WINTER 1962

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Printed by Brigham Young University Press
Music Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

HAROLD LAYCOCK

How does music fit in to the Mormon way of life? What is its place in Latter-day Saint theology and philosophy? In what directions can it most effectively contribute to the enrichment of our daily lives, or, more significantly, what part should music play in helping the individual on his eternal journey toward perfection? If these questions could be conclusively answered we would be in possession of a definitive guiding principle, a measuring-rod by which we could evaluate all phases of musical activity, whether they pertain to public worship, to the home, to the school, to recreational programs and amusements, or to the reflective and creative thoughts of the mind. As music educators in the Church school system, some of us are vitally concerned with the problem of orienting our efforts as finely as possible in the direction in which lies the fullest value for us all.

However, Latter-day Saint theology, and philosophy, as far as it has been defined, touch only indirectly upon this subject. Direct pronouncements by the prophets have been few. We are enjoined to "seek after those things" which are "virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy."1 In the Doctrine and Covenants we read:

My soul delighteth in the song of the heart, yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads.2

If thou are merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.3

Brigham Young put his ideas concerning music into the following words:

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1Joseph Smith, Jr., The Pearl of Great Price, p. 57.
2Doctrine and Covenants, 25:12.
3Ibid., 136:28.
There is no music in hell, for all good music belongs to heaven. Sweet harmonious sounds give exquisite joy to human beings capable of appreciating music. I delight in hearing harmonious tones made by the human voice, by musical instruments, and by both combined.\(^4\)

Lacking more specific enlightenment from the scriptures or from the published words of Church leaders, we are forced to assume that a comprehensive blueprint of the role of music in the eternal plan of salvation, so far as it pertains to the present earthly existence, is ours to work out on a more or less pragmatic basis. To assist us in this task we must make use of the total resources of the history of mankind’s experience with this art, not neglecting the history of musical practice in the Mormon church itself.

This practice includes three phases: sacred music as used in worship; social and recreational music; and music education as carried on in the schools of the Church. The first phase has been treated in studies of Latter-day Saint hymnody by William Wilkes,\(^5\) by Newell Weight,\(^6\) and by D. Sterling Wheelwright.\(^7\) It is the purpose of this paper to describe briefly some aspects of the other two phases—recreational music and music education. Recreational music of the early history of the Church will be considered first; however, the principal emphasis will be upon musical practices related to a neglected area of Mormon educational history, the period of the Church academies.

Joseph Smith’s philosophy concerning music and recreation is expressed in his own words: “What many people call sin is not sin. I do many things to break down superstition, and I will break it down.”\(^8\) He did not regard dancing or music as being sinful pleasures, but gave wholesome recreation of this kind a respected place in community life. B. H. Roberts,

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\(^4\)John A. Widtsoe, compiler, *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., c. 1925), v. 9, p. 244.


\(^8\)Joseph Smith, Jr., *Documentary History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1925), i:iv:443.
one of the foremost historians of the Church, describes Joseph Smith’s attitude in these terms:

The result of these views of the Prophet has been to enlarge the liberty of the saints in many respects; to remove the somber hues supposed to be essential to a religious life; and more especially in the manner of innocent amusements. In things not harmful or sinful in themselves, but only in their abuse, the ban was by him largely removed, leading to a wider social life, and greater freedom of enjoyment. Until the violin is not regarded by the saints as an instrument of satan; nor the ball room, when properly safeguarded, as the antechamber of hades; nor the theater as the broad highway to damnation; hence the enjoyment of these innocent amusements and pleasures was allowed to the saints by the Prophet—and by the church since his day—to the scandal, perhaps, of some sections of orthodox christendom [sic].

Joseph Smith encouraged musical organizations of both religious and recreational types during the early days of the Church. In Nauvoo he supported a quadrille band which frequently played for dancing, at least two other bands (a martial band and William Pitt’s Nauvo Brass Band), an orchestra, and several choirs of mixed voices. Musical instruments in the homes at Nauvoo included several melodeons, three organs and two pianos (two of the latter instruments were brought to Salt Lake Valley with the 1948 migration). Duets and quartets of flutes and violins were known in Nauvoo.

Music of all kinds affected the lives of the early Latter-day Saints. Austin Fife has described a distinctive body of Mormon folksong, according to Wilkes. Wheelwright views the hymnody of the Mormons as a potent social influence during the rise of the Church. Recreational music played an important part in the westward migration and the early colonizing of the Salt Lake Valley and other localities. Formal music study was initiated at the University of Nauvoo, but that city was abandoned before the institution could develop its potentialities.

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11Wheelwright, op. cit., p. 65.
12Wilkes, op. cit., p. 32.
13Wheelwright, op. cit.
Brigham Young was forbidden to enjoy secular music in his boyhood home; however, he was not without the influence of music. His daughter, Susa Young Gates, reported:

Father was a natural musician. His mother Abigail Howe, one of the famous Massachusetts Howe family, was one of five sisters, who were locally quite famous as singers in Northboro and Hopkinton, Mass.\(^{14}\)

Brigham Young’s association with Joseph Smith undoubtedly contributed to his liberal and favorable attitude toward music which characterized his life.\(^{15}\)

The Curwen “Tonic Sol-fa” method of teaching music reading was introduced by Brigham Young into his own private school at Salt Lake City in 1861. Materials were brought directly from England, and David O. Calder was put in charge of the instruction, which was to be a model for music teaching in all the schools of the Territory.\(^{16}\)

Music of lighter vein was sponsored in the Social Hall (dedicated January 1, 1853), with what was described as an exceptionally fine orchestra,\(^{17}\) and in the Salt Lake Theater (opened by Brigham Young in 1862). The Mormon leader has been described by a well-known drama historian as the founder of the little theater movement in America.\(^{18}\) Bands were important parts of community life in the West, organized by leaders such as Domenico Ballou, a former band leader at West Point. Congregational singing was regularly a part of church services, and trained musicians were always included in colonizing parties sent to different localities of the Church.\(^{19}\) Pianos or organs were found in many of the homes of the people of early Utah.\(^{20}\)

Singing schools were popular in the Territory, as they were in the Eastern States. Wheelwright alludes to a highly

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\(^{14}\)“Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Office), November 20, 1915.

\(^{15}\)Gates, op. cit., pp. 239-240.

\(^{16}\)Deseret News (Salt Lake City), December 12, 1860.


\(^{19}\)Gates, op. cit., pp. 244-245.

\(^{20}\)Wheelwright, op. cit., p. 158.
successful one held in Springville during the winter of 1854-55, in which "nearly all the people in town, young and old, turned out to be instructed."  

The last half of the nineteenth century saw a great improvement in the cultural level of music in Utah, due largely to the influence of a number of well-trained musicians who joined the Church in the British Isles, and emigrated to Salt Lake City. David O. Calder was a pioneer in singing class instruction about 1861, using the Tonic Sol-fa method. He later went into the musical instrument business, through which he supplied a large share of the instruments used in Salt Lake City. Charles J. Thomas, who came to Utah in 1862, directed the first orchestra of the Salt Lake Theater and also the Tabernacle Choir. A few years later he was sent to St. George, Utah, for the specific purpose of raising the level of musical culture there. John Tullidge, who arrived in 1863, was the first trained music critic of the city; he did much to raise musical taste in Utah. As a conductor, he achieved a fair amount of success, performing parts of Haydn's _Creation_ in 1864. George Careless, a graduate of London's Royal Academy, came to Utah in 1864, where he conducted both the Theater Orchestra and the Tabernacle Choir. He was responsible for the first Salt Lake performance of the _Messiah_, and composed music for many musical plays that came to the theater, as well as numerous hymns still in use by the Church.  

This list could be expanded by the addition of a number of important locally-trained musicians, among them Ebeneezer Beesley, Evan Stephens, and Joseph J. Daynes, all of whom played active roles in the development of artistic music in the valley before 1900.  

The files of the _Deseret News_ prior to the turn of the century contain numerous references to band concerts, choral festivals, operas, and oratorios, which suggest an active musical center. Dr. Albert E. Winship, a distinguished educator from Boston who was one of the early guiding spirits of the N.E.A., was quoted in the _Deseret News_ of July 15, 1913, in regard to the musical culture of Salt Lake City. "Today one little county in Utah has in the world's arena some of the best artists, sculptors, singers, and instrumentalists in America,

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21Ibid., p. 155.
more, probably, than any other state of ten times its population."23

The city was a natural stopping-place for touring artists and companies on their way to San Francisco, providing a rich offering of top-flight concert fare in addition to the home-produced variety. Opera was frequently found on the bill of the Salt Lake Theater during this period.24 An article in the Millennial Star of June 23, 1890, lists some of the artists who had appeared there: Parepa, Rosa, Schalchi, Gerster, Emma Thursby, Kellogg, Cary, Marie Roze, Juch, Abbott, Campanini, Trebelli, Tagliapietra, Joseffy, Wilhelmj, Musin, and others. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra presented a memorable concert in the Tabernacle in April, 1907.25

This cultural climate was not confined to Salt Lake City, but was felt in the surrounding areas. St. George, in southern Utah, developed into a focal point for musical activity toward the end of the century, and continued to be important for decades to follow.26 Widespread improvement in the vocal music of local church organizations resulted from the work of the Tabernacle Choir, as noted by Karl G. Maeser in 1897:

Our public school, Sunday Schools, Primaries, and Mutual Improvement Associations, are putting forth praiseworthy efforts in giving vocal music sufficient attention to popularize it more and more. The progress which congregational singing, especially when led and assisted by a well-trained choir, is making in our worshipping assemblies, is also a step in the right direction. The impetus which the celebrated Tabernacle choir of Salt Lake City is giving, is felt already to a greater or less extent throughout all the stakes of Zion. 'Wo man singt da lass dich ruhig nieder, boese Menschen haben kein Lied.' These words of Schiller are like milestones on the road to happiness. Flowers at the windows and songs around the hearth, are the ensigns of contented homes.27

The vital part played by music in the lives of the early Mormons was reflected in educational thought and practice.

