say, with some resentment, that much of the source material for the history of the region had found its way into the Bancroft Collection.

The libraries of most private collectors tend to find their way, eventually, into the special collections of university or other institutional libraries. In addition to the Bancroft Library, the New York Public Library, Yale, Harvard, the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin State Historical Society, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, University of Utah, Utah State University, and other institutional libraries have formed notable Mormon collections usually by building on private collections they have acquired.

During the 1950's the library personnel at Brigham Young University began to search regularly through selected national bibliographies, subject catalogues, periodical indexes, and other bibliographic tools to discover, list, and acquire publications that contained information pertaining to the Mormons. At the same time a systematic program was begun to identify what had been published in the past. A standard bibliography such as Joseph Sabin's *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, From Its Discovery to the Present Time* (20 vols.; New York, 1868-1936) was searched item by item (since it does not contain a subject index) for the works it includes that relate to Mormonism.

Nineteenth century periodical indexes and individual indexes that were available for certain publications, as well as indexes for the present century, were combed for articles of Mormon interest. As the search proceeded it was learned that persons such as George Ellsworth (Utah State University) and Newbern Butt had done pioneer work in this kind of indexing. These persons were invited to lend BYU the results of their research to be checked against the library findings, and any new entries discovered were added. Without exception, these scholars have been cooperative.

In addition to his published bibliographic studies, Dale Morgan, about thirty years ago, began visiting the libraries with significant Mormon collections and listing their holdings to compile a union catalogue of the Mormon materials held by these libraries. This catalogue was turned over to the Utah State Historical Society with the understanding that they would continue the project Morgan had begun.

About 1956 Brigham Young University Library began to cooperate with the Historical Society in the maintenance of this catalogue by furnishing secretarial help to assist the Society's librarian, John James. This cooperative effort has expanded to include representatives from the Church His-

torian's Library (Earl Olson), the University of Utah (Ray Canning), and Utah State University (George Ellsworth), as well as Brigham Young University and the State Historical Society, to form an editorial committee to assist with the preparation of this catalogue for publication.

The University of Utah representative was recently able to secure a research grant from the University to enable Chad Flake, Special Collections Librarian at Brigham Young University, to devote full-time during a sabbatical leave granted by BYU to editorial work on the catalogue and further work in research libraries to bring the union catalogue up to date.

It is presently contemplated that the first unit of this projected catalogue will cover the first hundred years of Mormonism (1830 through 1929). Everett Cooley, Director of the State Historical Society, is chairman of the committee, and the work is proceeding under his general direction, with John James's assistance and with Dale Morgan as a consultant. The second unit (1930 through 1959) will likely contain as many items as the hundred-year unit.

To provide bibliographic coverage for current publications, the following compilations* now appear regularly:

1. *Mormon Americana* (Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah, semi-monthly from 1960). Published as a joint project by libraries interested in material on Utah and Mormons.

2. "Mormon Bibliography," *Brigham Young University Studies* (Provo, Utah, annually from 1961). The first annual compilations, beginning with material published for the year 1960, were the work of Ralph W. Hansen; and recent years are compiled by Chad Flake.

3. *Index to Church Periodicals of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Brigham Young University Library, monthly from 1966). This work is cumulated into a bound volume at the end of the year.

As indexing programs are prepared for computers, they will include the capability of machine searching on various subjects for chronological periods, etc. It is anticipated that the Mormon bibliographies mentioned above will eventually be placed in machine language so the information can be manipulated to facilitate a variety of different approaches to it.

The bibliographic control of information relating to Mormonism has improved considerably in the last decade. There seems good reason to believe that such improvement will continue in the decade that lies ahead.

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* In addition "Among the Mormons: A Survey of Current Literature" appears quarterly from 1966 in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.* The coverage is not always meant to be exhaustive but has the advantage of critical annotation. Covered in the Spring and Summer issues are books, reprints, records, and dissertations and theses; the Fall issue will usually deal with special subjects and the Winter issue with articles in periodicals.

RECENTLY RECEIVED

Joseph Schenck. "Itzamna, The Great Hand (Archaeological Evidence Relative to the Book of Mormon)." Privately printed by the author, 2601 Natural Bridges, St. Louis, Mo. 1st Edition, 28pp. $.35. The Great Hand is a carving found at a Mayan "Crucifixion Altar" with a nail piercing the

palm, which Schenck, a member of the Reorganized L.D.S. Church, believes is evidence that Jesus Christ was known to the Mayan people.

Harold Schindler. *Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder.* To be published by the University of Utah Press in November. Available until October 31 at a pre-publication discount.

The first two issues of *Dialogue* discussed a plethora of dissertations, and, as one would expect, additions have been called to our attention:

Max L. Carruth, "Adjustment of Fifty Mormon Golden-Wedding Couples Living in Salt Lake City" (Utah, 1953).

Mark K. Allen, "Personality Factors Related to Religious Authoritarianism" (Stanford, 1955).

Garland E. Tickemyer, "The Philosophy of Joseph Smith and its Educational Implications" (University of Texas, 1963).

Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (Stanford, 1965).

The Church is a continuing revolution against any and all the norms of society which fall below the gospel standards.

Harold B. Lee
L.D.S. Conference
April, 1966

Notes and Comments

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

TAKING FLANDERS TOO SERIOUSLY

Stanley B. Kimball

Stanley B. Kimball, Associate Professor of History at Southern Illinois University and a member of the L.D.S. St. Louis Stake High Council, has written the following response to Klaus Hansen's Review in the Summer issue of Robert Flander's NAUVOO: KINGDOM ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

I have read with great interest and respect Professor Hansen's review-essay on Robert B. Flanders's *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* in Vol. I, No. 2, of *Dialogue* and very much appreciate his scholarly and helpful remarks.

Unfortunately, however, Hansen takes this book too seriously and seems unaware of some serious faults – the lack of objectivity in the researching and writing of this book and its great bibliographical lacunae. This is all the more surprising since Hansen praises Flanders for being an "objective historian" and further writes, "As an objective historian [Flanders] presents the facts." The simple presentation of facts, however, even if one does not like what he uncovers, is not necessarily good history or objectivity. *How* one presents the facts is what counts. Nowhere does Hansen evaluate, or even refer to Flanders's bibliography (which is, after all, one of the tasks of a reviewer). Perhaps this is because Hansen wrote more of an essay than a review.

A more serious flaw in Hansen's review, however, is that he does not seem to be aware of the somewhat less than subtle technique of distortion consciously or unconsciously used by Flanders throughout his whole study. In one instance Hansen even dismisses an example of Flanders's technique of distortion and practically pleads that this book not be rejected out of hand for "such superficial barbs." This barb, an anti-"Utah Mormon" quotation

from Stenhouse, to which Hansen specifically refers, is more than a "superficial barb." It is one of many such carefully placed barbs, the sum total of which distorts not only the character of Joseph Smith, but also the meaning of the Nauvoo period in church history.

Since I agree with Professor Hansen's conclusion that "If no Mormon scholar can afford to ignore [Flanders's book], neither can other Mormons of whatever persuasion," I would like to add my own rather prosaic remarks.

