

BYU studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars



Winter 1973 Brigham Young University

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We have released the following members from the Editorial Board of *BYU Studies* with grateful appreciation for their association and service: Eugene E. Campbell, Quinn G. McKay, Keith R. Oakes, Douglas H. Parker, and Blaine R. Porter. To Dr. Oakes and Dr. Porter, both of whom have served on the Board for thirteen years, go our special thanks. Our thanks also go to Dr. Spencer J. Palmer who is retiring as Book Review Editor.

We welcome the following new members to the Board: R. Grant Athay, professor of astrophysics, High Altitude Observatory, Boulder, Colorado; Soren F. Cox, chairman department of linguistics, Brigham Young University; C. Brooklyn Derr, assistant professor of graduate education, Harvard University; W. Farrell Edwards, coordinator of general education, Utah State University; Bruce C. Hafen, assistant to the president, Brigham Young University; Robert J. Matthews, assistant professor of ancient scriptures, Brigham Young University.

Dr. Matthews will succeed Dr. Palmer as Book Review Editor.

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The Idea of a Mormon University*

ARTHUR HENRY KING**

The word *university* originally meant a community; and one may expect of a community that its members are bound to one another in bonds of affection and mutual aid. The word is reminiscent of the medieval guilds. It is not pretentious: it gives the impression that the members of the *university* pursue a craft rather than something more highfalutin'; and indeed culture grows from learning skills; it does not follow from the super-imposition of ideas. For example, in order to enter the world of musical culture—beyond self-indulgent day-dreaming or orgiastic dancing—we need to learn to read music, to follow musical structure, and to play at least one instrument: these are skills that make us exact, and open up something beyond.

There is another sense of *university*: the cosmos. Let us keep in the back of our minds for the *university* two ideas to which I shall recur at the end: *fellow-feeling* and *totality*.

All other universities than Brigham Young University are products of an alien religion or an apostate church, or are imitations of such products. It is true that one root, perhaps the most important one, is in the Athenian Academy (the word "academy" was the name of a garden, a *hortus conclusus*,

*A Forum Address given 22 June 1972 at Brigham Young University.

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a 'paradise,' a place shut off from the rest of the world where one might delight in leisured study and above all in discussion with other people). The Muslims took over the tradition of learning from the Greeks and developed in Spain, in the Middle East, and in the Indian sub-continent 'paradise' gardens of knowledge like the western university; no wonder, for the first European universities grew in part from the impulse of the Arab example.

The universities in Europe rose (though sometimes rebelliously) under the tutelage of the Roman Catholic Church. They were characterized by the heresy of celibacy. "Celibacy" was the norm of the universities of the Middle Ages. It was, of course, pseudo-celibacy—it did not connote purity. But the fact that the university was founded and carried on as a celibate group has brought about certain phenomena in the modern university which are due directly to that heresy: the inbreeding of the university, the conceit and egocentricity of university faculty throughout the world (to which the female relatives of university professors can testify), and the preference for male over female company. Academics do not normally mature: it is more difficult to grow up when you are clever. The clever man is all-important to himself. He can get away from his family into research or conviviality. So much of politics, of writing, or scholarship is and has been carried on in this way where additional hiding away comes under the influence of drugs—nicotine, alcohol, and caffeine.

Let us pass quickly by Newman's idea of a university, to which we need not pay much attention. It is easier to write superficially good prose about the obvious; more difficult to write good prose about things which are genuinely new. Newman's idea of a university is ultimately the idea of producing gentlemen; and the idea of the gentleman in the nineteenth century, at least in England, as opposed to the chivalrous idea, was to give young men the opportunity to learn how to control others without seeming to do so, and certainly without the spiritual right to do so.

I would also refer to Abraham Flexner's famous book published in 1930, *Universities American, British, and German*, a seminal book because it analyzes the idea of the heretical university at its best. What lies at the back of Flexner is not what he sees in British and American, but what he saw in

German universities; and what the U.S.A. saw in Germany, because, of course, the German university has had a considerable influence on American universities. The important points about the German university have been the supremacy of the professor coupled with the supremacy of the idea of research. It was the institution of a leisured *bourgeois* society, and it produced the prime of the idols which will be dealt with below: *the idol of the study*.

The university ideally conceived in the nineteenth century, and as still pursued in some British universities, is freedom from the social environment: the ability to contract out of the community at large which is represented by the college and the campus, the ivory tower, the *hortus conclusus*, the garden. The BYU campus goes back to Plato's garden and the Muslim oasis of learning. But this freedom is *from* the community, not freedom to serve the community, not freedom *in* the community. On the other hand, there is the Mormon tradition: it is supremely one of work, work for the Lord. The power to work is the second-greatest of virtues (caring is the greatest, and work should spring from caring); and work will be dominant, even more so than here, in the Celestial Kingdom. One of the infirmities of the Terrestrial and Telestial Kingdoms will be the lack of work (the inhabitants will not want it and will not even be bored—though spiritually limited—for lack of it).

I need hardly remind you of two major points made by Brigham Young with which we are all familiar. One is that all truth is part of the gospel, the other that we must teach everything with testimony. These are our heritage from Brigham Young, a generous-minded man. Now subjects at a university may support, widen, give evidence of testimony; they may be taught as testimony: testimony comes into them all. Testimony therefore is not to be shrouded in particular institutions on the campus; it goes everywhere and permeates everything. It has as much to do with physics as with English: I think of Nils Bohr, that Danish physicist Nobel-Prize winner who is reported to have said that he owed his discoveries more than anything else to the reading of Shakespeare. That may seem odd unless we have read that apparently frivolous book called *The Double Helix* about the discovery of the form of a genetic molecule by a young American in Cambridge: he tells

exactly what happened during the days when he progressed towards that discovery. It is worth reading to realize that great discoveries in science like great writing come ultimately from—call it what you like—intuition; I would call it inspiration. The wind apparently 'bloweth where it listeth'; but can anything worth-while happen on any university campus with which the Holy Ghost is not involved?

However, Brigham Young University is a Mormon University in an American cultural setting, and Mormons have not had the same attitude towards the American cultural setting after 1890 as they had before 1890. When I speak of the American cultural setting, moreover, I am thinking of the United States as the leader of all Western society, and therefore, that which is characteristic in Western society nowadays has for the most part come from or been spread wide by the United States. This country is now predominantly responsible for Western culture generally, for Western civilization. It is best exemplified here in its vices and in its virtues.

Let me remind you of a phrase that a BYU man is said to have used of the pomp of Commencement: "Clothed in the robes of the false priesthood." These caps and gowns are the rags and relics of the apostate church. What are they doing on Mormon backs and heads? They are symbols of compromise; at their best they are indications that we have arrived and want the world to see that we are like everybody else. Now we should not want the world to see that we are like everybody else in any other respect than that we are brothers in Christ; because it is back to Christ that we wish to bring them, and it is very much more difficult to bring a man back to Christ if you and he both wear caps and gowns: they convey the wrong sense of self-importance.

The obvious object of BYU is to serve the Church; for, whether we have grown up in it or are converts to it, if we believe in the Church, we believe that it is the most important organization on this earth, the instrument of God's will; that Christ is its head; and, therefore, that anything that the Church sets up must be finally and ultimately to serve the Church. This means that BYU serves the Church as a servant in that full sense in which "servant" is used in the New Testament: in the sense of "ministers" we are the servants of the Church.

In considering how to serve the Church on campus, many of us think that BYU ought to be like other universities for this, that, and the other reason; and yet at the same time the same people want BYU to be different and better, which indeed it should be. Ends and means come in here. It is no good pursuing means that will change or even obliterate the end. To use divine means to any other than divine ends and to use means that will change your divine end to something else is to be Satanic. When we wear those robes of the false priesthood we are more tempted to do Satan's work. Ends and means need sorting out.

I ask this fundamental question—it is the main question that I have to ask, because it is the one that subsumes all the other questions in this context: Why do we have to be like other American universities? Why do we have to be like any other Western university at all, since these are ultimately heretical phenomena? All other universities in the world except this one are in decline. They are in moral decline and therefore they are also in intellectual decline; for the one will follow from the other, and follow fast, as it is already doing. I notice in the universities I know that as members of the staff become more cynical, agnostic, atheistic, so are they inclined to earn more money, to wish to become TV personalities or to act as international consultants instead of paying more attention to their own students. They explain that they are not well enough paid and therefore have to earn money on the side. The idea of the *universitas* of fellow-feeling, the idea of the bond between teacher and taught shrinks, because where the staff is cynical and self-centered, the students rapidly become so too. Some colleagues at BYU believe at the bottom of their souls that the grass is greener on the other side of the fence; I have spent most of my life in the grass on the other side of the fence; it is plastic, that is why it holds its color so well and needs no watering.

I now come to four images which have been imported from the surrounding culture into BYU and which I think are idols. The first I have already mentioned *the idol of the study*, the most rooted idol of them all; second, *the idol of the grade*; third, *the idol of the Hammond organ*; and fourth, *the idol of the cougar*. They represent different things which are all heretical and all opposed to what we are trying to do in this university.

First of all, the study, the isolation, the sense of relief in sitting by yourself in a comfortable chair at a large desk, or in reinvolving yourself with experimental apparatus. What is the research for? What does learning for its own sake mean? All learning at BYU should be for God's sake, not for its own sake. Directly speaking of learning for its own sake, we set up learning as an idol independent of God. Here are some examples. (I have to give examples from what I know best. If I gave examples from what I know less, I should be inaccurate, so those from whose areas the examples come will remember there are equally good examples elsewhere.) Why do we study a language at BYU? The Church has missions in many of the countries whose languages we teach on campus. Why is there not a closer relationship between our language departments and the Language Training Mission (which seems to be developing better ways of teaching languages than the group Mim/Mem it was using a year or two ago)? Is the research that we carry out on campus in the language departments concerned with what our missionaries are doing in the relevant countries and with the conditions in those countries? The more we know about a country culturally, and about its language, the better able we are to teach that language, the better our mission effort should be; because, the better we prepare ourselves, the more the Holy Ghost will bless us. He will not make up for deserved failures, nor for our own failings, but he will help us when we do our best, and crown our successes. To what extent should "pure" research (so-called, because I regard from the Church's point of view "pure" research as morally impure) be pursued at BYU when it is pursued elsewhere and we can make use of it? Is not the gospel one of application? Why study the humor of Rabelais when we could be doing something about the way in which French language and culture should be taught to our missionaries intended for France? And I give France as an example because in that country, of all countries, they will pay attention to how well our missionaries speak their language.

A sub-idol which derives from the study as a kind of extension of the study, is the department. (I am not talking specifically of BYU here, but about what happens in universities generally.) The department tends through its head and

through its staff to elevate itself above the university because it chooses to idolize the subject. What is the subject? I would draw your attention to Professor Basil Bernstein¹ on this matter. There are subject-based curricula and learner-based curricula. Relevant questions are: What is the point of a major? Do too many people take majors? What is the point of general education or honors education at BYU? These last seem to be different kinds of things from departmental education. Some of us in Britain have seen that subject-based curricula are and cannot fail to be, conservative; whereas learner-based curricula are forward-looking because the initiation, the new thing, the discovery, usually comes not from the center of a conservative department, but from the peripheries and interstices of departments, from the interrelation of subjects. Subjects are formal divisions of learning. They have no more real existence than words, which are formal divisions of a sentence. We should be on the side of learner-based curricula, against subject-based curricula, because subject-based curricula lead, on the whole, to conservatism, to a situation in which we do not develop. They lead also, and they tend to lead at BYU, to the use of the course as a means of providing information. The course should be there, the lecture given, not so much to provide information, as to exemplify method, develop skills, apply principles; to show how learning is organized, how it can stimulate through organization and lead through discussion to new organization. If courses are used just to pass on information—and I have heard estimates that no less than eighty percent of the courses on this campus are informational—then they are replacing something else which is better suited to do this: the library. Are we therefore at BYU spending too much money on teaching and not enough on library and study space? The more courses we run, the fewer books students read; partly because they do not have so much time, partly because they attend the courses to acquire in pre-digested form the pabulum that they should be finding for themselves in books—not simply one textbook but several, and not textbooks only, but monographs. This applies even at the undergraduate, but much more so at the graduate stage. What is the function of the course if it is feeding pap as

¹Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge" in *Knowledge and Control*, ed. Young, (Collier-Macmillan Co., 1971).

opposed to creating genuine discussion on matters about which the students have themselves read? What is the function of the book? The book has to be firmly defended nowadays. I heard that some people at Church College of Hawaii were saying, "Students don't after all have to read books, they can look at things and they can take objective tests which will find out whether they have grasped the point. They don't have to read books; anyway, they can't read books."

Why are lectures compulsory at BYU? They are not at Oxford and Cambridge. In my first year at Cambridge I went to every lecture I could to find out what they were like, in my second year I made a choice, and in my third year I went to hardly any; I had more important things to do: to study and to consult with my fellow-undergraduates, for one learns more from one's peers than one does from faculty. One's peers are younger and usually more lively-minded; and at least a proportion of them are more intelligent and enterprising, because they are going out into the world and are not merely going to remain at the university.

I discovered also at Cambridge that it is good not to study always by yourself, but to study with other students, to form student-groups, and share tasks.

Second, *the idol of the grade* can be regarded as a kind of Mosaic concept as opposed to a gospel concept. The grade is linked with the test attitude, the attitude which finds it easy to write behavioral objectives. The discipline of writing proper behavioral objectives is good; but the more important a process is, the more difficult it is to write a behavioral objective for it. I could readily write behavioral objectives for small, less important parts—*e.g.* scansion—of my current Shakespeare class; but I do not expect that any total result from that class could be *assessed* for twenty years. I hope the class will have its real effect in terms of what its students do for the rest of their lives. For this kind of effect, testing, grading, behavioral objectives, the facile use of the computer—all fall short. The trouble with the behavioral approach is that it leads to pharisaism. It is all very well to say that faith without works is dead—and of course it is—but the reverse is equally true: if the inside man is not right, then the outside action is not right; and behavioral objectives and grade-giving lead to pharisaism, humbug, hypocrisy, and whited sepulchres.

The behavior may be correct, but the heart may be wrong or dead. Whatever some modern psychologists may say, we all have centers, because we all have eternal spirits.

What about the computer in this connection? The computer must be used by all in order to become a gospel as opposed to a Mosaic tool. It is dangerous in the hands of the Mosaists. If we humanists from laziness allow only the technologists and the scientists to handle the computer, then the computer will not become as subtle, as interesting, and as valuable as it should become. It follows: first, that humanists should take courses in the use of the computer; and second, that 'freshman' English is not enough—we must have 'freshman' mathematics. We must become numerate as well as literate, and we usually arrive at the university as neither.

To summarize the grade idol, American civilization has been regarded by other civilizations as being based on competition. My principal answer to such a base—and you can see this from presidential elections downwards—is that the ability to get a job does not constitute the ability to do that job. Tests are produced by our civilization; they are all subject to the atmosphere and desires of the civilization which produces them. Tests are not simply a *reflexion* of a particular civilization either; they are caricatures of it, because they are simplified. If one has to give grades at all—and I think probably that grades are anti-gospel—I would say that they ought to be given to the groups who work rather than to the individuals who work in the groups. I wouldn't mind giving a grade to the whole of my class; I dislike giving grades to members of it. The correlative of that view is that we should encourage group work in our classes, as I have tried to do. This should save time, be more interesting, produce more intelligent results, and be better remembered. It is to be recommended as something which has the gospel in it; for, whatever we are doing, if we do it seriously and to the Lord, "wherever two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Why should that not be applied to students' work as well as to divine service? Should not academic work be divine service?

The *third main symbol is the Hammond organ*, and its characteristic use in the USA to play all sorts of music, including jazz. The problem is of standards of cultural educa-

tion. I went to a campus banquet sometime ago, and when I came in there was the Hammond organ blaring. I went to another one where there was a string quartet. Then I went to a third and there was a consort of recorders there. At the one where the Hammond organ was blaring we had immediately afterwards a fine rendering of a song by Hugo Wolff. Now cannot we see something profoundly absurd in that concatenation, just as we must see something profoundly wrong in the incidental music of low quality which the radio and the TV are able to provide us with, that even KSL broadcasts on a considerable scale, and that is piped in at the Wilkinson Center? Music and art which are intended to lull, to soothe, to put to sleep, to make oblivion of what we ought to remember, are enemies of the truth: they are drugs. The object of art is to make you more awake, to be more vigilant, to notice more things, not to recline mentally on foam rubber.

I spent an interesting evening recently with a local barber-shop organization; I remember Western Week each semester. Both these organizations, superficially reprehensible though they might culturally seem, contain seeds of strength. Shakespeare did not despise the popular: he used it and made something superior of it. We have to find the strength of our civilization where it potentially is, even when it does not seem actually to be there, and when at the same time it certainly is not actually anywhere else. I do not regard a consort of recorders or even a string quartet as necessarily an ideal symbol; but if barber shop and Western Week on campus had something of the quality of the music played by the consort of recorders and the string quartet, we should have arrived. There has to be strength from the folk in order that there may be a really superior culture.

The encyclopedia says that the *cougar* never attacks man unless provoked, which would presumably mean that the football team would not play well unless it lost its temper. The cougar is a solitary beast of prey. Is it not curious that a Church which has as its head the Lamb should have the cougar for its university symbol? Is it not rather like the fact that manufacturers give cars predatory or snobbish names to encourage men to buy them and drive them with aggression? The most famous of these is known as a Jaguar. The cougar will not lie down with the lamb until the Millenium. What about the interim?

Games and athletics should be for everybody. When they are highly professionalized and undertaken by a few, they do not necessarily have a good influence on the performance of all, because the special team collects together and symbolizes the wishes and instincts of the whole; and so the finer the team, the better they play, the more specialized they are, the less likely everybody else is to do likewise, because the gap between these and the para-professional players is too great. Britain invented, or first developed, most internationally popular games and is not 'good' at most of them nowadays because it has gone on playing them in the old way; that is to say, as things for everybody to do and not to take too seriously. Eliot said of poetry that it was just a superior amusement. The gospel contains a sense of proportion and a sense of humor: both are aspects of humility.

Let us come back to the idea of a Mormon university: *Universitas*, the guild, with its bond of affection; *Universitas* the whole, the totality, the teaching from testimony so that what you teach is a whole and springs from the whole mind. BYU is the only university in the world which is *Universitas Dei*, the University of God, and if I might suggest a motto for it, the motto would be "For God and our neighbor." It is doubtful whether the right translation of *caritas* is 'love.' 'Love' is a debased word after all the idolization of adultery in nineteenth-century arts and after. Nor can the Latin word *caritas* be translated in our day by "charity." It can be translated by the word "caring." BYU should be a university of caring. The last line of Ibsen's "Brand" is: "Han er *Deus Caritatis*." This utterance comes paradoxically out of the avalanche which is to overwhelm Brand's egoistical pride: "He is the God of Caring."

Politics and Society: Anglo-American Mormons in a Revolutionary Land

LAMOND TULLIS*

Whatever else the September 1972 regional Church conference in Mexico City has demonstrated, it is that a remarkable number of people in Latin America's northern countries are not only hearing the Gospel but are accepting it with considerable enthusiasm. In the 1960-1970 decade, for example, membership in Mexico increased by over 435 percent! The country unquestionably ranks first among all nations and regions on percentage membership growth charts. The increase in other areas of Latin America is not far behind. Indeed, in some regions the response to the Gospel has been nearly as spectacular as in the early days of the British missions. Many of us are now led to conclude that a new day of mass conversions may be near, this time in lands close to the heart of the Book of Mormon. Many signs seem to point that way, including the fact that the prophets have long foretold as much.

As the Church moves to encompass lands and peoples foreign to its center—moving as it has, and increasingly must, across languages, cultures, and political and social boundaries—problems arise. Usually these have less to do with transferring the saving ordinances and principles of the Gospel from one people to another than with developing interpersonal communication and warmth, creating adequate cross-cultural un-

*Dr. Tullis, associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University, is a specialist on Latin-American social problems. He is the author of *Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change* (Harvard, 1970), and *Political and Social Change in Third World Countries* (Wiley, scheduled out in March 1973).

derstanding and fostering genuine feelings of equality of brotherhood.

The situation is especially critical when dealing with political and social maxims. Take, as an example, the political rhetoric associated with Marxism, communism, socialism, communalism, or revolution. For most Anglo-American Mormons, the connotations are all negative. Although it is much less certain, the same may be the case among many Latin-American Mormons. Aside from this, however, whatever specific meanings the words may evoke for the North American middle-class Mormon, odds are that they certainly will not produce similar images for his Latin American brother in the Church.

One Anglo-American Mormon stationed with the Agency for International Development in Latin America, for example, argued that Indians or peasants who aggressively pressed for the right to own and work a farming acreage large enough for them to rise above subsistence poverty must be communists. (At the time some peasants were invading huge ranch lands). At the very least, he thought, they would have to be led by communists. How could Indians all on their own, possibly have aggressive aspirations or the organizational ability to make them known? Yet the Indians replied: "If *ownership of land* is what communism is all about, we're for it." Some Latin-American Mormons feel the same way. But there we go again. For the two, communism or socialism does not mean the same thing at all. For one group it signifies degradation, for the other it is a name assigned the chance to progress with increased freedom and dignity. Why the differing perceptions?

Anglo-American Mormons successful in cross-cultural contacts tell us: If you want to be something other than a partially bearable curiosity in the eyes of your Latin brother, jump out of the world of your own political rhetoric and into the real one that exists in Latin America. American political cliches, however nice, are often inappropriately applied in the Latin American situation.

Several years ago some U.S. volunteer development workers set up shop near Lake Titicaca (Peru), now an area of immense deprivation once belonging to an empire which had successfully abolished poverty. The descendants of the Incas, now living near the shadows of magnificent ruins built cen-

turies ago by their ancestors, have lost their past identity and grandeur; today they play out their short lives in the most pathetic circumstances one could imagine. The volunteers' task was to help these Indians improve their living conditions. The Indians, for the most part, were happy with the prospects. But many of the big "white" ranchers of the area, having enjoyed and greatly profited from cheap local Indian labor (customary for centuries), concluded that the volunteers were all communists or revolutionaries who had come to destroy the ranchers' way of life and to deprive their laborers or peons of the "happiness" they had always enjoyed. Only two of the big ranchers—brothers of German parentage and, incidentally, owners of one of the more prosperous ranches in the region—voiced a contrary opinion. "Unlike many other Mestizos," one of them told the volunteers, "my brother and I do not think you are communists just because you are working with the Indians."

In the eyes of some, any person who works for social, political, or economic change, regardless of how Christian his goals and strategies may be, is a communist, a socialist, a revolutionary, a Marxist, a bandit, or a common criminal. One Guatemalan army officer affirmed that young students in his area who had dedicated themselves to bringing their country's predominantly Indian population into the twentieth century were "criminal communists." He knew they were because they said they'd be willing to give their lives for the poor. Similar men accused Christ of like sins nineteen hundred and forty years ago. Then when a very "hard-line" Brazilian official was queried about who the communists and revolutionaries were in his country, he replied: "Anyone who is against the policies we have for Brazil." That country, incidentally, is now governed by a military dictatorship. Unhappy with and unable to control the reform ideas and dissent of some young Brazilians, the officers have decided to place a great many of them in jail, subject them to torture, and, sometimes either force them into exile or execute them. Anglo-American Mormons are frequently heard to congratulate the Brazilian Military for the "stability" and "prosperity" it has brought the country—both of which are true. Who will return the congratulations, however, when the present regime collapses, as eventually it will? Political rhetoric is cheap. It makes few

lasting friends and a lot of permanent enemies. Mormons in other lands suffer. So does the message of "Christ and Him Crucified," especially when those who preach it do so at the bedside of a political religion.

Reform-minded activists in Latin America are not always communists, but they certainly do constitute one wing of the new social revolution now shaking old Latin American politicians, land-lords, and capitalists right out of their comfortable chairs. For the most part the new forces are composed of frustrated young men and women, and some of them are Mormons. They have reflected on the sorry economic and social plight of their own lives and most of their countrymen's. They have suffered the rigidity and intransigence of an archaic social structure which perpetuates the misery. They have concluded that some variant of socialism, or Marxism, or communalism, revolution, or anything, will provide a way to correct the problem. Hard-core communists have, of course, been harping on this theme for years. Now their influence is spreading. Political rhetoric is cheap. Under the right conditions it can also be very influential.

Protest rhetoric arises when people perceive their problems to be unbearable. In spite of words of imported trouble-makers, however, revolutions occur only when selfish groups assure that the problems which people believe they suffer and about which they protest will remain unresolved. In this regard North America has served the interests of revolution in Latin America, not by aiding the revolutionaries, of course, but by helping to insure the survival of an archaic social structure which Americans themselves would not stand for a minute in their own country. Rhetoric is cheap. Some of it is hurting Latin-American Mormons. Some Anglo-American Mormons as well as communist rhetors are equally guilty.

For the aspiring peasant, awakened Indian, second-generation urban slum dweller or university student, much of the talk about the godlessness and the lack of freedom and liberty under non-free enterprise capitalist systems that one hears in the United States frequently makes no sense at all. Particularly is this true among the lower social classes. They and their forebears have felt the oppression of centuries of existence under brutal "capitalist" conditions which the United States has largely forgotten, if, indeed, it ever knew. Now, as

the traditional past reluctantly decays in Latin America and a new, modern world is within sight, the angry young people aspire to participate in it. They demand opportunities to earn bread and butter, to buy land and to obtain jobs, and to be reasonably secure in both their life and their property.

The appeal of revolutionary rhetoric and leadership to these people generally is not at the level of theory, or even at the level of future reality. It is at the level of practical issues of the present moment. Political missionaries (who usually come from an emerging middle class) preaching revolutionary ideas strike a harmonious emotional note because they talk about the exploitation the frustrated Indians and peasants daily feel, about the deprivations and indignities they and the slum dwellers and the laborers frequently suffer, and about the life to which they all aspire but which, for them, remains perpetually unrealized. Reflecting on his present state, his aspirations, and the visions opened up by socialist rhetoric, one Latin American peasant affirmed that free enterprise capitalism had been his oppressor not his birthright. It is a different perspective, all right. It may be wrong. But for the peasant it is real.

THE CHALLENGE FOR NORTH AMERICAN MORMONS

It takes a peculiar kind of North American Mormon to relate to the growing number of Saints coming out of these lands. He needs to be more caught up in the Gospel than he is in political clichés and social rhetoric of his own land.

Gospel counsel, along with the ordinances and rights associated with it, are applicable across nations, cultures, and ethnic backgrounds. Political and social rhetoric seldom is. Indeed, Latin Americans schooled in the history of the Church frequently remind us that when Christ does establish His Kingdom on earth in its fullness, most undoubtedly it will not be a close cousin to the political, social, and economic "kingdom" of the United States, past or present. At one time Mormons tried to approximate transcendental principles with the "United Order." It failed in part because of a culturally induced avarice among its nineteenth-century practitioners. Some Latin American villagers, lacking that particular cultural ingredient, already practice some of the social, political, and economic principles of the United Order. As they

accept the spiritual teachings of the Gospel, it is no wonder that they stand amazed at their teachers who have rejected some of the temporal ones. "We wouldn't swap you national heritages straight across for anything," one Mexican Mormon told me recently. "We want the Gospel, desperately want the Gospel," he said, "but we don't want to become too Americanized in the process of getting it."