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23Deseret News, July 15, 1913.
24Pyper, op. cit.
25Deseret News, April 13, 1907.
According to Joseph Smith, the Kirtland adult schools gave music a prominent place:

During the winter of 1837, The House of the Lord at Kirtland was filled to overflowing with attentive hearers, mostly communicants; and in the evenings the singers met under the direction of Elders Lyman Carter and Jonathan Crosby, Jr., who gave instructions in the principles of vocal music.28

Shortly after the founding of the University of Nauvoo, a petition was presented to the Board of Regents by the members of the Nauvoo Choir, asking for a "professor and wardens in the Department of Music in the University of the City of Nauvoo" to act as a board for regulating music instruction in the city's four elementary schools (1841). The professor and four wardens were duly appointed.29 Later in the same year Lowell Mason's Manual of Instruction (1834), and Porter's Cyclopaedia of Music were adopted by the "Lyceum of Music" as texts for the examination of teachers in the elements and more advanced phases of music.30 Lowell Mason's popular Carmina Sacra, (1841), was also used in the university.31

Music instruction therefore became a part of the curriculum for the elementary schools of Nauvoo just three years after being adopted in Boston's public schools through the efforts of Lowell Mason.32 Had the city of Nauvoo not been vacated by the Mormons because of religious persecution, this city of 20,000 inhabitants probably would have been honored as one of the pioneer cities in the development of music education in the United States.

Music instruction was not neglected by the Saints after their emigration to Utah. Special mention is made of music teaching in such institutions as the Deseret Philharmonic Society (1855), devoted to vocal and instrumental music,33 and the Polysophical Academy (1858), with courses in music on the high school level.34

28Joseph Smith, Documentary History, I, 474.
29Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Ill.), vol. iii, p. 653.
30Ibid., p. 666.
31Wilkes, op. cit., p. 31.
34Kate B. Carter, compiler, Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1940), vol. ii, p. 119.
Not long after the General Church Board of Education was organized in 1888, a circular was issued (May 1899) which established a board of examiners for certification of teachers in the Church school system. Curricula were listed for the various departments, which specified vocal music in the primary, preparatory, and intermediate departments. Special care was urged in procuring competent music teachers because of "the great importance of music in the schools."  

The true place of music in the educational philosophy of the Church can best be determined by looking into the fruits of this philosophy, the actual practice in regard to music education in the Church schools.

Recent research 36 has disclosed that during the period 1876 to 1926 the Mormon Church, always active in educational fields because of its basic assumption that educative experience is the main purpose of man's life on earth, had sponsored a total of thirty-one seminaries (elementary schools) and thirty-three academies (secondary schools) in the wards and stakes of its territory. This area included seven Western states (Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, and Texas), and in Canada and Mexico.

The majority of these sixty-four schools did not survive later than 1900 because of financial problems, and because of the development of public elementary schools. Twenty-two of the academies, however, continued to thrive during the early twentieth century. They constituted the only high schools in many Mormon areas until after 1911. Between 1912 and 1926, as public high schools developed, all but one of the academies were either closed or converted to normal colleges, and the Church provided religious education for its youth through theological seminaries established in connection with public high schools.

The twenty-two academies were located as follows: in Utah, Brigham Young Academy at Provo, Brigham Young College at Logan, Latter-day Saints College at Salt Lake City, Dixie Academy at St. George, Snow Academy at Ephraim, Weber Academy at Ogden, Millard Academy at Hinckley, Murdock Academy at Beaver, Summit Academy at Coalville,

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36Circular No. 4 of the General Board of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, 1915), p. 15.

Music Education in the Church

Emery Academy at Castle Dale, and Uintah Academy at Vernal; in Idaho, Fielding Academy at Paris, Oneida Academy at Preston, Ricks Academy at Rexburg, and Cassia Academy at Oakley; in Arizona, Snowflake Academy at Snowflake, St. Johns Academy at St. Johns, and Gila Academy at Thatcher; in Wyoming, Big Horn Academy at Cowley; in Colorado, San Luis Academy at Manassa; in Canada, Knight Academy at Raymond, Alberta; in Mexico, Juarez Academy at Colonia Juarez.

It was found that in terms of curricular development, the history of the Church academies could be divided into three periods. During the first period, roughly from 1875 to 1900, the emphasis was upon elementary work, including vocal music, with a limited amount of academic and normal work on the secondary level. Vocal music was required for normal courses and was elective for the academic courses. Choirs were usually included in these schools, using the vocal music class as a nucleus, and in isolated cases a band or dance orchestra was found associated with the school on an extra-curricular basis. During the second period, roughly from 1900 to 1910 or later, the academies offered three- and four-year secondary courses of a diversified, terminal nature, including special music courses which granted diplomas for church choristers and organists, or for music teachers in church and public schools. The music courses developed into rich offerings in theoretical, vocal, choral, and instrumental music, which prepared performers, teachers, and consumers for vocations or avocations in music. During the earliest part of this period were laid the foundations for choral, orchestral, and band organizations, which were later developed into a total musical offering by the Church schools which was proportionately much stronger than that of the state high schools. During the final period, after 1910, specialized courses were gradually reduced or eliminated by the academies in favor of standard high school courses, academic and normal, with music serving as an elective for all students. While choral ensembles remained stable in size, their growth in proficiency made possible an extensive program of operetta and oratorio production. Bands were greatly stimulated by the first world war, developing into better-balanced, disciplined organizations. Orchestral musicians found vocational opportunities attractive because of the motion picture theater. Orchestras emerged from the early status
of opera orchestras to become independent organizations, sometimes approaching symphonic proportions. Glee clubs, small vocal ensembles, instrumental groups, music clubs, public service departments, and sponsored concerts by imported artists were typical features of academy music departments after 1910. This period came to a close in 1926, when all of the academies not connected with college departments were discontinued by the Church. Of those in Utah, four became public high schools.

Noteworthy among the many features of the music programs of the academies was the great popularity of operettas, the early development of special music courses and instrumental organizations, and the high caliber of training attained by the music teachers.

Choirs were established in the academies as they were founded, or at least as they added academic departments. As special music teachers were brought into the schools, the quality of the choral performances improved, and secular concert music was added to the choral repertoire. Concerts featuring oratorios and cantatas, as well as shorter works, developed along with annual light opera performances in many of the schools. The later activities involved community cooperation, and were frequently taken on tour to nearby localities. They were often successful financial ventures, and provided welcome cultural opportunities and entertainment for the students and townspeople associated with them. Glee clubs and smaller vocal ensembles became more prominent after 1910.

The development of music courses and organizations in the academies closely paralleled the national and regional trends reported by Birge. Certain exceptions were found, however. Credit for piano and other private lessons was allowed in a very few of the academies at a considerably earlier date than 1960, the average date of the introduction of academic credit according to Birge. The L.D.S. College, the B.Y. Academy, and the St. Joseph Academy had organized special music courses on the high school level before the year 1902, when, according to the same author, the New England Education League first drew up a major music course for high schools.

High school orchestras, on an extra-curricular plan, became general in the Mid-West by 1900, and spread to the

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*Birge, op. cit.*
West by 1910, with credit generally allowed by 1915. Orchestras in the Church academies were generally started later than those in the first category, but in advance of the 1910 movement. There were at least eight academy orchestras, four with credit, by 1905, and at least fifteen by 1910. In many of the academies, however, academic credit did not accompany orchestral participation until rather later than the date set by Birge.

In one area, however, the Church academies were considerably in advance of the national trend. According to Birge, high school bands began to appear generally about 1910. The twenty-two academies had organized at least seven bands before 1905, and fifteen by 1910.

Band instruction had been instituted by Albert Miller at B.Y. Academy in 1901, growing to a large scale operation with four band classes by 1905, and carrying academic credit from the beginning. Accredited band instruction was listed in the catalog of courses for Murdock Academy in 1901, but was omitted from the catalog for the following year, and it is not known if such a course was actually taught there before 1905. W. O. Robinson, who had studied music at L.D.S. College in Salt Lake City, organized a twenty-one piece band at B.Y. College in 1902, with credit allowed by 1903. One of Miller’s pupils, John T. Hand, organized the first band at Emery Stake Academy in 1904, also with academic credit. The town band of Juarez was taken over by the Juarez Academy somewhere around 1903, but it was not determined when credit was first given. In 1903 there was a fifteen-piece band at L.D.S. College, as shown in a photograph in the 1904-05 announcement of courses. The instructor, whose name was not mentioned, might have been either Arthur Shepherd or Theodore Best. Credit for band was given at that school in 1907, when Professor Kellersberger organized a twenty-five piece group. He organized two band classes in 1908. Bands were taught for credit in 1905 at Snow Academy under Frank Christensen, and at Murdock Academy under George Woodhouse.

One factor in the early development of school bands in the Church schools was the precedent of widespread town band activity in the Mormon settlements, which began as far back as Nauvoo. Another was the migration to Utah of trained bandsmen, such as Albert Miller, Robert Sauer, and others,
from Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and England. The fact that the average age of academy students was greater than that of the average public high school student must also be considered.

Music teachers for the academies were recruited from Mormon immigrants who had been trained in English and Continental music schools, from talented local residents, from graduates of the music schools at B.Y.U. and L.D.S. College, and in later years from the ranks of conservatory-trained or university-trained Mormon musicians. Certification was obtained through examinations by the Church board of examiners, or through a music diploma from one of the established special music courses in the academies. In later years, normal colleges established by the Church were the means of meeting Church and state requirements in this matter. Certification requirements of Church music teachers were always at least equal to those of public high school music teachers of Utah.

Data concerning their musical training were obtained for nearly half of the 237 persons identified as music teachers in the academies before 1926. Of these 116 individuals, forty-seven had attended B.Y.U. Over half had received training at European and American music conservatories, nineteen of them at New England Conservatory. Thirty-six had been trained in colleges and universities, and another fifteen had obtained their musical educations by way of private instruction from well-known artist-teachers.

The average continuous term of employment served by music teachers was about three years. Many served one-year tenures, and a few remained at the same school for long periods, ranging up to twenty-one years. Those with longer periods of tenure were notably successful music teachers. Salaries received by regular music teachers were about the same, as far as could be determined, as those received by teachers of other subjects. They were allowed to keep private instruction fees in addition to their salaries. Those whose entire load consisted of private lessons were paid no additional salary.