Professor Flanders finally has done what should have been done long ago — put some meat onto the skeletal history of the extremely interesting and important Illinois phase of early Mormon history. The book is very well written and presents a mass of interesting material. It is especially good in political and economic history (and correspondingly weak in religious, social, and cultural history). Some of his most valuable and noteworthy contributions are on the early history of Illinois (Chapter 1), land acquisition in and around Nauvoo (Chapter 2), the English mission (Chapter 3), and Illinois political history (Chapter 8).

This study is solidly founded on orthodox Mormon sources. Of the more than 770 footnotes, almost 400 come from Joseph Smith's *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* the *Times and Seasons,* the *Millennial Star,* and the *Nauvoo Wasp,* and many others refer to such decidedly orthodox Mormon works as the sermons of Brigham Young and the writings of Parley P. Pratt, B. H. Roberts, and William E. Berrett. Furthermore, Flanders has wisely eschewed most of the notoriously anti-Mormon works. He has also used most profitably the records in the Hancock County Court House.

In reference to tone or attitude, however, many readers will not realize and understand that a book, even a large book, can be written mostly from good primary source materials, with few errors, and still present a more or less untrue and unfair version of what happened. This is accomplished most handily through tone and selectivity. A carefully chosen adjective or adverb can completely distort meaning and sense. One carefully selected and placed quotation can completely negate pages of preceding positive or favorable material. The inadequacy of introductory material can also distort. Whether by design or accident, Professor Flanders's book is seriously marred by words and quotations which he does use and by material which he omits.

Joseph Smith suffers most from Flanders's technique. The author quite ingeniously admits in his preface that his book is not biography and that "the account of Smith is not a balanced one . . . it does not treat him as a great religious leader [but] as a man of affairs . . ." (p. vi). Flanders is certainly not to be criticized for this, and it is refreshing to read something about Joseph Smith where he neither appears as a ten foot tall puppet of the Almighty nor as a patent villain. While Flanders has avoided both extremes, he has not found a happy medium. He is entirely too harsh on his "man of affairs," who emerges not only naive and unwise, but also as an opportunist, a zealot, and a vindictive schemer. In this respect, Joseph Smith does not fare much better at the hands of Flanders than he did twenty-one years and seven printings ago in Faun Brodie's regrettable "history."

It is a rule of good drama (and well written history can be dramatic) that the audience or readers must be able to have some sympathy even for the villain of the piece. While Joseph Smith is not exactly the villain of

Flanders's book, the reader is never moved to sympathy. Nowhere does Joseph Smith appear kind, generous, or even likeable.

Joseph Smith's land dealing and his financial affairs form a *leitmotiv* of this book in respect to which Flanders is constantly critical. That Joseph Smith was rather naive and at times even unwise in such matters is hardly a point to be contested, but the author goes entirely too far. His constant harping on these subjects in no way improves his book or strengthens his main thesis, which seems to be that kingdoms, even those of God, are, after all, built by mere men.

Professor Flanders's first main error was to present inadequately the Missouri background of the Nauvoo period. The history of Nauvoo cannot be understood without some knowledge of the awful persecutions which drove the Mormons from Missouri into Illinois in the first place. Such persecution caused Joseph Smith and others to take defensive, and even offensive, measures in Nauvoo which in the light of previous experiences in Missouri are understandable, but which do seem highhanded if the Missouri period is not taken into consideration. Flanders gives the Missouri period a bare three pages, rather than the introductory chapter which it deserves under the circumstances.

For example, on page 34 we read that "in April, 1839, Joseph Smith escaped prison." Flanders provides little explanation of why he was in prison and no account of how he escaped. (He was allowed to.) Here Flanders should have presented more material, for throughout the rest of the book he comments on the attempts of Missourians to extradite or kidnap Joseph Smith, all of which appears quite just and proper on the part of the Missourians. On page 307 we read, "Particularly galling to the anti-Mormons was the notion that Smith was a fugitive from Missouri justice and that he repeatedly escaped his just punishment by flight or by legal maneuvers, the most prominent of which was his automatic release from any arrest by writ of habeas corpus from his own Nauvoo Court." Without further comment from Flanders the reader is left to ponder the force and implication of the expression "just punishment" and most likely will draw the conclusion, since information on Missouri is so lacking, that Joseph Smith really was running from justice.

Flanders's objectionable tone is likewise unfair. Joseph Smith "toyed with leading a little army" (page 4), "hated his enemies" (page 5), was "an easy mark for sharp dealers and flatterers" (page 5), "was learning how easy it was to buy on credit" (page 39), "addressed a crowd of thousands with a strident estimate of the power and sovereignty of Nauvoo" (page 105), "hit upon a new device which would meet the Hotchkiss obligation" (page 130), "hoped by pleas, threats, exaggerations, and repeated assurances to avoid being pressed too closely or brought to a reckoning by 'coercive measures' " (page 132), "chose to ignore the provision of the law that no trustee-in-trust was eligible for bankruptcy" (page 169), "betrayed what was perhaps his basic objection" (page 188), and his "threatened interdict . . . stood as an example of his vindictive zeal" (page 200).

A more serious flaw in Flanders's work is his penchant for negating the effect of many positive things he reports by concluding with a negative comment or quotation. For example on page 22 he ends Chapter 1 with a quota-

tion from Governor Ford, who certainly had every reason for wanting others to think that the Mormons were undesirables. "The old Governor concluded that perhaps the Mormons themselves were roques. 'So it may appear that the Mormons . . . may have been induced to select Hancock as the place of their settlement, rather than many other places where they were strongly solicited to settle, by the promptings of a secret instinct, which, without much penetration, enables men to discern their fellows.'" Flanders does not say he accepts or rejects this verdict, but he tosses it in at the close of his chapter in such a way that the reader could very easily conclude that this was not only Flanders's opinion, but most likely true.

On pages 340-341 Flanders closes the book with two particularly negative and dated quotations which seem calculated to leave a distinctly unsympathetic feeling in the minds of the reader. The first one is from Pease's *The Frontier State* (Springfield, 1918): "After full allowance is made for the violence and perhaps the greed of the opponents of the Mormons in Illinois, it must be admitted that they saw clearly how terrible an excrescence on the political life of the state the Mormon community would be, once it had attained full growth . . . and to enforce the will of public opinion, the resort to private war, though to be deplored, was inevitable." (One thing history is supposed to teach is that nothing is inevitable.) The second, with which the book ends, is from T.B.H. Stenhouse's *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873). Stenhouse was an apostate anti-Mormon, identified by Flanders as "an astute ex-Mormon." This quotation, which some will see as a typical R.L.D.S. swipe by Flanders at the "Utah Mormons," was written in Utah about 1870, and concludes, "No professors of religion . . . could be more bitterly bigoted than the rigidly orthodox among the Mormons today."

I do not wish to imply that there is no place in such a book for the opinions of Pease, Stenhouse, or other critics of the Mormons. This is not the point. The point is that such negative comments should not be used so insensitively. One is almost tempted to think the Flanders meticulously constructed his book largely from pro-Mormon sources so as to masquerade as objective, if not partisan, towards the Mormons, in order to better drive home his negative attitudes with adjectives and well placed quotations. If this is the case, he may have succeeded even better than many past detractors whose works are so rabid as to be self defeating.