While very soon the Church may—without our even asking for it—be happily inundated with peasants, second-generation urban migrants and Indians, we will not find them to be "natural" adherents to the social and political rhetoric of Anglo-American Mormons. Moreover, the new converts may even have some fairly strong feelings against the government of the United States. America has not ingratiated itself with the masses in the so-called Third World. Antipathy toward the United States is not so much to be unexpected, therefore, as it is to be dealt with, compassionately and understandingly.

What does all this mean for prospective missionaries reared in one culture but invited to preach the Gospel in another, particularly at a time when preparations are being made to reap what undoubtedly will be a very substantial spiritual harvest in Latin America and other developing lands? Not everyone in those lands, of course, is going to be reaped, either by the opposition or by ourselves, but to be of maximum service in that operation it seems necessary that in addition to testimony and commitment, we will need to acquire an understanding of—nay, more than an understanding—an empathy for the people there and the conditions under which they live. Most of all we will need to acquire an ability to communicate with people who face an entirely different social, political, and economic world from the one that either we, or, for the most part, our parents have known. The challenge is not the same as learning a foreign language so that clichés can quickly be transferred from the home front to a foreign one. It is a way of thinking, a frame of mind.

When one preaches the Gospel in Latin America, he will find that for our people there its meaning, while not necessarily including North American political and social rhetoric, nevertheless does encompass more than Sunday School classes, social experiences, moral teachings for daily living, and fundamental doctrinal principles. For them the meaning of the

Gospel is also rooted to the soil of the national homeland and to the dignity of the whole man as he stands before God. As it is therefore a Gospel of hope rather than one of despair, its implementation in practical everyday living has frequently taken on support dimensions different from our own. In general, a more physically demanding environment facing the Saints in Latin America as well as different cultural preferences have made it so. For example, the Gospel everywhere is the same, but that is not true of the MIA, the Sunday School, or the welfare or social-services programs. These are being tailored to meet the particular needs of diverse peoples.

One thing we have accordingly noticed about many of the Saints in Latin America is that acceptance of the Gospel has motivated them more than ever before to improve their temporal well-being as well as to strive for spiritual excellence. In both spiritual and temporal areas they have sought guidance from the Church. We might cast a glance back to the experiences of our own nineteenth-century pioneers for lessons to be learned here. Brigham Young set up schools, universities, farms, factories, banks, cooperatives, credit unions, and mining enterprises right along with chapels, tabernacles, and temples. So just as with those forefathers, the Latin-American Saints have taken the hopes and vision which the Gospel has given them and have applied both to temporal as well as to spiritual development, frequently enlisting the help of the Church in both areas. In the United States there is no longer as much need for Church-sponsored temporal enterprises, but the need among many of the Saints in Latin America is as great as it was a hundred years ago among our own pioneer forefathers. Here and in several other industrially advanced nations the Church helps us with our emotional hangups and cholesterol levels. In Latin America the Church's helping hand in temporal concerns is in areas of literacy, nutrition, health, and manpower training.

Thus as both Anglo-American and Latin-America missionaries of the modern day rise to help meet the temporal and spiritual needs of the new Saints, they may find themselves becoming practitioners of Brigham Young's temporal arts as well as his spiritual virtues. In numerous countries our leaders have already begun to establish Church-sponsored schools. Now the call is out for medical missionaries, agricultural tech-

nicians, teachers, and so forth. The purpose of the Gospel is not undermined by such endeavors; it is simply made more complete. There is now a chance for those of us who are temporally well off and in need of the Spirit to unite with brothers and sisters who can teach us much that we still need to learn about our spiritual selves. We likewise can extend our hand to help them with temporal concerns. This is an expression of brotherhood, one most completely realized when people from different lands and cultures find acceptance in one another's hearts as well as in their prayers. This may not be what we call socialism, but it is the image that comes to the minds of many Latin Americans when they think about the word. To us Anglo-American Mormons, on the other hand, it is an expression of Christian love.

One striking example of such a relationship was initiated by the BYU 55th Ward in 1972. Spearheaded by the Relief Society, the ward membership donated all the material and over a thousand hours of time to prepare school uniforms for a little bootstrap school in Guatemala where some of our young Saints are only now learning to read and write. Replied Mario Salazar, director of the school among the Cakchiqueles: "I cannot express with words my feelings of gratitude towards you. What you have done is a proof of true brotherhood, of love of Christ. You have made me stronger. My love for humanity has increased. Our children are very happy. They really like [the uniforms] and we do too. The sizes are very well calculated and everything else is just perfect."

Not only must many Latin American Mormons forge a clearing in a spiritual wilderness, but they must also make one in the temporal world by breaking down ancient economic, social, and political traditions so that the Gospel can flourish and grow. There will be resistance from governments and vested interests; there will be persecution. There will also be those of counter value systems, such as communism, who will approach our people and say: "Come, do it our way." And the temptation will be great because of the clear and articulate focus the counter systems make on those things that block individual progress and development. We Anglo-Mormons have a penchant for believing that all one needs to do to progress is to develop his personal talents and skills; and because that is the way it has always been for us, we are prone to be ignorant of some very real structural and institutional

blocks that impinge on the lives of many Latin American Mormons and their fellow countrymen. Because they are not members of favored groups or classes, they do not have our type of freedom to meet the needs of personal development. A counter value system, such as communism, focuses on the removal of those blocks. If we ignore or are ignorant of their existence, we shall hinder or destroy transcultural communication with our Latin-American brothers and sisters. Though there may be nothing we can do directly to remove those blocks, our awareness of their existence will help us better understand the frustrations and anxieties of many of our Latin Mormons.

In the United States we complement gospel teachings with all kinds of reinforcing devices applicable to our problems and our time. In Latin America, because of differing environmental conditions, some of the priorities are different while new ones are added. There, our Saints are drawn more to the spiritual and temporal relevancy of Brigham Young than to the social issues of people who have already "made it" economically; more to a combination of spiritual growth, social and economic development under the aegis of the Church than they are to issues of strict separation between religion for this life and religion for the life hereafter; more to a feeling—at least a desire—for spiritual brotherhood and community than they are to replicating the politics, culture, and society of the United States.

I expect that in our lifetime we will hear of "Lamanite Service Corps" as well as the MIA, of "Development Missionaries" as well as proselyting missionaries, of exchange programs for temporal progress between wards here and branches there as well as fund-raising projects for missionary support. I expect that we will witness a general involvement between those of us who are economically well off and in need of spiritual development with those of our people in other parts of the world who are searching for both the Spirit and the daily bread to sustain life. It will cost more; it will take more of our time; it will demand of us in every way. But it will help us to become true disciples of Christ.

So what of the future? A very famous Christian once said: "The future does not belong to communism. The future does not belong to capitalism. The future belongs to God." It is therefore a future more concerned with Christ-like living than with the political maxims of any given people.

On Listening to Jorge Luis Borges

EDWARD L. HART*

The warmth of his humanity reaches out
Like force from a magnetic field.
Because he cannot see, he speaks to the unseen
(Yeats' Spiritus Mundi maybe),
Speaks without distraction of a vacuous face
There out of curiosity:
Come negligent to see the old man
Before he dies.
And Borges speaks of his approaching death
And present blindness
With the detachment of a farmer
Appraising an autumn frost,
Till blindness, old age, and time become,
In his words, not his but ours—
And ours also ghosts of apprehensions
That dog our shadows, drain our cups.
Di Giovanni reads and Borges nods
In approbation of the word or in the inflection,
One cannot tell. How
Could the English seed have taken root
In Argentina? Piers Plowman speaks his vision

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Or Stevenson pirates his way through Borges' lips;
And we are peeled, layer by layer,
Of all that is not us
To ultimate core,
And so exposed, grown vulnerable,
Not shriveled to cinders but unfractionably wrapped
In English speech transformed to racial voice
That heals us in its flow,
Familiar though it pours from alien lips
To call us human,
Haling us homeward whole.

The Priesthood Reform Movement, 1908-1922

WILLIAM HARTLEY*

Most Latter-day Saints know a good deal about the duties and functions of the various priesthood quorums, but few appreciate the great effort required of past Church leaders to produce the well-ordered priesthood programs which characterize the Church today. Since the restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods, the various quorums have been alive and functioning to a greater or lesser degree. But organized and systematic priesthood work as we know it today actually dates from the period of 1908-1922, when a specially called General Priesthood Committee instituted a Churchwide priesthood reform and reorganization movement under the direction of President Joseph F. Smith.

THE NEED FOR PRIESTHOOD REFORM

To fully appreciate the importance of this movement, we first need to understand the priesthood practices prior to 1908 which made reform necessary. At that time, ninety percent of the Church members lived in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona. Their stakes often covered huge geographic areas and contained as many as twenty wards or as few as three. Individual wards showed similar variations in sizes, ranging from a dozen

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families to fifteen hundred souls. Priesthood holders numbered about 70,000 out of 400,000 total Church members.¹

In terms of organization, the priesthood quorums generally lacked strong central direction. Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley stated that as of June 1908, he had "no way of becoming directly in touch with the work that was being done in the different quorums of the lesser priesthood."² He was soon to learn that some wards had no deacons, and many no priests, and that it was common for older men to perform Aaronic Priesthood functions. Some bishops would not ordain their young men to a particular office until there were sufficient numbers to make a quorum. Others complained that they were unable to learn of elders, seventies, and high priests ordained or disfellowshipped among their ward members. Functioning quorums held meetings weekly, or bi-weekly, or monthly, depending on local circumstances. Individual quorums in a given area frequently met on different days of the week, and rarely did many wards have regular general priesthood meetings. Most quorum meetings traditionally were adjourned during summer months, such as the lesser priesthood in one Logan ward which concluded its 1908 meetings on March 30 and did not commence again until November 2—a seven months' vacation.³

Priesthood activity and instruction, therefore, were dependent upon the dedication or carelessness of local bishops and stake presidents. Some stakes, such as Granite and Jordan, provided their quorums with printed, systematic lesson outlines. But more often the lesson materials were selected by the quorums themselves or by local officers, resulting in some unusual priesthood meetings by our standards. One lesser priesthood group, for example, divided its class time between religious lessons and such adventure books as *Tom Sawyer*, *The Jungle Book*, *The Call of the Wild*, *Pigs is Pigs*, and *Frank Among the Rancheros*.⁴ In another case a lesson was given

¹General Priesthood Committee Minutes, 5 December 1911 (cited hereinafter as GPC), Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, (hereinafter cited as HDC). Also, Joseph B. Keeler, *First Steps in Church Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1906), pp. 6-7.

²GPC, 5 June 1908.

³GPC, 4 October 1910 and 27 April 1911; also, Presiding Bishopric, Policy Directives, Box I, HDC; and Logan Fourth Ward Priests Quorum Minutes 1906-1910, HDC.

⁴Logan First Ward Aaronic Priesthood Minutes 1905-1910, HDC.

on the life of United States President William McKinley—in a *Canadian* teachers' quorum.⁵ In December, 1908, a deacons' quorum in Ogden "went downstairs and Brother _____ gave a lecture on Ben Hur."⁶ Other bishops had their lesser priesthood members meet with the ward mutuals to study MIA lesson materials.

Despite such diverse efforts to make meetings interesting, the activity level of the lesser priesthood boys was often poor. In a Provo ward, for instance, the deacons were assigned to regular fast offering districts, where a typical monthly collection might be "2 lbs bacon, 40c cash, 1 bottle fruit, 1 pk raisins, 1 can oysters and 43 lbs flour." But the 1903 quorum minutes reveal that rarely did even half of these deacons' districts report any monthly collections.⁷ One Church official wryly observed that it was easy to get deacons to go on missions but very difficult to get them to function in their quorums.⁸

Examples taken from the minutes of a successful lesser priesthood in a Canadian stake delightfully describe priesthood practices on the eve of the reform movement: In 1894 two boys were appointed by the bishop "to visit all the boys in town and find out what preasthood [sic] they held and ask them to come to meetings." A few days later the teachers were appointed to dig a well for a sister in the ward. On one occasion the bishop made his boys pledge to refrain from profanity and tobacco. Feeling the need to get a greater commitment from them he requested that the boys prepare themselves for *rebaptism*. All were rebaptized a month later. Near the turn of the century, the priests and teachers began meeting together, minus the deacons. In 1901 the bishop ordained six deacons to the office of priest. The next year the boys voted to drop their current lesson topics and begin a missionary preparation course. That same year, their meeting night was changed to Mondays from Wednesdays due to choir practice on Wednesdays. For their classes the next year the quorums agreed to study the Junior Mutual lessons. As part of a later lesson,

⁵Cardston Ward, Alberta Stake, Lesser Priesthood Minutes 1897-1909, HDC, 14 October 1901.

⁶Ogden First Ward First and Second Deacons Quorums Minutes 1906-1907, HDC, 14 December 1908.

⁷Provo First Ward, Deacons Quorum Minute Book 1903-1904, HDC.

⁸GPC, 6 February 1912.

"a moral story was read, but it got tiresome and was moved and seconded that it would be stopped." Each summer the priesthood meetings were discontinued, so the last meeting of spring became a special event. In April 1907, all of the priesthood quorums joined together in a closing meeting to which everybody else in the ward was invited, including females who provided musical numbers.⁹

Elder J. Golden Kimball of the First Council of the Seventy, bluntly assessed the unsatisfactory state of priesthood quorums in 1906 by comparing them with the Church auxiliaries:

The auxiliaries have been urged forward with great enthusiasm, everywhere, from Canada to Mexico, these organizations are to the front. The Priesthood quorums are apparently weary in well doing, and the officers and members seem to think that their organizations can run themselves. They have become lax in their work and let loose their hold. While the auxiliary organizations have taken the right of way, the Priesthood quorums stand by looking on awe-struck. . . . So the auxiliary organizations are going away up the hill and we, the Priesthood quorums, stand down in the valley and look on. Perhaps you don't like that picture, you men of the Priesthood quorums, but I tell you there is a lot of truth in it. . . . I am in favor of the Priesthood quorums taking their proper places, and if they do not do it, they ought to be ashamed of themselves, for they have the power and intelligence, and they have the authority.¹⁰

THE SYSTEMATIC PRIESTHOOD PROGRAM

No one was more distressed about this priesthood slackness than President Joseph F. Smith. In April conference, 1906, he expressed his oft-quoted hope that one day "every council of the Priesthood in the Church . . . will understand its duty, will assume its own responsibility, will magnify its calling, and fill its place in the Church." He predicted that when that day came, the quorums would take over the work done by the auxiliary organizations for "the Lord . . . made provision whereby every need may be met and satisfied through the regular organization of the Priesthood."¹¹ Two years

⁹Cardston Lesser Priesthood Minutes.

¹⁰*Seventy-sixth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* . . . (Salt Lake City, Utah [1906]), p. 19 (cited hereinafter as *Conference Reports*.)

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 3.

later he formally requested in April Conference that the priesthood quorums become better organized and of more usefulness to the Church. Specifically he asked that the lesser priesthood boys be given "something to do that will make them interested in the work of the Lord."¹²

To spearhead a more ordered priesthood program, the First Presidency established a General Priesthood Committee on Outlines, which served as a "standing committee on Priesthood work" until its release in 1922. Its primary responsibility was to prepare lesson outlines for the quorums, which in turn involved it in almost all aspects of priesthood work. The committee initially included Rudger Clawson and David O. McKay of the Council of the Twelve, plus Charles W. Nibley, Orrin P. Miller, and David A. Smith of the Presiding Bishopric. It was soon enlarged to nearly twenty members, half of whom brought with them valuable experience as general board members of the Sunday School, the YMMIA, and religion classes.

At its first meeting the Committee sensed that a great work was commencing. Stephen L. Richards felt that quorum work had been neglected, and that disinterest by priesthood leaders was due to the "lack of having a general plan to follow." Joseph J. Cannon noted that "the auxiliary organizations had been actually doing the work that the quorums should do." David O. McKay rejoiced that the plan given in the Doctrine and Covenants was finally being systematized so that each quorum would no longer choose its own course of study. Rudger Clawson reported that the First Presidency expected that the Committee's work "would be the means of bringing in a great many young men who are now neglecting this work." But it was fully realized that their work required "the combined efforts of all those in authority" in order to succeed.¹³

Priesthood problems were thoroughly investigated by the Committee during the middle months of 1908. They studied the systematic lessons and weekly meeting plan newly developed by the seventies as well as the systematic quorum work already inaugurated in Weber, Granite, and other stakes. Their final recommendations for revitalizing the Priesthood, intended

¹²*Ibid.*, 4 April 1908, p. 6.

¹³GPC, 5, 16, and 23 June 1908.

to become operative the first week in 1909, had three main parts. First, all quorums except the seventies were to meet in Monday night ward priesthood gatherings. Also, thirty-six lessons were designed by the Committee for each of these quorums, to be studied in the weekly meetings. Finally, monthly stake priesthood meetings would be held to preview the next month's priesthood work and to develop classroom teaching skills.¹⁴

But before appropriate lessons could be written for each quorum, the Committee found it necessary to establish age groupings for the lesser priesthood. After 1877 it had been customary in the Church for boys at age twelve to be ordained deacons. But standard age practices for ordaining teachers or priests, or for advancing young men through the priesthood were lacking. The Committee therefore suggested specific ages at which specific Aaronic Priesthood ordinations should occur. Bishops were then instructed by the Presiding Bishopric to advance boys when worthy,

and unless there are special reasons to the contrary they should be advanced in the priesthood from deacon to teacher and from teacher to priest. There can be no set age when persons should be ordained to the various offices in the Aaronic Priesthood, but we suggest that as near as circumstances will permit boys be ordained as follows: Deacons at twelve, Teachers at fifteen and Priests at eighteen years of age.¹⁵

The Committee's proposals were introduced and approved at October General Conference, then at special priesthood conventions in November and December in every stake in the Church. Acceptance was enthusiastic. Seventies quorums asked to be included in the new movement and were allowed to join the regular weekly meetings which began in most wards early in 1909. In one stake, elderly high priests traveled seven or eight miles to attend these classes, even though they were

¹⁴GPC, 15 September 1908. High priests, elders, priests, teachers, and deacons met as localized quorums, while the seventies, due to their unique missionary responsibilities, functioned as general quorums directed by their own general authorities, the First Council of the Seventy. Their organizational independence caused many seventies to hold feelings of exclusiveness from other quorums and from ward and stake leaders. As a result of this reform movement, the seventies quorums became more fully integrated into ward and stake priesthood programs, with a simultaneous decline in their importance as general quorums in the Church. They became, in fact, standing ministers at home, and their quorum work became subordinate to the needs of the wards and stakes.

¹⁵Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter File, 1 January 1909, HDC.

officially excused on account of age.¹⁶ Lesson outlines were ordered by the thousands. *The Improvement Era* became the official organ for the priesthood quorums. One year's experience with weekly meetings, reported the Presiding Bishopric, had confirmed the initial high hopes, for

ward authorities have been brought into close and frequent touch with the male members of their wards, by means of which they have acquired accurate personal knowledge as to the status of those under their watchful care. The social aspects of the meetings is altogether valuable.¹⁷

The *Era* termed the move "not only a step towards the destined prominence of the quorums in the Church—it was a bound."¹⁸ But as with all new institutional changes, it took time for the new programs to become fully implemented, and periodically regional priesthood conventions were called to infuse new "zest" into the movement. During the first few years a number of problems related to the new priesthood work became evident, and received extensive attention from the Committee.

Priesthood quorums did not always coincide with ward boundaries, so when weekly ward priesthood classes were commenced there was confusion about the relationship between quorum and class, particularly among high priests and seventies. When the latter began missing their seventies' meetings, they received this instruction:

For the convenience of men who belong to quorums that are widely scattered, and who could not come together frequently for instruction, owing to the distance to be traveled, a system of ward priesthood meetings has been introduced by the presiding authorities of the Church which divides quorums that are located in more than one ward into ward classes, but this arrangement does not contemplate excusing men from coming together in quorums as the Lord has commanded.¹⁹

By 1913 the Church leaders felt it necessary to remind the

¹⁶"Priesthood Quorums Table," *The Improvement Era* 12:500 (April 1909). Cited hereinafter as *Era*. This "Priesthood Quorums Table" appeared as a regular monthly feature of the *Era* and contained valuable priesthood directives and reports from the General Priesthood Committee; all references to the *Era* which follow are taken from this monthly section, unless otherwise designated.

¹⁷Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter, 1 January 1910.

¹⁸*Era* 13:287 (January 1910).

¹⁹*Era*, 14:841 (July 1911).

Church that bishops were to be the presiding high priests over all local priesthood matters, and that all quorum loyalties therefore were subordinate to his local needs and directives.²⁰

SUMMERS AND SUNDAYS

Holding weekly meetings during the summer months was a revolutionary practice for a majority of wards, and the change was not easily made. Following a thorough study of the problem, the Committee reported in 1909 that:

It is going to be a difficult task to continue the quorum meetings during the summer. . . when the strawberries are ripe, how are we to leave them an hour or two earlier to go to meeting? . . . So with the hay, the grain, the fruit. Is our meeting going to be important enough to warrant our leaving these labors once a week to attend? It will not do to work as late as usual on Monday evenings. If we do, we will be too tired to go to quorum meetings; will we have faith enough to feel that we will be as blessed in our temporal affairs by going, as by staying in the field at work.²¹

Only five out of the thirty-one stakes reporting to the Committee in 1910 had held summer meetings. But four years later, due to continual pressure from Church officials, nearly eighty percent of the wards were continuing priesthood class-work the year round. Generally, however, wards which succeeded in holding summer meetings had to shift their meeting times to Sundays, freeing the weekdays for the hard summer farm work.²²

In fact, Monday nights were not the preference of many wards, summer or winter. Therefore, in late 1909 the Committee proposed that priesthood meetings be on Sunday morning, thereby shifting Sunday School meetings to the afternoon. Questionnaires regarding this idea were sent by the First Presidency to all bishops. Voting showed only 160 in favor and 430 opposed, so President Smith decided that the successful operation of the Sunday Schools should not be disrupted. However, with written permission individual stakes were allowed to switch their meetings from Monday nights, and many did. Cassia Stake, for example, argued that "most

²⁰*Era*, 16:648 (April 1913).

²¹*Era*, 12:573 (May 1909).

²²GPC, 29 November 1910; also *Era* 17:692 (May 1914).

of the men were on their farms which as a rule were so far from meeting place that regular attendance suffered," and were therefore allowed to meet on Sunday nights, alternating with the Mutuals. Other wards, as mentioned, adopted Sunday priesthood meetings during the summer months sometimes as part of the Sunday Schools or Sunday Mutuals. But Sunday morning meetings did not become the uniform rule throughout the Church until the 1930s.²³

PROVIDING LESSON MANUALS

The Committee's primary assignment was to direct the selecting, writing, editing, printing, and distributing of yearly theology lessons appropriate to the various quorums. This was a huge task, particularly during the first two years when ten new lesson manuals had to be written. Due to summer adjournments and other problems, many classes failed to complete their first two manuals, so 1911 was designated a "catch-up" year and no new lessons were distributed. Subsequently, the Committee found two means of freeing itself from extensive annual writing assignments. First, among Aaronic Priesthood quorums, previously used manuals were re-issued every two years. Then, starting in 1914, all Melchizedek Priesthood quorums were instructed to study the same annual lessons.

Sometimes leading Church writers, James E. Talmage and Orson F. Whitney among them, were requested to write manuals on specific themes, receiving a few hundred dollars to defray writing costs. In other cases, books already published were selected. As a result, such outstanding works as Talmage's *Jesus the Christ*, John A. Widstoe's *A Rational Theology*, Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History*, and Joseph F. Smith's *Gospel Doctrine* were popularized among the Saints as priesthood manuals.²⁴

All assigned manuals were screened by a reading committee who referred questionable statements to the Council of the Twelve. It was made clear to the quorums, however, that the lesson books represented opinions of the authors and were *not* to be considered as authoritative statements of Church doctrine. Enough copies of these yearly lessons were

²³GPC, 15 February 1910 and 6 December 1912.

²⁴GPC, 8 December 1922.

ordered for between twenty and thirty percent of a ward's priesthood membership. Each weekly lesson was designed to teach both theory and practice, to

not only . . . inculcate the wisdom and necessity of learning all the instructions and principles given in the revelations of God in good books and in nature, but summons the priesthood with persuasive voice to *act* upon the truths learned and believed.²⁵

CORRELATION OF CHURCH TEACHING

In order to prevent unnecessary duplication of lesson materials of the priesthood quorums and the auxiliaries, the First Presidency in 1914 established a Correlation Committee. And as more and more priesthood classes came to be held during auxiliary class time, the problem of correlation became complex. There was serious disagreement, for example, as to what lessons should be used by boys whose priesthood class work was part of Sunday School or of Sunday evening YMMIA.

David O. McKay, a recognized leader of the General Priesthood Committee, became spokesman in the Correlation Committee for a radical solution to this problem in 1920. His plan, which was given serious consideration by the General Authorities, would have required that all teaching of the auxiliaries—Relief Society, Primary, and the MIA—and of the priesthood be conducted in the same Sabbath meeting, thereby creating literally a "Church Sunday School Day." After opening exercises in the Sunday morning meeting, priesthood classes would be held for (1) high priests (2) seventies and elders, (3) priests and teachers, and (4) deacons. There would be one class for mothers; young ladies' senior and junior classes; two Primary classes, and a Kindergarten. Thus only one weekly Church lesson would be written for each group, and this would mean fewer manuals to be authored and fewer good teachers to be called. Girls and women would pursue the same courses of study prescribed for boys and men of corresponding ages. Regular auxiliary and priesthood meetings would then be devoted to practical duties and activities. This "tight correlation" plan was studied for two years and tested on a trial basis in five wards. But in 1922 the First

²⁵*Era* 12:499 (April 1909).

Presidency decided against it, concluding that the "existing quorums and associations are competent to plan for and execute the activities of each," although for a brief period in the late 1920s the priesthood classes were held Churchwide on an experimental basis as part of Sunday School.²⁶

REDIRECTING THE YMMIA WORK

The early Mutuals had devoted much effort to providing theological instruction for Church members because "the quorums of the priesthood were not sufficiently active." But when the Committee undertook to provide systematic priesthood manuals, an important YMMIA function was pre-empted. Although this led Brigham H. Roberts of the YMMIA general board to rejoice that "the Priesthood had been awakened and took possession of its proper field of activity," this change generally created a widespread feeling that the YMMIA organizations had "now filled their mission, and are now ready to pass away." Instead, however, the YMMIA officers redirected that auxiliary into such non-theological areas as "musical, dramatic and other like entertainments and festivities," and to scouting, field sports, athletic tournaments, excursions, and dances.²⁷

PROBLEMS OF SMALLER WARDS

Separate classes and lessons for all six priesthood offices proved impractical for most smaller wards. Bishop Nibley noted early in 1912 that in many outlying wards "there were so few holding the Priesthood that he thought it would be best to consolidate the classes."²⁸ A priesthood census revealed that 177 wards had fewer than four seventies, including forty-six which had none. Nearly 350 wards had fewer than seven priests, including seventy-one wards where there were none. In 225 wards there were fewer than six teachers, including sixty-seven wards which had none. On the average, only eleven priesthood holders attended weekly meetings in more than half of the wards in the Church. To expect these to separate

²⁶GPC, 2 September and 8 December 1922.