The foregoing have been a few highlights from what has proved to be a fascinating study. There are many phases of the early Church school system that have not as yet been touched by research. It is to be hoped that they will soon be brought to light, that we might enjoy the benefits of past experience in plotting our course for the future.
Leonardo da Vinci--Pioneer Geologist

Daniel J. Jones

Introduction

The fame of Leonardo da Vinci as one of the greatest minds of the Renaissance, indeed of all time, is well known to scholars in many fields; artists are familiar with his painting and sculpture, architects, and engineers have marveled at his designs for churches, basilicas, etc., and students of mechanical, aeronautical, and civil engineering are familiar with his many inventions and mechanical devices including the airplane, helicopter, parachute, screw propeller, lathe, drill press, pile-driver, and many others; students of medicine and anatomy have studied carefully his anatomical drawings and notes, and realize his many contributions to our knowledge of the human body.

His brilliant contributions to the science of geology are less well known, however, although they are contained in his many notebooks, in a great profusion of observations, measurements, and brilliant deductions concerning such diverse subjects as the origin of fossils, the true nature of sedimentary rocks containing marine organisms, the laws of hydrology, the origin of sediments, and the nature of internal earth forces.

It is therefore the purpose of the present writer to call the attention of earth scientists to a few of the many concepts and principles of geology which were first described by Da Vinci.

Brief Biography of Da Vinci

In order to understand the background of Leonardo's intense interest in the earth and its processes, one must be aware of some essentials of Leonardo's life story. He was born in the village of Vinci, near Florence, in 1452 and was apprenticed in his school years to the painter Verocchio. After seven years of training, he began his own career in painting. In the early 1480's, he entered the service of the Duke of Milan, whom he served as court painter, architect, military adviser,

Dr. Jones is professor of geology at the University of Utah.
and engineer. When the French seized Milan, Da Vinci returned to Florence, where he resumed his painting and sculpture. He later returned to serve the French king as military engineer, architect, and court painter. Following another sojourn in Florence and in Rome, where he joined Raphael and Michaelangelo in a reconstruction of St. Peter's church and the Vatican, he again returned to France at the invitation of Francis I. The French monarch was so pleased with Leonardo and his many talents that he gave him a chateau near Ambois, where Leonardo lived until his death in 1519.

It was during his service in the court at Milan, while devising canals, dams, and fortifications along the River Arno and its tributaries, that his intense interest in hydrology, sedimentation, and geology grew and flourished. His appreciation of terrain from both an engineering and a military point of view led him to the intensive observations and studies which constitute much of his writings on geology.

**The Da Vinci Manuscripts**

During his long and active career, DaVinci wrote prolifically in a series of notebooks, miscellaneous manuscripts, and letters, which were returned to a friend in Milan, who during his lifetime guarded them as relics. However, on the death of Da Vinci's friend, they soon became scattered. In subsequent years two collections were assembled by donation and purchase: one at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, the other at the Institute de France, in Paris, where they now rest. Other manuscripts are in the British Museum, Windsor Castle, the South Kensington Library of Art and Science, Holkham Hall, and the treatise on painting rests in the Vatican Library in Rome.

While Da Vinci's fame as painter and sculptor spread over the world during his life and after his death, his contributions to science remained hidden because of the apparent illegibility and undecipherable nature of his writings.

Thanks, however, to the painstaking work of the German scholars Richter and Müller-Walde, who patiently deciphered the so-called "mirror writing" of the master's manuscripts (Da Vinci actually wrote backwards for secrecy's sake), and to the British scholar Edward MacCurdy, the wealth of Da Vinci's scientific discoveries, his inventive genius, and his almost un-
canny grasp of the function of the natural world around him is now available for all to read and to ponder with amazement—a rich treasure of observations, experiments, deductions, and conclusions which establish Leonardo da Vinci as one of the great scientific geniuses of the world.

In 1952, on the 500th anniversary of the birth of Da Vinci, scientists from many parts of the world gathered at Illinois Southern University to acclaim his genius, and to honor him for his discoveries in virtually all the sciences. At this historic meeting, Hadley (1952) of Illinois Southern University said:

The ordinary person remembers Leonardo chiefly as an artist and hardly thinks of him as a forerunner of our scientific age. He may have lived by the brush, but his first love was scientific research, and he preferred to be known as an inventor.

Prior to Leonardo, most of the experimenters were alchemists and these had degenerated into mere hunters for a way to transmute lead into gold.

He kept his discoveries to himself by his mirror script, hence he did not suffer the fate of many pioneers. It has been left for recent generations to pay him tardy tribute and justice as an inventor, as the originator of the scientific method.

It is from the English translation of Da Vinci's notebooks, published in 1939 by Edward MacCurdy, and arranged by subject, that the present writer has selected those passages which reveal the pioneering researches which entitle Leonardo to be called the "Father of modern geology."

This paper will consider the writings of Leonardo da Vinci on the specific subjects of fossils, processes of sedimentation, stream erosion and the history of valleys, and on internal earth forces, notably the principle of isostasy, or adjustment between continents and ocean basins.

**Da Vinci on the Nature of Fossils**

As in many of the branches of natural science which commanded his attention, Da Vinci rediscovered or restated many of the observations and concepts of the Greek natural historians, including Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Xenophanes.

This is particularly true of his writing on the nature of fossils. Xenophanes (540 B.C.) noted that sea shells found
in and on the sides of mountains were proof that the sea can dissolve earth when they mix. Aristotle had seen fossil fishes in rocks of many localities, but he assumed that they lived there; his pupil Anaximander assumed that these strange objects grew in the rocks from eggs left by fishes which had travelled long distances from the sea. Strabo (7 B.C.) wrote that the elevation of the land by internal fires had caused mountains to rise out of the sea, hence the reason for shells being present on the sides of mountains.

Since it was the authoritative writings of Aristotle on science and the natural world which became frozen into the dogma of the medieval Christian Church, no true idea of the origin and nature of fossils was preserved in ecclesiastical dogma. In the Middle Ages, several interesting concepts were extant concerning the nature of fossils, for they were treated as individual loose rocks, or stones, and not as a part of the masses of lithified rock from which they had been weathered out. Some believed that these odd-shaped stones, such as shark's teeth, fossil corals, belemnites, etc., were formed in place by heavenly powers and were endowed with magical powers. These were grouped together with odd-shaped pebbles, geodes, concretions, and mineral crystals, and were sought for their supposedly curative powers, or for their magic in warding off spells, evil spirits, etc. Some writers even believed that piles of fossils in layers were imperfect results of the attempt of the Divine Creator to make man.

At the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance in Italy, the majority of scholars recognized the similarity of the fossil shells to modern forms, but sought to explain their presence in layers on the sides of the mountains of Italy as vestiges of the great Noachian Deluge.

In 1508, Da Vinci wrote the following concerning the Deluge concept of the origin of these peculiar remains:

Of the bones of fishes found in those that have been petrified:

All the creatures that have their bones within their skin, on being covered over by the mud from the inundation of rivers which have left their accustomed beds, and are at once enclosed in a mould by this mud. And so in the course of time as the channels of the rivers become lower these creatures being embedded and shut in within the mud, and the flesh and organs being worn away and only the bones
remaining, and even these having lost their natural order or arrangement, they have fallen down into the base of the mould which has been formed by their impress, and as the mud becomes lifted up above the level of the stream the mud runs away so that it dries and becomes first a sticky paste and then changes into stone, enclosing whatsoever it finds within itself, and itself filling up every cavity; and finding the hollow part of the mould formed by these creatures it percolates gradually through the tiny crevices in the earth through which the air that is within escapes away—that is laterally, since it cannot escape upward since there the crevices are filled up with the moisture descending into the cavity, nor can it escape downward because the moisture which has already fallen has closed up the crevices. There remain the openings at the side, whence this air, condensed and pressed down by the moisture which descends, escapes with the same slow rate of progress as that of the moisture which descends there: and this paste as it dries becomes stone, which is devoid of weight, and preserves the exact shapes of the creatures which have there made the mould, and encloses their bones within it.

He continues with the following explanation of the origin of sedimentary rocks, and how fossils become preserved in them:

When nature is on the point of creating stones it produces a kind of sticky paste, which as it dries, forms itself into a solid mass together with whatever it has enclosed there, which, however, it does not change to stone but preserves within itself in the form in which it has found them. This is why leaves are found whole within the rocks which are produced at the bases of mountains, together with a mixture of different kinds of things, just as they have been left there by the floods from the rivers which have occurred in the autumn season; and there the mud caused by the successive inundations have covered them over, and then this mud grows into one mass together with the aforesaid paste, and becomes changed into successive layers of stone which correspond with the layers of the mud.

And if you wish to say that the shells are produced by nature in these mountains by means of the influence of the stars, in what way will you show that this influence produces in the very same place shells of various sizes, and varying in age, and of different kinds?

And how will you account for the very great number of different kinds of leaves embedded in the high rocks of these mountains, and for the algae, the seaweed, which is found lying intermingled with the shells and the sand?
And in the same way you will see all kinds of petrified things together with ocean crabs, broken in pieces, and separated and mixed with their shells.

Concerning the then prevalent idea that layers of fossil shells were vestiges of the flood of Noah, Da Vinci wrote:

If you should say that the shells which are visible at the present time within the borders of Italy, far away from the sea, and at great heights, are due to the Flood having deposited them there, I reply that, granting this Flood to have risen seven cubits above the highest mountain, as he has written who has measured it, these shells which always inhabit near the shores of the sea ought to be found lying on the mountain sides, and not at so short a distance above their bases, and all at the same level, layer upon layer.

Should you say also that the nature of these shells causes them to keep near the edge of the sea, and that as the sea rose in height the shells left their former place and followed the rising waters up to their highest level; to this I reply, that in forty days the shells cannot travel so far; that the cockle is a creature incapable when out of water of more rapid movement than that of the snail, or is even somewhat slower, since it does not swim, but makes a furrow in the sand, and, supporting itself by means of the sides of the furrow, will travel between 3 and 4 braccia (arm’s length) in a day, and therefore with such a rate of motion it would not have traveled from the Adriatic Sea as far as Monferrato in Lombardy, a distance of two-hundred and fifty miles, in forty days, as he has said who kept a record of the time.