Flanders's book will no doubt be praised for having a good bibliography. Yet, despite a nine page listing of over 160 items the author has managed to miss many important collections of primary sources. Aside from a few newspapers, several contemporary books, a few published journals, and fifteen manuscripts (not all of which are significant), and thirty public documents and "Other Primary Sources" (all of which are printed), the vast amount of unprinted primary sources was left strictly alone. For example, the large collection of documents and letters, including the Mayson Brayman papers and the John J. Hardin papers, at the Chicago Historical Society, were not used, nor were materials in the National Archives, the Thomas L. Kane papers at Stanford and Yale, or the Thomas C. Sharp and allied anti-Mormon papers and the Oliver H. Olney papers also at Yale. Ideally, of course, Flanders would have also visited the Huntington Library, Bancroft Library, the Missouri Historical Society, and collections in Salt Lake City, Utah, and Inde-

pendence, Missouri. At least he could have utilized the microfilm collection of the sources of Mormon history in Illinois, 1839-48, at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, which prior to the publication of Flanders's book consisted of about 75,000 pages of documents, letters, newspapers, periodicals, theses and dissertations. (It has since grown to 103 rolls and aggregates 83,000 pages.)

Of the seven newspapers published by the Church and its members during the Nauvoo period only four are used, and of the nearly 200 non-Mormon newspapers which have been excerpted and partially indexed by C. A. Snyder, Brigham Young University, and Dale L. Morgan, only two are used. And there was no use of the 322 pages of extracts from 35 Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri newspapers contained in a master's thesis by Snyder. (Snyder's original compilation of extracts from 57 newspapers is on file at the Illinois State Historical Society where Flanders did research, but apparently it was not used.)

While ten unpublished theses and dissertations are listed in the bibliography, 17 others, including Don F. Colvin's important study of the Nauvoo Temple, are not.

Flanders cannot make up his mind whether to treat polygamy as an off-color story, as a crime, or straightforwardly as a religious experiment which ran counter to U.S. morals and customs. He certainly can find nothing good to say about it. On pages 336-337 there is mention of the fact that Brigham Young and other church leaders were indicted by the U.S. District Court at Springfield for counterfeiting. The reader is left in doubt whether Flanders knew that these charges were later dropped on motion of the District Attorney. On page 99 Flanders makes one of several very critical remarks about the misuse of the habeas corpus provision of the Nauvoo charter. A Dr. Thomas L. Barnes is cited as an authority on the subject: "[The Mormons] murdered many of our best citizens, and there was nothing . . . that they would not steal. . . . The law could not reach them . . . our lives and property was at the mercy of the worst set of outlaws that ever congregated together." The reader is not told that the letter was written about 50 years after the events referred to, or that Barnes was secretary of an anti-Mormon group in Carthage at the time of the Mormon troubles.

If Flanders's distortions are unintentional and the result of strained objectivity, and his bibliographic omissions a result of unwise haste to meet some deadline, I hope he has the opportunity to bring out a revised and enlarged second edition.

MERGING BUSINESS AND RELIGION

Joseph H. Jeppson

Joseph H. Jeppson, a member of the L.D.S. Church who has been a lawyer and business entrepeneur and now teaches history, analyzes in this essay some historical roots and present-day manifestations of the tendency to confuse business and religious ideals and ethics.

Last year four of my Utah relatives, friends, or acquaintances committed suicide. Three of them had once lived within a mile of one another on the

"East Bench" of Salt Lake City. I think I could classify all four as "businessmen." All were Mormons, faithful in their church duties.

When I lived in Utah I was a businessman myself — thrilling to the exhilaration I derived from setting sales record, beating competitors, and developing the character of my salesmen. I lived in a 3700 square foot home on the "Bench" among neighbors who either were wealthy, or who endured considerable hardships to keep up the pretense. And I contend that it was acquisitiveness in this atmosphere, in part, that drove my friends to suicide. Furthermore, I believe that acquisitiveness among Mormons is often linked to our religion, not because the religion intends it to be so, but because we individually (and usually unconsciously, link our business thoughts to Mormonism. Those who do this have two religions, and cannot tell them apart.

American Money - Success Philosophy

Money-success philosophy is a popular American system of thought. Its present posture finds its clearest roots in the industrial revolution which transformed America (and most of the world) between the Civil War and World War I. It is grounded in the attitudes of big businessmen who amassed fortunes at a dizzy pace during the "Gilded Age." It emerged out of their optimism and was fossilized by their fears — optimism over "empire-building," fears of their enemies, who were the "respectable" old-line family businessmen who were passed up and who resented their loss of status. The respectables enlisted the aid of the government to "level" the tycoons, who had previously used the government to help them squeeze out their competitors, some of whom, of course, turned out to be the "respectable." Before the respectables (called "Progressives," turned the tables on the tycoons, the latter group had developed philosophies to justify their activities. These notions are known to us as "social Darwinism" and "self-help." Social Darwinism held that the fittest survive (by the will of God) in business as well as in nature. The ultimate extension of the notion that God wills that the fit survive and that the unfit do not survive was the proposition that one ought not to feed beggars on the street on the theory that such activity would promote their indolence and would also postpone what God had in mind for them (ie., that they starve to death and be eliminated as unfit members of human *race*).

The philosophy of "self-help" or "positive thinking," held that men's wills, sometimes in mystical ways, could lead them to riches. Success comes in "cans" (e.g. "I think I can, I think I can"); and success is the result of "service." The way to determine whether or not one has been of "service" is to discover if his activity enriched him. "Believe and succeed" was the motto, meaning that if one believed he was rich, he *was*, for money flows automatically from the maintaining of "successful attitudes"; money and fame are mere "by-products" of success, and success is anchored in "positive thinking." "God helps him who helps himself," said Benjamin Franklin in a world of emerging Deism, and the "self-help" men of the late nineteenth century extended the notion to imply that the wealthy were those whom God favored. The theory, at this point, is almost the same as social Darwinism: Wealth is taken to be a sign of virtue and God's grace and poverty to be a sign of evil or indolence and of God's rejection.

Positive thinkers were parishioners of the Puritan "gospel of hard work." Hard work might be mental work, of course, and the self-help people persuaded themselves that their mental work, including their "scheming," was not only hard work, but holy. The wealthy at the turn of the century supported preachers like Henry Ward Beecher (author of the best seller *How to Succeed*) who told them that they were God's elect. John D. Rockefeller justified his cut-throat business tactics to his Sunday-school class by explaining that the American beauty rose blooms most gloriously when the young buds around it are plucked. *Laissez faire* was not a part of his philosophy, for the thing he least endorsed was free competition. *Laissez faire* became the cry of the tycoon type only when Progressives turned the government into a "policeman and judge" instead of an expediter of inequality.

Someone finally noticed that the workingmen in the cities had stopped attending church services. In the 1890's, sixty per cent of the church attenders in Pittsburgh were drawn from the top ten per cent of income earners. A.F. of L. founder Samuel Gompers commented that his workers considered preachers to be apologists for the rich. It was in response to this situation that a counter-philosophy developed, which is known to us as the "social gospel," holding that Jesus cannot be worshipped properly by people who are too poor, because their concerns are turned more naturally toward their staying alive than toward Him. The Salvation Army was brought from England to minister to the poor. Churches caught the spirit and incorporated "social" programs. One minister was asked whether or not he liked the Salvation Army, to which he replied, "I don't, but I think God does." Many businessmen contributed to the new movements in hopes that if the workingmen were made to go to church on Sundays, they might be less prone to go on strike during the week.