²⁷"Mutual Work," *Era* 12:247 (January 1909); Heber J. Grant, "The Place of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association in the Church," *Era*, 15:875 (August 1912); also, Brigham H. Roberts, "Sphere of YMMIA Activities," *Era*, 16:187-188 (January 1913).

²⁸GPC, 5 March 1912.

into six classes for lessons was unrealistic. Consequently, some consolidation was allowed. Teachers and priests met together in some wards. All three Melchizedek Priesthood quorums, starting in 1914, were provided the same lesson manual, thereby making it easy for these men to have joint classes when circumstances warranted it.²⁹

TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

In addition to lack of numbers, many priesthood meetings suffered because of the lack of efficient teachers. It was realized that "young men are so accustomed to good teachers in the schools that they will not long retain interest in a class where they have an indifferent or ill-informed man to teach them."³⁰ In some areas bishops and other ward officers felt they should be the priesthood instructors. But the Committee cautioned that such men were not called to leadership positions on the basis of teaching abilities, and that only capable teachers should direct quorum lessons. Yet trained teachers were scarce. Stake presidents reported in 1910 that in many wards little or nothing was being done to train and prepare priesthood or auxiliary teachers.³¹

In attacking this problem, the Committee periodically published teaching advice in the *Era*. Also, manuals on teaching methods were distributed. Most stakes held monthly priesthood meetings where lessons were previewed and teaching problems were discussed. But despite such efforts, the Saints were informed in 1915 that "great chaos" still existed Church-wide in methods of teacher supervision. A new approach, weekly ward training classes to develop teachers for all Church organizations, was tried five years later.³²

ENROLLMENT AND PRIESTHOOD FRATERNITY

Weekly meetings, lesson manuals, and teacher development were but the means by which greater priesthood activity was sought. In order to evaluate the success of these programs, the Committee established a new system of record keeping and reporting. Simultaneously, the Presiding Bishopric cooper-

²⁹GPC, 26 March 1912; also *Era* 17:692-693 (May 1914).

³⁰*Era* 12:498 (April 1909).

³¹GPC, 13 December 1910.

³²Issues of the *Era* in 1912 contain monthly teaching suggestions; GPC 25 March 1915; Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter, 28 December 1920.

ated by launching a campaign to "purge and correct" all ward membership records.³³

Accuracy in record keeping was hampered by the practice, still prevalent by 1911, of "insisting on a recommend from the quorum where the person formerly was enrolled" before relocated members could be considered enrolled members of priesthood quorums. Thus, in 1912 there were 13,308 priesthood members not enrolled in any quorums out of 77,114 total priesthood holders, despite special enrollment drives.³⁴ The discrepancy between the real and rollbook count of priesthood holders is demonstrated by the records of some of the Utah stakes that year.³⁵

Stake	Priesthood Holders	Priesthood Enrolled
Alpine	2,346	1,579
Box Elder	1,392	498
Liberty	1,707	680
Tooele	762	53

But when the Presiding Bishopric instructed bishops in June, 1914, that any priesthood bearer in their wards should be enrolled in proper priesthood classes "regardless of whether he has been received as a member of the quorum which has jurisdiction in your ward," the enrollment confusion gradually subsided. Two years later Quorum recommends were discontinued.³⁶

Contributing to enrollment delinquencies and to priesthood inactivity was the lack of comradeship felt by quorum members. In 1911 the *Era* reported that "the cultivation of the spirit of fraternity has been neglected in most quorums."³⁷ To counter this, special missionaries were sent out to contact all ward and stake members to encourage priesthood participation, and by 1921 stake missionary work among members and non-members had become a permanent program in most stakes in the Church. Priesthood support for the MIA recreational and scouting activities also was increased, and local leaders were urged to develop programs to keep youth off the streets, to

³³Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter, 1 January 1910.

³⁴GPC, 5 December 1911 and 6 August 1912.

³⁵GPC, 5 December 1911.

³⁶Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter, 25 June 1914, and 9 March 1916.

³⁷*Era* 14:652 (May 1911).

support saloon closing campaigns, and to work with juvenile courts.³⁸ During this period, fraternal orders and exclusive clubs had some appeal among the Saints, and their fraternal aspects were commended to the Church as attributes the quorums should develop. But because scores of brethren had disobeyed Church counsel in order to join fraternities where they could obtain inexpensive life insurance, the Committee spent much energy in devising a comparable priesthood life insurance program. "Insurance at exact cost is certainly not the United Order," its report advised, "but it is a preparatory step in the right direction." Numerous problems, however, prevented the adoption of this insurance plan.³⁹

REVIVING THE LESSER PRIESTHOOD

Neglect by local authorities and indifference by many boys were two factors responsible for what the *Improvement Era* called an "alarming situation" among Aaronic Priesthood boys.⁴⁰ Although there were as many boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen in 1912 as between twelve and fifteen, there were but 9,300 teachers compared to 20,255 deacons. The *Era* reported that year that

neither the priesthood quorums nor the Sunday School, nor any of the other organizations of the Church are taking care of a certain lot of our young people. There are at least forty percent of them [boys and girls] who are not attending any of our organizations, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen.⁴¹

A primary cause of this situation was a pervasive lack of dignity and importance accorded the callings of teacher and priest. The immaturity of ordained boys was widely criticized. One Committee member, for example, urged that the ordination age for deacons be raised to fifteen, for "as a rule boys were too young to have this honor conferred upon them." Presiding Bishop Nibley proposed that boys prove themselves on missions before being given the Melchizedek Priesthood and temple ordinances. In numerous wards Aaronic Priesthood boys were not allowed to take charge of the sacrament, and

³⁸GPC, 28 March 1911.

³⁹GPC, 28 March 1911.

⁴⁰*Era* 15:656-657 (May 1912).

⁴¹*Ibid.*; also Grant, "The Place of the Young Men's Mutual . . .," *Era* 15:877 (August 1912).

instructions regarding passing the sacrament were addressed in a 1910 *Era* article to elders, not to holders of the lesser priesthood. The custom still continued in some wards not to advance a deacon in the priesthood until there was reason to ordain him an elder. The committee learned that, contrary to scripture, only 108 bishops out of 713 personally presided over their own priests groups in 1912. Also, it was admitted by Church officials that ordained priests and teachers were too young to be the backbone of ward teaching, so in their places "acting teachers" were called from among the elders, seventies, and high priests.⁴²

A vigorous campaign to make the teachers and priests quorums of importance in the wards was launched by the Committee. Ordinations at the recommended ages were urged unless there was "good reason" to disregard the rule. In the first year of the campaign, the number of bishops personally presiding over their priests rose from 30 to nearly 500. This "great awakening" continued until the proper organization of priests quorums was announced to the Church in 1915, at which time 6,000 out of 8,830 priests were enrolled.⁴³ A year later, specific Aaronic Priesthood duties, based on actual ward practices, were identified and circulated for the aid of bishops. They included the following:⁴⁴

Deacons

Collect fast offerings	Assist in caring for cemeteries
Messenger for bishops	Keep order in meeting house
Pass sacrament	Maintain meeting house grounds
Prepare fuel for widows and old people	Assist in Primary work
Care for the poor	Assist in religion class work
Pass out notices	Act as ushers
Pump organ at meetings	Boy Scout work
Keep Church property in good condition	Attend the doors
	Distribute special notices

Teachers

Assist in ward teaching	Take charge of meetings,
Assist with sacrament	furnish speakers, singing,
Instructors for boy scouts	etc.

⁴²GPC, 5 May and 10 December 1909, 6 August and 3 September 1912, and 2 April 1912; *Era* 13:570 (April 1910); and *Era* 15:657 (May 1912).

⁴³*Era*, 16:736-738 (May 1913); also GPC, 2 September 1913, and 25 March 1915.

⁴⁴GPC, 1 June 1916.

Collect ward funds
 Assist in renovating
 meeting houses
 Cutting wood for poor
 Choir members

Clerk in branch
 Officers in auxiliary
 organizations
 Notify priesthood quorums
 of meetings

Priests

Administer the sacrament
 Pass the sacrament
 Assist in ward teaching
 Sunday School officers and
 teachers
 Mutual officers and teachers
 Perform baptisms
 Ward choristers
 Messengers for bishopric
 Hold cottage meetings
 Assist the elders
 Missionary work in the ward
 Read scriptures at ward
 meetings

Supervise the fast offering
 collecting
 Help bishop with care of
 tithes
 Help bishop with wayward
 boys
 Take part in meetings
 Haul gravel and make cement
 walks around meeting
 house
 Help with teams to level
 public squares
 Active in guiding amuse-
 ments

MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING THE NEW PROGRAM

"Let us impress upon you," the Committee urged in 1913, "that nearly 18,000 men meeting weekly for study and contemplation must inevitably result in general good in the Church," and evidence of such results was not hard to find.⁴⁵ Weekly attendance at priesthood meetings, aided by the recent organization of priests quorums, had risen by that year to the twenty percent level, a sign to the Committee that "we are moving upward."⁴⁶ Sacrament meeting attendance likewise was improving. Notable too was increased service by Melchizedek Priesthood bearers, 20,495 of whom were then ward officers and instructors.⁴⁷ An "unusual interest" in ward teaching also had been aroused. It was found, for example, that as more men were given ward teaching assignments and the size of districts was reduced, a proportional increase in monthly visits was produced. In 1911, two ward teachers typically were assigned to visit twenty families, and Churchwide only twenty percent of all families were visited. Two years later the typical district size was down to nine families and the visiting rate doubled to thirty-nine percent. Between 1909 and 1914, home

⁴⁵*Era* 16:736-737 (May 1913).

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 738.

teaching visits increased fivefold, and by 1915 over half of Church families, or fifty-four percent were receiving monthly visits. Six years later the Church home teaching average had increased to seventy percent.⁴⁸ In addition to this "far reaching increase in Priesthood activity," the reform movement had produced Churchwide an equally significant "realization of the importance of Priesthood quorums as compared with auxiliary organizations."⁴⁹

Subsequently, the Committee sought not only to increase the effectiveness of its programs and to extend such to previously "unreformed" wards, but also to prevent backsliding among the "reformed" wards—a herculean task during the World War I years. Church attendance and activity declined, particularly during summer months, as Mormon farmers sought to increase their production in response to growing wartime markets.

Declines were most notable in Aaronic Priesthood work. Priests quorums were depleted by the military so that remaining priests had to meet with teachers quorums. In many wards by 1917 a "loose and indifferent state" plagued lesser priesthood quorums and there developed again a need for "a suitable and proper method of organizing and supervising the Lesser Priesthood of each ward and training the boys in their duties and responsibilities."⁵⁰ Individually, bishops responded by devising unique activities for their boys. These ranged from taking deacons along on the bishop's annual house to house visits, to assigning priests as special teachers to the widows, aged, and poor, to having teachers go along with older men to conduct fuel surveys and Red Cross, War Savings Bond, and Thrift campaigns among the Saints. But despite such efforts, the post-war years brought Church leaders face to face with "a woeful lack of interest on the part of those holding the Lesser Priesthood in their Church activities," as well as with the task of beginning again to organize and ordain priests.⁵¹

A project of major importance to the Committee during

⁴⁸*Era*, 17:692 (May 1914); GPC, 29 September 1914 and 25 March 1915; also Meeting of the First Presidency and the Presiding Bishopric, 11 August 1921, Presiding Bishopric Miscellaneous Box 1, HDC.

⁴⁹*Era* 17:692-693 (May 1914).

⁵⁰GPC, 5 April 1917.

⁵¹GPC, 3 and 10 October 1918, 1 November 1917, 21 June 1921; also, Presiding Bishopric, Circular Letter, 14 June 1918.

the war years was the compilation of President Joseph F. Smith's sermons and writings just prior to his death in 1918. His accidental remark that "he was leaving no literature or book in his memory," prompted six friends to compile the book, *Gospel Doctrine*, which was then edited and published by the Committee as a three-year course of study for Melchizedek Priesthood quorums, starting in 1919.⁵² Other priesthood reform activities during these years included an effort to separate adult Aaronic Priesthood members into groups with their own officers, so as not "to mix up the old men, with bad habits, with young boys," and the new weekly teacher training program noted above. For the second time the Committee investigated in detail and supported the priesthood insurance idea, which was once again rejected by the First Presidency. Finally, the "Church Sunday School Day" correlation plan, mentioned above, was the Committee's last major project before its release by President Heber J. Grant in December, 1922.⁵³

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

Overall this reform movement was of immeasurable and lasting importance to priesthood work in this dispensation. Specific results, which became foundation stones for many priesthood programs today include the following:

Aaronic Priesthood

1. Definite age groupings established for each office.
2. Separate adult Aaronic work proposed.
3. Specific duties identified for deacons, teachers, priests.
4. Priests quorums' importance recognized.
5. Bishops finally assumed presidency over lesser priesthood.

Ward and Quorum Functions

1. Regular weekly, year round, ward priesthood classes made the rule.
2. Bishops became presiding high priests over all ward priesthood work.

⁵²GPC, 3 October 1918.

⁵³GPC, 12 December 1911, 1 November 1917 and 4 November 1920.

3. Priesthood enrolled in proper quorums.
4. Systematic ward and quorum records introduced.
5. Effective stake relations with local priesthood established.
6. Increased local priesthood service as ward officers, ward teachers, etc.
7. Stake missionary work commenced.

Church Headquarters

1. Systematic record and report procedures developed.
2. Communication with wards and stakes greatly improved.
3. Centralized direction of local priesthood work undertaken.
4. YMMIA redirected into recreational and cultural activities.
5. Priesthood work better coordinated with auxiliaries.

Lessons

1. Annual, systematic courses of study provided all quorums.
2. Important Church books thereby made known to members.
3. Teacher training work pioneered.
4. All Church teaching better coordinated.

Finally, there is a direct relationship between this reform movement and present Church correlation work. Elder Harold B. Lee discussed the connection when he announced the new priesthood correlation plan in 1961. After noting periodic surveys which the Church has taken of its ever-changing needs, he said:

Within the memories of many of the present General Authorities, there have been surveys of this kind, or re-examinations about twenty years apart. One of the first comprehensive studies was undertaken under the general chairmanship of President David O. McKay, who was then the chairman of the general priesthood committee of the Church, and this was about forty years ago. To me it is a significant thing that this problem of proper correlation seems to have been in President McKay's own mind through

all of this time and perhaps as long as he has been one of the General Authorities.⁵⁴

Within the past few years the Church has seen a number of steps taken in the direction first outlined by President Joseph F. Smith and the General Priesthood Committee more than sixty years ago. The teacher training program, for example, once conducted by the Sunday School, is now under the control and direction of the priesthood. Relief Society budgets recently became subject to ward bishops. YMMIA officers now are the same men who direct Aaronic Priesthood work in each ward, and are now priesthood activity arms. Auxiliary contacts with the homes are handled by the priesthood home teachers. Although there is still room for improvement, the priesthood now appears to be doing what President Joseph F. Smith hoped it would when he forcefully entreated the priesthood in 1908 to assume its rightful role in the functionings of the Church.

⁵⁴*Conference Reports*, 30 September 1961.

N. L. Nelson and The Mormon Point of View

DAVIS BITTON*

In 1904 Utah saw the publication of a periodical entitled *The Mormon Point of View*. Its "editor" was Nels Lars (usually known as N. L.) Nelson, a professor of English at Brigham Young University. Intended to provide intellectual food for Latter-day Saints, the quarterly appeared just four times. The story of this brief venture provides a glimpse into the preoccupations of the Church at the beginning of the century. It also exemplifies some of the perennial hazards faced by those who publish magazines addressed to a limited audience.

N. L. Nelson was born in Goshen, Utah, in 1862. He seemed destined to a life of toil and hardship. However, responding to the strong desire of his mother that he continue his education, he worked in the mines at Eureka to make money for tuition, walked to Provo, and there at the Brigham Young Academy became a devoted follower of Karl G. Maeser. In 1882 he graduated. The following year he was placed in charge of the Intermediate Department. After serving as a missionary in the Southern States during 1885-87 he returned to Brigham Young Academy. He taught there until 1920 and for several years served as secretary to the faculty.¹

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¹Basic biographical information is outlined in T. Earl Pardoe, *Sons of Brigham* (Provo, Utah, 1969). Nelson provided some autobiographical glimpses in "A Boy's Experience in Pioneer Life," *Juvenile Instructor*, 28 (15 December 1893), pp. 765-70. Although his main teaching duties at Brigham Young Academy (Brigham Young University after 1903) were with the English Department, he was versatile. In 1906 he was listed as Professor of Philosophy in the *Brigham Young University Quarterly*, vol. I, no. 4, 1 May 1906, and in 1916 he taught the first journalism course at B. Y. U.

Even before 1904 he was becoming known for his writing. He published several articles in Church magazines during the 1880s and 1890s. In 1898 he published *Preaching and Public Speaking*, a book full of practical advice on improving sermons and mental cultivation in general. And in 1904, the very year during which he put out *The Mormon Point of View*, Nelson published his most noteworthy book, *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*.² We can safely say that Nelson's name was well known in the Mormon community.

On 1 December 1903 he wrote to President Joseph F. Smith, enclosing a lengthy statement on "Why This Magazine Is Needed," and asking whether it would "help the cause of God to start such a magazine."³

His statement contrasted the religion of the Latter-day Saints to that of the world. Religion generally, according to Nelson, had accepted the notions that "bliss is an ethereal something located in a still more ethereal somewhere," that man could do nothing to effect his own salvation, and that secular affairs, "the really vital relations affecting the destiny of mankind," should be left in the hands of the irreligious. The Latter-day Saints had a much more practical orientation, he said, believing "that salvation is a progressive coming into harmony with law; that heaven, the expression of that harmony, is a state of the soul, which inevitably causes gravitation towards a place; that both state and place are now, and ever will be, on this earth." Mormonism thus should have no use for the artificialities of other religions.

But in practice the Saints often forgot their basic beliefs, looking skyward and forgetting practical applications:

They are still in Babylon. They are still struggling with the tide of heredity. Their heads are above water, truly enough—which is to say, they see the better way; but their bodies are swept onward by the almost resistless current of tradition and convention.

The members of the Church, he continued, needed to bring

²Nelson's publications in the church periodicals included occasional stories as well as articles. *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism* presented the author with difficult problems, first in getting it published and then in paying for it when the sales were not up to expectations.

³Manuscript archives of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. "Why This Magazine Is Needed" was published as a brochure for advance publicity but is most readily available in the first issue of *The Mormon Point of View*.

about "the unfolding of the Gospel far down into its social, educational, and economic bearings."

Nelson did not believe that the Saints had nothing to learn from the world. As far as knowledge was concerned, he said, "we need to borrow in most directions, rather than to give." What Mormonism provided was an orientation that could synthesize the multifarious and confusing facets of worldly knowledge.

It is in this particular, then, that Mormonism can best help the world: it can contribute a point of view that shall unify and marshal into one grand, eternal perspective, all the fragmentary truths which now serve mainly to distract mankind.

What was needed was "the redistribution of the world's knowledge according to the Mormon point of view."

Besides bringing the gospel to bear on real life and seeing truths on all sides from perspective, the new magazine would assist the Mormon missionary program. Changing conditions had created the need for a different kind of proselyting literature.

Hitherto it has sufficed to present the truth from its purely scriptural aspect. As a result, we have succeeded in gathering just that class of people—simple, honest, guileless, spiritual-minded Nathanaels—whom it was desirable to have as foundation stones for this new order of society. But there are others no less worthy: hard-headed thinkers, trained in the exact methods of modern schools; doubting Thomases of art, science, mechanics, and business, who value unsupported authority as nothing, even though it be Biblical; without whom, nevertheless, no scheme of social reform can pass very far beyond the speculative stage. Indeed, considering the constantly diminishing returns of our missionary work, it is pretty evident that the world has, during the last half century, veered almost completely around from the Nathanael to the Thomas type of mind.

Scriptural argument would not convince such an audience. Mormon ideals had to be presented in terms of natural sciences and philosophy. By this Nelson did not mean abstruse metaphysics. He was confident that "if the principles underlying our religion can be identified with the facts involved in economic, educational, and sociological processes, then they will listen; for just now the relations of man to his fellow man is the one absorbing theme of humanity."

It is not inconsistent with these aims that an even more practical purpose was mentioned in Nelson's letter to President Smith: "Should this project succeed, the income would go far to keep me and my family, till such time as my name should be established."

The First Presidency responded with a qualified endorsement:

We feel very much gratified by the spirit of your letter, and pleased with the article setting forth the reasons why the magazine, which you propose to publish, is needed. As far as we are concerned, we should very much like to see a magazine published such as you have outlined; it would undoubtedly be a credit both to you as its publisher and to our community. But will it pay financially, and can it be done without financial injury to yourself and family? . . . To be frank with you, we are afraid it will not pay.⁴

This response of the First Presidency is remarkable both for its ready acceptance of the new magazine in principle and also for its realistic assessment of the financial problems.

Undeterred, N. L. Nelson obtained permission from the First Presidency to add their statement to his prospectus entitled "Why This Magazine Is Needed." He sent out for distribution possibly as many as 10,000 copies of the article and went to work to get the first issue—announced for 1 January 1904—printed and distributed.⁵ On 19 January a statement in the *Deseret News* explained the mechanical reasons for the tardiness of the first issue. Already he was plagued by one of the characteristic diseases of such periodicals. He begged indulgence of "the large number of people who have befriended his literary venture by sending in their subscriptions."⁶

The magazine that greeted its subscribers a few days later was 100 pages in length. Its format was small—6 by 3½ inches. Besides reprinting his essay "Why This Magazine Is Needed" Nelson included only two articles, both to be continued in the following issue. The subsequent three issues were substantially the same. By the fourth and final issue a

⁴The letter from the First Presidency is not in the Church Historian's Office, although it is likely available in duplicate in the files of the First Presidency. Nelson published it at the close of "Why This Magazine Is Needed."

⁵Letter from Nelson to President Joseph F. Smith, 24 December 1903. All of Nelson's correspondence cited in the present article is located in the manuscript archives of the Church Historian's Office.

⁶*Deseret News*, 19 January 1904.

total of nine articles, stories, or poems had been published. They are worth examining one by one.⁷

1. "The Ministers and the Mormons." Called the "leading article," this was an extended work of 56 pages. Noticing that the most vehement foes of Mormonism were the ministers of other faiths, Nelson proceeded to defend his people. The attacks against them he regarded as religious bigotry. Anticipating a new "crusade," he sought to show why it "ought not to be made, and if made, why it ought to fail, as it surely will." To defend Mormonism's right to survival the author proposed to judge it by the criterion of its "social effectiveness or inherent power to help usher in the millennium; not on some world-to-be, but here on the third planet of the solar system."

Such an approach allowed the author to elaborate some basic aspects of Mormon theology. An exposition of the Mormon conception of God was followed by a portrayal of Mormonism as a religion "vitally inter-related with all real things; indeed, an interpreter of all things in their relation to the soul . . ." Nelson's orientation was this-worldly and pragmatic:

He obeys God best who learns most of the present world, but in such order and relation that the link between him and his maker becomes daily brighter and stronger; he is in the highest heaven who sees most beauty, feels most harmony, in the creations immediately around him.

For Nelson Mormonism was more comprehensive and satisfying than the puerile Christianity that was presented as an alternative. The ministers stood little chance of success in their desire to "crush" Mormonism. He urged upon them the counsel of Gamaliel: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." (Acts 5:38-39.)

2. "The Dictionary of Slander." Starting in the first and continuing in the second issue of the magazine, this was a long, critical review of W. A. Linn, *The Story of the Mor-*

⁷Bound in a single volume, *The Mormon Point of View* is available in the libraries of the Church Historian's Office, the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, U.C.L.A., and doubtless other institutions.

mons (New York, 1902). Although Linn's work assumed a "judicial tone" and claimed to be objective, it was written with the conviction that Mormonism was a fraud. Linn's stance was cynical: "If Mr. Linn ever saw a good quality in a Mormon or in Mormonism, he does not betray the fact by a single line, nor by a single epithet. Not once does he relent toward the charitable view of a transaction." Nelson challenged Linn's treatment of the character of the Smith family, money digging, the Spaulding theory, Rigdon's role in producing the Book of Mormon, and the reliability of the witnesses of the Book of Mormon. What Linn had done, the author continued, was to bring out all the old lies and give them new respectability.

3. "Human Side of the Book of Mormon." Appearing in the issue of April 1904, this article dealt with the question of "changes" in the Book of Mormon text. For Nelson scripture did not exist apart from a human element. He readily admitted the existence of faults in Book of Mormon language and style, some attributable to the original writers, some to Mormon as abridger, and some to Joseph Smith as translator. But verbal errors and faulty diction "no more invalidate the glorious message it contains than would a few harmless leaves pollute a pure stream." He then offered an explanation for the presence in the Book of Mormon of biblical passages that were basically drawn from the King James version: Joseph Smith had remembered whole chapters of the Bible, "which sprang verbatim into consciousness when brought into association with the thought that originally inspired them." Finally, Nelson discussed the use of the "interpreters." In essence Nelson conceded that the mind of Joseph Smith contributed enormously to the Book of Mormon. The work reflected his inadequate education; it was repetitious, prolix, even ungrammatical. Yet Joseph's mind was untrammelled, his simple style was well suited to the kind of audience for whom the book was intended, and all of the "blemishes" did not hide "the beauty and symmetry of its inner truths to the soul that is earnestly seeking the way of life."

4. "Learn to Read Up Hill." This whole piece was apparently prompted by complaints from some readers that the magazine was too difficult. Unsympathetic to such a reaction, the author chastized the "ordinary reader" for his mental in-

dolence. "I cannot and will not reduce the whole thing down to thin soup once more, to suit his watery mental digestion," he said. "I let it go, in the hope that it may prove a tonic to his undisciplined mind." The reader should improve his vocabulary by constant use of the dictionary and select his reading carefully. Nelson betrayed the common bias against novels or fiction. He admitted a few great exceptions, but in general there was "no easier way to get into the comfortable circle of mental mediocrity than to become a devotee of popular fiction."

5. "The Spiritual Life." This 78-page article in the July issue discussed different aspects of the spiritual life. Nelson's approach was to analyze several metaphors of the New Testament, as for example, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin and yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." (Matthew 6:28-29.) His comment on this passage:

The natural, organic, frictionless evolution of the lily, is a fine type of the spiritual life in its relation to the universe; the labored, artificial nailed-together pomp and circumstance of Solomon, stands equally for the natural life.

The concepts of Christ within us, the kingdom of God within us, free agency, eternal law, eternal life, the natural world, the social world, the Holy Ghost, the danger of Pharisaism—all these were similarly analyzed and discussed. By this time *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism* had been published, and Nelson referred his readers to it for a fuller exposition of these ideas.