And if you say that the waves carried them there, they could not move by reason of their weight except on their base. And if you do not grant me this, at any rate allow that they must have remained on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the lakes which are shut in among the mountains, such as the lake of Lario, or Como, and Lake Maggiore . . . and others.

If you should say that the shells were empty and dead when carried by the waves, I reply that where the dead ones went the living were not far distant, and in these mountains are found all living ones, for they are known by the shells being in pairs, and by their being in a row without any dead, and a little higher up is the place where all the dead with their shells separated have been cast up by the waves . . . .

And if the shells had been in the turbid water of a deluge they would be found mixed up and separated one from another, amid the mud, and not in regular rows in layers as we see them in our own times.
Leonardo’s keen observations on the differences between shells which grew in situ and those transported some distance from their point of origin led him to these observations:

As for those who say that these shells are found to exist over a wide area having been created at a distance from the sea by the nature of the locality and the disposition of the heavens, which moves and influences the place to such a creation of animal life, to these it may be answered that—granted such an influence over these animals, it could not happen that they were in one line except in the case of animals of one species and of one age; and not the old with the young, nor one with an outer covering and another without its covering, nor one broken and another whole, one filled with sea sand, and the fragments great and small of others inside the whole shells which stand gaping open; nor the claws of crabs without the rest of their bodies; nor with the shells of other species fastened on them like animals crawling over them and leaving the mark of their track on the outside where it has eaten its way like a worm in wood; nor would there be found among them bones and fishes’ teeth which some call arrows and others serpent’s tongues nor would so many parts of different animals be found joined together, unless they had been thrown up there upon the borders of the sea.

And the Flood would not have carried them there because things which are heavier than water do not float and the aforesaid things could not be at such heights unless they had been carried there floating on the waves, and that is impossible on account of their weight.

Where the valleys have never been covered by the salt waters of the sea, there the shells have never been found.

Da Vinci on Streams, Sediments, and the Sea

His many projects involving plans for defense of the city of Milan, for canals, irrigation ditches, and bridges led Da Vinci to a great study of streams, their valleys, and the sediment they carried to the sea. Much of this study he incorporated into his treatise on water.

On the nature of streams and their flow, he recognized the now accepted laws of stream velocity, the relationship between gradient and velocity, the gradual aging and meandering of streams, and the stream erosion cycle. The following quotations will illustrate these discoveries:

Where the channel of the river is more sloping the water has a swifter current, and where the water is swifter
it wears the beds of its river more away and deepens it more and causes the same quantity of water to occupy less space. Where the water is most rapid, it wears away most the bed on which it rubs. Where the water is most shut in, it becomes most rapid and in its passage wears away its bed most.

And the bed offers more resistance; this is why it moves more on the surface than at the bottom.

The farther water is away from its bed the freer will it be in its natural movement.

All the movements of streams of water which are equal in depth and declivity will be more swift at the surface than at the bottom, and more at the center than at the sides.

The shorter the course of the rivers the greater will be their speed. And also conversely it will be slower in proportion as their course is longer.

Every valley has been made by its river, and the proportion between valleys is the same as that between rivers.

The windings which the rivers make through their valleys as they leap back from one mountain to another cause the bank to form curves, and these curves move with the current of the water and in course of time seek out the whole valley, unless they are checked by the fact of it becoming increased in length and diminished in breadth.

The progress of the water is swifter when it falls at a greater angle.

Among straight rivers which occur in land of the same character, with the same abundance of water, and with equal breadth, length, depth and declivity of course, that will be the slower which is the more ancient. This may be proved with straight rivers. That will be most winding which is the oldest, and that which winds will become slower as it acquires greater length.

Valleys grow wider with the progress of time; their depth undergoes but little increase; because the rains bring as much soil to the valley almost as the river washes away, and in some parts more, in others less.

The sharp bends made in the embankments of rivers are destroyed in the great floods of the rivers because the maximum current drives the water in a straight course. But as this diminishes it resumes its winding course, during which it is being continually diverted from one bank to another, and as it grows less the embankment of the river becomes hollowed out.

The lowest parts of the world are the seas where all the rivers run. The river never ceases in its movement until it reaches the sea; the sea therefore is the lowest part of the world.
He made an amazing series of observations on the laws governing the transportation and deposition of sediments virtually all of which were later rediscovered and accepted by all students of sedimentation:

The streams of rivers move different kinds of matter which are of varying degrees of gravity, and they are moved farther from their position in proportion as they are lighter, and will remain nearer to bottom in proportion as they are heavier, and will be carried a greater distance when driven by water of greater power.

He recognized the nature of gravels and conglomerates (shingle) and the reason for the roundness, as resulting from transportation along the bottom of the stream:

And how will you explain to me the fact of the shingle (pebbles) being struck together and lying in layers at different altitudes upon the high mountains. For there is to be found shingle from divers parts carried from various countries to the same spot by the rivers in their course, and this shingle is nothing but pieces of stone which have lost their sharp edges from having been rolled over and over for a long time, and from the various blows and falls which they have met with during the passage of the waters which brought them to this spot.

When a river flows out from among mountains it deposits a great quantity of large stones in its gravelly bed, and these stones still retain some part of their angles and sides; and as it proceeds on its course it carries with it the lesser stones with angles more worn away, and so the large stones become smaller; and farther on it deposits first coarse and then fine gravel and after this big and then small shingle, and after this follows sand, at first coarse and then fine; and thus continuing, the water turbid with shingle and sand reaches the sea.

or, by the constant action of waves along the shore, pounding at the rocks:

All the outlets of the waters which proceed from the mountain to the sea carry stones from the mountains with them to the sea; and by the backwash of the ocean surges against their mountains, these stones were thrown back towards the mountain; and as the waters moved towards the sea and returned from it the stones turned with them, and as they were rolled back their corners struck together, and such parts of them as offered least resistance to the blow were worn away and made stones without angles, of a round
shape, such as are to be seen on the shores of Elba. And those remain bigger which are carried the least distance from their native spot, and in like manner the stone becomes smaller which is transported farther away from the aforesaid spot, for in the course of its progress it becomes changed to fine shingle and then to sand and finally to mud. After the sea had receded from the aforesaid mountains the salt deposit which it left behind with the other moisture from the earth formed a compound with the shingle and sand so that the shingle became changed to rock and the sand to tufa.

Know that stones are rolled over by water because this water either surrounds or flows over them. If it surrounds them it meets again beyond them and intersects, hollowing out the soil or sand beyond the stone, and this after being thus laid bare begins to roll of itself. And if the water flows over the stone then after it has done so it falls in the same line, and by the force of its impetus penetrates from the surface to the base of the other water, and gnaws and tugs and drags away the stone from the opposing obstacles with the result that this also begins to roll, and so continues from place to place until it traverses the whole river. And if a lesser stone should stand in its path the water uncovers it by the same process and does the same, and in this way stones are rolled over in the beds of flowing rivers.

If the mountains had not remained in great part uncovered by the waters, the courses of the rivers would not have been able to carry so much mud into the sea as exists at a great elevation, mingled with the animals which have been enclosed by it.

All the things which are lighter than sand will be left in the lower part of the river underneath the beginning of the fall of the wave.

Where the water has the least movement the surface of the bottom will be of the finest mud or sand.

Sand and other light objects follow and obey the twists and turns of the eddies of the water while the large stones move in a straight line.

Turbid water does more harm to the banks than clear water, and more at the base than at the top, because it is heavier and thicker.

That part of the sand which is nearest to the impact of the falling water will be finer that the rest.

The large shingle will be farthest away from the blow.

Where the water has a stronger current the shingle is larger. All the detached shingle will turn its largest side slantwise against the course of the water.

All light things gather together in the center of the eddies, that is at the bottom.
As to the laws governing the capacity of streams of varying velocity to carry various sizes of particles, he writes:

That thing which is lighter will be carried farther by the rivers from the place whence its waters snatched it away; and so that which is heavier will be removed a less distance from the place at which it was separated. That percussion of the waters carries away more of the bank of rivers which strikes this bank at more equal angles; and so conversely it will carry away less when the angles are more equal.

When the water in the floods commences to find a place where it can flow, it begins with its feeble inundations to strip and carry away the lightest things, and deposits them where its course becomes feeble, then as it grows it carries away the heavier things such as sand, and carries them over the former things and there leaves them, and even through the water should not increase, by the mere fact of its continuance, it proceeds by degrees to carry away the things from the place where it flows; but by reason of their weight it cannot carry them so far forward as the first lighter things, and if it carries away the heavier things it deposits them proportionately near to the spot from whence it took them.

Where the river is constricted, it will have its bed stripped bare of earth, and the stones or tufa will remain uncovered by the soil.

Where the river widens, the small stones and the sand will be deposited.

Where the river widens considerably, there will be discharged the mud or the ooze and bits of timber and other light things.

Where the waters separate, the sand and ooze will be deposited, and the bed will be raised in the shape of the half of a ship inverted.

Where you find much sand you will at the end of it in front or behind, shingle or bare tufa.

It is not denied that the Nile is always turbid as it enters the Egyptian Sea, and that this turbid condition is due to the soil which this river carries away continually from the places through which it passes, and this soil never returns back nor does the sea receive it except just to cast it back on its shores: behold the ocean of sand beyond Mount Atlas where it was once covered with salt water.

The stratified rocks are created in the vast depths of the seas because the mud which the storms detach from the sea coasts is carried out to the deep sea by the recoil of the waves; and after these storms it is deposited on the bottom of the sea; and as no storm can penetrate the sea on account of the great distance that it is below the surface it lies there motionless and becomes petrified; and sometimes it remains in
the form of white clay which serves for making pots; and thus with blocks set at different angles it is made up of layers of as many different thicknesses as are the differences in the storms whether greater or less.

Da Vinci also made the following interesting observation concerning soil erosion:

The rivers make greater deposits of soil when near to populated districts than they do where there are no inhabitants. Because in such places the mountains and hills are being worked upon, and the rains wash away the soil that has been turned up more easily than the hard ground which is covered with weeds.