But the ultimate result was that as the churches came to concern themselves more with this world than the next, their members sought more and more temporal reforms. The "social gospel" spilled over into economic and political arenas. Progressives rose up to harness the government to the task of fighting big business. And when government was used against them rather than for them, the descendants of the "robber barons" set up the cry of *laissez faire,* narrowed to mean "leave *us* alone." Big businessmen intensified

their self-help philosophies to defend against on-rushing socialism. Because the "social gospel" and "socialism" spanned the worlds of religion and politics, the businessman, in reaction, made his self-help ideas cover the same ground. The ultimate equation was made in a 1924 life of Jesus Christ, written by the New York Life Insurance Company's Bruce Barton — *The Man Nobody Knows.* In his preface, Barton said that Jesus was the "founder of modern business," who "picked twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world."

Max Weber's famous thesis is that John Calvin was, to some extent, responsible for accelerating the rise of capitalism because he told men that their *callings* (specifically extended to include *vocations*) were appointed to them by God, who expected all men to glorify Him by working devotedly at their daily tasks. This "gospel of hard work," not consciously appreciated in a religious sense by most tycoons, was clearly invoked by Barton, who cherished the connection:

> Great progress will be made in the world when we rid ourselves of the idea that there is a difference between *work* and *religious work.* We have been taught that a man's daily business activities are selfish, and that only the time which he devotes to church meetings and social service activities is consecrated. Ask any ten people what Jesus meant by his "Father's business," and nine of them will answer "preaching." To interpret the words in this narrow sense is to lose the real significance of his life. It was not to preach that he came into the world; nor to teach; nor to heal. These are all departments of his Father's business, but the business itself is far larger, more inclusive. For if human life has any significance it is this — that God has set going here an experiment to which all His resources are committed. He seeks to develop perfect human beings, superior to circumstance, victorious over Fate. No single kind of human talent or effort can be spared if the experiment is to succeed. The race must be fed and clothed and housed and transported, as well as preached to, and taught and healed. Thus *all* business is his Father's business. All work is worship; all useful service prayer. And whoever works wholeheartedly at any worthy calling is a co-worker with the Almighty in the great enterprise which He has initiated but which He can never finish without the help of men. (pp. 179-180)

Merger with Mormonism

Some L.D.S. businessmen link the money-success pattern to church doctrine by reducing Mormon concepts such as free agency, recompense for paying tithing, the law of consecration, and eternal progression to some kind of related *business* meanings. They accept the gospel of the money-success cult without realizing that these notions and Mormonism came in from different directions. Some businessmen within the Church fancy that they have been led to such beliefs by the scriptures rather than by the conditioning of their society. For instance, they believe that "eternal progress" consists essentially of learning "leadership" skills in this life which can be utilized in the next. Knowing how to run a ship-shape used car lot should train men to organize galaxies as Gods. These businessmen superimpose their own worldly "heaven" upon the one revealed by their God.

Many Mormon businessmen have come to believe that *laissez faire* means the same thing as "free agency," an important L.D.S. concept dating from Jacksonian days, which emphasizes the eternally redemptive value of individual freedom of choice. They tell themselves that if God had wanted a government-regulated program, He would have accepted Satan's blue-print for a regimented world and salvation. What they fail to see is that the regulation of *groups* (in this case, "big business") is in many cases a way to protect the freedom of opportunity of individuals and smaller or weaker groups.

Tithing is too often totally related to money. It is true that Malachi 3:10-11 says that if a man pays his tithes, "the Lord of hosts . . . will . . . open . . . the windows of heaven and pour . . . out a blessing, that there will not be room enough to receive it." Could it be that the blessing might be a house full of love or a bounty of wisdom?

The "law of consecration" originally meant that men should consecrate themselves and their properties to the Lord. When the United Order failed in the nineteenth century, the Church adopted the "law of tithing" as a "schoolmaster" for the higher law (of consecration). Mormons are asked to stand ready to return to the living of the law of consecration (giving all they have to the purposes of God) when called upon to do so. Presently only the Apostles are occasionally called to "give all their goods to feed the poor and come and follow me." In the Catholic Church, monk's salve the community conscience because they volunteer to live the "higher laws"; and in the L.D.S. community, the Apostles may inadvertantly do the same thing.

But some businessmen go further, and make the law of consecration into something it was not intended to be. They make of it a divinely ordained *savings* plan. The idea is to save one's money, keeping it in readiness to give to God when He calls for it. But God did not ask men to be ready to *give;* He asked that they be ready to *live* the law. This equation of the law with saving seldom results in backdating the call to live the law. Rather it results in a man's justifying his not giving alms to beggars on the pretext that he is saving his money for God. He doesn't feel that it is proper to be "generous with someone else's money." He wants to do good only when "called" to do

it. Besides, to give hand-outs to beggars denies beggars an opportunity to build their "characters" and to develop their "leadership" traits. Yet the Book of Mormon teaches a different ethic:

> Perhaps thou shalt say: The man has brought upon himself his misery; therefore I will stay my hand, and will not give unto him of my food, nor impart unto him of my substance that he may not suffer, for his punishments are just. But I say unto you, O man, whosoever doeth this the same hath great cause to repent; and except he repenteth of that which he hath done he perisheth forever, and hath no interest in the kingdom of God. (Mosiah 4:17-18)
>
> Think of your brethren like unto yourselves, and be familiar with all and free with your substance that they may be rich like unto you. But before ye seek for riches, seek ye for the kingdom of God. And after ye have obtained a hope in Christ ye shall attain riches, if ye seek them; and ye will seek them for the intent to do good — to clothe the naked, and to feed the hungry, and to liberate the captive, and administer relief to the sick and the afflicted. (Jacob 2:17-19)

Indeed if there is a theme about riches which runs throughout the Book of Mormon, it is that there is a tendency for riches to turn men's hearts away from God. And few readers of the Bible would naturally conclude that wealth was a sign of virtue or grace, for too many wicked kings were rich, and too many holy prophets were poor.

Dangers of the Merger

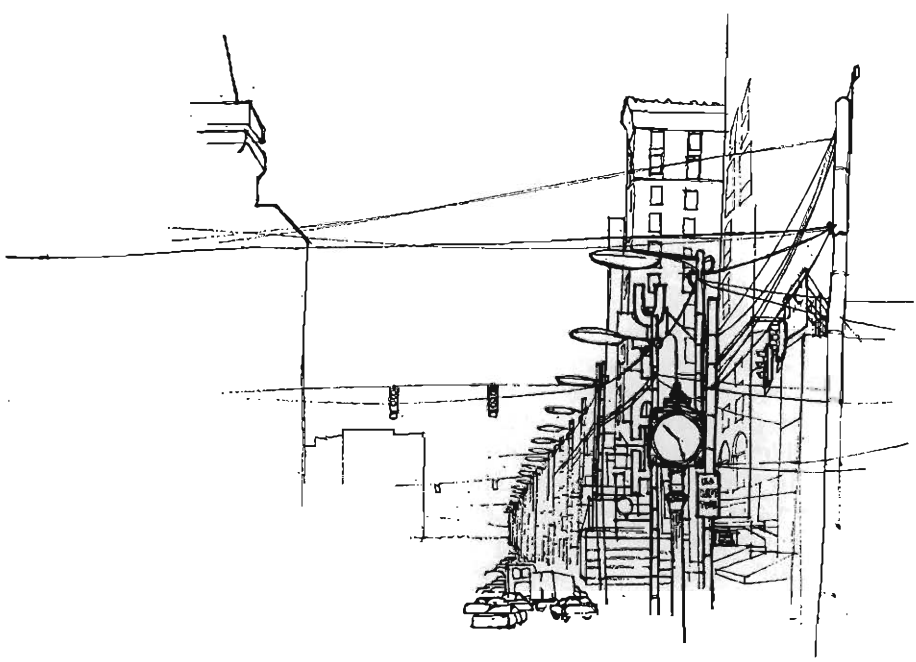
It is not wicked to be wealthy, but it is easy to covet riches. It is not evil to rule, but it is tempting to worship power. It is not difficult to persuade oneself that the worship of riches and of power is really the worship of God or of things holy. In the L.D.S. Church, where the great majority of Ward leaders (and higher) are both lay preachers and businessmen, it is too easy for such leaders to pass off their weekday philosophies as Sunday fare and their success philosophy as "true religion."