6. "The Harris-Anthon Episode." Also in the July issue, this article examined the conflicting statements of Martin Harris and Charles Anthon regarding their interview. Its main point: Anthon had contradicted himself; the Harris version was therefore plausible and probably accurate.

7. "A Roundelay of Salt Lake" by Joaquin Miller. Published in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, this verse was a work of occasion prompted by President Theodore Roosevelt's recent visit to Utah. T. R. had publicly deplored the national tendency towards having small families. When he came to Salt Lake the women greeted him "with thousands of babes in

their arms." These "pink-faced infants cooed a welcome that must have filled his big heart with joy." The Utah women, in the words of the poem, brought the President not trumpets or guns but

Just babies, babies, healthful, fair,
From where the Wasatch lion leaps,
From sunless snows, from desert deeps,
Just babies, babies, everywhere.

National concern for the population explosion and its ecological repercussions was still far in the future.

8. "For Conscience Sake." This short story was written by a young lady in one of Nelson's English classes. John Trueman, who had three wives and fifteen children, has been sentenced to serve a term in the penitentiary. He is allowed a few days grace because of the illness of an infant son. When the child dies the family grieves, but the other wives help the young wife to sustain her loss. Young Deputy Gray, "as vile a character as the scum of the Mormon-haters could produce," is suspicious. Accompanied by his uncle, Judge Strong, and Donald Lester, a recent law graduate who has come to observe the Mormons, he spies on the Trueman family, only to see an idyllic picture of family love and hear a moving family prayer. Two years pass. Lester, the outsider, falls in love with Maud, the prettiest daughter of the family, and the two plan to elope. Emily, the "old maid" sister, discovers the plans, goes into Maud's room at night and tells of her own tragic love of past years. Maud reveals her love for Lester, but now recognizes that marriage must wait. Meanwhile, in his prison cell, John Trueman has a vision of Maud standing before a deep, dark chasm. His spirit leaves his body and appears to Maud just as she is about to give in to temptation by going away with Lester. Fortified, she tells Lester she will not go. With an awful oath he reveals his true character. Later, at Christmas time, the family gathers to welcome the father on his return from prison. They sing together, "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform," and kneel together in family prayer. As John Trueman kisses Maud goodnight, she whispers, "Papa, I, too, have found the joy of suffering for conscience sake."

This story was the only piece of fiction included in the four issues of *The Mormon Point of View*. Nelson justified

including it by explaining its two-fold purpose: first, to portray an aspect of Mormon family life purposely left out of his other article in the issue; and secondly, "to indicate that no true Latter-day Saint is ashamed of a past social relation which has given to Mormondom many of its noblest and brightest men and women of today."

9. "The Mormon Family." In this last article in the last issue of the magazine, Nelson cited example after example of the "fruitfulness" of Mormon families. He was especially impressed by the families of such polygamists as Lorin Farr, who had 258 descendants at the age of 83. But even monogamous Mormon families, he said, boasted between 5 and 12 children for each mother. The nation, by comparison, was committing "race suicide."

At this point Nelson offered a short defense for Mormon plural marriage. Admitting that the two sexes were about equal in number at birth, he maintained that many men were disabled, unwilling to marry, or disqualified by "thriftless and vicious habits." The result was that many pure, high-minded women were left as old maids. Mormonism had provided a means by which "all true women within its fold might escape such a fate." But for Nelson the central feature of the Mormon family ideal was not polygamy as such but the "natural, the untrammelled birth of children, and their careful bringing up for social service." Polygamy without these characteristics would have no excuse.

It is noteworthy that none of these articles dealt specifically with the title of the magazine. Nelson had planned to write an essay explaining what he meant by the "Mormon point of view" but did not get it published in the brief period of the magazine's existence. In a way, perhaps, the meaning is obvious. But we do have some clues to the more specific notion the author had in mind. In his prospectus he had claimed that Mormonism could draw from the knowledge of the world, contributing a "point of view that shall unify and marshal into one grand, eternal perspective, all the fragmentary truths which now serve mainly to distract mankind." In his earlier book *Preaching and Public Speaking* Nelson had also devoted several pages to the concept "point of view." The main assertions were as follows: (a) what we see depends on the point of view of the observer; (b) there have been points

of view that have had great explanatory power in science; (c) in their "remoter connections" such explanatory systems have required artificial bolstering and eventually are replaced by a new system; (d) it is possible to accept "facts" without accepting the accompanying theory; (e) religion and science are similar in that "men draw opposite systems" from the same facts, encounter difficulty in fitting some data into their paradigm, and then go through twisting and forcing in order to keep the system; (f) Mormonism provides the key, the "true point of view," comparable to "the summit of eternity."

God himself sees things in their true relation only by the Spirit of truth; whoever has this Spirit in its fulness has the key to the universe; and every man will see the true point of view in exact proportion as he has the Spirit . . . This is the point the Elder must ever keep in view. Whatever be his topic, he must seek to see it as God sees it—from the summit of eternity; and not as man sees it, amid the fog and smoke of mortality.⁸

It seems certain that the promised essay would have discussed the concept along these same lines. To synthesize the knowledge of the world and to view the problems of existence *sub specie aeternitatis* are objectives which could scarcely have been achieved in one year. In fact, only occasionally do we find this purpose glimmering through the actual articles that were published. Nevertheless, it was an objective with a nobility and scope that might still serve as an inspiration to editors and writers in the Church.

This, then, was N. L. Nelson's *The Mormon Point of View* as it appeared in four issues during 1904. Before attempting to account for its demise, let us note that it aroused a good deal of commendation and praise. The endorsement from the First Presidency has already been mentioned. In the April issue some excerpts from letters from readers were printed. Professor B. S. Hinckley said, "Accept my sincere wishes for the complete success of your great enterprise." Someone in the headquarters of the Southern States Mission wrote that the magazine would "fill a long felt want." An elder from California saw the magazine as a means of helping to place the gospel "before the higher class of people."

The distinction between Thomases and Nathanaels con-

⁸*Preaching and Public Speaking* (1898), p. 67.

tained in the essay "Why This Magazine Is Needed" prompted one missionary to write: "This state is full of the Thomas type of individuals, with scarcely any of the Nathaniel class." A sister from Parowan said that she herself was one of the simple Nathanaels but had "many dear ones who are not of that class, but who belong to the doubters; and I am sure your magazine is just what I am looking for."

President McQuarrie of the Eastern States Mission wrote a lengthy letter, including the following:

I appreciate your view point and feel sure you are working along the proper lines. I have long been convinced that we have reached a point in our own development where we must study the philosophy underlying the principles of the Gospel, and learn what these principles are,—how they appeal to our lives and how they affect the lives of others,—rather than continue proving that Peter, James, John and Paul taught them. . . . [most people] want to know *why* they should act, before they move, and what the result will be. This spirit is manifest not only in the world, but also among our own young people.

McQuarrie recognized that there would be a hard financial struggle, saying "I haven't much to offer you, Brother Nelson; but if my faith and confidence, and what little influence I possess, will be of service to you, I take pleasure in offering you the latter, and assuring you of the former."

Another welcome endorsement came in a *Deseret News* editorial of 28 July 1904. It described the July issue of the magazine as "fully up to the high standard of previous numbers." The editors did not know whether the magazine would pay "in a pecuniary sense," but their concluding statement did not imply any other reservations: "We commend it to everybody."⁹

Despite the plaudits of individual readers and the endorsement of the First Presidency and the *Deseret News*, the magazine did not continue after the fourth issue. The doubts

⁹Sometime between the April and July issues Nelson got out a flyer entitled *The Mormon Point of View: A Short Account of Prof. Nelson's Magazine*. (A copy is available in the archives of the Brigham Young University Library.) The flyer included additional endorsements by Joseph E. Robinson, George H. Brimhall, and John A. Widtsoe. Obviously Nelson had enthusiastic readers. In 1918, when he was arranging for a new edition of *Scientific Aspects*, Professor Ernest Bramwell of Snow College at Ephraim wrote that it was "the best book of the twentieth century." *The White and Blue*, 21 (18 May 1918), p. 474.

about its financial viability expressed by the First Presidency, by President McQuarrie, and by the *Deseret News* were well justified. When Nelson referred to "the large numbers of people" who had subscribed he must have been whistling in the dark.

Although there are apparently no surviving subscription records, some excerpts from Nelson's correspondence enable us to piece together his general financial hopes and contrasting disappointment. We can be fairly certain that he had 2,000 copies of the first issue printed, that the cost to him for this one issue was \$110, and that his deficit at the end of the year, the unpaid balance still owed to the printer, was \$200.¹⁰

Several unknown factors make these figures difficult to interpret. If he had the subsequent three issues printed in the same quantity and at the same rate, his overall bill from the printer would have been \$440. But there must also have been a charge for the 10,000 copies of the prospectus and for another blurb published between the second and third issues of the magazine. On the other hand, he may have reduced the size of the printing after the first issue, which would have reduced his deficit to some extent. We know that subscriptions were offered at \$1.00 per year, but we do not know how much of this was kept as a commission by the agents. Another cost we are unable to compute is suggested by his offer in 1904 to send for \$1.00 not only the four numbers of the magazine but also "a draw-back check entitling him [the subscriber] to have them bound in cloth free of cost."¹¹ And who knows the number of individual copies that may have been sold.

If we guess that his advertising costs were in the vicinity of \$100, his overall costs to the printer came close to \$540. Assuming a commission of 25 to 50 percent, he would have needed 800-1,000 subscribers (or the equivalent in individual purchases) to break even. Had he been able to sell his 2,000 copies, he would have emerged with a profit of several hundred dollars. Supposedly such was what Nelson had in mind when he wrote to President Joseph F. Smith: "Should this project succeed, the income would go far to keep me and

¹⁰These financial details are found in Nelson's letters to President Joseph F. Smith dated 24 December 1903, and 3 January 1905.

¹¹Flyer cited in footnote 9.

my family, till such a time as my name should be established."¹² But he was short by an average of \$50 per issue, if we can assume that he did apply all income to paying the printer. By the fourth issue he was forced to give up. Probably the printer, faced with a deficit that grew with each issue, refused to go on without firm guarantees.

Even if financial subsidy had been forthcoming, it is doubtful that the magazine would ever have been a real success. Consider the following:

1. *The Mormon Point of View* was essentially a one-man production. Except for the roundelay by Joaquin Miller and the short story published anonymously by one of Nelson's students, Nelson himself wrote every word of every issue. If he had had a more neutral, impersonal style, this might not have been so noticeable. But his style was highly idiosyncratic. There was an unmistakable tone and cadence. Many readers, to judge from his defensive reaction, regarded his writing as difficult. Even those who enjoyed his style likely found this too much of a good thing. If variety and change of pace enhance interest, the simple fact of his single authorship was a deterrent to the magazine's success.

2. It was highly polemical. For the most part Nelson was defending the Latter-day Saints against the attacks of their enemies. As one who had served a mission in the tense 1880s, who had tried to improve the presentation of the Mormon message in sermons, and who was himself a polygamist, he was bound to react strongly to outside criticism. Nor did these issues appear to be dead. A call for Mormonism's destruction had been issued in 1903, and in 1904 the election of Senator Reed Smoot set off a controversy that lasted for many months. However, in ways that were probably not at all obvious at the time, an era of good feeling was beginning. Although an occasional article defending the Saints could still be valuable, a magazine that offered only polemic in 1904 probably ruled out much of its potential audience.

3. There may have been some theological opposition. At least Nelson's *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism* aroused some strictures, and the lengthy article on "The Spiritual Life" was drawn from that book. His view of the Holy Ghost as a

¹²Nelson to President Joseph F. Smith, 1 December 1903.

pervasive force rather than a person and his conception of Christ as an office rather than an individual seem inconsistent with the interpretations of President Joseph F. Smith. Nelson insisted that he was defending the truth as he saw it and if he was wrong asked only to be corrected. But he admitted the existence of a widespread notion that the book was "not trustworthy in its exposition of Mormonism."¹³ If this reputation of the book rubbed off on the magazine, or if the magazine in some way contributed to these suspicions, his chances of success were further impeded.

4. Existing Church magazines provided tough competition for *The Mormon Point of View*. He was not really aiming at readers who were inactive Mormons and worldly skeptics. If some of these were still susceptible to a missionary appeal, his magazine might help to reach them. But in general it appears that his readers were young Latter-day Saints, with a bit more education than their parents, including some of his former and present students at Brigham Young Academy. They needed strengthening in the faith and wished to see their religion presented as rationally as possible. But for such readers the *Improvement Era*, *Woman's Exponent*, and *Young Woman's Journal* were already doing a remarkably successful job. Drawing on the best authors in the Church and opening their pages to spokesmen for other faiths, these magazines were in their heyday. To many readers it must have appeared that they provided everything promised by *The Mormon Point of View* but more frequently, and with greater diversity and vitality.

In his prospectus Nelson had made a brave statement: "As for the outcome, I am fully aware that no moral bolstering ever yet succeeded in keeping alive that which intrinsically deserved to die, and consequently that my journalistic venture must, in the end, survive or perish by that merciless, but still on the whole very beneficent law—survival of the fittest." After four issues the magazine perished in a Darwinian struggle for existence.

If *The Mormon Point of View* did not have a long life, it obviously gave nourishment to its readers. One can be thankful for many thoughtful passages of which the following is a single example:

¹³Nelson to President Joseph F. Smith, 3 January 1905.

Not only is the natural world the best place to perfect the spiritual man, it is the only place for intelligences organized as we are now. Were this not so, God would have given us that other place instead of this one. Here and here only, so far as we are concerned, are the problems physical, intellectual, moral and social, the overcoming of which is the means of making us perfect as God is perfect. To sigh for a purer, better world in order to be more spiritual-minded, is flatly to lie down and give up the fight. Thank God for the admirable world of sin, in which he has placed us; but thank him more for showing how to carve heaven out of it.¹⁴

Even at this date, when strident polemic appears to come from another world, another time, there are many who find some of N. L. Nelson's words speaking to their souls as music from the spheres.

¹⁴*The Mormon Point of View*, pp. 270-71.

Archaeology at the Peter Whitmer Farm, Seneca County, New York

DALE L. BERGE*

A number of important historical events took place on the Peter Whitmer farm which pertain to the growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It was here that a substantial part of the Book of Mormon was translated by Joseph Smith, Jr., where some of the first baptisms of the Church were performed, and in particular, where the Church was organized on 6 April 1830.

The Peter Whitmer farm site is located at a point 0.7 miles southeast of longitude $42^{\circ}52'30''$ and latitude $76^{\circ}52'30''$. It is within the Fayette Township of Seneca County in the state of New York. There are several long, narrow, glacial lakes in this area which are known collectively as the Finger Lakes. The farm is situated near the north end of Seneca Lake between Cayuga and Seneca Lakes. The site is approximately 28 miles directly south of Lake Ontario of the Great Lakes. From Waterloo, New York, the Peter Whitmer farm is 2.1 miles south-southeast of the center of Waterloo where State Routes 96 and 20 intersect.

On the farm there now stands a large frame structure which appears to have been modified several times through the years (Figure 1). The older, and central section of this house of the Greek Revival architectural style, is clearly evident because of its hand-hewn timbers and square nails. This two-story structure faces south and has four large pillars which

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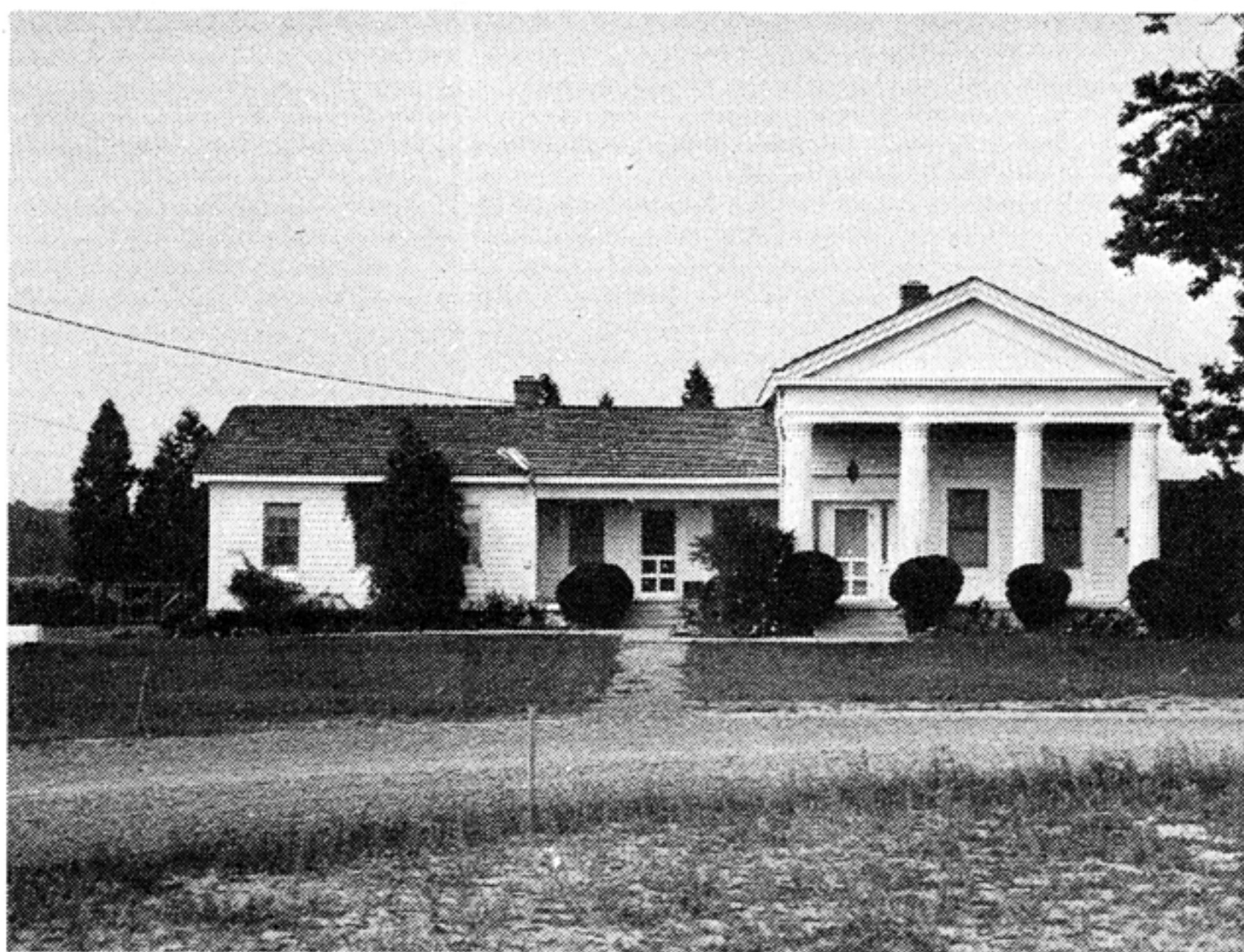


Figure 1. Front view of the present frame house (1969).



Figure 2. Excavation of the log house remains in 1969.

lend support to the front-porch roof. A one-story wing extends west of the main section which has been modified and extended to meet the individual needs and desires of various owners. A new east wing was being added at the time of excavation in 1969.¹

The Peter Whitmer property was purchased by the Mormon Church in 1926. Many prominent Church members in the past thought that the frame house was where the Church was organized, while others thought the organization took place in a log house mentioned in historical documents. This difference of opinion has lasted for many years. James H. Moyle made the following statement which illustrated the confusion that prevailed on this subject: "There they all lived for months in a three-room house, if you believe the Church was organized in the old home, or in the six-room house, if you believe the Church was organized in the new home. . . ."²

Dr. Richard Anderson, College of Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University, has been engaged in extensive historical research pertaining to the Peter Whitmer Farm.³ The data accumulated leave little doubt that the Church was organized in a log house on the farm. The purpose of the archaeological investigation was to determine the location of this log house (Figure 2).

Historical documents reveal that the log house was one and one-half stories high and estimated to be approximately 20 feet by 20 feet or possibly 15 feet by 20 feet. These dimensions may have been the size of the main downstairs room. As late as 1888 remnants of the logs once part of the home lay on the site. Just when the log house was destroyed is not known, but it is assumed to have been prior to the above account of 1888.⁴ According to William L. Powell (personal communication), some of the structure's logs and roof remained on the property as late as 1959.

Mr. William L. Powell of Roy, Utah, was caretaker of the Peter Whitmer farm from 1946 to 1952. During this

¹Dale L. Berge, "Excavations at the Peter Whitmer Home, Fayette, New York," A paper presented to the Nineteenth Annual Symposium of the Archaeology of the Scriptures, Society of Early Historic Archaeology, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1969.

²James H. Moyle, "A Visit to David Whitmer," *The Instructor*, vol. 80, no. 9 (September 1945), p. 403.

³Richard Anderson, "The House Where the Church Was Organized," *The Improvement Era*, vol. 73, no. 4, 1970.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 19.

time he discovered the foundation of a structure located about 30 to 50 feet from a large barn which stood on the property up to 1959. At the time, he would load his wagon with hay and come down a lane to the west of the barn, where he would make a sharp turn into the large, double doors of the barn. As Mr. Powell continued to bring the hay into the barn, he began to uncover some cobble stones which seemed to be the outline of some type of structure. He and his son removed the remaining soil and unearthed a foundation 20 by 30 feet. The longer length of the house ran north and south with the west foundation wall being situated 50 feet from the barn. The foundation proved to be relatively shallow being 6 to 8 inches deep. The stones were oval cobbles, probably from a stream bed, and measured, on the average, 4 by 6 inches. The stones were buried two across and two deep.

The shallow foundations are not indicative of the support which one would expect for a heavy brick or stone structure. In this case, this foundation probably supported the log house since some of the actual logs were in the area. The ground in this part of New York state retains its moisture considerably, and stones were probably placed under the logs for drainage. This helped to preserve the logs which would have decayed from moisture had they lain directly on the ground.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeologist usually has to conduct extensive excavations in areas where no foundations are visible on the surface and when little historical information is available. This was not the case with the Peter Whitmer farm site. Enough information was derived through historical research that an approximation of the site location was established. In addition, the actual discovery of foundation stones nearly 25 years ago provided more accurate data in determining where we should excavate for remnants of the log structure.

The stratigraphy of the excavated area proved to be relatively simple due to several years of plowing. The plow zone was 0.8 feet below the surface at which point a layer of dark brown clay was encountered. All artifacts were recovered from the plow zone while the dark brown clay was void of artifacts and undisturbed from the time it was deposited

through natural means. Any intrusions into the dark brown sterile soil would have been detected by changes in texture, composition and color.

A wide variety of artifact types were recovered from the site. A total of 2,084 individual items were collected during the archaeological investigation. The following descriptions are representative of the material remains unearthed at the Peter Whitmer farm site.

DRAINAGE TILE

Hexagonal Tile.

The ground in the vicinity of where the log house stood was once drained by means of drainage tile. The amount of red tile found numbered 404 specimens which represents 19.3 percent of all the artifacts. The hexagonal tile from the Whitmer excavation is a dull, dark-red color on the surface. The paste and surface are the same color which may have been changed from the original clay color by oxidation during the firing process. The tiles are hexagonal outside and round inside with an outside diameter of 2½ inches and inside diameter of 2 inches (Figure 3).

Tile drainage in the state of New York, as well as in America, was begun in 1838 by John Johnston. The first tiles were manufactured in a horseshoe pattern at the Whartenby Tile Factory in Waterloo, New York, a few miles north of the Whitmer farm.⁵ The clay soil in this area is such that it retains much of the rain or irrigation water which in turn can destroy crops. Tile was used to drain off excess water to keep roots from rotting from too much moisture. This process helped crops produce in greater volume.⁶

This tile could not have been used by Peter Whitmer since hexagonal tile didn't come into existence until the 1850s, and continued to be manufactured until about 1900 or 1910. All tile specimens were found in a confined area and around the log house location. Possibly it was used to drain the slight rise of ground around the house after the Whitmers had sold the property. The advantage of the hexagonal tile

⁵Marion M. Weaver, *History of Tile Drainage* (Waterloo, New York: Privately published, 1964), pp. 157-158.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 235-240.

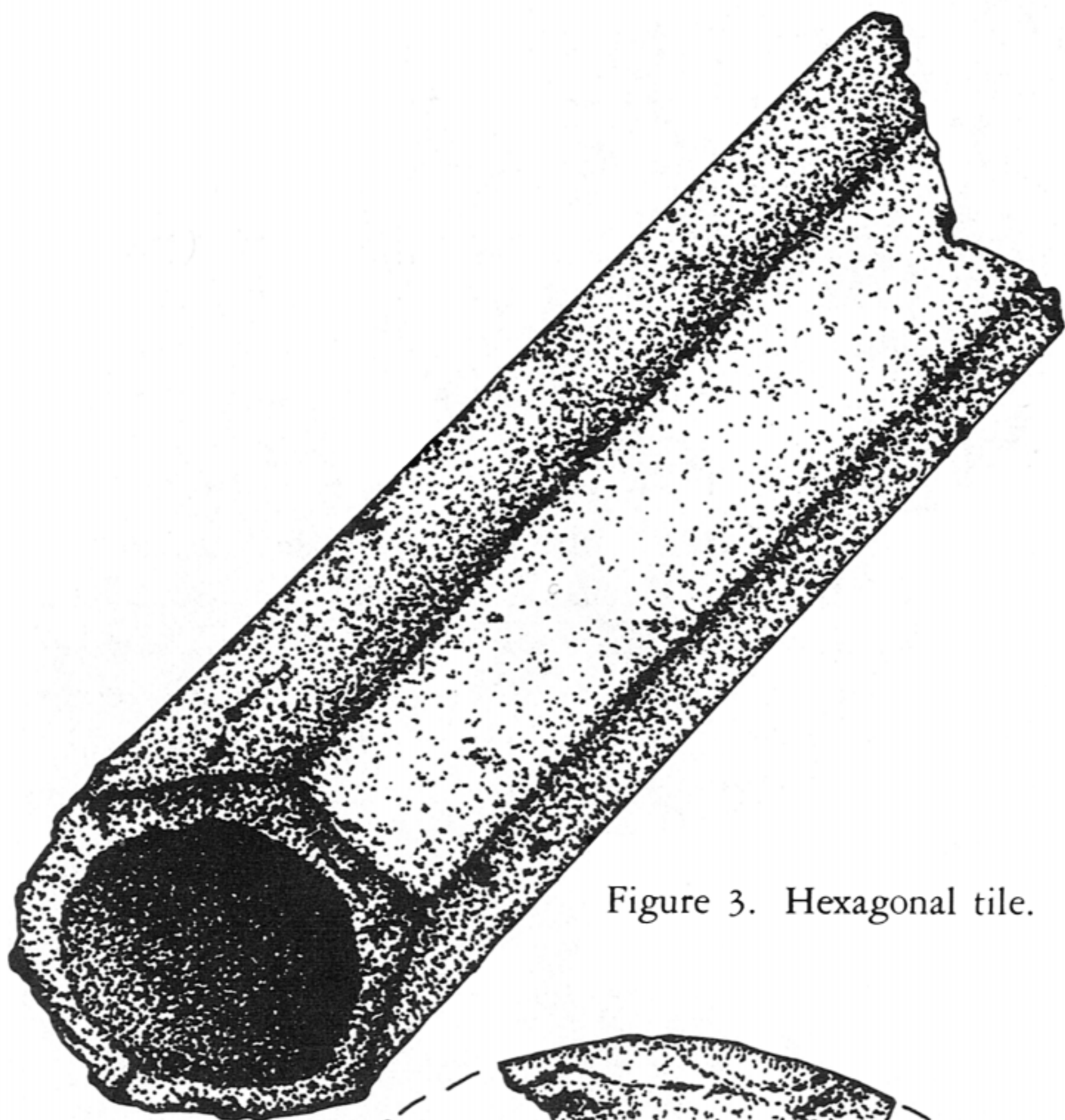


Figure 3. Hexagonal tile.