*Da Vinci on Internal Earth Forces*

The observations on fossil shells previously quoted led Da Vinci to some brilliant conclusions concerning the great internal forces which cause the rise of mountains, the sinking of the sea, and the elevation of the floor:

The shells of oysters and other similar creatures which are born in the mud of the sea testify to us the change in the earth round the center of our elements. This is proved as follows: the mighty rivers always flow turbid because of the earth stirred up in them through the friction of their waters upon their bed and against the banks; and this process of destruction uncovers the tops of the ridges formed by the layers of these shells, which are imbedded in the mud of the sea where they were born when the salt water covered them. And these same ridges were from time to time covered over by varying thicknesses of mud which had been brought down to the sea by the rivers in floods of varying magnitude; and in this way the shells remained walled up and dead beneath this mud, which became raised to such a height that the bed of the sea emerged into the air.

And now these beds are of so great a height that they have become hills or lofty mountains, and the rivers which wear away the sides of these mountains lay bare the strata of the shells, and so the light surface of the earth is continually raised, and the antipodes draw nearer to the center of the earth, and the ancient beds of the sea become chains of mountains.

Careful reading of the following statements from his notebooks clearly indicates to the writer that Da Vinci first conceived the fundamental principle of isostatic adjustment between continents and ocean basins: the continents rising as
erosion strips away their masses, and transferring this great weight of sediments to the ocean basins, thus depressing them and forcing the continents even higher. It is this important principle which Dutton (1872) re-enunciated and named isostasy. On isostasy, Da Vinci commented:

The center of the world continually changes its position in the body of the earth fleeing towards our hemisphere. This is shown by the above-mentioned soil which is continually carried away from the declivities or sides of the mountains and borne to the seas; the more it is carried away from there the more it becomes lightened and as a consequence the more it becomes heavy where this soil is deposited by the ocean waves, wherefore it is necessary that such center changes its position.

That part of the surface of any heavy body will become more distant from the center of its gravity which becomes of greater lightness.

The earth therefore, the element by which the rivers carry away the slopes of the mountains and bear them to the sea, is the place from which such gravity is removed; it will make itself lighter and in consequence will make itself more remote from the center of gravity of the earth, that is, from the center of the universe which is always concentric with the center of gravity of the earth.

The summits of the mountains in course of time rise continually.

Because the centre of the natural gravity of the earth ought to be in the center of the world, the earth is always growing lighter in some part, and the part that is lighter pushes upwards, and submerges as much of the opposite part as is necessary for it to join the center of its aforesaid gravity to the centre of the world; and the sphere of the water keeps its surface steadily equidistant from the center of the world.

Conclusion

It is quite obvious from the preceding selection of quotations from the notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci that his observations and studies in various aspects of earth processes, the origin of sediments, the hydrology of streams and history of stream valleys, and on the true nature of layers of fossils and their significance in earth history, all constitute a remarkable contribution to the science of the earth.

The writer has been able to present only a few of the many geological contributions of the mastermind of the Renaissance,
but it is hoped that enough has been included to warrant his contention that Leonardo da Vinci can be accorded the title of pioneer geologist.

Much of the value of his early discoveries was, of course, lost as they lay fallow for over 300 years in the mass of illegible "mirror-writing" which constituted the bulk of the results of his scientific genius, and were rediscovered, or are being rediscovered, independently by later earth scientists. Thus the science of geology hastens to join her sister sciences in a tardy though justifiable tribute to this great intellect of the Renaissance, and to know him as one of the founding fathers of our science.

REFERENCES

Mormon Bibliography
1961

The selected bibliography listed below is taken from the semi-monthly bibliography of writings on Mormon subjects entitled Mormon Americana. It is the result of a cooperative effort of the libraries of Brigham Young University, L.D.S. Church Historian’s Office, Salt Lake Public Library, Utah State Historical Society, University of Utah Library, Utah State University Library, and several other contributing libraries. The compilation and editorial work are performed by the library of Brigham Young University under the direction of Chad Flake.

The selection for 1961 is broader than that for 1960 (see Brigham Young University Studies, Spring and Summer, 1961, pp. 51-54) since it also includes noteworthy articles in periodical literature. As in the past, publications of the Federal Government and the State of Utah have not been included.

The reader will note that not all the items listed in this bibliography were published in 1961. As books and articles pertaining to Mormonism or the history of Utah come to the attention of the participating libraries, they are reported to the editorial staff at Brigham Young University for inclusion in a forthcoming issue of Mormon Americana. Often family histories or histories of individuals sponsored by family associations do not become known to librarians until they happen to obtain them as a gift from a friend of the institution. By then, available copies usually are distributed and it is difficult, if not impossible, to purchase them for library use. However, they are included in the Mormon Americana bibliography, which attempts to disseminate information on all known publications for the mutual benefit of the participating libraries.

For a more comprehensive listing, the reader is referred to the publication, Mormon Americana, filed with participating libraries.


L.D.S. Church building program.


Utah expedition, 1857-58.


Except for the index volume, this concludes the Hafen's series *The Far West and the Rockies*. Many of the volumes are of Mormon interest and have been published over the last several years.


Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1960.


"The story of Ann Eliza Young, last wife of the Mormon prophet who divorced her husband to lead in the fight against the American Harem."


A history of Orem, Utah.


Ralph Hansen
Boy on a Bus
ARTA BALLIF

The fragrance of some flowers is stronger after they have been crushed. It is very strong when the flowers are wild spring jonquils. The boy, about ten and fat, squeezed the half-dozen blooms in his tightly closed fist until petals, stems, and leaves were almost pulp. He tipped his head down and held the wilted plants to his nose while he sniffed long and loud, satisfying himself with the perfume. The odor was thick and sweet.

The woman beside me said, "My three boys are rowdy and wild. Sometimes I nearly go crazy with their noise. But when I see a child like that, I—" The bus jerked, slowed, and came to a station. "My stop," said the woman; she staggered to the door of the lurching bus.

A group of gray uniformed youngsters stumbled over each other and onto the bus. There were no seats for them, so they stood and rocked back and forth, punching one another, giggling, "I say, stand up straight, can't you?" "Get off my toes and stand on your own jolly feet." They did not speak to the child with the jonquils. He lifted his head once, but stared crookedly. He quickly hid his face again in the limp blossoms.

A woman with a black sealskin coat and white straw hat who sat by the child spoke softly to him. The boy, after long hesitancy, answered, "From America? No? Hungary?" The frumpish woman smiled and whispered in his ear. "Switzerland?" He rubbed the ear with his fist, and one which held the flowers, and guessed her homeland once more. "Scotland?" The Maori woman laughed hoarsely, said gutturally, "Ena hora, ta-ta now," and waddled to the door marked "Exit." She stepped down onto the first step, paused to attain balance, grasped one chrome bar with both hands, fell into the crowd awaiting to ascend, and after finally gaining her
equilibrium walked with greatly agitated hips down the footpath.

The conductor leaned over the sinking head of the child. "Did you have a nice day at school?" he asked. The lad did not reply. Instead, he clenched his fingers tighter about the stems and ever so slightly shifted the white cane which was inches shorter than man-sized. He had been holding it with his left hand all the way from Queen Street to Remuera.

The children looked at the child, whose short dark gray pants would hardly button across his stomach, and drew away from him. For a moment they stopped laughing, but only for a moment; then with a punch or a shove each one began his let-loose-from-school tricks. The commotion lessened as, by ones, by twos, by threes, they alighted from the bus. They ran away whirling this way and that as the Auckland winds, blowing from both the Tasman Sea and the Pacific Ocean at the same time, spun the dry leaves in front of them.

The conductor bent down again. "Next corner is yours," he said. The child cautiously moved his cane. The bus came to a standstill. The conductor raised the lad to his feet. There was confusion at the door as always at four-thirty in the afternoon with people rushing to and fro, getting on and off. The conductor guided the boy to the opening. A woman's hand and arm pushed through the crowd at the door. Then her other arm and hand reached up the steps. She took the child and lifted him out the door, through the passengers, to the footpath. She was tall, not old. Her hair was blond, natural. It hung to her shoulders, but it was not untidy.

"Mummy," and the boy was smiling. "Mummy, I got some flowers for you. Mummy, they smell sweet."

She neither smiled nor frowned, and she could not be heard as she took them from his sweaty fingers.

She had hold of his hand now. They were walking along the footpath. The bus started, and they were almost gone from view.

Suddenly I stopped craning and gazed straight ahead. My hands relaxed their grip on my bag. The bus turned a corner. But in the very moment before it did so, I had seen the tall
woman and the overweight boy with the crooked eyes, skipping down the hill, her long hair blowing backwards, his short, white cane twirling in the air. The winds, because they came from the seas at the same time, had made the boy and the woman sway giddily, but the scent from the crushed flowers had steadied them, for I had heard them both—laughing.
Influence of Finnish Kalevala in the Composition of Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha

DOUGLAS HARDY

In the summer of 1835 a young American poet arrived in northern Europe intent on seeking out the mysteries of Scandinavia, and in high spirits in anticipation of the romance of the North. But Henry Wadsworth Longfellow soon became disillusioned. His failure to achieve his original objectives can be attributed largely to his own personality characteristics which proved to be far from favorable in the European culture. He did not mix well with Europeans; "on the contrary, he was never quite happy unless he was consorting with Americans." And apparently this priggish attitude accompanied him on subsequent visits.

Despite his personality difficulties and general disillusionment, however, he nurtured a fond and romantic sentiment for the countries of the North which lasted for years. The basis for this paper is found in an entry by Longfellow in his journal, the date being June 5, 1854:

I am reading with great delight the Finnish epic Kalevala.
It is charming.

And under the date of June 22, 1854, we find:

I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem upon the American Indians, which seems to me the right one, and the only one. It is to weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole. I have hit upon a measure, too, which I think the right and only one for such a theme.