I know for a fact that many men find happiness pursuing the business ethic. But not all men. A few poor souls are crushed by the business-religion merger. Their business philosophies cease to be tempered and made more merciful by their Mormon beliefs. Instead, their Mormon beliefs become eclipsed by their business philosophies. Those who get hurt are often men who have strong needs to overcome their natural anxieties about meaninglessness. They believe that life should have meaning and purpose because they were reared to believe that it should and does. A few of them seize upon the business religion as the doctrine which will save them. They internalize it. They look to it to shield them from their anxieties. But too often, when the chips are down, it fails to support them. Their business friends in the Church, who have become their creditors, may be more apt to foreclose on them or to sue them at law than to render positive assistance or to forbear. Their business ethic of claiming what is justly due them has been given powerful sanction by its merger with religion. Indeed, it has become an idolatrous religion that blinds them to the true religion of meekness and forgiveness and mutual aid.

When affluence and friends have deserted them, they next look to God for relief. When no relief in the form of financial help or steadfast friends comes, they either believe that there is no God (and life is meaningless) or that there is a God who has chosen to withhold his blessings from them. They know that God punishes people who take their own lives, but they are numb to the threat, for they see their unhappy financial situation and the withdrawal of friendships as evidence that God has condemned them already.

God's favor is not to be perceived in the rise and fall of the stock market. It is to be seen in the selfless acts which men with prosperity of soul render to one another. The influence of the Lord is to be seen in men's kindnesses to other men. It is to be seen in their brotherly love, not in their acquisitiveness and "success." The spirit of God unfolds in the opening of a human heart, not in the building of a success-oriented "character" which will pass muster either at the Rotary or at the Pearly Gates. All too often that kind of "character" is merely another name for an unyielding posture that makes it easy for men to be self-righteous, unforgiving, and fatalistic.

On the other hand, there are a number of Mormon businessmen who are at once generous, happy, and affluent. In their humility they thank God for their opportunities. But they do not link him to their reverses. Deep down they know that their business philosophies are systems of entertaining themselves, not saving themselves. They reserve for true religion their serious and ultimate considerations of life here and hereafter; they part with their accumulations graciously; and they give of themselves in the same spirit.



WE LOVE THE AMERICANS, BUT . . . .

Peter Houghton

Peter Houghton, who has sent us this response to Americans, is a social psychologist serving as Special Welfare Officer for the Ministry of Social Security in the Midland Region of England. He is an Elder in the L.D.S. Birmingham Ward and has recently been preparing and giving courses in sociology for branch presidencies and bishoprics in Britain.

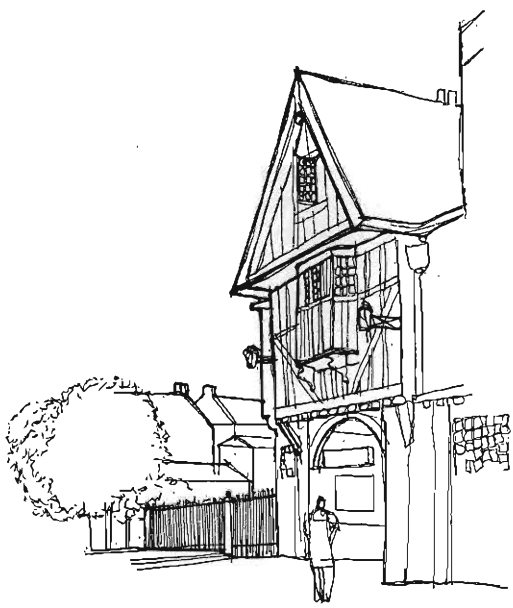
I am an Englishman and have been a practicing Mormon since 1957. I am also a sociologist and one of the few English Mormons, living in England, who has an academic education. In fact the Church in England is composed largely of persons from the non-professional groups, and this creates problems for the academic member. I say all this merely to explain my position.

To a person who is not an American, membership in the Church poses an additional problem. It is simply that the non-American must evolve a relationship with American life and culture expressed extensively in the Church. To evolve such a relationship is easy to some who are basically discontented with or underprivileged in their own society. To such persons the Church is a literal salvation since it provides an ideal to believe in far removed in thought from that in which they live; and it also gives opportunity for social status inside the Church, a status difficult to attain in the community. The evolution of such a relationship is, however, much more difficult to persons not basically underprivileged or dissatisfied. Brought up in the non-American, in my case English, way of life, the intrusion of so much American method and thought in the Church appears unacceptable. It seems to strike against many of the deeply held ethics of English life. It is not difficult to believe in the gospel message, but for the Englishman it can be hard to believe in its expression in terms of the programmes. For example, one year a Church manual suggested the celebration of the Fourth of July. In America such a suggestion is reasonable. It is a national holiday and a historically important date. In England the date has little significance, and certainly is not a holiday; like most nations, we are not anxious to celebrate our failures. In a manual prepared for an international church the celebration of an American festival does not seem appropriate.

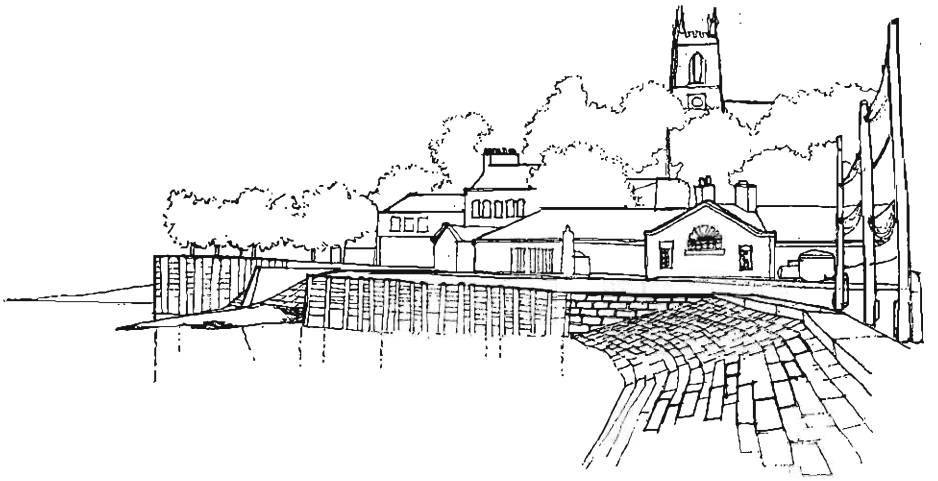
The influence of the American environment on the Church is more subtle than the previous example would suggest. The programmes are imbued with systems fitted to that environment. Take the Home Teaching programme. In this programme success depends upon the sound sociological principal of personal contact. This principal is as sound here as it is in America. There are, however, wide differences in the way such contact can be made. In the American community, evolved from the frontier West that forced upon the community mutual dependence and co-operation, there is a much greater sense of community and easier entry to a home. Americans like to "visit." The visiting home teacher is regarded as having a right to enquire into the welfare of the family. In England the experience is different. English history evidences the Englishman's struggle to make his home a sanctuary; thus his temperament is much less inclined to "visiting" than an American's. The visiting part of Home Teaching is thus much less acceptable in