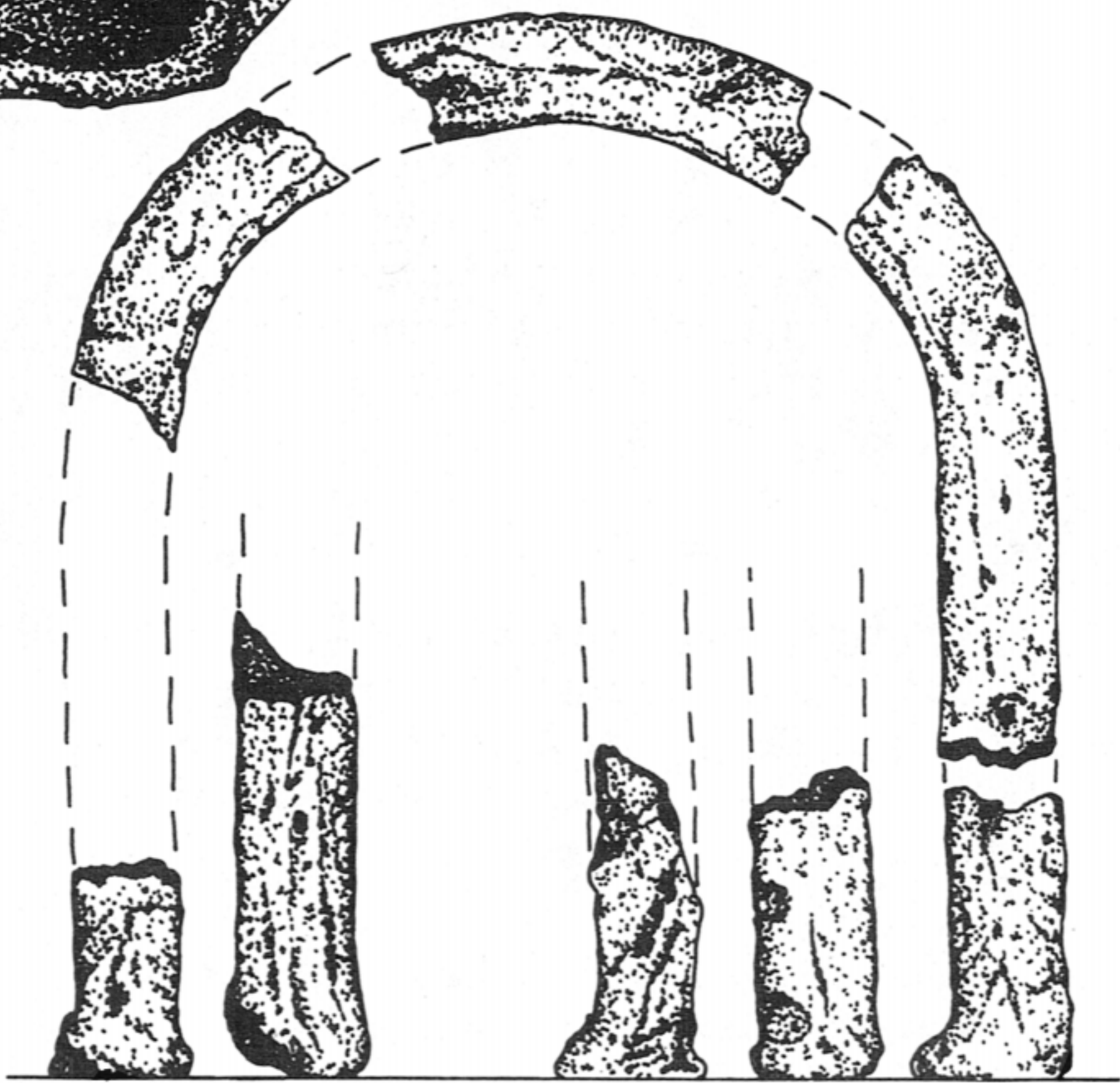


Figure 4. Horseshoe tile.

was that it would not roll out of place as would some round tiles.⁷

Horseshoe Tile.

A second type of drainage tile unearthed is of the Horseshoe type. The 128 drainage tile fragments of this style represent 6.1 percent of the total artifacts. In cross section, these tiles are similar in shape to that of a horseshoe, hence the name (Figure 4). The paste of Horseshoe tile found at the Whitmer site is a light red-orange color.

Striation along the sides of the tiles indicate that they had been manufactured by the extrusion method. Apparently different machines were used to mold these tiles. There are indications of the difference of these machines along the edges of the tile where there are different rim configurations. Some of the rims are straight, while others have slight lips of different shapes.

CERAMICS

Earthenware.

Earthenware is pottery made from natural clays producing natural-colored pastes, such as red, yellow, white and gray. Four types of earthenware are distinguished from the Peter Whitmer farm. These are Redware, Yellowware, Stoneware, and Whiteware. Vessel forms were not determined since the sherds were fragmented and unrestorable.

Redware: This type of ceramics is identified primarily by its red paste which looks like porous red brick in texture and color. However, it may vary according to the physical properties of the natural clay and firing techniques.

(1) Brown-glazed Redware has a red paste with a dark brown glass-like glaze. The glaze is thick in areas adjacent to relief scroll designs on the sherd. The upper surface relief areas appear lighter due to less glaze covering the surface while to the side the glaze is thicker and darker.

(2) Glazed-interior Redware has a brick red paste which is very porous. The outer wall of the vessels of this type have no surface treatment while the interiors are covered

⁷John Genung, Letter to Dr. Richard L. Anderson, 25 September 1969. Copy on file with the author.

with a dark-brown lead glaze or a light-brown or mottled light-green lead glaze.

(3) Salt-glazed Redware has a dark-brown glaze on the interior and exterior surfaces. The surfaces have been lightly salt-glazed to produce a slightly glossy surface. It does not have the glass-like surface of regular glazes; rather the surface is uneven like the surface of an orange. The paste is an orange-red color similar to the above described types.

Salt-glaze is an alkaline glaze produced by sprinkling salt on the vessels while they are in the kiln. When the kiln is at its maximum temperature, the salt is applied which, when volatilized, produces a coating of soda-glass.⁸ Salt glazes were used at least by the turn of the eighteenth century and by 1750 were widely used by Staffordshire potteries on stoneware.⁹ The early pieces were a drab shade of white.¹⁰

Yellowware: Pottery sherds of this type were characterized by their yellow to buff-colored pastes. Clear glazing on the surface of the vessels emphasized the yellow color of the paste.

Buff Yellowware found at the farm has a clear glaze over the buff to yellow-colored paste. The glaze is covered with little pits which gives the surface the appearance of an orange rind. The interior has been painted dark brown and has a plumbiferous glaze.

Stoneware: Vessels of Stoneware pottery are fired at high temperatures to vitrify the natural clay. The paste becomes very hard and turns a gray color. The paste looks like gray stone, hence the name. Stoneware from the Whitmer farm has a very light buff to light gray paste. The surface has been painted white and glazed with a clear alkaline glaze. The light colored paste is extremely hard and looks much like light limestone.

Whiteware: The paste of all whiteware types ranges from dirty white to brilliant white. It is vitreous and nonporous, which gives greater strength to the wall and, therefore, requires less wall thickness compared to some soft paste earthenwares. Whitewares are divided into two general categories—

⁸John Spargo, *Early American Pottery and China* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938), p. 43.

⁹Bernard and Therle Hughes, *A Picture History of English Pottery* (London: Hulton Press, 1956), p. 142.

¹⁰Hodgson, Willoughby (Mrs.), *How to Identify Old China* (G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1912), p. 25.

plain and decorated. Plain Whitewares do not have any additional above-surface decoration to the body other than a glaze. Decorated Whitewares have been additionally decorated with colored transfer prints, or hand painted. Most of the Whiteware sherds from the Peter Whitmer farm are Ironstone pottery.

The manufacture of Ironstone was begun in 1813 by Charles Mason. He used a combination of iron slag, flint, Cornwall stone and oxide of cobalt.¹¹ The earlier vessels are thicker and have a more yellow tint to the paste.¹²

A total of 58 Whiteware sherds were unearthed from the site. This number represents 2.8 percent of all artifacts recovered during the excavation. Whitewares of the types described were made of fine, dense clay and fired at high temperatures.

Plain Whitewares include the following types: Cream-colored type, White type, and Pearl type.

(1) Cream-colored Whiteware ceramics are characterized by its slight yellow hue which gives it a creamy white color. The sherds in this collection are from a small restricted cup (Figure 5a) and a non-restricted flaring bowl.

Ceramics with a cream-colored body have been produced since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first types had to be covered with a white slip and glazed until a whiter paste could be produced around 1720. Salt-glazed stoneware was gradually replaced as the cream-colored type grew in popularity.¹³

(2) White Whiteware has an almost pure white surface treatment. When compared to Cream-colored type or Pearl type, the distinct white of this type is readily obvious. The paste is vitreous white and after the biscuit has been fired, the only surface decoration needed is clear glazing to emphasize their pure white color. The sherds of this type are from small non-restricted, outflaring plates or bowls, possibly soup bowls.

(3) Pearl Whiteware was developed by tinting the Cream-

¹¹Thomas H. Ormsbee, *English China and Its Marks* (New York: Channel Press-Deerfield Editions Ltd., 1959), p. 78.

¹²Dale L. Berge, "Historical Archaeology in the American Southwest," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1968, p. 206.

¹³Donald C. Towner, *English Cream-Colored Earthenware* (London: Faber and Faber, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

colored or White types with cobalt which produced a pale bluish-gray surface color. It was perfected in 1779 by Josiah Wedgwood, who was the first manufacturer of this variety of Whiteware, which by the nineteenth century was imitated by many companies. Pearl type is coated with a colorless glaze and used mainly for table service.¹⁴

The sherds from the Peter Whitmer site are fragments of large, outflaring soup bowls and cups (Figure 5b). The bowls have a relief design molded into the biscuit prior to firing and glazing.

Decorated Whitewares include these sherds which have been decorated with transfer prints or by hand painting. These types include Transfer type, Painted type, Featheredge type, and Banded type.

(1) Transfer Whiteware ceramics usually had a design in one color; the most common color was blue. John Sadler and Guy Green invented the process of transfer-printing in 1752. It was not long before factories had the equipment to transfer-print their ceramics. The first vessels were transfer-printed in black, which was soon followed by dark blue. Variations of color were made possible by the use of thin-line shading in the early 1800s. These lines produced dark and light shades. Tone variations were improved after 1810 by the combination of lines and stipple.¹⁵

During the second half of the eighteenth century, black, blue, pink or brick-red on glaze transfers were popular. Late in the century, a brown and purple were added. Underglaze colors for printing of black, cobalt blue, brown and red were popular after 1880, but great quantities of blue vessels were used after 1810. Later a green and mulberry were added.¹⁶

Transfer Whitewares found at the Whitmer farm consist of four varieties: Blue, Purple, Brown and Green.

(a) Blue variety consists of plates and a bowl printed in floral motifs and scenes (Figures 5c-e). One blue sherd is a common decorative motif called Old Blue, which has a dark blue background with flowers in negative white (Figure

¹⁴Hughes, *Picture History*, p. 121.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁶Geoffrey Bemrose, *Nineteenth Century English Pottery and Porcelain* (New York: Pitman Publishing Company Corp., n.d.), p. 23.

5f). Other blue transfer-printed sherds are a lighter blue with stipple or line and stipple shading.

Very popular during the early nineteenth century was the Willow Pattern, a pseudo-Chinese motif. Very dark blue vessels of this pattern were favored by the American market between 1815-1830.

(b) Purple variety is a harsh purple color made late in the eighteenth century. The single sherd of this variety is a fragment of an outflaring bowl with a floral motif (Figure 6a).

(c) Brown variety sherds are shaded by stipple around a small floral motif. These sherds were part of an outflaring bowl (Figure 6b).

(d) Green variety has a portion of a possible structure in design. It is made by dots without shading of the design with lines or stipple (Figure 6c).

A common type of rim decoration used over the span of the nineteenth century commonly found in sites of this time period was featheredging (Figure 6d). One sherd of a feathered edge plate was found at the Peter Whitmer site.

Many vessels have rims painted with one or more bands while the center may have been transfer-painted or hand-painted with some design. One rim sherd was recovered which had a blue band along its rim (Figure 6e). It appears to have been part of a small outflaring bowl.

Two different types of hand-painted Colored Whiteware were unearthed in the log house area. These are Onglaze Polychrome type and Underglaze Polychrome type.

(1) Onglaze Polychrome ceramics are painted by hand on the surface of the glazed vessel (Figure 6f). The paint has to be applied after the firing of the glaze because such high temperatures are reached to vitrify the glaze, that some paints exposed to such temperatures would volatilize and disappear if applied prior to glazing.

The painted design does not reflect light like the smooth surface of the glaze does, and is in slight relief above the glaze.

Hand-painted pottery does not have the precise detail as found on transfer-printed or decalé vessels. The designs are not shaded and the brush strokes of the designs are clearly

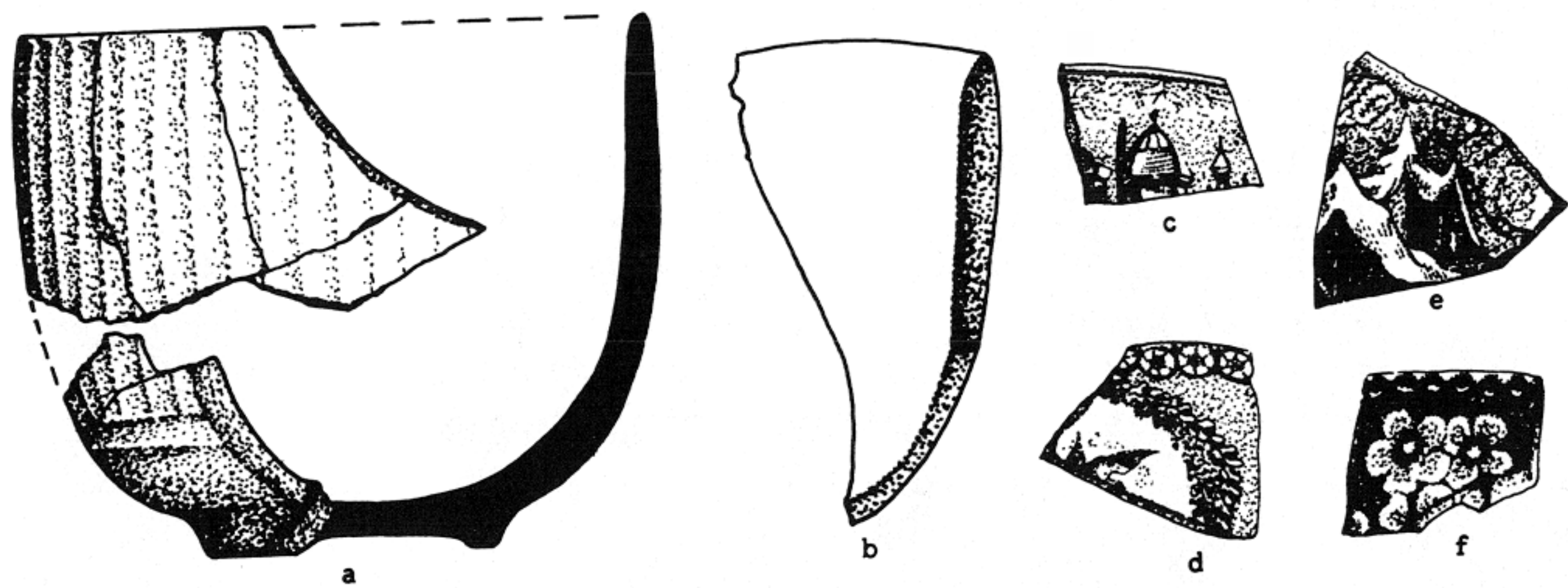


Figure 5. Whiteware pottery.

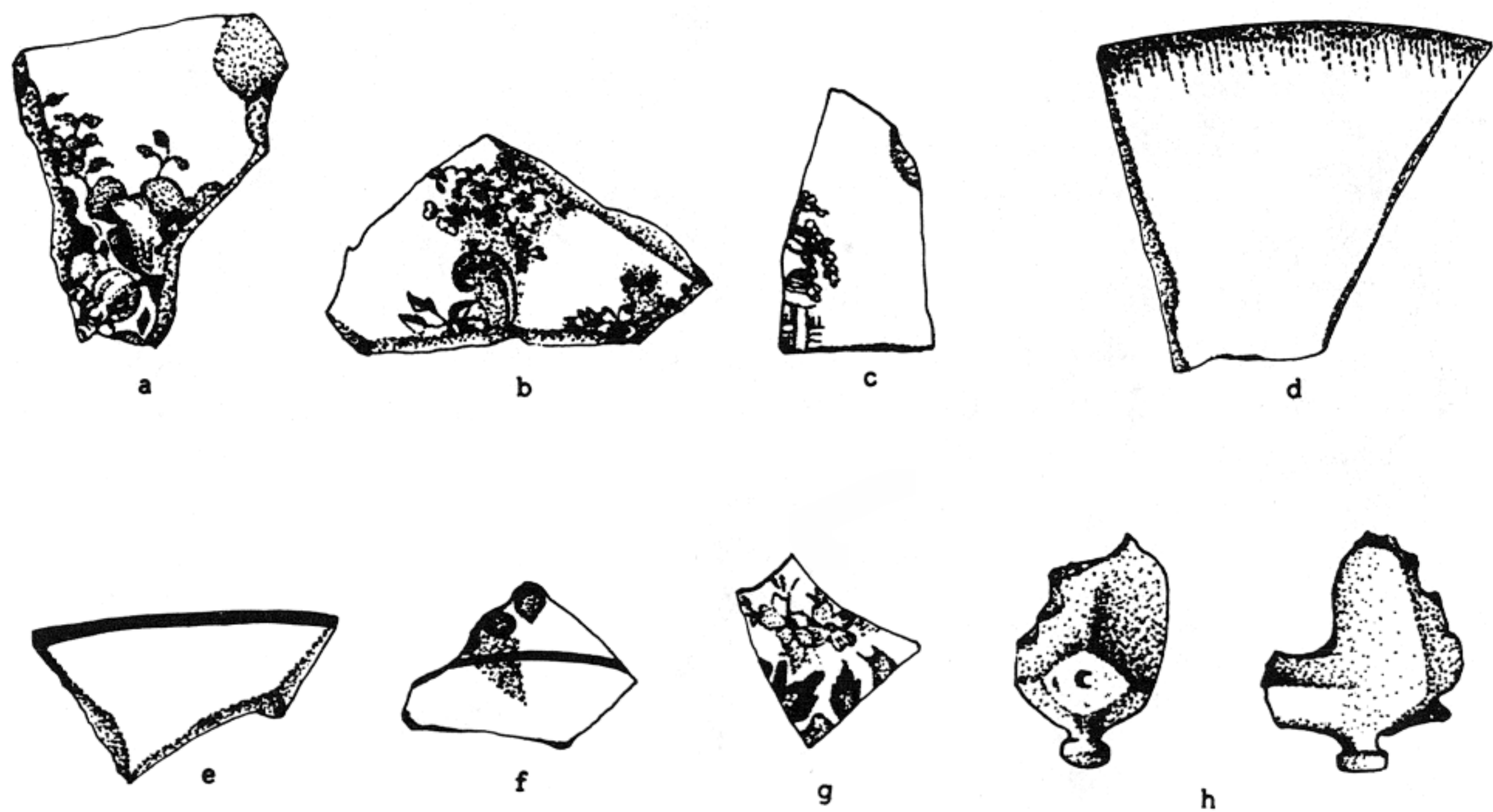


Figure 6. Whiteware pottery and pipe.

visible. The sherds of this type are painted in a floral motif along a band.

(2) Underglaze Polychrome sherds have a floral motif; red flowers with blue leaves. The design is hand painted underneath the glazed surface. The brush strokes can be seen in the design of the leaves which seem to be painted in one stroke of the brush. The brush is controlled by pressure to narrow or widen the design. The designs are not outlined or stippled as in transfer-printed or decal-printed vessels.

The boldly painted Whiteware appeared on the market from 1810 onwards. These vessels were painted in bright enamel colors to appeal to the working class.¹⁷ There was a great potential at that time for producing dinner services for the newly created industrial middle class.

Porcelain

Porcelain differs from Earthenware and Stoneware in that the clay is translucent and vitrified due to the extreme high temperatures at which it is fired. There are three main types of porcelain: hard-paste, soft-paste and glass. Glass porcelain is a mixture of kaolin clay and silica.

Hard-paste porcelain is made from white kaolin clay and fusible felspathic stone. On a fresh brick the paste is fine-grained, compact, and non-absorbent. All Chinese porcelain is this hard-paste type, and is the true "China" which is a term denoting its place of origin and too often misused when applied to all types of tableware.

Porcelain cannot be scratched with a knife; rather, the knife will leave black marks on the porcelain. Usually any decoration on porcelain is placed over the glaze since it would burn off at the extreme temperature in which the body is fired. The paste will appear uniform from the surface to surface because of the vitrification of the clay at high temperatures. The surface becomes non-absorbent due to the fusing that takes place during firing.

The importing of Chinese porcelain by England reached its climax between 1760 and 1780. After this, it gradually declined due to improvement of English porcelains, which are soft-paste types. In addition, the Chinese had shipped

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 9.

such large quantities that the market was flooded. Trade to the United States increased around 1800.¹⁸ The technology of making porcelain was not fully developed in the United States prior to 1900.

The porcelain from the Whitmer farm site is the hard-paste type porcelain. Most of the pieces are from a bowl decorated in a floral motif over the glaze (Figure 6g).

Clay Pipes.

Three fragments of white clay pipes were unearthed but none had manufacturer's marks. Two pieces were small, while the other was the fragment of a pipe bowl (Figure 6h).

GLASS

The early history of glass manufacturing in the United States is directly connected with that of England. English bottles, such as corboys and flasks filled with whiskey, were sent to the colonies. American glass manufacturing was discouraged in order to maintain a reliance on the "Mother Country." These early bottles were free blown.¹⁹

The first American glassmakers arrived in Jamestown in 1608 but this industry was short-lived. It was not until 1739, when Caspar Wistar of Salem County, New Jersey started a glasshouse, that glass manufacturing was a successful enterprise in the United States.

After the American Revolution, strict controls were no longer exercised on industry. Many glasshouses were started and several new manufacturing techniques were developed. The most important plants, which opened shortly after the Revolution, were that of the Stanger Brothers in 1781 in Glassboro, New Jersey; the Pitkin Glasshouse in 1783 in Connecticut; and, John F. Amelung's New Bremen Glass Works at Fredericktown, Maryland in 1784.

During this period of American history, people were proud of their newly formed country and extremely patriotic, as is revealed by the enormous quantities of historical flasks sold between 1820 and 1870. The most popular was the

¹⁸Anthony DuBouley, *Chinese Porcelain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1963), p. 110.

¹⁹Graydon L. Freeman, *Grand Old American Bottles: Descriptive Listing of Glass Bottle Types from Colonial Times to Present* (Watkins Glen, New York: Century House, 1964), pp. 15-20.

American eagle design, while second in sales was the George Washington flask.

With the glass industry in full bloom, diversification began to take place and new inventions produced to satisfy the demands of consumers. The bottles of this period were formed by open molds in which only the body was molded. The neck and finish had to be shaped by hand.

A common feature on ordinary utility bottles up to 1860 were "pontil" marks. This mark was found on the base of bottles and consisted of an area somewhat circular, rough, and sharp where a glass rod had once been attached to maintain control while hand-making the finish or spout. At times, some attempt was made to polish the sharp mark off.

There was little concern over the color of glass until food-stuffs began to be bottled. Then people desired to see what was in the bottle, so glass had to be made lighter. Dark olive-green, or black glass, was common up to 1860. It began to be replaced by clearer and lighter-colored wares after the patenting of John Mason's fruit jar in 1858.

Clear Glass.

Most of the 272 fragments of clear glass from the Whitmer site date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of this total there was one whole bottle, one bottle handle, 14 finish fragments, 6 fragments of Mason Jar tops, 25 base pieces, 18 plate glass pieces, one piece of pressed glass, and 206 body fragments. Practically all of the clear glass were bottle fragments.

The pressed-glass plate fragment has a wall thickness of three-tenths of an inch. The pressed-glass technique was developed in the 1820s, and at this time the wall was thick-producing a heavy plate. The earliest pressed plates range from one-fourth to one-half inch thick.²⁰ The fragment found at the Peter Whitmer farm site is similar to an early plate illustrated by McKearin (1966, plate 133, no. 1). The most distinguishing factor of the fragment is the heart motif along the rim of the dish (Figure 7a).

The whole bottle found during the excavation is a small rectangular medicine bottle (Figure 7b). It stands 2 7/8

²⁰George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966), p. 337.