The growth of this seed of enthusiasm and inspiration led to the creation of Hiawatha, an Indian epic so successful

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1Andrew Hilen, Longfellow and Scandinavia (New Haven, 1947), p. 10.
that only twenty-six days after its publication Longfellow victoriously made the following entry in his journal, under the date of December 6, 1855:

The publishers are just going to put to press the ninth and tenth thousand of Hiawatha. Critics may assail as they please, *oppor simuove.*

From the date of publication much unfavorable, and sometimes rabid, criticism was heaped upon both Longfellow and Hiawatha. A writer in a Washington newspaper, for example, charged that Longfellow had stolen "the entire form, spirit, and many of the striking incidents" from the Finnish Kalevala. Others claimed that it was derived from Spanish form, while still others debated whether or not it "owed a debt to the Swedish Kalevala translation of Castrén or the German translation of Schiefner." In the heat of the battle, a German friend of Longfellow, Mr. Ferdinand Freiligrath, came to the defense of the American poet. Although Freiligrath did not know about the American background of Hiawatha, and in addition was "without definite information about Lönrot's Kalevala and the poetic devices governing Finnish runes," he felt justified in saying that Mr. Longfellow had only occasionally used the parallelisms and alliterations of the Finnish epic, his poem being "not really in the old national metre of Finland, but in a modified form of that metre." Whatever the disagreement among the critics at the time, Longfellow was at least able to "console" himself with the fact that "Hiawatha parodies come in from all quarters,—even from California." This was at least an indication of the exploding coverage of the poem!

And so our thesis is pointed out: Just what was the influence of Kalevala in the composition of Hiawatha? As has been shown above, there are only three possibilities: Longfellow was a plagiarist and stole outright from Kalevala; Hiawatha was composed completely independently of Kale-

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6Schramm, p. 338.
7Longfellow, p. 305.
vala; certain characteristics of the Finnish epic were modified for use in Hiawatha. The second consideration is already out. Let us first consider the third alternative.

In the first place, Longfellow stated that Freiligrath, in his defense of Longfellow, no matter how ill-prepared he was to give it, "puts the matter right at once." He further added in defense of his use of parallelism and repetition in Hiawatha that such construction was justified, it being "as much the characteristic of Indian as of Finnish song."11

It is now quite apparent that the legends and settings of the poem Hiawatha were not copied from the Kalevala, but "have been traced to the pages of Schoolcraft, Catlin, Heckewelder, Mrs. Eastman, and others."12 Mr. Schramm notes:

The scholars, like the readers, have forgotten that upwards of a dozen Indian verse romances were published in the United States before Hiawatha, and that there was a well-grounded tradition of which Longfellow must have been conscious when in 1894, he began to write . . . .13

In addition, the rhythm of these verses was almost identical to that used in Hiawatha:

Mrs. Morton's Quabi of 1790 was largely tetramer, much of it trochaic. Yamoyden is almost entirely tetramer. The Land of Powhatan employs four and five stress couplets and quatrains . . . Tecumseh is almost entirely tetramer. Alhalla is trochaic tetramer.14

It becomes almost certain, then, that rather than adopt the complete style of the Kalevala in the composition of Hiawatha, Longfellow found his source of great inspiration in American tradition and in the abundance of precedent poems then available; but everything that he found in the rhyme and meter of the American models turned him to the Finish classic as the best of them all.15

To refer back to the first consideration: Did Longfellow steal outright the thoughts and patterns of the Kalevala? In addition to its already having been shown that only a modified version of the metre of Kalevala was used in Hiawatha, it is

11Ibid., p. 303.
12Schramm, p. 321.
13Ibid.
14Ibid., pp. 339-40.
15Ibid.
quite easy to display why it would be impossible for it to have been otherwise!

While in Stockholm, Longfellow had studied Finnish for only thirteen days, "interrupted by various activities." To further complicate matters, Longfellow was never in touch with "Finnish patriots, linguists, or literary men." The *Kalevala* was written in the Karelian dialect, a vocabulary of which was not available until 1862. In other words, Longfellow could not have studied the original before he composed *Hiawatha*. The closest he could have gotten to the original was through translations, it being believed that he had "a copy of Castrén’s Swedish translation (1841), Schiefer’s German translation (1852), and a French translation," although Mr. Kirby, in his preface to the English translation, firmly states that *Kalevala* was based on "the first German translation." But in translation there is retained hardly any of the richness of the original, which fact I shall presently demonstrate. It follows, then, that Longfellow could not have plagiarized considerable material from the *Kalevala* had he wanted to!

I have chosen to insert below the two initial stanzas from the original *Kalevala* for comparison with the English translation and a section from *Hiawatha*.

*Mieleni minun tekevi,*
*Aivoni ajettelevi*
*Lähdeäni laulamahan,*
*Sa’aani sanelamahan,*
*Sukuvirttä suoltamahan,*
*Lajivirttä laulamahan;*
*Sanat suussani sulavat,*
*Puhe’et putoelevat,*
*Kielelleni kerkiävät,*
*Hampahilleni hajoovat.*

*Veli kulta, veikkoseni,*
*Kaunis kasvinkumppalini!*
*Lähe nyt kanssa laulamahan,*
*Sa’a kera sanelamahan*
*Yhteinen yhtyvämmme,*
*Kahta’alta käytyämmme;*
*Harvoine yhteinen yhyttämmme,*

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36Nyland, p. 6.  
37Ibid.  
38Ibid., p. 5.  
39Ibid., p. 6.  
Saamme toinen toishimme
Näillä raukoilla rajolla,
Poloisilla Pohjan mailla.21

Let us begin with initial alliteration. I have placed initial con-
sonants in italics so that they will be all the more easily dis-
tinguished. From our sample verses it is readily seen that in
every line there is initial alliteration within the line, in many
instances every word beginning with the same consonant. This
is strictly characteristic of the entire work.

Next we come to free rhyme of the final syllable. At
once we note the abundance of this throughout the complete
work. Interestingly enough, there is a general change of pat-
tern from initial alliteration. Whereas initial alliteration is
generally confined to the words in one line, the final alliter-
ation elements pair off with succeeding lines, so that, in ad-
dition to initial alliteration within the single lines, each line of
a give couplet group contains individual and contrasting
final elements that in turn alliterate with corresponding “twin”
elements in the sister line. Though complicated in explanation,
this phenomenon cannot be overlooked by even the superficial
glance of one who may be completely unfamiliar with the
language! And notice how magnificently this maintains the
unity and spirit of the recurring couplet series, the latter line
saying in essence what the former has just stated.

The abundance of this free rhyme may be contributed to
the grammatical structure of the Finnish language, and which
is uniquely Finnish. For example, in the first stanza the
“mahan” endings are nothing more or less than a regularly
conjugated poietical verb ending, a form of the regular “maan”
ending. The “ni” elements in the first stanza and the “mme”
endings in the second stanza are simply the first person singu-
lar possessive noun forms and the first person plural possessive
noun forms, respectively. And so we see that these construc-
tions, which are native to the prose and poetry of Finland, are
not strained poetical devices, and partly owing to this reason
cannot degenerate into a “sing-song” rhythm that occurs to
a degree when these structure factors are imposed upon the
English language. It is appropriate, also, to indicate that
the metre of Kalevala is dimeter, not tetrameter, the accent
in Finnish always falling on the first syllable.

SONG OF HIAWATHA

But this is not all. The Finnish language, and consequently the Kalevala, is pregnant with assonance within words, the reason for this being that front vowels can only unite with front vowels, and back vowels can only unite with back vowels, the vowels "i" and "e" fitting into either pattern. For example:

Yhtehen yhyttyämme,
Kahta'alta kätyämme;

Can you find just one letter that does not have a rhyming counterpart? And all this beauty of sound and rhythm is native to the language! During Longfellow's very brief introduction to the Finnish language he doubtless became aware of the existence of some of the language characteristics we have mentioned, but as has already been shown it was quite impossible for him to adopt these features with understanding into his composition of Hiawatha.

Mr. Waino Nyland has pointed up another factor that further separates the Kalevala from Hiawatha. He reminds us that the Kalevala is evolved folk-song poetry, originally made to be "played on the Kantele, a five-stringed (G, A, B, C, D) instrument, to which each line is fitted." He continued, with example:

This tune consists of four measures in 5/4 time. Each measure begins with six eighth-notes and ends with two quarters to make the count of five.

This is haunting music, indeed, as the writer can testify.

Now that a few of the characteristics of the original are established, let us see how it compares with the English translation of Mr. Kirby and an excerpt from Hiawatha.

23Ibid.
I am driven by my longing,
And my understanding urges
That I should commence my singing,
And begin my recitation.
I will sing the people's legends,
And the ballads of the nation.
To my mouth the words are flowing,
And the words are gently falling,
Quickly as my tongue can shape them,
And between my teeth emerging.\textsuperscript{24}

Where is the rich alliteration that was found in the Finnish? Mr. Nyland has included a quotation in his work that in answer to the question, "Of the beauties and interweaving intricacies of Finnish as in the Kalevala, what do the translations give us?" says: "Nothing but four trochaic feet, dry and stripped of all pleasure!"\textsuperscript{25} I wholeheartedly agree!

Now what does Hiawatha look like?

By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big-Sea-Water,
Stood the wigwam of Nokomis,
Dark behind it rose the forest,
Rose the black and gloomy pine-trees,
Rose the firs with cones upon them;
Bright before it beat the water,
Beat the clear and sunny water,
Beat the shining Big-Sea-Water.\textsuperscript{26}

Parallelisms similar to those of Kalevala are attempted here, and with some success; but let us remember that Longfellow considered the parallelisms and repetitions characteristic of Indian culture as well as of Finnish.\textsuperscript{27} Initial alliterations are also found here and there, but for the most part are achieved only by repetition of the same words, whereas this is not true in Kalevala.

Aside from the strictly prosodic considerations up to this point, it is interesting to note that the very mood of Hiawatha is different from that of the Kalevala. The Kalevala...

\textsuperscript{24}Kalevala, English translation, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{25}Nyland, p. 19. See footnote 74.
\textsuperscript{26}Elson, William H., and Christine Beck, Elson Grammar School Reader (Chicago, 1911), p. 296.
\textsuperscript{27}James J. Hatfield, "The Longfellow-Freiligrath Correspondence," Publications of The Modern Language Association of America, XLVIII (December, 1933), p. 1281.
of embarrassing moments. Virtue is not a shield against evil. Sin is unpunished. Evil often prevails. In these and many other aspects, Kalevala is an antithesis of Hiawatha. Hiawatha was born to win. He progresses through life spiritually unscathed, a sure victor in all struggles against evil.