England and, as presently structured, unlikely to achieve its aim. A deeper difference is also apparent on consideration. In England the church is not seen to have a mission to go to the people – rather that the people have a mission to go to the church. The church is there to be used, but modern England does not favour an organisation that sets out to involve the unwilling. While our Church does not see its mission in quite this light (i.e. in involving the unwilling) it is often regarded in this light because of its emphasis on programmes.

A common feature of propaganda for the Church among American missionaries when asked what the Church has to offer is to enumerate the benefits of the various programmes. They stress the active things that can be done in M.I.A., the work of the Relief Society, Home Teaching, etc. To many Englishmen the prospect of so much organisation can be frightening. Religion is seen as being much more personal and introspective. So much planned programming, if presented without clearly stating the introspective end, can easily be unhelpful. It seems superficial and suspicious.



Two years ago, in connection with a private study I was then making, I asked twenty American and twenty English Mormons what type of professional man they felt would make a good Bishop. Of the Americans fifteen gave as either a first or second choice the answer "a good businessmen." Not one of the Englishmen suggested a businessman at all. In fact the Englishmen questioned were more reluctant to answer the question in the terms it was asked, being more anxious to answer in terms of qualities rather than professional merit. I am sure most Americans see the quality of the man as most important also, but they were more definite in their replies and much less



inclined to question the validity of the question. This seemed to me to indicate two things: A fundamentally different view of the businessman and a different attitude toward authority.

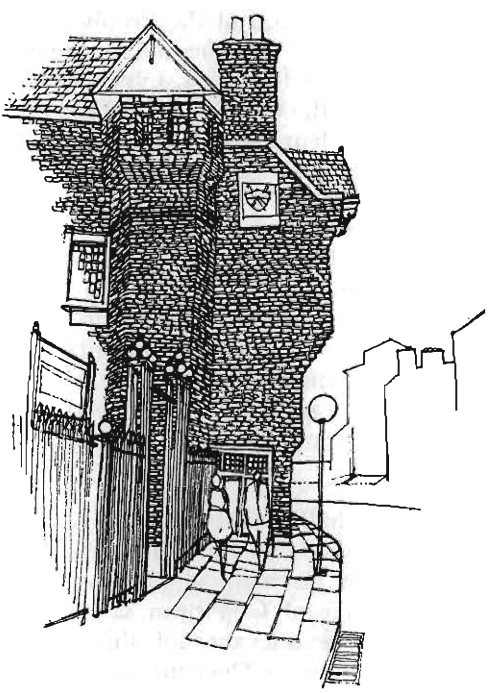
On the whole in England, while the businessman is held in respect for his achievement, he is not held in respect ethically. The businessman, it is felt, is necessarily ruthless and often dishonest. Such an impression would automatically exclude him from being regarded as having potential to be a Bishop. The reverence Americans seem to have for the businessman is alien to the Briton. Perhaps this difference arises from the differing experience. The exploitation of labour in the nineteenth century and the rise of socialism as a consequence have left an impression on the society of Britain very different from that left in America, where the frontier and more spacious life gave other outlets to the American labourer.

It is also interesting to note that the Mormon American is on the whole much more conscious of and inclined to respect authority. It is difficult to attribute causes to this, but possibly the reason lies in his environment. Living in a community influenced by an authoritarian church and having a patriotic reverence for the constitution and the flag, foreign to the Englishman, possibly explain the readiness of Mormon Americans to accept things more easily at face value rather than to urge enquiries into the validity of the source. There is no single dominant religion in England; there is no written constitution to revere; there is a profound suspicion of anyone who gives orders. In his reticent way, the Englishman is passionately determined to be free, but he sees freedom less as a political and more as a personal phenomenon.

It is difficult to rationalise causes and differences in so short an article or to do justice to the historical and environmental factors, multiple and complex. My purpose here is just to outline a few simple differences as they appear to me. As an Englishman with a deep love of my green and precious island I may have erred in too great a criticism of America, but I would here like to express my belief in the alliance and in the mutual concord of our

peoples. Nevertheless, as a member of the weaker nation in terms of power I beg all Americans to understand what the Englishman means when he says, "We love the Americans, but thank God for the Atlantic."

The principles of the Church have a universal validity. The vision of the conquest of the self through service to others, expressing as it does that ethic of Christ, "He that would find himself shall first lose himself," is taught in the Church in a new and refreshing way that can do much for English life, if it can once be seen as something more than merely the thinking of a strange American sect. The ethic of Christ and the Restored Gospel are far more than an *American* dream; they are a way to a discovery of as much of the divine as it is possible for finite, limited man to experience. Despite its corporate activity, Mormonism's spiritual ethic, that is its quest to discover God, is intensely personal and reliant upon self-discovery and self-knowledge. Because of this it has everything to offer the individualistic Englishman. We only need to alter our presentation and be more honest in our teaching of our history to succeed.



AN UNCASUAL REVIEW OF WILLIAMS

Robert M. Frame

Robert M. Frame of Camarillo, California, where he is presently serving as an L.D.S. Stake Missionary, has written a review of J. D. Williams's essay in the Summer DIALOGUE, *"The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," from which the following has been excerpted.*

I am proud to hold membership in a church whose basic tenets allow for such expressions of free agency in evaluating history as J. D. Williams's treatise on Church and State in the Summer *Dialogue* represents. What concerns me is not that Professor William's political views may differ from my own, but than many of your readers will assume, through a casual review of his presentation, that his selected documentation represents an impartial review of the history of our church *vis a vis* the political scene and the "issue" of our "involvement" therein.

At the outset we find the statement, following the enumeration of a number of issues which he assumes pose "dilemmas" for the Church, "that the Mormon Church, in trying to administer the Kingdom of God on earth, was deeply immersed in the politics of the Kingdom of men on earth." This would imply, it would seem, when coupled with the statement selected from Jefferson's writings about the "wall of separation between church and state," that such a "wall" existed in the mind of the Prophet Joseph Smith when he conceived "The Kingdom of God." In view of his treatment of "the Grand Council of the Kingdom" on pages 46 and 47, I assume that Professor Williams is well aware that such was not the case at all.* (I encourage your readers to review in its entirety the excellent treatment of Joseph Smith's concept of politics, government, and the Church as reflected in the work cited by Williams in footnote 45: *Joseph Smith and World Government,* by Dr. Hyrum L. Andrus, Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co., 1963.)