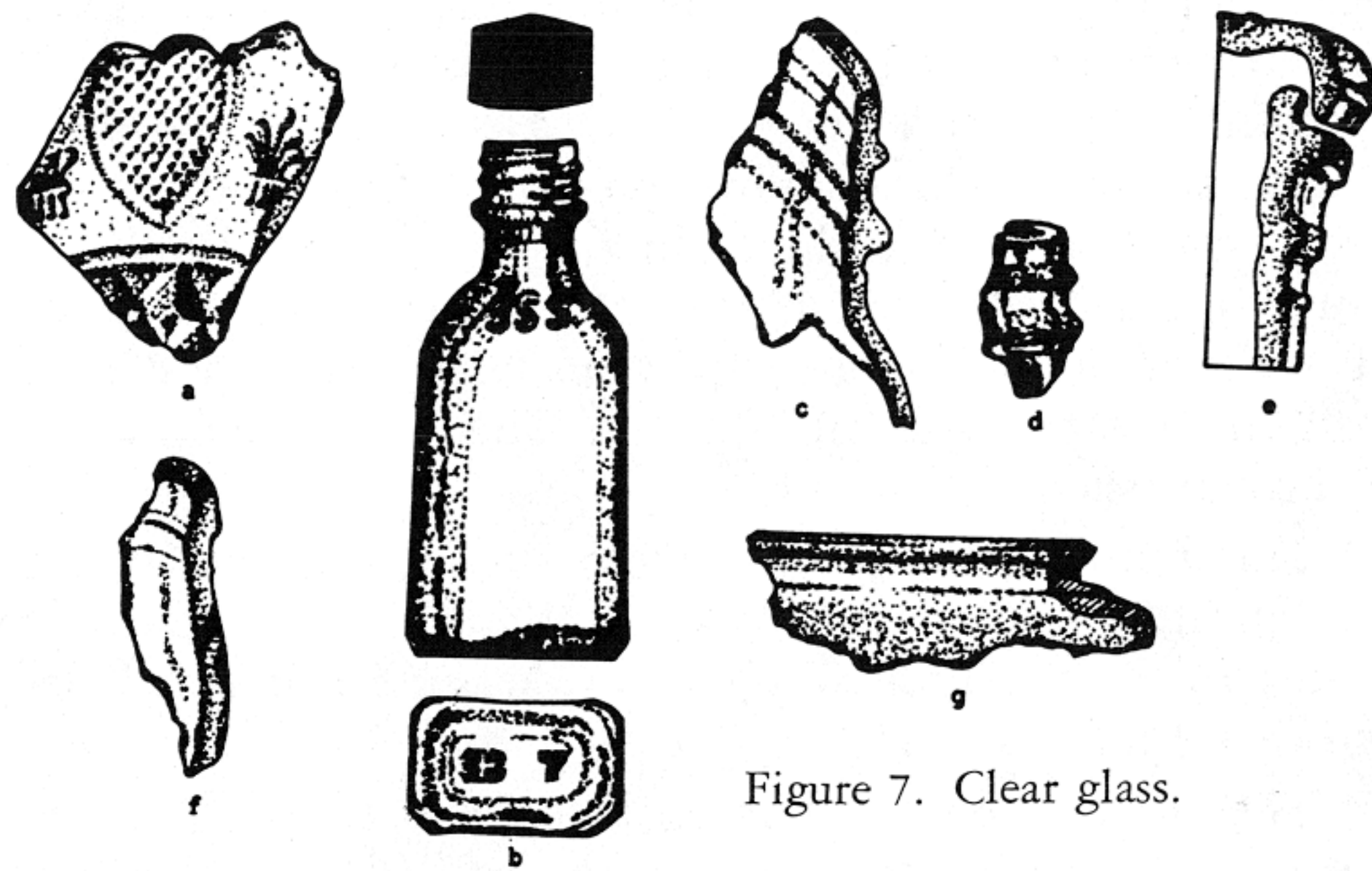


Figure 7. Clear glass.

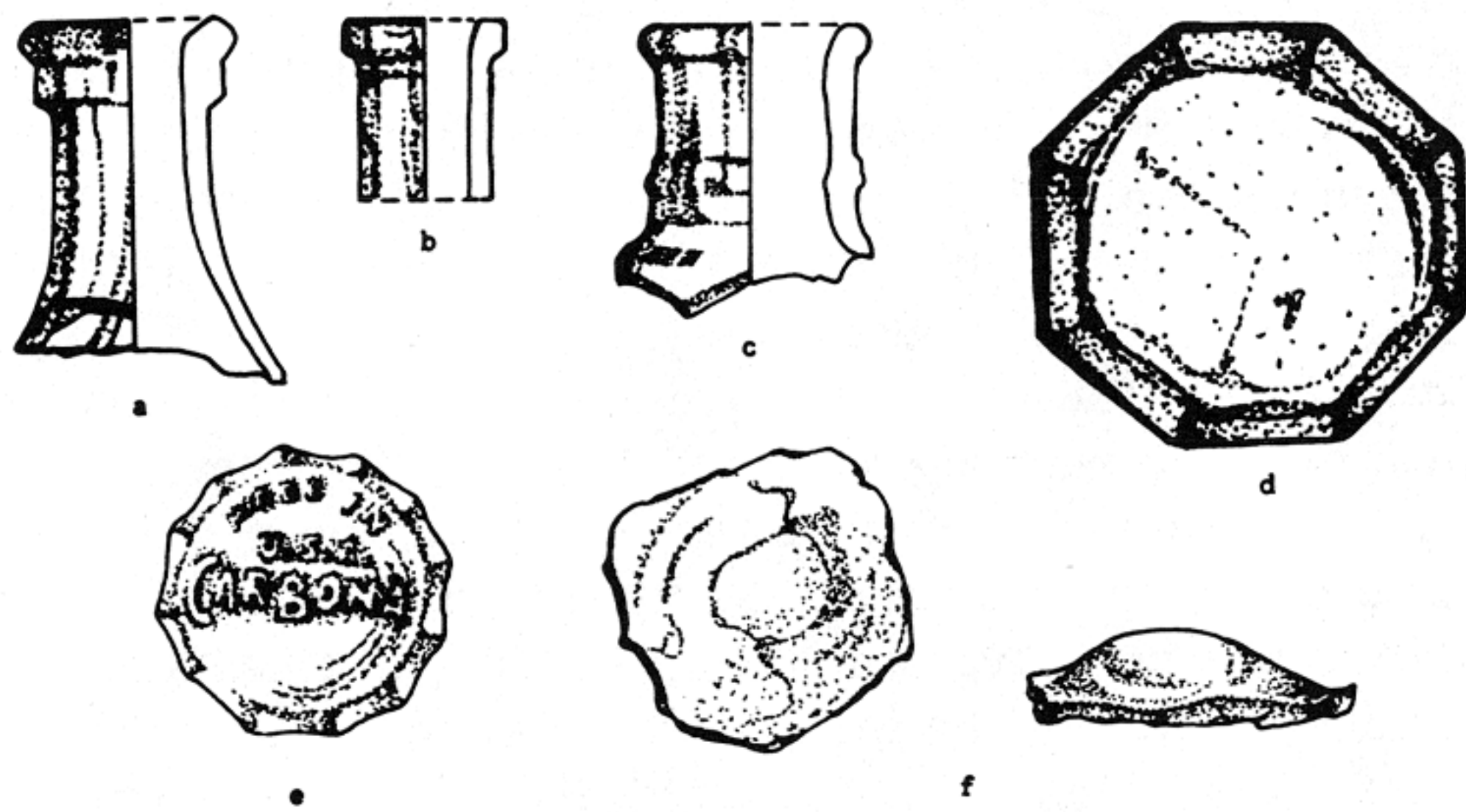


Figure 8. Bottle finishes and bases.

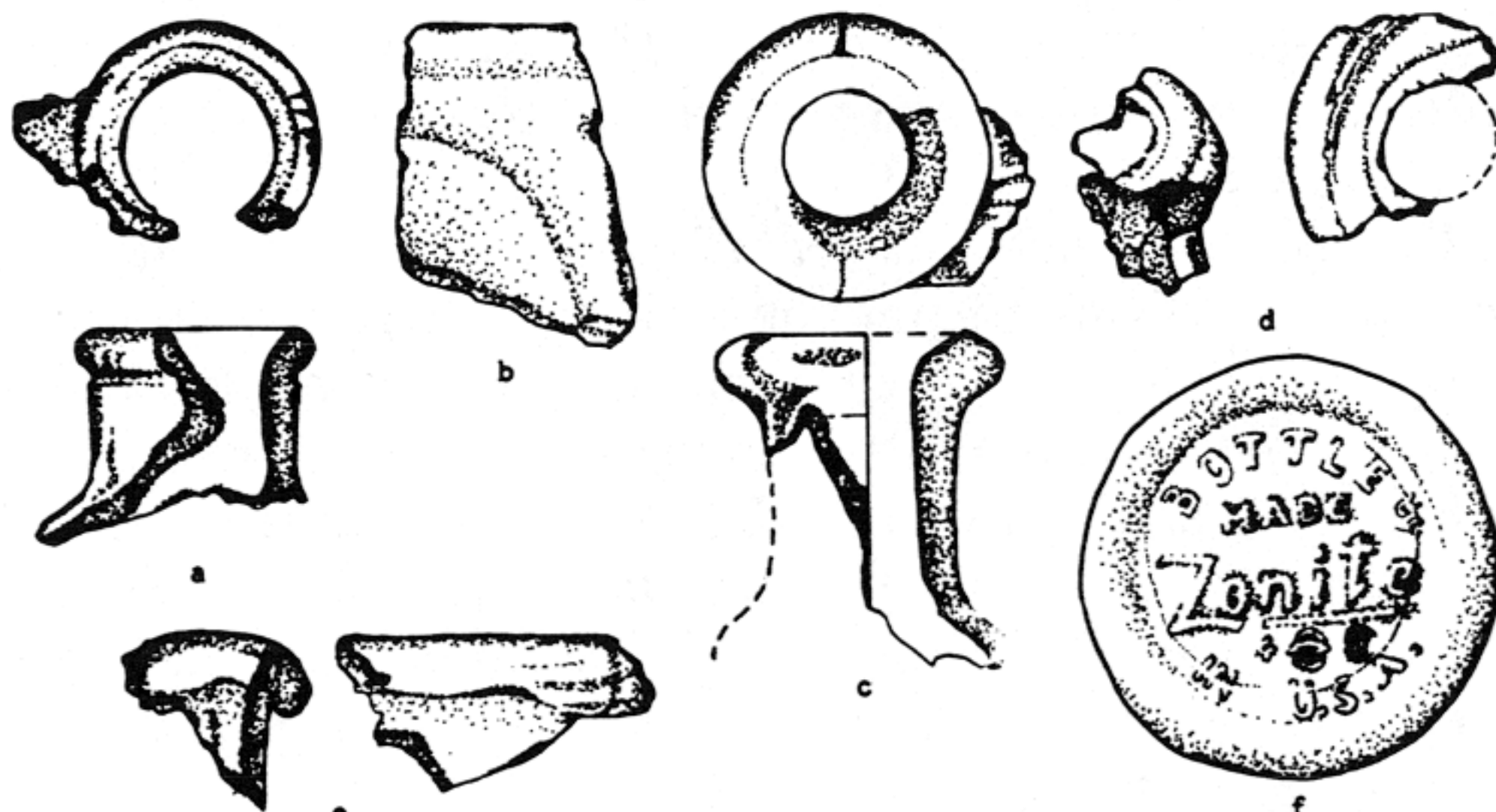


Figure 9. Bottle finishes and bases.

inches high; $1 \frac{3}{16}$ inches long; and $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. On the shoulder is the mark "355" and on the base is "38 7" or "3B 7." The bottle was made in an Owens automatic bottle machine, as indicated by mold marks on the base and the mold seams which extend to the sealing surface of the finish. The finish has a screw thread $\frac{3}{32}$ of an inch apart and a bore of $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch. The cap is made of plastic and on the inside is a capital "B" in a circle. The cap tightens securely to a collar below the threads.

This bottle is relatively modern since the Owens machine was invented in 1903. The capital "B" in a circle is the trademark of the Brockway Glass Company, Brockway, Pennsylvania, founded in 1907.

The various bottle finishes manufactured of clear glass are of three basic types: (1) threaded; (2) pressure seals; and, (3) cork stopped. The threaded closures appear to be pieces of a Mason jar (Figure 7c) and a catsup bottle (Figure 7d). Both have continuous mold seams up to the sealing surface, indicating manufacture by the automatic bottle machine.

The pressure-sealed bottle's finishes are of the lightening type (Figure 7e) and Sure Seal type (Figure 7e-f). The lightening closure seals the lid—in this case a glass lid—securely down over the outside rim of the finish. A wire lever is used to put pressure on the lid to seal it down tight. To release pressure all one has to do is lift the wire lever. The Sure Seal closure was invented in 1908. The glass container was sealed by crimping the lid over the outside of the finish and over a glass edge. When removed, the crimped edge buckled and could not be resealed.

The cork-stopped bottle's finishes were manufactured with an automatic bottle machine also. They appear to be medicine bottles (Figure 8a-b), and possibly a shoe-polish bottle (Figure 8c).

The recovered bottle bases are oval, rectangular, octagonal, and round in shape. Approximately half have the characteristic indented ring produced by the Owens Automatic Bottling Machine. The octagonal base is the bottom of a catsup bottle marked with an embossed "7" (Figure 8d). It is impossible to determine what types of uses the other bottles may have had. All of the clear glass bottles seem to date to the turn of the twentieth century or later.

Light-Blue and Light-Green Glass.

Six percent of 126 fragments of the artifacts unearthed at the site belong to this category. The following types of light-blue and green glass were found: 5 bottle bases; 5 bottle finishes; 2 tumbler rims; 2 electric insulator fragments; 2 Mason jar lid pieces; 55 pieces each of plate glass and bottle bodies.

The five bottle bases span a considerable length of time. The newest is that of a "Carbona" bottle (Figure 8e). The next two samples representing an earlier time period are light-blue and mold-brown. One is rectangular with an indented circle in the middle. The other is 14-sided with no distinguishing features or marks. The oldest base is from a round bottle which has a distinct pontil mark (Figure 8f).

Two of the five finishes represent early twentieth century types (Figure 9a). One is a small orifice bottle, possibly for medicine, and the other is a fruit jar. Another is a crudely made mold type finish (Figure 9b) and one was manufactured by folding the lip over the outside of the finish (Figure 9c).

Rim and body fragments of a light-blue pressed-glass tumbler were found. It was decorated with parallel symmetrical arches (Figure 9d).

Dark-Green Glass.

Dark-green glass is represented by 25 sherds of what was probably an olive-green wine bottle.

Dark-Brown Glass.

Dark-brown glass fragments were mostly body parts, but there was one finish (Figure 9c) and one base (Figure 9f). This glass dates to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

NAILS

Square Cut Nails.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century, over a hundred patents pertaining to cut nails had been applied for.²¹ Artifacts from the Peter

²¹Bernard L. Fontana et. al., "Johnny Ward's Ranch: A Study in Historic Archaeology," *The Kiva*, Journal of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society, vol. 28, nos. 1-2, 1962, p. 45.

Whitmer farm consisted of 217, or 10.4 percent, square nails. Most of these, or 182 to be exact, were either broken, or so badly corroded with rust, that their size could not be determined. Of the remaining 35, there were 5 40d nails (Figure 10a), three 20d nails (Figure 10b), fifteen 12d nails (Figure 10c), eight 9d nails (Figure 10d), and four 4d nails (Figure 10e). The larger nails, including the 9d through 40d nails, are probably framing nails for the walls, floor and roof. The 4d nails were very likely used for lathe work, if present, and shingling.

The presence of both framing and shingling nails suggests that there was some type of structure on this location. If this were a dump, one might expect a greater diversity of the nail sizes which are found on a farm.

Round Wire Nails.

The wire nail business had its beginnings sometime before 1875, but it was not until 1895 when the manufacturers of wire nails formed an association that the wire nail began to grow in popularity.²²

Several different sizes of wire nails were found at the Whitmer farm site. There was one 60d nail (Figure 11a), one 40d nail (Figure 11b), fourteen 20d nails (Figure 11c), nine 16d nails (Figure 11d), ten 12d nails (Figure 11e), forty-one 9d nails (Figure 11f), six 7d nails (Figure 11g), one 4d nail (Figure 11h), and six 3d nails (Figure 11i). Included in this category are four flat-head roofing nails (Figure 11j).

Wire nails represent 7.1 percent of the total artifacts recovered. Sixty of these were so badly oxidized that their size could not be determined accurately. A greater number of round wire nails were less corroded than square nails, possibly because the square nails were exposed to corrosion in the ground longer than the round nails.

Staple Nails.

Staple nails are U-shaped, and are used for nailing wire or fencing to a post. Sixteen staple nails were recovered representing three different sizes (Figure 10f-h). Only one example of each of the larger and smaller of these three sizes was found.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.



Figure 10. Square nails and staple nails.



Figure 11. Round nails.

WIRE

A great many fragments of wire were retrieved from the site. Most of this wire was highly deteriorated by oxidation. In all, 306 pieces of wire were counted, while 32 fragments were distinguishable as wire types.

Six sections of Burnell's Four-Point wire were included among the wire found (Figure 12a). This type of wire was "patented on June 19, 1877, by Arthur S. Burnell of Marshalltown, Iowa."

"Probably this is the most successful of the four-point, double-strand varieties of barbed wire. Each of the barbs 'passes over a strand of the cable, then between its strands—wherefrom the points of the wire project as from a center.' This wire might be referred to a 'four-point-two around, two between and opposite.' "

The wire was made by the 'Iowa Barb Wire Company,' sometimes called 'Iowa Barb Fence Company,' and sometimes also 'The Barb Steel Wire Company.' Home office was in Marshalltown, Iowa, and branch offices were in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and New York City."²³

Another early variety of barbed wire found at the site is a type called "The Winner" (Figure 12b). Patented on 24 November 1874, by Joseph F. Glidden of De Kalb, Illinois.

"This simple barb twisted into a double-strand wire was known even in the nineteenth century as 'The Winner.' It was winner in the long litigation over priorities, and was winner too in sales competition. Modern styles of domestic barbs differ little from the Glidden invention."²⁴

Other varieties of wire were found but the material was so fragmented and badly rusted that identification was impossible. These types included a single strand wire that is similar to the Jayne-Hill barbed wire (Figure 12c-d). This type was "patented on April 11, 1876, by William H. Jayne and James H. Hill of Boone, Iowa."

"The single four-point wire barbs of this patent were applied to single strands 'in such a way the (U) bend of each piece . . . (locked) between the arms of the other piece . . . clamping each other firmly and securely to the said fence

²³Henry D. and Francis T. McCallum, *The Wire That Fenced the West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 251.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 244.

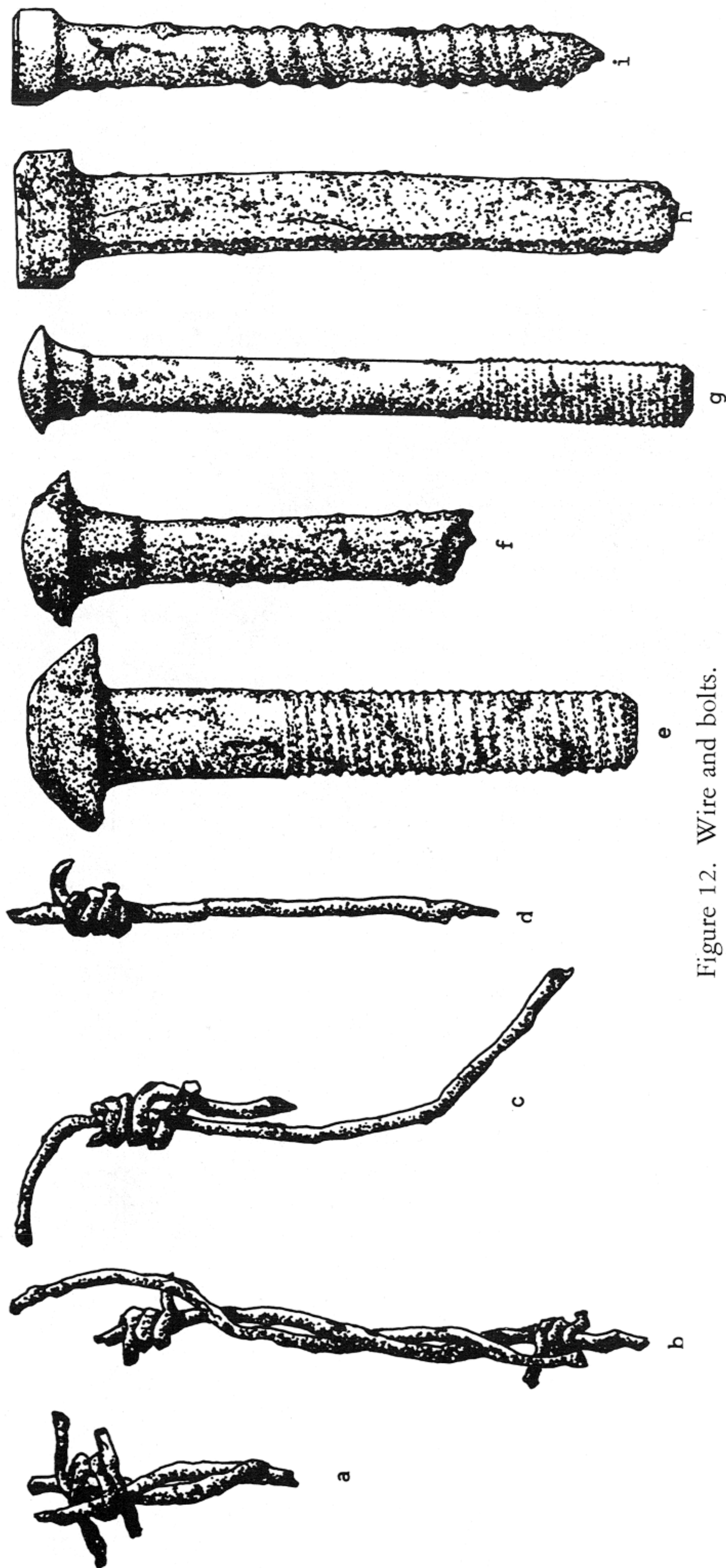


Figure 12. Wire and bolts.

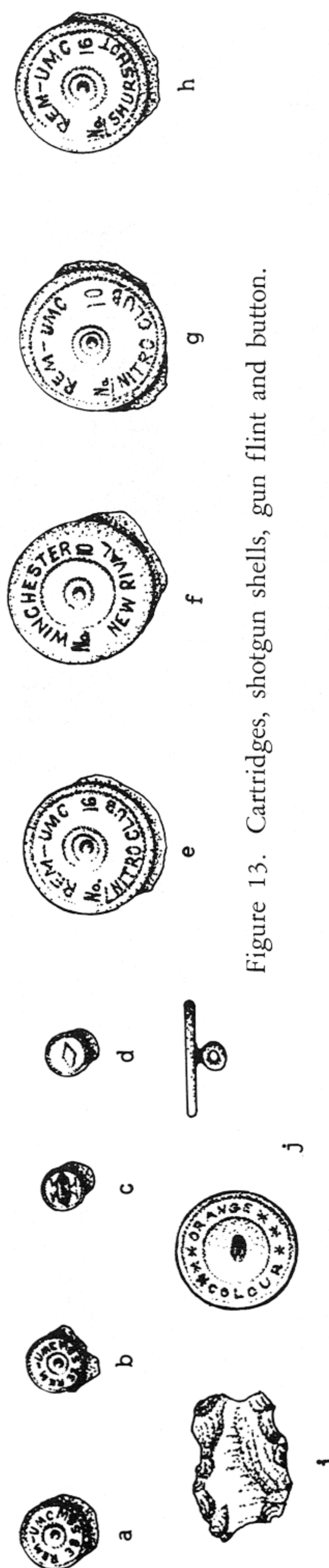


Figure 13. Cartridges, shotgun shells, gun flint and button.

wire, and leaving four points projecting in opposite directions.' ''²⁵

Several wire loops were unearthed which belonged to a type of mesh fence wire held together by wire loops. The wire loops were placed at the cross sections of the wire.

CARTRIDGES

In addition, several cartridge shells were found which included .38 S&W (Figure 13a), .32 S&W (Figure 13b), and .22 shells (Figures 13c). Shotgun shells included 16 gauge and 10 gauge sizes.

Both .22 cartridges are of the rimfire type while the .32 and .38 cartridges are the external centerfire types. The internal centerfire cartridge was first made in the late 1850s and ceased to be produced in the early 1890s.²⁶ The external centerfire cartridge became popular around the 1860s, particularly in the British Army.²⁷ Rimfire cartridges were first introduced in 1845 and used on the Flobert BB Cap .22. Smith and Wesson developed a .22 Short in 1857.²⁸

"REM-UMC" appears on both the .32 and .38 cartridges. The Union Metallic Cartridge Company was founded in 1867 and merged with Remington Arms Company in 1902.²⁹ Three shotgun shell cases had this mark also (Figures 13g and h). The other shotgun shell case is marked "Winchester," which is the mark of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company founded in 1866.³⁰

ANGLE IRON

The angle iron consisted of two right-angled pieces of metal probably used for securing and strengthening corners.

OTHER METAL ARTIFACTS

A variety of metal objects were recovered, most of which were badly rusted and broken in small fragments. These objects consisted of carriage bolts (Figures 12e-i), spikes, strap metal, can fragments, and slag.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁶Berge, "Historical Archaeology," p. 213.

²⁷Frank C. Barnes, *Cartridges of the World* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1965), p. 301.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 271.

²⁹Herschel C. Logan, *Cartridges* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), p. 8.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 9.

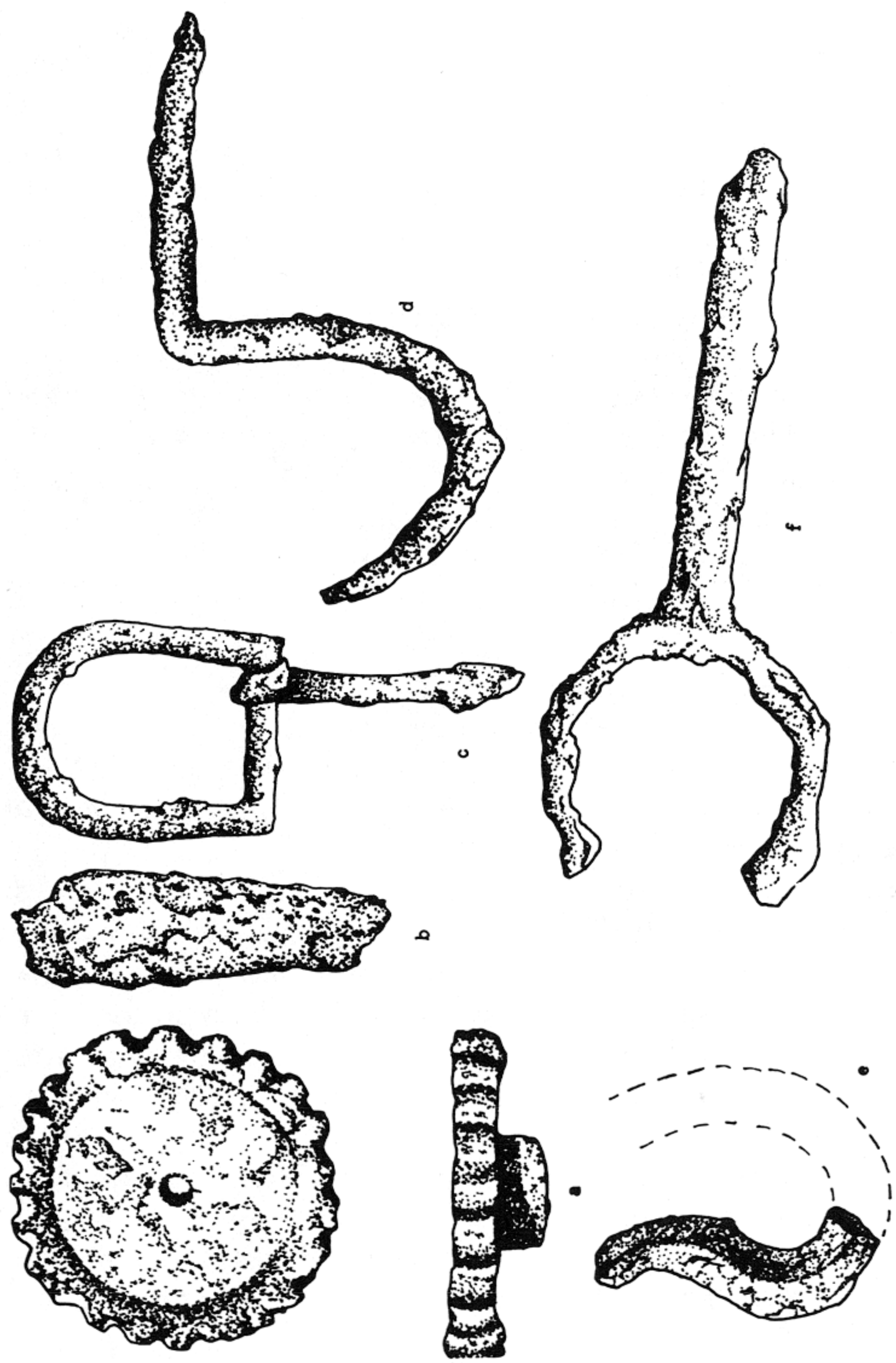


Figure 14. Miscellaneous metal.