Mr. Longfellow, himself, realized the gap between Kalevala and Hiawatha, and this is undoubtedly the reason for his not correlating the two. How much did the Kalevala influence the composition of Song of Hiawatha? In conclusion we should believe the words of Mr. Longfellow when, in answer to some charges of imitation, he said:

—it is absurd. I can give chapter and verse for these legends. Their chief value is that they are Indian legends. I know the Kalevala very well; and that some of its legends resemble the Indian stories preserved by Schoolcraft is very true. But the idea of making me responsible for that (imitation) is too ludicrous.

In fact, we must accept his authority as a conclusion, because the evidence offers no other alternative.

Nyland, p. 11.
Longfellow, p. 297.

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Late on Mother’s Day

Marden J. Clark

You’re just joking, I told her.
No human bones, these that clutch
Like talons at my sympathy.
Just stylish pads to square the shoulders
Or make the elbow try to reach where hand cannot.
Bone grafted to bone in grotesque disfigurement:
Bone can’t pad where flesh won’t fill.
Only knobs of bone, extra-skeletal, that harmonize
With fingers and hands twisted
Past even the shape of pain.

I was broad waking
And so was she. No pain in those knobs,
Not even in the swollen feet. But
Pain everywhere, in a body grown too thin
To support pain—or to house it.
No room for pain!
But endless, dull, and pure,
It fills that frame, whispers from tired eyes,
And overflows the room.

Pain is behovely.

I look for reasons in that shrunken face.
Is this the price she pays?
Price? or result?
We nine, each borne at the price of a knob
Long delayed, as though time had kindly accepted a mortgage
Due and payable in full at forty-five
But also to be amortized with interest over the whole of life.

Just joking! The days drag by
Sucking their feet from the mire of pain
Feet can’t know that pain is behovely.
They only feel the suck and drag of it.
They only echo the tired eyes.
They know the nightmare flowing from the room.
LATE ON MOTHER'S DAY

We nine, we feel no pain
Except as symphonic vibration set up
By the lyric knowledge of our source.

But He must feel it, He in Whom
All pain was given flesh, through Whom Love
Wielded the scourge. Could He be joking too?
He must have known that body is no place for pain.
What kind of laugh when the joke recoils on Him?
When He must feel her pain, amplified
By timeless distance and spaceless time
And multiplied by the number who are feeling pain
Or who have ever felt pain?
Hers overflows the room. Theirs must overflow space
And find a lodging in its Source.

We nine, we're all she has.
Are we enough? Creatures of pain,
We now are separate, yet more a part of her
Than ever those knobs no labor
Can rid her of. We grew in her too.
But we have life of our own. Life, I say,
Purchased by a knob—that lifeless thing
That even while growing was dead.

We know no pain. Even that we feel—
The ache of a head or a heart, the stab
Of a bleeding hand—finds its way, somehow,
Back to her. It stays with us
Only as dissonant sound on a late March day
Whispering that winter was.
And she gladdens to bear it,
Lifted to gladness by love
That falls on us, the bread we prayed for and sorely needed,
To give us strength in the wilderness.

She's dying now. And well she should.
The pain overflowing her frame has siphoned it dry.
Only the will is left, only the love.
Yes, He must feel it, He in Whom
Love was made flesh, through Whom pain
Was relieved of the scourge. It pains Him too.
And only an infinite love can know an infinite pain,
Or bear an infinite weight.

Just joking? Yes, a divine comedy
In which—no, not she—but we,
We nine, feel no pain
But sense the problem, question the source.
Come to know grief
And come to know Love.
What Is the Proper Role of the Latter-day Saint with Respect to the Constitution?

Since Hiroshima, Americans have found themselves enmeshed in a bewildering, confusing, seething world. A new age has come upon us—for all men as well as for Americans—and we have not fully evaluated its impact on our society.

The very instability and uncertainty of our direction as a civilization has had domestic and foreign implications. In the troubled arena of international relations we have undergone "agonizing reappraisals" of our position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the overall ideological threat of communism. This state of affairs virtually commits us to long-term residence by the hostile and ominous crater of modern power politics. Alas, there seems to be no other valid recourse!

In America, frustration and exasperation have forced some to oversimplify problems and to clamor stridently for oversimplified solutions. In addition the nerve-shattering pressures of our age have made many of us unduly suspicious of each other—arguing somewhat idiotically about various "Red" and "Dead" formulae. Obviously, threats do exist, but they should not so rattle us that we become hysterical. Objective and intelligent analysis is absolutely essential if we are to obtain a clear panorama of the world's nuclear revolution in all its phases.

In the midst of this intellectual and emotional turmoil Americans have come to wonder about the viability of their basic structure and philosophy of government, principally predicated upon the Constitution. What is the proper role of the federal government in matters political, social, and economic? How does the Constitution help or hinder us in the resolution of our varied modern problems? As Latter-day Saints we have an even sharper interest in these questions. Certain doctrinal considerations must be scrutinized by the faithful members of the Church. What is the proper role of the Latter-day Saint with respect to the Constitution?

In an effort to bring more light than heat to these perplexing queries, the Order of Artus (an honorary economics society)
sponsored a panel discussion on the B.Y.U. campus, February 26, 1962. The participants, whose contributions follow this preface, were Dr. Mark Cannon, Dr. Richard Bushman, Dr. Quinn McKay, Dr. Garth Mangum, and Professor Richard Wirthlin. Each scholar arrived at his conclusions independently, but all strove to give a fair and balanced presentation of diverse views. From this perspective the panel discussion was a distinct success. In another sense, the panel failed because it did not achieve any unanimity of opinion. It is highly doubtful if any member of the panel would subscribe to all the conclusions drawn by his colleagues. But I suggest this is all to the good. The main purpose of the discussion was to present an intelligent array of views on a set of perplexing questions. In this respect I think the panel made a genuinely important contribution, and I was happy to be associated with it as moderator.

John T. Bernhard

The Constitution and Preservation of Liberty

Mark W. Cannon

The outstanding purpose of the Constitution according to the Doctrine and Covenants is to guarantee each man the freedom to "act in doctrine and principle" according to his "moral agency." The revelation further identifies the founding fathers as "wise men" who were "raised up" for the purpose of writing the Constitution. There is no denial of the now commonly recognized fact that the writers of the Constitution included many property owners who stood to gain more than the indebted classes from the stability and protections of the Constitution. But this revelation, as well as other substantial evidence, makes it clear that the founding fathers were characterized by far more than a desire for economic benefit—that they had wisdom as pertaining to the preservation of freedom.

What, then, was basic to the thought of the advocates of the Constitution? They recognized the weakness of the Articles of Confederation. They wanted a national government, but a

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1*Doctrine and Covenants* 101:78.
limited government because they were suspicious of the potential abuse of governmental power. This fear was illustrated by the statements of two early Presidents. Thomas Jefferson, although not in the United States during the Constitutional Convention, represented a widespread concern with such statements as the following:

Confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism . . . . It is jealously and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obligated to trust with power . . . . In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. 3

George Washington similarly warned:

But let there be no change by usurpation; for although this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. 4

The fact that the power lay in the people rather than a single monarch did not particularly alleviate the founding fathers' suspicions. They were fearful that tyranny of the majority and anarchic upheaval and chaos might result from democracy. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, for example, was fresh in mind. Consequently they wished to put restraints and limits upon popular government. One of the means of accomplishing this objective was to detach governmental decision-making from the passing passions of the populace. This was realized to a small degree by the principle of representation in the House and further by the indirect election of Senators by legislatures and of Presidents by the electoral college, life appointments for judges, and requiring that proposed amendments to the Constitution overcome a hazardous obstacle course—approval of two-thirds of both house of Congress (or of a national convention called on petition of two-thirds of the state legislatures) and majorities of three-fourths of the state legislatures (or conventions).

It is clear that the Constitution was designed not only to prescribe procedures but more importantly to proscribe power. What are the principal Constitutional doctrines to restrain

4 Ibid.
power? The four major doctrines are (1) the doctrine of federalism; (2) the doctrine of the separation of powers; (3) the concept of a government of laws and not of men; (4) the substantive doctrine of due process of law and attendant conceptions of liberty.⁵

What has been, in brief, the history of these restraints designed to protect liberty and property?

The Doctrine of Federalism. The jurisprudence of Chief Justice Marshall is noted for its nationalism. The exaltation of the supremacy clause was illustrated in McCulloch v. Maryland, where the Supreme Court sanctioned the implied right of the national government to establish a bank and prohibited a state from taxing the notes of the bank. It is noteworthy that this decision, in 1819, followed previous decisions intended to strengthen the restraints against abuse of national power such as judicial review (the Supreme Court’s power to uphold or invalidate a federal law as unconstitutional) through Marbury v. Madison in 1803, and the clear establishment of the right of private property through such cases as Fletcher v. Peck in 1810.

Marshall’s successor, Taney, elaborated the theory of dual federalism in which the judicial power was viewed as protecting the states from national encroachment as well as upholding the supremacy of valid national laws. The victory of the programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the modern court represent a return to Marshall’s national federalism, but with very little of the protection of private property which Marshall had established and with a highly restrained attitude toward judicial review. Thus, as Corwin has summed it up, "Dual Federalism as regards the present court, seems today to be at an end, with consequent aggrandizement of national power."⁶

The Separation of Powers. The concept of three principal functions of government somewhat approximating the modern legislative, executive, and judicial, was set forth by Aristotle and was joined by Montesquieu to a notion of a mixed constitution of checks and balances. The tendency of men to abuse power would be minimized if government power were not


⁶Ibid., p. xiii.
concentrated but were divided among three branches of government which could check each other.

Other theorists and institutional experience also contributed to our adoption of the separation of powers with the Lockian corollary that legislative power may not be delegated. However, these doctrines have been impaired by government practice. First, the President has come to exercise a strong, if not dominating, influence in the passage of legislation. The veto, for example, which was used sparingly in the early years of the republic and then largely to stop acts which the President believed to be unconstitutional, has become an instrument of presidential power in winning legislative struggles with Congress.

The growth of the national bureaucracy has given the President ready access to extensive professional assistance. This tends to give strong factual support, quality, and prestige to the President's legislative program, which assists him in winning its enactment. The passage of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 contributed to the growth of presidential legislative leadership not only by giving him staff agencies but by establishing the annual presidential budget. The departments previously sent their own budgets to Congress which reshaped them into a single budget. Thus presidential influence over appropriations legislation has been enhanced.