A little later Professor Williams refers to the "accepted notion" that Church leaders enjoy inspiration from God in the conduct of their religious affairs and "the belief of many Mormons that divine inspiration may be transferable when Church leaders speak out on secular affairs." As he is well aware, the "notion" of continuing revelation as it pertains to secular affairs as well as the tests for discerning true revelation have been fostered among the Mormons since the earliest days of the Church by such authoritative declarations as the following:

> And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord and the power of God unto salvation. (Doctrine and Covenants 68:2-4; as to the relevance of this passage to "secular" affairs, may I suggest a review of Doctrine and Covenants 29:34-35.)

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* Important documentation and analysis concerning this matter can be found in Klaus Hanson's essay in this issue of *Dialogue,* "The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God." [Ed.]

The Latter-Day Saints who hearken to the words of the Lord, given to them touching their political, social, and financial concerns, I say, and say it boldly, that they will have wisdom which is altogether superior to the wisdom of the children of darkness, or the children of this world. I know this by the revelations of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the results of my own actions. They who have hearkened to the counsel given to them in temporal matters, have invariably bettered their condition temporally and spiritually. (Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses,* 12:118)

How may the rank and file of the Church recognize the prophetic voice, whether official or unofficial when it speaks? The answer is simple enough. . . . The burden of proof is upon the hearer, not alone upon the speaker. Whoever quibbles about the validity of a message of the Prophet would do well to engage in a serious self-examination. Is the trouble with him? Perhaps he is not "in tune" with the truth. Perhaps he does not live the law of the Gospel in such manner as to respond to the message of truth. In the lives of Latter-day Saints it is best to listen carefully to the counsel of the Prophet concerning any subject upon which he speaks, whether technically "official" or unofficial. . . . Note the words of Brigham Young: "The Lord Almighty leads this Church, and he will not suffer you to be led astray if you are found doing your duty. You may go home and sleep as sweetly as a babe in its mother's arms, as to any danger of your leaders leading you astray, for if they should try to do so, the Lord would quickly sweep them from the earth." (*Journal of Discourses,* 9:289) That is as true today as in the days of Brigham Young. The history of the restored Church is evidence that counsel given by the Prophet and President of the Church has always been found to be for the best good of the people. They who follow their own inclinations in opposition to the light that comes from the head of the Lord's Priesthood on earth are never gainers thereby. To argue whether this or that utterance is official and therefore should not be obeyed, is at best a futile exercise. (John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations,* Vol. 1:182-7)

We can tell when the speakers are moved on by the Holy Ghost only when we, ourselves, are moved upon by the Holy Ghost. In a way, this completely shifts the responsibility from them to us to determine when they so speak. . . . The Church will know by the testimony of the Holy Ghost in the body of the members, whether the brethren in voicing their views are moved upon by the Holy Ghost; and in due time that knowledge will be made manifest (President J. Reuben Clark, *Church News,* July 31, 1954)

Professor Williams repeatedly refers to the 134th section of the Doctrine and Covenants, stating, for example, in footnote 8, "Brigham Young could say in 1844 in the face of the 134th section, 'No man can draw the dividing line between the government of God and the government of the children of Men.' (*Documentary History of the Church,* 6:322)" President Young did indeed warn against trying to separate the "temporal" from the "spiritual":

> In a public meeting of the Saints, I said, "Ye Elders of Israel . . . will some of you draw the line of demarcation between the spiritual and temporal in the Kingdom of God, so that I may understand it?" Not one of them could do it. . . . I defy any man on earth to point out the path a Prophet of God should walk in, or point out his duty, and just how far he must go, in dictating temporal or spiritual things. Temporal and spiritual things are inseparably connected, and ever will be. (*Journal of Discourses,* 10:363-364)

L.D.S. readers must judge for themselves whether, by so speaking, the Prophet was flying "in the face" of Oliver Cowdery's article.

One note of historical importance in this connection, by Apostle Hyrum M. Smith:

> This "Declaration of Belief Regarding Governments and Laws in General," is not a revelation. It was not written by the Prophet Joseph Smith, but was prepared by Oliver Cowdery and was read at the General Assembly of the Church, August 17, 1835, at the time the revelations, which had been prepared for publication, were submitted for the vote of approval by the elders of the Church. At the time this conference, or general assembly, was held, the Prophet Joseph Smith and his second counselor, Frederick G. Williams, were in Canada on a missionary journey, and the Prophet did not return to Kirtland until Sunday, August 23rd, one week after the assembly had been held. Since the Assembly had voted to have this article on government and one on marriage, also prepared by Oliver Cowdery, published in the *Doctrine and Covenants,* the Prophet accepted the decision and permitted this to be done. It should be noted that in the minutes, and also in the introduction to this article on government, the brethren were careful to state that this declaration was accepted as the belief or "opinion" of the officers of the Church, and not as a revelation, and therefore does not hold the same place in the doctrines of the Church as do the revelations. In fact, the first sentence could be improved by a slight change. The Lord in the very beginning revealed to Adam a perfect form of Government, and this was "instituted of God for the benefit of man;" but we do not hold that *all* governments, or any man-made government, was instituted of God although the Lord holds a controlling hand over them. (*Doctrine and Covenants Commentary,* Hyrum M. Smith and Janne M. Sjodahl, Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co., 1957, p. 852)

Beginning with footnote 40 and continuing later on page 50 with his "schismatic threat" thesis, Williams introduces the John Birch Society as having been the instrument which "during the months of February-April, 1966" had widened the alleged political rift within the Church to the point where "the schismatic threat to the Church probably reached its twentieth century apogee." The writer is the first to admit the existence of a certain amount of confusion in the minds of some members of the Church *vis a vis* the "Birchers," in view of the tremendous propaganda campaign levelled against both them and most anti-communist organizations since about 1960. I am neither a member nor "fellow traveler" of the John Birch Society, but in view of President McKay's pointed recommendations to both the Church

and the nation regarding participating in "nonchurch meetings that are held to warn people of the threat of Communism or any other theory or principal that will deprive us of our free agency or individual liberties vouchsafed by the Constitution" (*Improvement Era,* June 1966, p. 477), I would strongly urge Prof. Williams to do some serious and *objective* research in this area before accepting the "extremist" label frequently used in our time regarding such organizations. May I suggest, as a start, a review of the hearing before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, July 11, 1961, under the title, "The New Drive against the Anti-Communist Program" (G.P.O. Cat.No.Y 4.J89/2:C44/4).

Elder Benson responded to this confusion on December 19, 1963, remarking:

> Even in my own Church I found a certain amount of confusion. I heard people say that the L.D.S. Church was opposed to the John Birch Society. This may have come, in part at least as the result of a statement made by the First Presidency nearly a year ago (Church News, January 1963). However, when President McKay discovered that this statement was being misinterpreted and certain people were quoting it to prove the LDS Church was opposing the John Birch Society, he authorized a clarifying statement. This statement appeared in the official Church newspaper for March 16, 1963, and says: 'The Church is not opposing the John Birch Society or any other organization of like nature,' and 'that members of the Church are free to join anti-Communist organizations.' The statement says that only one man, President David O. McKay, speaks for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on matters of policy. (Address entitled "An Internal Threat Today" at a public meeting sponsored by the Treasure Valley Freedom Forum, Boise, Idaho).