There is a wide range of items of which only one was found. There were 56 such objects in this category. Included among these were chains, bricks, a brass button (Figure 13j), a valve handle (Figure 14a), a metal ring, a knife blade (Figure 14b), a harness buckle (Figure 14c), a hook hanger (Figure 14d), wagon parts, a hook end (Figure 14e), an oar lock (Figure 14f), a tire iron, a U-bolt, a clay marble, a mower blade (Figure 15a), a hammer head (Figure 15b), a large hoop (Figure 15c) and a pitchfork spike (Figure 15d).

MISCELLANEOUS

In this category are included such objects as battery posts, coal, cement, gun flints (Figure 13i), and shells.

There were 110 bones and 22 teeth found at the Whitmer farm site. The bones represented a variety of animals, possibly including horses, pigs, sheep and birds. Also, there was a completely articulated dog burial found.

SUMMARY

In the area excavated, a little over 83 percent of the artifacts recovered were found within the confined area where the stone foundation was discovered. The distribution of cobble stones (foundation stones), drainage tile and coal was restricted to this same area (Figure 16). The artifacts were limited in space to the foundation area as seen in Figures 17a and b. A cross-section along a north-south line reveals that there was a heavy concentration of artifacts in the log cabin area while those areas north and south diminish in quantity to relatively no artifacts. The squares along an east-west line reveal the same phenomenon. This heavy concentration of artifacts illustrates that some type of human activity took place in this confined area.

Of the 2,084 artifacts unearthed at the site, few would be out of place in a habitation area. Objects such as wagon parts, a pitch fork spike, a mower blade and such, may belong more in a barn than in the living area, but on the other hand, the abundance of pottery, glass and other artifacts suggests that this area was not a barn or some type of shed. Likewise, this was probably not a trash dump since there is a uniformity of household items recovered, rather than a cross section of artifacts representing a broader perspective of farm life.

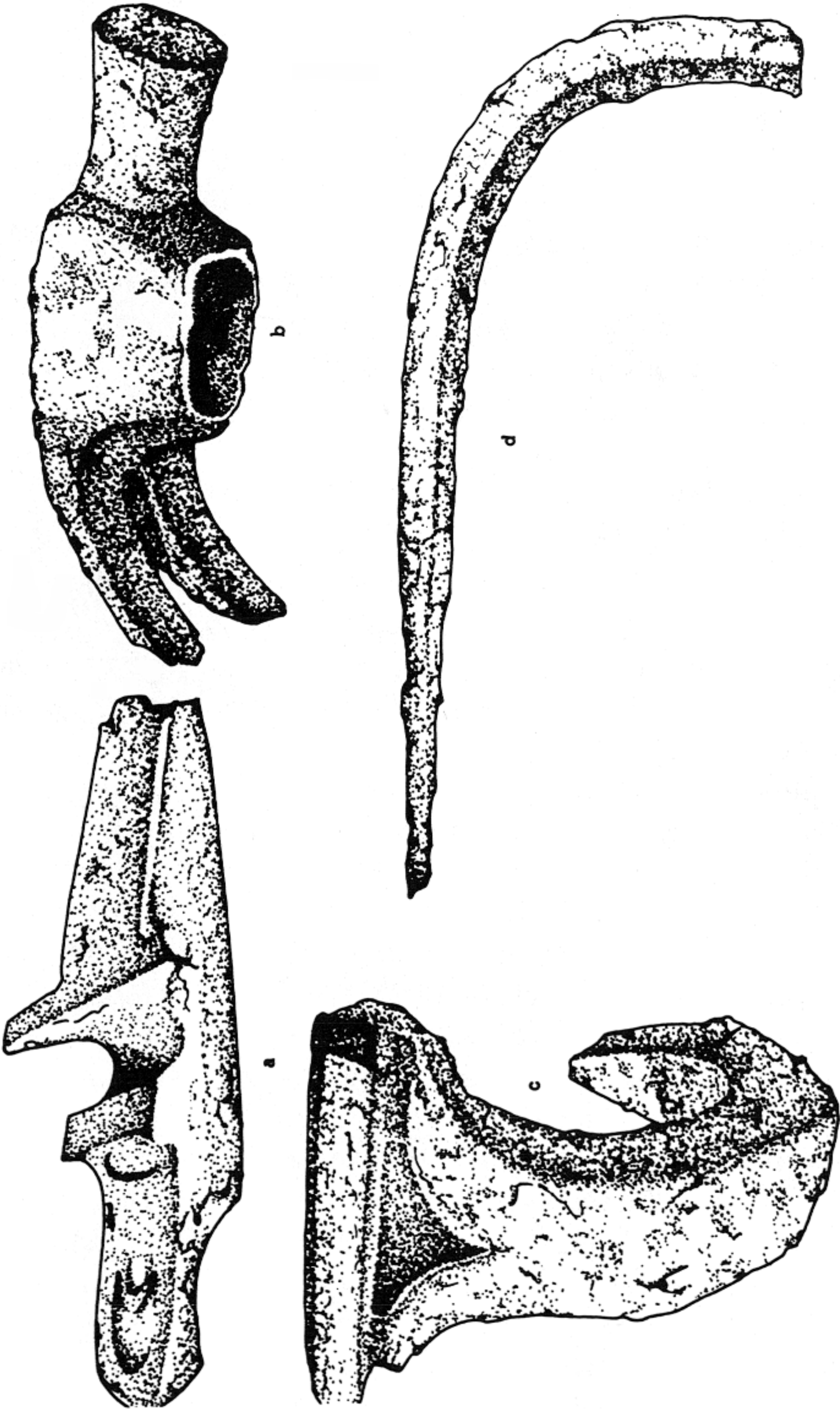


Figure 15. Metal artifacts.

In summary, the artifacts suggest that it is more likely that the area in question was a habitation area than a barn, corn crib, or trash dump. Very little dating information is available from the artifacts to be specific as to the periods of actual occupation. Most of the artifacts that could usually be used for tight dating control were so fragmented that only a very general time range could be established. The artifacts date from the early nineteenth century into the twentieth century. Some of the artifacts, like the bottles with mold seams over the rim, date to the twentieth century, while the one with a pontil mark was used in the first half of the nineteenth century. The square nails could date to most of the nineteenth century and the round nails to after the turn of the present century.

CONCLUSIONS

There are three sources from which to establish the approximate location of the log house where the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized. These are (1) the historical accounts; (2) the description of the caretakers along with the actual discovery of a foundation; and, (3) the archaeology.

The historical accounts of the 1820s and 1830s plus those recorded by interviews with persons at later times who remembered events on the farm, and by diaries of later visitors to the site, give a fairly clear description of the type of structure in which the organization took place. Through the years, several Mormons have returned to the Peter Whitmer farm and have been shown the site of the log house by various owners and caretakers. These early investigators indicate that the location of the site ranges from south to south-west of a large barn. Even though the barn was destroyed in 1959, there was enough data available to determine the location of the barn and, therefore, the approximate site of the log house.

The second source of information was provided by one of the caretakers himself, William Lee Powell, who had farmed the land after the Church had purchased the property. He was the resident farmer between 1946 and 1952, and discovered a foundation and recorded its precise location from fixed points on the farm. The stone alignment formed a rectangle 20 by 30 feet.

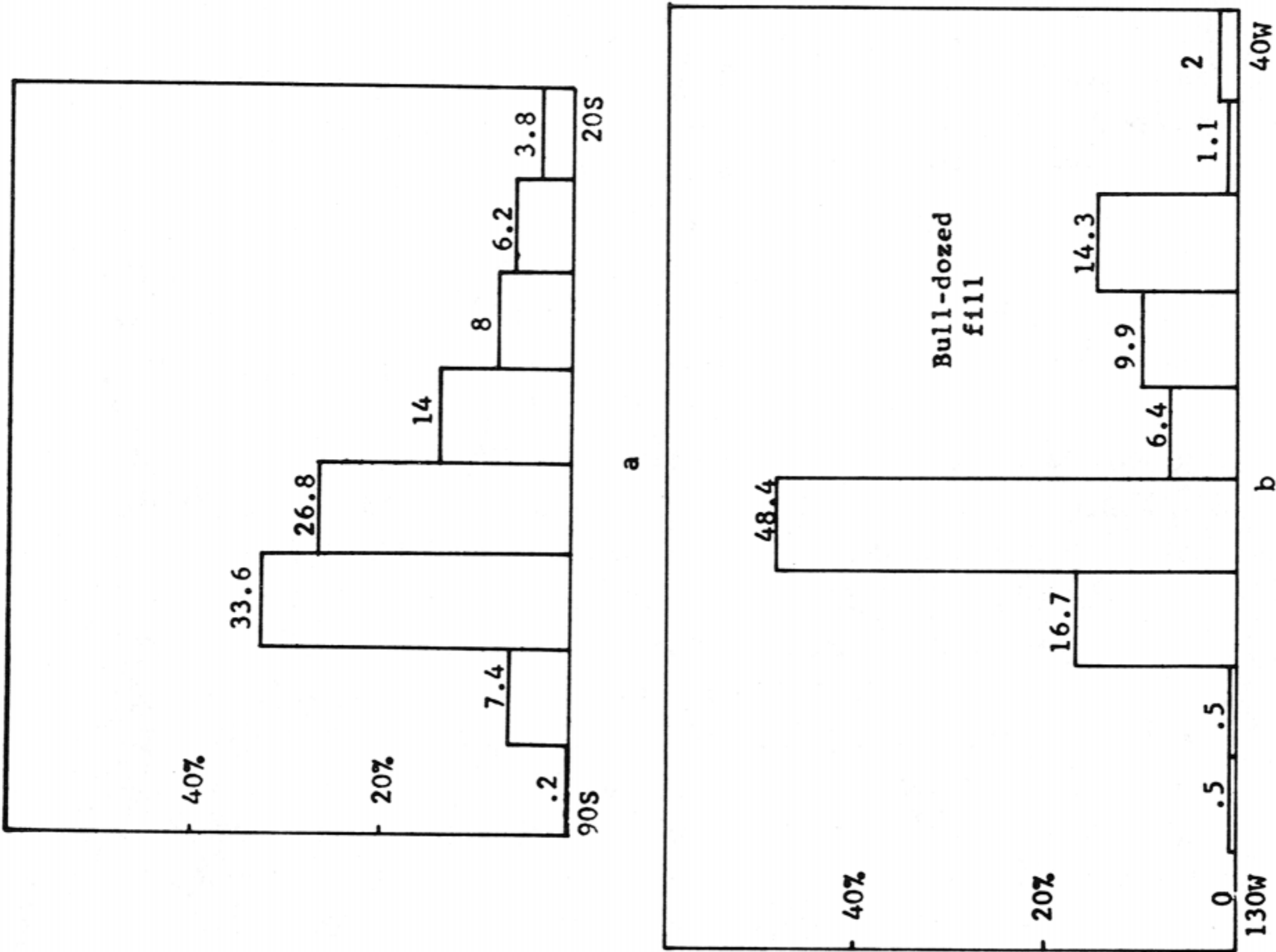


Figure 17. Percentage of artifacts across the site.

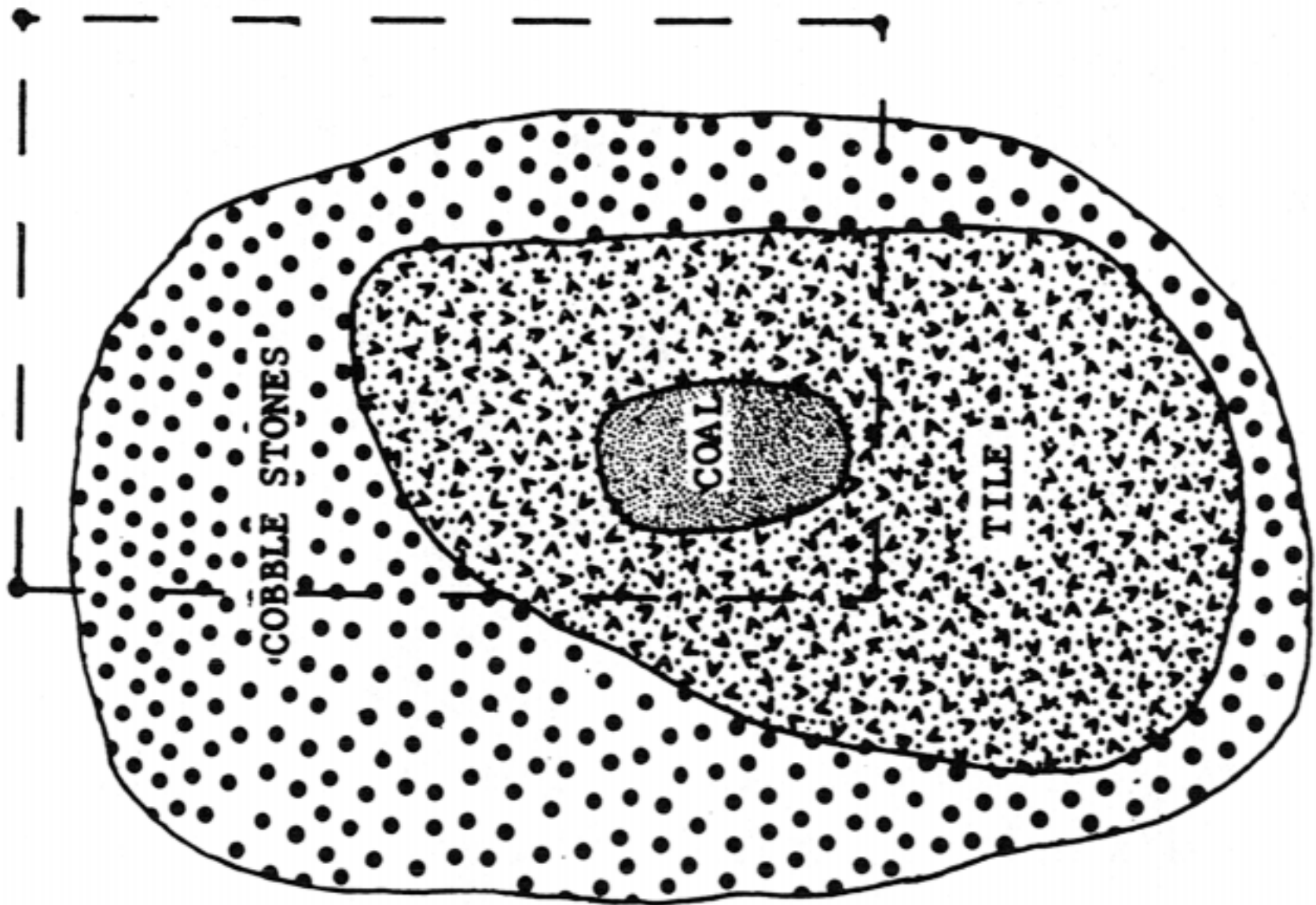


Figure 16. Horizontal distribution of certain artifacts.

These two sources provide us with a suggestion of what Peter Whitmer's log house looked like. It was one and one-half stories high, probably 20 by 30 feet overall, with one room 20 by 20 feet and one room 10 by 20 feet on the ground level, with stairs leading to an attic-loft.

The purpose of the archaeological excavations was to substantiate the historical sources by locating the site of Peter Whitmer's log house. Even though the foundation had been removed, the artifacts recovered from the site were distributed in such a way that they outlined the location of the site. The various types of artifacts, whether studied individually or as a group, were confined to a specific area. Remnants of foundation stones, nails, glass, wire, pottery, tile, and other artifacts were distributed in an area approximately 30 by 40 feet and in nearly the same area pointed out by Mr. Powell. As our trenches were excavated away from the area, the artifacts, including cobble stones, dramatically disappeared. Some type of structure must have occupied this location. If it had been a barn, corral, corn crib, tool shed or some other type of farm structure, one would expect a completely different assemblage of artifacts than was unearthed. We found fragmented pieces of bottle glass, ironstone and porcelain dishes, shell cartridges, drainage tile, square nails, and coal. Most of these artifacts reflect domestic use.

There is one problem which cannot be answered: If the log house was torn down before 1888, why do artifacts dating to after this date appear at the site? There are probably many plausible explanations, but none which are conclusive. It does not seem that the location of these artifacts distributed in the exact location of earlier artifacts was arbitrary. Possibly the building was not completely destroyed since remnants of it were still present in 1959. Maybe it was used later than 1888, or at least a portion of it.

If this log house is ever restored it might look like the one described by Willers in 1880.³¹ It would be a structure constructed of approximately 40 logs notched at the corners to strengthen the walls. The floor would be made of hand-hewn lumber. Overhead would be cross beams and rafters hand-

³¹Diedrich Willers, Jr., *The Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's Campaign Against the Iroquois in 1779* (Waterloo, New York: Waterloo Library and Historical Society, 1880), pp. 48-53.

sawn roofboards covered with either a split-shingle roof or bark roof. There would be an open fireplace with a big pole and trammel, while alongside was probably a bake-oven. The thick log walls would most likely be plastered with mud to keep out the cold.

Furniture and equipment which adorned the cabin might consist of wooden hooks, from which were suspended flint lock rifles, a shot gun and a musket. Along with these weapons there would be a shot powder-horn, bullet-pouch, and shot-bag. Shelves would contain plates and platters and cups of pewter, and pottery of various types. In a corner there would be a wooden water-bucket with a gourd for drinking water. In the fireplace would hang iron pots and kettles for cooking. Also, bake kettles, skillets and spiders, a gridiron, a toasting iron, ladles, skimmers, a toasting fork, fire dogs or andirons, and a heavy shovel and tongs would be present. There might be a wooden bread trough for kneading bread dough, along with a braided straw bread-basket. In another part of the house there could be a flax wheel and hatchel, and perhaps bed-warming pans. From the beams there might hang strings of dried apples, pumpkins, or other food stuffs.

It is hoped that the Mormon Church will maintain the present house as an information center to describe the events that took place on the Peter Whitmer farm. The log house should be constructed as it was originally built, as it would be a thrilling and educational experience if the visitor could also open the door to the log house and step into the year 1830.

Uncle Heber Kissed Me

MARIE L. MYER*

Uncle Heber was coming. We were tired of waiting. We had been at Grandma's since ten, sitting fidgety in our new dresses. Sister Tuttle made them for us. I never could remember her name; I thought perhaps it was Tunnel, bringing up a long, dark, cool image with me through the years. Then I knew that tunnel was only the remembering word, and that it really was Tuttle, sharp and crisp, like that. Like a thimble rapping you on the head, maybe, or eating peanut brittle. The dresses were red, and hung in the closet for years after, even when we weren't little girls anymore, they hung there. One had strawberries on the top, "For the baby," Sister Tuttle said. "And the cherries for brown-eyed Marie, and the peaches for Carolyn, the oldest."

Now it was nearly noon, and the hot Dixie sun wheeled higher in the sky, sending its rays slicing across the sky when we squinted our eyes at it, its image black against the inside of our eyelids, as we blinked it on and off again.

We had been waiting since ten then; I had lost my shoes somewhere in the drowsy droning morning; they had shooed us out of the waiting house long ago. Now we played, the three of us, in the red sand by the ditch bank, sifting it through our fingers, wriggling our toes in its delicious warmth, pillaging the pyramid lairs of the doodle bug, surprising him in his hungry waiting. Waiting, waiting . . . the grown-ups had long since forgotten us, in their apple pie furniture

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Drawing by Peter L. Myer, Director of the B. F. Larsen Art Gallery, Brigham Young University, formerly Chairman of the Art Department, University of Nevada at Las Vegas, husband of the author.

polish bustle of preparedness. I could feel Grandma's old house waiting now, cool and dark.

Then in a rush of relatives, hands quickly brushing sand off our dresses, hunting for shoes, he was here, filling the world with his voice and his laughing and his presence.

"Do you remember your Uncle Hebe?" he boomed, and he bent down and shook our hands. Mother thought it was sacrilege for him to call himself "Uncle Hebe," but he did it anyway.

Grandma's front door is of heavy dark wood, and the glass, mitered on the corners and around the edges, gives off a cool green glow. We children never used the front door, but ran around the wide columned porch to the side door, next to the kitchen window. But today we all went in the front door, and stood around in greeting groups. I couldn't see him at all, just the tall backs of grownups. But I stood squeezed by the door in the special occasion somberness of the foyer and looked up at the dark high ceilings. In my mind I could see into the dining room with its heavy round table we always used at Thanksgiving, I could see into the living room. Grandpa Lytle's picture was on that wall in an oval frame, looking forbiddingly grand, covered with greenish curved glass, his big brush mustache carefully trimmed. Grandpa Lytle is dead now, and so is Grandma, and the living room is still filled with the heart-stopping awe of being a child in the presence of the grief of grownups. The somberness will never leave the room, even with the new sofa and lamps. The piano seems so big, and I feel like sitting very still, and not saying anything, hearing back in the years the solemn drone of condolence calls and the solemn scent of flowers.

The foyer was filled with grownups, but he sought us out and shook our hands. His eyes were the world, with the sun reflected in them. I stood in the dark shadow of the door and my hand was in his strong clasp. "Do you remember your Uncle Hebe, children?" This is Carolyn. This is Marie. This is Rachel, the baby.

Rachel. His mother's name was Rachel. "Rachel, Baby Rae, I will kiss you because you are beautiful, your eyes are blue, and your name is the same as hers."

His strong arms lifted and swung her up through the darkness of the foyer into the sun. Bright red strawberries

on her dress, bare legs still a little sticky with the sand. The wheeling sun was on his face, in his eyes, and he was the world, he was the Prophet. I thought my heart would burst with the happiness in the sun. And Uncle Heber kissed me.

I stood by the door in the darkened foyer, my eyes were brown, my hair was brown, there were cherries on my dress, and I never did find my shoes. He set her on her feet again. Baby Rae. Beautiful, blonde, blue-eyed, with strawberries, and with a little strawberry mark on her cheek where his whiskers had brushed. But she was only a baby, the gift was hers, but the memory is mine.

I stood by the door, and looked into the still wheeling sun, and I thought I could feel his kiss on my lips, still feel his beard on my face, thought my heart would surely burst with happiness. The gift was hers, but the memory of wheeling sun, heart tight with joy, the world in the eyes of the Prophet, is mine alone.

Communist Propaganda in South Vietnam

LT. COLONEL PHILIP M. FLAMMER*

"Propaganda," Dr. Joseph Goebbels once wrote, "has nothing to do with truth. . . . What matters is that it achieves its purposes." And its primary purpose, according to this all-time master of the art, is to support political aims by unleashing "volcanic passions, outbreaks of rage, to set masses of people on the march, to organize hatred and despair with ice-cold calculation."

Modern political democracies tend to discount propaganda. The Communists, on the other hand, have adopted—and refined—principles laid down by the Nazis. These principles are in full use in Vietnam today. Indeed, in that strife-torn country the Communists equate the propaganda war with political and military operations.

Americans both in and out of Vietnam are inclined to find Communist propaganda amusing. Being villified is part of the game, and some Communist claims are astonishing to say the least. No village, for example, could have survived the 38,000 separate artillery bombardments and "scores of B-52 strikes" claimed in one message. At the same time, President Ho Chi Minh's announcement at the end of 1968 that "during the past year we killed, wounded or captured 630,000 U.S. aggressors and their satellites" was hilariously absurd.

Close examination of the voluminous messages that regularly flow out of Radio Hanoi and clandestine stations in the

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south, however, reveal an ominous pattern of themes, backed by the latest and best propaganda techniques. Thus, informed Americans should find little amusement in the fact that the real target audience are the uncommitted South Vietnamese who are being taught to "hate" enough to "arise" and "avenge your compatriots." Once this end is understood, the basic themes stand out with impressive clarity: the Americans are evil aggressors who willingly trample underfoot the sacred rights of the Vietnamese people; the present Thieu-Ky regime and its army are satellites of the Americans; the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (commonly called the NLF) is the champion of the "just cause;" and the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) never lose. Put together, reinforced by real and fabricated incidents, reiterated again and again, these themes in reality, are heavy rounds fired with cunning and precision in a deadly serious propaganda war.

For obvious reasons, the utter wickedness of American policy in general and the U. S. troops in particular is the foundation theme. As Dr. Goebbels pointed out, it is easier to unite people against something, such as injustice, arrogance, exploitation, etc., than it is to unite them for a particular form of government or code of ethics. And in Vietnam, the Communists have an almost perfect target. Emphasizing that the Americans have a "foreign" and "bigoted" culture, they lay on the charges of imperialism and aggression. That is why the French and Japanese came, they remind the citizenry. What is different about the Americans?

The United States is the aggressor in Vietnam, [a typical message reads]. It has brought more than 500,000 troops from the other side of the Pacific to invade Vietnam. The U.S. aggression tramples underfoot the Vietnamese People's fundamental national rights This aggression encroaches on every Vietnamese family. As a result of the U.S. aggression and treason of the puppet administration, every family in Vietnam has had someone killed or wounded, its house and property destroyed. (Hanoi Radio, 8 March 1969)

Continued emphasis on this theme sets the stage for a supporting one, *i.e.*, the utter wickedness of American troops. Unfortunately, there are more than enough incidents of violence between American soldiers and Vietnamese nationals to feed the propaganda grist mills and few known incidents occur that are not exploited. Even routine accidents can be

turned into displays of vicious unconcern for the Vietnamese people. The following story grew out of a clearing operation in which a Vietnamese was accidentally run over by a tractor and killed. "I'd rather die than let the Yanks and puppets raze our village," the victim is quoted as saying:

He faced the machines, started at the bandits and ordered: "Stop, you have no right to sack our land." The wicked American soldiers, turning a deaf ear to him, drove forward. But he promptly lay down to bar them. A bulldozer buried him with earth. The villagers ran up. As instilled with new strength, he pushed away the earth, stood up, stretched out his arms and shouted: "I would rather die than let you . . ." No sooner had he finished his words than he was cut in two by a bulldozer which ran over him. His arms, however, remained stretched out, and his angry eyes, wide open, as though he still was assaulting the enemy. (Liberation Newspaper, 6 March 1969)

Because there are enough true incidents to give the theme some credibility, the outright fabrications, which naturally appear with names, dates, and plenty of gore, are often just as efficacious as genuine incidents. It could be a story of American GIs feeding candy to two young boys who soon "fell sick and blood began oozing from their mouths and noses. They died very soon." (Clandestine Radio, 3 Feb. 1969) Or it could be an orgy of madness.