In view of the above and the consistency with which President McKay has treated this matter in public statements reaching back years, one can only wonder at the inference implicit in Williams's reference to "some courageous and far-sighted General Authorities" who allegedly saved the Church from "officially endorsing the Birch Society" (page 50).

Not that the writer himself didn't raise an eyebrow upon reviewing the Editorial in the *Church News* of March 26, 1966, to which Williams refers to footnote 40. In a letter to the Editor of the *Church News* the inconsistency of this editorial was pointed out, especially in light of other statements printed in Church publications. (See, for example, the editorial appearing on June 11, 1966, subsequent to President McKay's recommendation quoted above entitled "Our Flag and Our People.") In this letter, I referred specifically to Williams's thesis of a "schismatic threat" among the authorities. I quote in part from the reply received:

> As close as I am to the General Authorities of the Church, I find no basis for an assumption that there is a deep "controversy" within the Church. I still hold to the belief that President McKay is the only man who speaks for the Church on matters of policy, and feel that is the only path of safety. (Letter dated July 22, 1966 from Henry A. Smith, Editor, *Church News,* in the writer's files)

The "option" Williams offers on page 53 to "safeguard against any image of Church commitment" to one point of view; his concern about the "alienation of some groups within the Church (page 50); the suggestion of a "policy of non-involvement of top Church leaders in political matters" in order to avoid "unnecessary schisms within the Church" — all these will have to be evaluated in terms of the basic conservatism which has characterized the entire history of Mormonism on matters of a political nature. In support of this may I recommend a careful review of Dr. Hyrum L. Andrus's scholarly works, the one already referred to, *Joseph Smith and World Government,* and *Liberalism, Conservatism and Mormonism* (Deseret Book Co., 1965). The writer views Dr. Andrus, a lifetime student of the social, economic and political aspects of Mormonism and Joseph Smith's concept of government, as eminently qualified to respond to those who view separation of Church and State in the particular light that Professor Williams does. A public dialogue between Williams and Andrus would prove most enlightening, I'm sure, in connection with this subject.

Reluctance to endorse the Church's "involvement" in matters of a "political" nature is an old issue, as Professor Williams admits and amply illustrates in his treatise. Said President Young on January 13, 1867, in the Tabernacle:

> I have taken the liberty of saying in the past, and I think I might repeat it with safety, that these first revelations (the Doctrine and Covenants) given to the Church will probably be among the last to be strictly obeyed. The revelation I refer to dictated the the brethren what to do with regard to their temporal business; and it will be comparatively easy to obey all the revelations until we come to that which touches the purse. . . . These were the first revelations given to the Church; yet there are men today who are Bishops and Presidents of settlements, who express their willingness to labor for the welfare of the people and the building up of the kingdom, but feel that no person holding the priesthood has a right to dictate to them with regard to their property. They are very willing that Brother Brigham should dictate in spiritual matters, and trust their eternal salvation to the principles he teaches; but the property they may have acquired or the manner in which their labor should be directed, or who they shall trade with, whether an avowed enemy or a man who pays tithing, and taxes, and helps to build up the community, are things with which, they think, he has no business. (*Journal of Discourses* 11:284-285)

Throughout its history the Church has faced the problem posed by those whose political viewpoints have differed from the historically conservative political position taken by the latter-day prophets (See Jerreld L. Newquist's authoritative compilation; *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival,* Salt Lake City, Publishers Press, 1964) and whose dissenting voice has manifest itself in subtle innuendo against the "accepted notion" that continuous revelation includes inspiration involving matters of a secular nature. Nor will Professor Williams be the last to view the alleged ambivalence in the events he describes as constituting so threatening a crisis that "the Church is in danger of undergoing its greatest schism since the days of polygamy." (See Williams's statement in a *New York Times* News Service release reprinted in the *Ventura*

County Star Free Press, April 8, 1966. Also see the *Wall Street Journal,* August 8, 1966.) Even were this true the writer has complete confidence that the prophets would today meet the issue with the same direct response with which President Wilford Woodruff met such reasoning in his time; his response both unveils the real issues here and provides an appropriate answer for the benefit of those who might share Williams's prognosis:

> "I prophesy, in the name of Israel's God, that the day has come when the mouth of Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, and these Twelve Apostles, should not be closed because of the opinions of the children of men. There have been feelings that these men holding high positions . . . should say nothing about politics. I want to say to you here, the day has come when God Almighty requires your hands to unite together in your temporal business, and in your politics, so far as it is wisdom. I do not care whether a man is a Republican or a Democrat. In that he is free; but it is your duty to unite in electing good men to govern and control your cities, your local affairs, and I will state that when you do not do this you are losers of the blessings of Almighty God. . . . My mouth shall not be closed upon these principles — I feel like saying to you, as the President of the Church, and do state, that it is your duty to unite together and appoint good men to act in every capacity for the public welfare. (*Discourses of Wilford Woodruff,* pp. 206-207).

Such "schoolmen" have a perfect right to voice their views and to be heard on interpretations of such issues as separation of Church and State, it is true. But underlying all such dialogue there exists, in the writer's opinion, a basic, fundamental truth, which President John Taylor expressed in General Conference, April 9, 1882:

> Our philosophy is not the philosophy of the world; but of the earth and the heavens, of time and eternity, and proceeds from God. . . . Besides the preaching of the Gospel, we have another mission, namely, the perpetuation of the free agency of man, and the maintenance of liberty, freedom, and the rights of man. There are certain principles that belong to humanity, outside of the Constitution, outside of the laws, outside of all the enactments and plans of man, among which is the right to live: God gave us the right and not man; no government gave it to us, and no government has a right to take it away from us. (*Journal of Discourses,* 23:48;63)

Or, as President David O. McKay puts it in our day:

> In these days of uncertainty and unrest, liberty-loving peoples' greatest responsibility and paramount duty is to preserve and proclaim the freedom of the individual, his relationship to Deity, and the necessity of obedience to the principles of the Gosepl of Jesus Christ. Only thus will mankind find peace and happiness. (*Conference Report,* October 1962, p. 8)

To what extent is obedience to those who hold the Priesthood required? This is a very important question and one that should be understood by all the Saints. In attempting to answer the question, we would repeat, in short, what we have already written, that willing obedience to do the laws of God, administered by the priesthood, is indispensable to salvation; but we would further add, that a proper conservative to this power exists for the benefit of all, and none are required to tamely and blindly submit to a man because he has a portion of the Priesthood. We have heard men who hold the priesthood remark that they would do anything they were told to do by those who presided over them, if they knew it was wrong; but such obedience as this is worse than folly to us; it is slavery in the extreme; and the man who would thus willingly degrade himself, should not claim a rank among intelligent beings, until he turns from his folly. A man of God . . . . would despise the idea. Others, in the extreme exercise of their Almighty (!) authority have taught that such obedience was necessary, and that no matter what the saints were told to do by their presidents, they should do it without asking any questions.

When the elders of Israel will so far indulge in these extreme notions of obedience as to teach them to the people, it is generally because they have it in their hearts to do wrong themselves.

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Hyrum Andrus on John J. Stewarts *Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet.*
Marcellus Snow on the problems of translating Mormon Scripture and Mormon Thought.
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