At 1600 hours on 15 January, more than 20 boats full of U.S. Air Cavalrymen shelled and machine gunned the Rach Goc House at Hamlet No. 2, My Thanh Dong Village, Duc Hue District, Long An Province, killing a woman. Then, the bloodthirsty U. S. soldiers landed and mopped up the area. They broke into the house of seventy year old Nguyen Van Soi, dragged his daughter Nguyen Thi Hein out of an anti-shelling underground shelter in the house, and attempted to rape her. When Nguyen Van Soi went to the rescue of his daughter he was stabbed by the U. S. soldiers with their bayonets. Then they took turns in raping the girl to death. After she was dead, they tore her corpse to pieces.

After having killed Nguyen Van Soi and his daughter, the U. S. soldiers saw a number of compatriots taking refuge in the shelter. Immediately, they plugged the shelter up and tossed hand grenades, tear gas grenades, and fire grenades into the shelter, killing all the compatriots in it. When two children, who survived the massacre, tried to climb up, they were caught by the U. S. soldiers who wrang their necks and tore their corpses. A sixty year old woman named Nhuyen

Thi Sang was shot dead, her arms still holding her granddaughter. Two pregnant women, twenty-five year old Nguyen Thi Ut and thirty-five year old Nguyen Thi Duong were burned to death. Their fetuses were ejected from their bodies. Their five children were also killed in the fire. In all, 21 persons were killed by the U. S. Air Cavalry men in the shelter. They were from four families. They included 12 children from five to seven years old, a seventy year old man, and a sixty year old woman. The remainder were all women, including two who were pregnant. (Clandestine Radio, 7 February 1969)

In broadcasts such as this, the "utter wickedness" of the American troops is paraded again and again. The message is clear. U. S. troops are all cruel, vicious imperialists who couldn't care less for the Vietnamese people. They "despise puppet officers and men. . . . They kidnap South Vietnamese women, rape army men's wives and daughters, [and] rob the people in broad daylight . . . (Tran Buu Kiem statement, Paris, 7 Feb. 1969)

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the anti-American theme, for on it rests the other "basic truths." For example, it is absolutely vital to the Communists that the existing Saigon government be tied to U. S. "imperialism." Only in this way can they parade as true friends and liberators of those whom they like to call their "compatriots."

This "basic truth" is reiterated with monotonous regularity. Indeed, the Saigon government is never mentioned without appropriate adjectives such as "lackey," "puppet," or "satellite." "The Thieu-Ky-Huong clique is but a gang of traitors," a typical message reads. "They serve as an instrument for the U. S. aggression and live on it. This accounts for their opposition to an end of the U. S. war of aggression and their opposition to independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and eventual reunification of the country. They do not represent the South Vietnamese people. They are only pawns and henchmen of the U. S. imperialists. . . . Their voice has no value at all." (Liberation Radio, 5 Feb. 1969) Another time, the trio were called "country-selling traitors who have sold their souls for U. S. dollars. . . . The clique . . . is totally illegal, representing nobody, and is despised and called to be overthrown by the entire southern peoples." (Liberation Radio, 5 April 1969)

If the NLF succeeds in getting the people to accept the view that the U. S. is an imperialistic aggressor with the Saigon government as its satellite, the next "basic truth" comes easy. Since the existing government merits overthrow, the NLF is obviously justified in attempting to destroy it. In "struggling resolutely to overthrow and to regain their master-ship right," Hanoi Radio announced, the insurgents are "champions of an oppressed people" and "faithful defenders of its sacred rights."

Understandably, the "basic truth" and what one might call its supporting "sub-truths" are handled much more subtly than the crass, harsh outpouring of U. S. war crimes.

It is in this area that North Vietnam, while not admitting participation in the war, offers support to the South. A PLAF official, visiting the North, for example, publicly stressed the "daily and hourly concern of our 17 million northern blood-sealed compatriots who are . . . resolved to do everything to help the revolution in the south grow quickly and defeat the enemy." The announced objectives of this message, which was also sent abroad in English via International Service, was "peaceful reunification of the fatherland," something mentioned only rarely in messages directed solely to South Vietnam, where "reunification" is not a popular word.

In this same subtle way, the Communist party is sometimes mentioned. It is always done without reference to Communism, however, since the "Party" has to be the supporter of the revolution and not the other way around. One typical message mentions how "our combatants have shown their devotion and their defiance" because "they have been cared for and educated by the Party." This same message declares that "their absolute loyalty to the Party and the Revolution has helped . . . develop . . . resourcefulness and liveliness in fighting and vanquishing the enemy." (Hanoi Radio, 5 March 1969)

It is as liberators and protectors of the oppressed that the insurgents defend their ruthlessness toward those who would thwart the "rush to victory." In their own messages, the PLAF never kill innocent people whereas the American and puppet troops never kill anyone else. The Communists always destroy "cruel enemy agents" or simply "the enemy." A typical message described an American assault as follows: "Low-flying helicopters dropped tear bombs into air-raid shelters

and machine-gunned those who ran out. In all, more than 100 persons, mostly women and children, were killed and losses in property caused to the local population was put at 100 million piasters." (Liberation Radio, 19 Jan. 1969) On the other hand, a VC assault "slammed big gun fire into enemy positions into Phy My District town, killing and wounding many enemy."

The last "basic truth" is that the PLAF never loses. The "enemy" is cruel and stubborn but since the "stupendous" victories of this year will be followed by "even more stupendous" victories next year, the end is inevitable. "At the gunpoint of the Southern Guerrillas," one message announced, "enemy helicopters fall like overripe fruits." (Hanoi Domestic Service, 5 March 1969) At the same time, "The more defeats they sustain, the more cruel and mad the U. S. imperialists become. Therefore, the closer we move to victory, the harder and more violent our struggle becomes." (Speech of General Giap carried by Hanoi Domestic Radio Service, 4 May 1969) In another message, the PLAF claimed that "the U. S. imperialists are endeavoring to hide their defeats with all sorts of psychological tricks. They are endeavoring to disseminate invented news, shamelessly fabricate imaginary military and political defeats for us in both the North and South Vietnam." Yet this *same* message includes the statement: "Our troops and people have advanced from victory to victory, victories which have become increasingly and unprecedentedly great and comprehensive. . . ." (Liberation Radio, 27 Jan. 1969)

This theme serves to convince the vacillators and those who are uncommitted that the PLAF is going to win and that they would be wise to get on the winning side. Thus, this type of propaganda is usually mixed with glowing statements of how the PLAF is "extremely severe and stiff toward the U. S. imperialists, puppet administration and obdurate, diehard agents serving the lackeys of the country-grabbers," whereas those "wishing to . . . come . . . to the Just Cause can find a meaningful and glorious way of life under the Front's flag." (Hanoi, Hoc Tap newspaper, Dec. 1969) It is in support of this theme that village chiefs, their families, and others who actively opt for the Saigon Government are often tortured, disemboweled, or in more than one instance, buried up to the neck in anthills. Terror, as practiced by the PLAF, is a powerful weapon.

The PLAF "never lose" propaganda is best illustrated by a remarkable broadcast in March 1969 which described how "on a day long battle last winter, seven fighters of the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces in Da Nang City—among them two young women—killed over eighty U. S. and Puppet troops and wounded many others, smashing the encirclement by an enemy force eighty times superior in number."

Giving names, dates, and places, the broadcast described how the seven "dumped a fierce fire" on a Civil Guard Company, a Field Police Company, a U. S. Military Police Platoon and "dozens of cruel Popular Defense agents." All day the fight raged. (Details include how one girl decided to cut her hair, and how some of the fighters broke into a house, shooting a "cruel enemy agent" in his bed.) "After seven hours of continuous fighting," the broadcast concluded, "they got tired but they kept assaulting the enemy with the mettle of victories, holding fast about 500 U. S. and puppet troops who tightly encircled them just on a small tract of land."

By 3 p.m. the enemy had lost 80 killed and many wounded. Apparently they were badly hurt and began loosening their encircling belt and resorted to a violent artillery fire. By nightfall, as the enemy *huddled together for fear of sudden attack* [italics mine] the Liberation fighters, with the help of the population, secretly returned to their unit with all their weapons and those they had captured from the enemy. (Liberation Radio, 9 March 1969)

Although the main target audience in South Vietnam are the uncommitted South Vietnamese, the Americans, in large part, must live with the legacy. After all, they are the ones to be "hated," "killed," and "driven from the country." Yet this writer has heard otherwise well-informed Americans insist that Communist propaganda is "worthless" and that a few billion pamphlets extolling the political idealism of American GIs and the wonders of nation-building under the Thieu regime are much more effective. This view is dangerous nonsense, for it fails to recognize either the purpose of the propaganda or the target audience. And this failure not only allows Communist propaganda to more or less progress unchecked, it often supports basic Communist themes. The remarkable tendency of some Americans to play up American atrocities while disregarding the mass terrorism of the Viet Cong is

used to support the "cruel GI" theme. Defeatist statements of certain U. S. political leaders, rightly or wrongly, find their way into propaganda messages as positive proof that the PLAF will win in the end.

Although U. S. involvement in Vietnam is declining, and Communist emphasis on propaganda in that area will soon be shifting, there are some vital lessons to be learned from their propaganda war in South Vietnam. For one thing, it strongly suggests that American soldiers cannot set foot in alien and underdeveloped countries without becoming targets for charges of aggression and imperialism. And the charges will probably stick. Backward peoples often do not understand political idealism, and no profound statement by the U. S. Government is likely to ring as true in their ears as the bald assertion that the rich foreigners are in their country out of blatant self-interest. At the same time, and partly for the same reasons, U. S. soldiers *must be made aware of the full implications of their actions*. Misfortunes ranging from thoughtlessness to cruelty are common enough in any war; in counterinsurgency as in all wars, it is vital that this sort of thing not occur. Indeed, wisdom and forbearance is needed to the point where insurgents cannot provoke incidents. (In Saigon, for example, individual snipers were used for a time to pick off soldiers. U. S. airpower took care of the snipers, but the VC used the shattered houses as proof of American disregard for Vietnamese property.)

Another powerful lesson stems from the fact that the Communists, by choice, used propaganda to elevate the struggle into a full-blown crusade. Under the premises that "the end justifies the means" and it is necessary to teach hate so that the people will *want* to kill, crusades have consistently escalated themselves into the bloodiest and most vicious conflicts in history. (Despite the claims, violence is never one-sided in such wars and it is the side that hates the most that promotes the most violence.) Moreover, hate, once generated, cannot be turned off and on at will. It has a direct legacy at the conference table where its offspring—passions, vows, promises and revenge—make their voices heard. Peace is always difficult, but peace born of this kind of war is the most difficult of all. That is what General Moshe Dayan meant when, after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, he said, "Now that the war is over, the trouble begins."

Variations Between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon

JANET JENSON*

Much has been written about changes between the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon (the first) and modern editions. But knowledge is less widespread about the variations that exist between different copies of the 1830 edition itself. We are now aware of 41 such changes, and there are certainly others that have not yet been discovered.

Three-fourths of the 41 changes were picked up when Alfred Bush of Princeton University Library, using a Hinman collator, compared the 1830 edition copy in the Scheide Library with a copy from Brigham Young University and one from the Historical Department of the Church. Using this list of changes as a base, and adding other changes discovered by other people, 70 different copies of the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon have since been compared. I personally examined a number of copies in Utah, and many libraries around the country took time to check the list against their own copies.

Different combinations of corrections were found in 60 of the 70 copies, making 60 unique copies. The discovery of additional variants might well cause even those which are considered now alike to become unique. Seventy is not quite 1.5 percent of the total 5,000 which were printed, but with

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just the 41 changes so far discovered, it is mathematically possible that each of the 5,000 copies could be unique.

Table 1 shows the page and line of each change, including the error version and the corrected version of the change; however, it is difficult to tell in some cases which is the error and which is the correction. A preliminary list assumed that the correction would be the way it appeared in the 1837 edition. For instance, the word *Judges* was assumed to be the error and *judges* the correction because it appears as *judges* in the 1837 edition.

Subsequent work with the arrangement of the changes in the signatures, and the greater frequency of appearance of the word *Judges* led to the conclusion that *judges* was the error, *Judges* the correction, and that a change had been made back to *judges* in the the 1837 edition.¹

Table 2 is a list of errors which have not yet been discovered in a corrected state; however, a check of more copies might reveal that these errors also appear corrected in some copies.

There is also a probability that there are other errors which have been corrected in all copies that have thus far been checked for errors, and have therefore not yet been picked up as variants.

FREQUENCY OF ERRORS

The number of errors per copy ranges from 3 copies with only 2 errors each, up to 2 copies with 14 errors each. Half of the 70 copies studied have from 5 to 8 errors.

Some errors appear more frequently than others. They apparently did not get corrected until later in the press run. For example, *Grert*, *Judeah*, and *mekness* appear in only 4 copies each, while *122* appears in 61 copies. The majority of the errors appear in 9 to 16 copies. Table 3 shows the frequency of different types of errors.

It is difficult to tell in all cases whether an error is a spelling error, or a typographical error, so the figures for those kinds might be adjusted differently.

¹The main basis for this decision was the hypothesis that errors on the same form will appear as corrections in the same copies. In other words *judges* appeared with other errors in the forms where it occurred, and *Judges* appeared with other corrections in the forms where it occurred.

TABLE 1
VARIATIONS IN THE 1830 EDITION OF THE BOOK OF
MORMON

<i>Page & Line</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Correction</i>
iv	vi	iv
74-21 ^a	he	the
81-20	Holy one	Holy One
83-28	condescentions	condescensions
91-9	carcases	carcasses
144-36 ^a	obout	about
207-37	exceding	exceeding
207-37	grert	great
212	122	212
218-43 ^a	these which	those which
226-43	Amlicites	Amlicites,
231-6	judges	Judges
233-15	brethren	brethren
234-5	wokrs (1st)	works
236-26	God;	God,
275-19	this	This
286-27	ifthou	if thou
286-36	khown	known
341-29	brethrren	brethren
342-18	River Sidon	river Sidon
343-1	River Sidon	river Sidon
343-2	River Sidon	river Sidon
343-10	lands, and	lands and
350-17	judges	Judges
351-38	armors	armours
352-34	Amalikiah	Amalickiah
387-28	Judeah	Judea
393-4	neither does	neither do
394-30	city; and	city, and
401-34	judges	Judges
408-17	Kishkumen and his band, which	Kishkumen, and his band which
458-31	them, as	them, As
458-18	Gaddianhi	Giddianhi
487	48	487
507-26/27	which is in my name	which is my name
514-2	maybe	may be
521-8/9	rumderers	murderers
575-15	elder priest	elder or priest
576-17/18	unto the baptism	unto baptism
582-41	mekness	meekness
583-31 ^a	stireth	stirreth

^aThese errors were brought to the attention of the writer by James Wardle of Salt Lake City when this study had almost been completed. They were therefore not checked in most of the 70 copies.

TABLE 2
 ERRORS NOT YET DISCOVERED IN A CORRECTED STATE^a

<i>Page & Line</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Needed Correction</i>
25-9	chid	child
39-11	daghter	daughter
90-17	horner	homer
113-14	to-mrrow	tomorrow
139-19	propheasy (2nd)	prophecy
144-43	feading	feeding
204-6	puteth	putteth
226-5	Sidom	Sidon
251-39	striped	stripped
268-2	tempels	temples
268-17	recieve	receive
348-24	prohesy	prophecy
382-1	CHAPTER	CHAPTER
410-36	judegment	judgement
414-1	nobler	robber
426-16	Samnel	Samuel
426-33	bacause	because
426-34	mor over	moreover
427-14	higway	highway
429-23	befal	befall
429-24	iniquities	iniquities
431-6	treasures	treasures
435-2	angles	angels
443-35	arriven	arriven
461-3	Gaddianhi	Giddianhi
490-31	berak	break
491-35	mnltitude	multitude ^b
499-1	rereward	rearward
501-28	rereward	rearward
523-5	realise	realize
536-15	crated	created
541-1	clowd	cloud
541-39	brethern	brethren
542-7	brethern	brethren
556-34	opon	upon

^aIn perusing the various studies available concerning changes between the 1830 and later editions, changes were picked out which were similar in character to those known to have been corrected within the 1830 edition. This list could doubtless be lengthened by a more careful search for printing errors.

^bOne library reported finding this corrected state in their copy. If this is correct, and not a misreading, this variant belongs in Table 1.

TABLE 3
FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF ERRORS

Spacing	2
Paging	3
Punctuation	5
Wording changes	5
Spelling	7
Capitalization	9
Typographical	10
	—
Total	41

HISTORICAL INFORMATION ON
PRINTING PROCESS OF 1830 BOOK OF MORMON

Those who were involved with the actual printing of the 1830 Book of Mormon have left very little information as to how the errors occurred and were corrected. Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris have all been mentioned in various sources as having been at the printer's and as having carried the manuscript to the printer each day and taken it home again each night. No description written by any of them has been found dealing with the printing details of the work.

Stephen S. Harding, later governor of Utah, was a resident of Palmyra in his childhood. He claims to have spent a day in Grandin's print shop on a later visit to Palmyra. When he was in his eighties, he described the printing process in a work of anti-Mormon character:

The printing was done on a lever press of that period; and when a sufficient number of pages for the entire edition of five thousand copies had been completed, the type had to be distributed. This was a slow process in comparison with what is done in a jobbing office of to-day.²

The best source of information as to what went on in the print shop is probably John H. Gilbert, who worked for E. B. Grandin and composed 500 of the 570 pages of the book.³ Gilbert has been quoted by several people. F. M. Lyman vis-

²Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), p. 47.

³Andrew Jenson and Edward Stevenson, interview with John H. Gilbert in *Infancy of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1889), p. 37.

ited him on 23 October 1897 when Gilbert wrote the following statement in Lyman's journal:

. . . I was the principal compositor of the said [Mormon] Bible, commencing on the same in August, 1829, and finishing the same in March, 1830.⁴

Wilford Wood's reprint of the 1830 Book of Mormon includes a lengthy statement made by John H. Gilbert on 8 September 1892 at Palmyra, but gives no source for this statement. We learn from it, however, that Gilbert and J. H. Bortles did the press work from August to December, taking about three days for each form. Gilbert states that

the Bible was printed on a 'Smith' Press, single pull, and old fashioned 'Balls' or 'Niggerheads' were used—composition rollers not having come into use in the small printing offices.⁵

Gilbert also tells us that one sheet of paper would print 16 pages, 8 pages to each side, which was then folded into a signature. There are 37 of these 16-page signatures in the book.⁶ In December a journeyman pressman, Thomas McAuley, was hired, and he and Bortles did the balance of the presswork.

HOW DID THE VARIANTS OCCUR?

Type would be set for only one form (one side of the sheet—8 pages) at a time. That form would then be run off the press. As errors were noted during the printing process, the wrong piece of type would be changed, but the sheets printed with the error would not be discarded. When all 5,000 copies of this first form had been printed and were dry, the other form with its 8 pages would be run off on the reverse side of the sheet. The same correcting process might also occur on these pages. So various combinations of errors and corrections might occur on both sides of this one sheet which was then folded into a 16-page signature. As the different

⁴"An Affidavit," *Deseret News Church Section*, 4 February 1933, p. 1.

⁵Wilford Wood, *Joseph Smith Begins His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1958), Memorandum made by John H. Gilbert . . . in the unpaginated introductory material. This press was purchased by the Church in 1906 with an affidavit from Gilbert saying it was the press he used, (*Elder's Journal*, 3 [1 July 1906,] 391). It is now on display at the Museum in the Bureau of Information on Temple Square in Salt Lake City.

⁶*Ibid.*

signatures were gathered to put together a copy of the book, each signature having its own combination of errors and corrections, the possibilities for variations multiplied.

The corrections in Table 1 occur in 17 of the 37 signatures. No corrections have yet been found in other signatures. Eight is the most changes occurring in any one signature, the 22nd. Several signatures have only one change each.

VARIATIONS COMMON IN EARLY PRINTING

Variations such as we have between different copies of the 1830 Book of Mormon are fairly common in printing from early presses. They occur either accidentally through displacement of the type, or intentionally, by correction of the type after the printing process has already begun. Intentional correction may be necessary because of errors due to misreading of the manuscript, placing type in the wrong sequence, failure of memory, picking type from the wrong case, or having the wrong type in the case.⁷

Accidental displacement of type during the printing process was particularly likely when the type was dabbed with ink-balls, which was the procedure used in printing the 1830 Book of Mormon, because the ink-balls tended to draw out loose type. This could have been the case with the error in the page number on page 487 if the 7 had been pulled out and not detected. This could also have happened on page 74, line 21, with *the* where the *t* could have dropped out to leave *he*. If a letter dropped out, it either might not have been replaced or it might have been replaced with an incorrect letter. In errors of a single letter it is difficult to tell whether the word was originally spelled correctly and a drop-out caused later versions to be spelled incorrectly, or whether the type was originally set incorrectly and later corrected to the right spelling.

Bibliographer Ronald B. McKerrow emphasizes the frequency and haphazard nature of variation between copies in early printing.

. . . we may say that in any early book the probability of finding such variants is very great . . . it cannot be supposed that the binder, when gathering the sheets for binding, would trouble himself as to whether they represented the

⁷Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), chapter 6.

final correction or not; he would take them as they happened to come. It is therefore quite unscientific to speak of a more or less corrected copy of a book⁸

IS THERE A "FIRST PRINTED" COPY OF THE BOOK OF MORMON FIRST EDITION?

This brings us to the question as to whether the uncut pages which Wilford Wood used for his reprint really are "the first printed uncut sheets of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon,"⁹ meaning the first copies to come from the press. A *Deseret News* article in the 4 February 1895 issue also describes the "first Mormon bible ever printed" in the form of uncut pages in the hands of Pliny T. Sexton.¹⁰ If McKerrow's hypothesis applies to the 1830 Book of Mormon, it seems unlikely that there is a "first printed" copy of the book. If Wood's uncut pages are the first printed copy, they ought to contain all the errors and none of the corrections, except in the case of drop-outs where the reverse would be true. His uncut pages, however, contain only 10 of the 41 errors. It may well be the first collated or gathered copy, but it seems unlikely that there was a first printed copy in this special sense.

McKerrow's hypothesis certainly seems to be the case with the 1830 Book of Mormon. There is no particular pattern to the corrections, except that certain corrections on the same form of the same signature usually appear together.¹¹ But there are cases where even this is not true.

Pages 231 and 234 are on the same form. The errors on those pages, *judges* and *wokrs*, appear together in 5 of the copies. There is one copy, however, where *wokrs* appears, but *judges* has been corrected to *Judges*. The same thing occurs with *bretren* on page 233 and *God*; on page 236. On pages

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 209.
⁹Wood, *Joseph Smith Begins*, Affidavits in unpagged introductory material.
¹⁰"Major John H. Gilbert," *Deseret Evening News*, 4 February 1895, p. 8.
¹¹Wilford Wood's uncut copy of the 1830 edition allows us to determine the order of pages on each form of the signature. He has included a photograph of one uncut sheet in his reprint of the 1830 Book of Mormon titled *Joseph Smith Begins His Work*. A microfilm of his entire copy of uncut pages is available at the Historical Department of the Church (Call number: Film M222.1 A1 #1). The sequence of pages for each form is shown below.

8	9	12	5
4	13	16	1
2	15	14	3
6	11	10	7

275 and 286 are three errors on the same form: *this* and *known* appear in 16 copies and *if thou* appears in 17 copies. Although *if thou* and *known* are on the same page, there are 2 copies where *if thou* does not appear with the others, and one copy where *this* does not appear with the others.

It would be interesting to compare the list of errors in Tables 1 and 2 with the printer's manuscript, now in the hands of the Reorganized Church, but an inquiry directed to them regarding this possibility was not answered. An 1884 *Saints Herald* issue contains a report of a Book of Mormon Committee comparing the 1830 edition with the printer's manuscript, which was then in the hands of David Whitmer. Approximately 350 differences are listed, but of the 77 corrections and possibilities for correction in this study, only one is included in the Book of Mormon Committee report. That one is the word *nobler* which appears instead of *robber* on page 414, line 1.¹² It seems inconceivable that all of the errors in the present study were also errors in the manuscript. One can only conclude that the 1884 study did not pick up all the differences between the manuscript and the 1830 edition, or that the copy of the 1830 edition that they used had nearly all of the errors corrected.

The present study is obviously only a preliminary look at the subject. If the Hinman collator could be used to compare every copy of the 1830 edition with every other copy, many more variations might be discovered and more conclusions might be drawn. There are certainly many more extant copies of the 1830 Book of Mormon that could be checked also. With the present list as a starting point, perhaps we can begin to learn more about and understand the who, how, and why of the printing variations between copies of the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon.

¹²"Book of Mormon Committee Report," *Saints Herald*, 23 August 1884, pp. 545-48.

Notes and Comments

THE FREDERICK KESLER COLLECTION

During the past several months, a number of important manuscript collections have been acquired by the Special Collections Division of the J. Willard Marriott Library of the University of Utah.

One of the most significant for the student of Mormon history is that of Frederick Kesler, a resident of Augusta, Iowa, when the Mormons arrived at Nauvoo, a millwright who built mills for the Mormons from Iowa and Nebraska to Utah, a major in the Nauvoo Legion, and for forty-three years a bishop of the Sixteenth Ward in Salt Lake City.

The Kesler Collection consists of fifteen day books and account books dating from 1840; missionary journals of the 1840s; twelve diaries dating from 11 April 1857 to 12 June 1899; correspondence (1837-1897) and photographs of family and close associates—including Joseph Smith and Brigham Young; and considerable memorabilia of Frederick Kesler and family. Also in the collection are numerous pamphlets, broadsides, and other printed material, some of which may be unique.

A few more of the more unusual items are two different invitations to the "Pic-Nic Party at Big Cottonwood Canyon" (24 July 1857); a revelation of Orson Hyde in Nauvoo directed against James J. Strang (1846); a revelation of John Taylor (13 October 1882); General Joseph Smith's *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Nauvoo, 1844); an address of Brigham Young, "A Series of Instructions and Remarks . . . at a Special Council" (24 March 1858); and *Fast Day Proclamation* (1889).

Of all the items in the Kesler Collection, however, the prize has to be a manuscript page of the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 14) in the handwriting of David Whitmer. In a signed statement, Bishop Kesler relates how he acquired the document. It was removed from the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House in 1882 by Lewis Bidamon, second husband of Emma Smith, and presented to Joseph Summerhays on 3 October 1884. Some time later the manuscript was obtained from Summerhays by Kesler. It remained in his possession and then in his heirs' possession until it was given to the University of Utah Library. (For further details on the manuscript of the Book of Mormon, see Dean C. Jessee, "The original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* [Spring 1970].)

When the library acquired the Kesler Collection, the manuscript page was photographed and then carried to the W. J. Barrow Laboratory in Richmond, Virginia, for deacidification and lamination. Photocopies are available in the Special Collections of the Library.

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