The problems of wars and depressions have produced a popular demand for unified positive national leadership which has contributed substantially to the growth of legislative leadership by the President. Ernest S. Griffith noted that of twenty major laws in the middle thirties "eighteen had been incubated in the executive branch and for all practical purposes were passed in the form in which they were incubated."

Not only has the President gained power in initiating legislation but also at the other end of the process through congressional delegation of legislative power. The Congress has also delegated legislative power to the "independent" agencies and commissions which merge the powers of the three branches in varying degrees. The modern economic intervention and regulation by the government is the principal cause of delegated legis-

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lation. It would be virtually impossible for the Congress to impose upon the shifting economic scene the relatively permanent molds of statutory legislation without administrative discretion.

It should not be assumed that all factors work toward increasing presidential power. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, for example, was designed to make the Congress less dependent upon the executive branch by increasing the professional staff of Congress. Of greater significance, the growth of the Civil Service merit system together with an expanding economy have greatly restricted one of the principal traditional instruments of power which Presidents can use to win congressional support—patronage. Also the arrangement of bipartisan coalitions such as the Republican-Southern Democrat Conservative coalition give assurance that Congress is far from a rubber stamp.

The President can normally win the legislative battles which he considers crucial and which he supports with an all-out effort. But he cannot win every battle, so he must select with discrimination the issues behind which he puts full support. The shift toward presidential leadership and away from the separation of powers is perhaps suggested by a comment of Fred Seaton that even though President Dwight D. Eisenhower faced a Congress controlled by the opposition party during six of the eight years of his administration the President still got everything that he really needed and wanted out of Congress.⁸

A Government of Laws and Not of Men. The growth of executive dominance has not only impaired the doctrine of separation of powers but also the doctrine of a government of laws not of men.

The draftsmen of the first state constitutions stripped governors of the royal prerogatives of their predecessors, subjected them to annual elections and legislative control. The concept of the governor being restricted to the laws of the commonwealth was made explicit in the Virginia constitution. Before designating the powers of the President, Article II of the United States Constitution reads: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." This clause

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⁸Statement on panel discussion at Western Political Science Association Convention, March 30, 1961, Boulder, Colorado.
was designed primarily to identify the executive as single and to give the President a title. There is no evidence from the proceedings of the convention that this clause was intended to add power to the President beyond those enumerated. Alexander Hamilton became one of the early protagonists of the view that the "executive power" clause contained an additional grant of authority.

The history of the presidency has been cyclical, varying in different degrees between the strict constructionist point of view, represented for example by William Howard Taft, that the President can only act where he is specifically authorized to do so by law or the Constitution, and the view that the President can act in any area where he is not specifically prohibited by law or the Constitution. The latter stewardship theory was promoted by Theodore Roosevelt and refined by Woodrow Wilson, who felt that the President should be as big a man as he can. Although there have been historical oscillations, "Taken by and large, the history of the presidency has been a history of aggrandizement."9

The animating theme of the "new presidency" is that the people are embodied in the executive, and he should, within wide limits, be autonomous and self-directing. The principal causes of this concept of the presidency are social acceptance of the idea that government should be active and reformist rather than simply protective, the vastly enlarged role of the U.S. in the international field, and the fact that the original objective of the functioning of the electoral college has long since been eliminated and the President and Vice-President are the only officials elected by the people as a whole. It should be recognized, however, that the new presidency undermines the ideal of a government of laws rather than men.

Substantive Due Process of Law. The protection against the deprivation of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in the Fifth Amendment was designed to guarantee the common law system of grand juries and petit juries in criminal cases. By the start of the twentieth century the due process clause (applied also to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment) had come to be interpreted as prohibiting govern-

mental deprivation of property or any restraint on the liberty
to contract in numerous situations. Since that time, the Supreme
Court has moved, particularly since 1937, to tipping the scales
in favor of the rights of government as against the rights of
property and contract.

In summary, a review of four principal doctrines of the
Constitution designed to support freedom, shows that all have
deteriorated under changing historic circumstances. As Corwin
concludes: "What was once vaunted as a Constitution of
Rights, both state rights and private rights, has been replaced
to a great extent by a Constitution of Powers."

If, then, we recognize that constitutional doctrines once
thought to be important to the maintenance of freedom have
been eroded and weakened over the decades, we are left with
the challenge of thinking through the question of what steps
should be taken to help preserve and magnify freedom in the
future.

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Inspired Constitution

RICHARD L. BUSHMAN

Latter-day Saints cherish the Constitution of the United
States. Though all Americans revere this important document,
we believe it was inspired of God. The Lord has said He
"established the Constitution of this land, by the hands of wise
men . . . raised up unto this very purpose." Consequently,
we believe that constitutional principles are the surest guide in
times of political confusion, and that following them is the
best way to preserve our liberty.

Unfortunately, remaining true to the Constitution is not so
simple as it sounds. From the first years when government was
established under its provision, political leaders have differed
on interpretation. Loyal and intelligent men have not seen eye
to eye on how the principles embodied in the Constitution are

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1Doctrine and Covenants 101:80. Hereafter abbreviated D.&C.
to be applied in concrete situations. These differences raise a perplexing question: which interpretation of the Constitution embodies the principles God inspired? Unless we know what is of true and lasting value in the Constitution, it is of little worth as a guide for our actions in day-to-day political affairs.

I do not expect to answer this question fully, but we are, I believe, nearer to an answer if we understand clearly what it means to say the Constitution is inspired. In the Church we know that inspiration takes different forms. The revelation a father receives to guide his household is of a different order from that given the Prophet Joseph when he wrote the seventy-sixth section of the Doctrine and Covenants. The first is intended for one family and usually is not applicable to others; the second is universally true and of lasting value to all. Where does the Constitution stand in the spectrum of revelations and inspiration? An examination of the alternative answers to this question will help us solve the larger problem.

1. *The Constitution was inspired as a guide, solely for one time and place.* Under this interpretation we should feel free to alter it whenever conditions change, or, if it seems appropriate, to abandon the document altogether. We might liken the inspiration of the Constitution under this interpretation to the command Noah received to build an ark. Noah was expected to obey the commandment, but it was not binding on any who followed him.

I do not believe that Latter-day Saints can hold this view of the Constitution in light of what the Lord has told us about it. He has said that it "should be maintained for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles." It was not intended for one people alone, but as He said, for "all flesh." The words, "just and holy principles" imply eternal not temporary truth. It is clear in the scriptures that the Constitution transcends a relativist interpretation.

2. *The Constitution is inspired word for word.* Under this interpretation we should feel obliged to hold strictly to the literal meaning of every provision. We would not dare to change or amend it. Government would be authorized to perform only those actions specifically mentioned. This interpreta-

²*D. & C. 101:77.*
tion of the Constitution’s inspiration would give it the same value as any section in the Doctrine and Covenants. Indeed, we should think of the Constitution as an extension of our scriptures.

This absolutist view, however, is no more acceptable than the relativist interpretation. To begin with, it is not compatible with the document itself. Provision is made in the Constitution for amending it. The framers expected that there would be changes from time to time while no book of scripture provides for its own revision.

Moreover, our prophets have specifically told us that the Constitution is not perfect in every sense. Here is what Brigham Young said on the subject:

The signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution were inspired from on high to do that work. But was that which was given to them perfect, not admitting of any addition whatever? No; for if men know anything, they must know that the Almighty has never yet found a man in mortality that was capable, at the first intimation, at the first impulse, to receive anything in the state of entire perfection. They laid the foundation, and it was for after generations to rear the superstructure upon it. It is a progressive—a gradual work.  

Sound as it is, the Constitution is simply the foundation on which we build government; it is not a complete and perfectly framed structure.

Though none of the founding fathers would have claimed more for their work than President Young did, they disagreed among themselves on how much leeway the Constitution allowed the government. Immediately after the Constitution was put into effect, they debated issues similar to those we have raised here. Some of the early leaders favored a strict interpretation of the Constitution, and others advocated a loose construction theory. The advocates of strict construction held a view similar to the absolutist interpretation. The government was to engage only in those activities specifically mentioned in the Constitution. The loose constructionists believed that a wider range of programs was open. Anything that was "necessary and

*Journal of Discourses, VII, 14.*
proper” to the execution of specified powers was, to their minds, authorized by the Constitution.

The specific bill that touched off the debate was one creating a national bank. The Constitution says nothing about banks. The strict constructionists argued that the national government, therefore, had no right to charter such an institution. The loose constructionists, on the other hand, insisted that a bank was necessary to carry out other powers delegated to Congress. Eventually the loose constructionists won out; Washington and Hamilton, along with most of the members of Congress, supported a national bank. Jefferson and the strict constructionists were defeated.

The episode is helpful in answering the question we have set for ourselves, because later on, the Prophet Joseph, took a stand on the very issue the founding fathers had debated. In his platform, written to support his candidacy for the presidency in 1844, Joseph came out in favor of a national bank.4 By so doing he placed himself on the side of those who favored the loose construction theory. It is also interesting to note that in his own day, strict constructionists held rigidly to the doctrine of states’ rights. They believed that the national government should not intervene in any affairs that primarily concerned the states. Joseph despised this doctrine, because it was in the name of states’ rights that President Van Buren refused to defend the persecuted Latter-day Saints in Missouri. Joseph thought it was foolish that government should be dedicated to the protection of human rights and yet be denied the power to defend them. He favored a broader interpretation of the federal government’s powers.5

3. The Constitution is inspired in certain of its principles. After eliminating the alternatives discussed above, we are justified in accepting this interpretation. It is the one most consistent with scriptural statements on the subject. The Lord has said, for example, that the “law of the land which is constitutional, supporting that principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind, and is justifiable before me.”6 It is clear in this passage, I think, that what is

5Ibid., pp. 129-30, 133-34, 162-63.
6D. & C. 98:5.
inspired in the Constitution is the "principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges" incorporated in the document. This principle, the Lord tells us, is not for one time and place, but "belongs to all mankind." It is, as he says elsewhere, "for the rights and protection of all flesh," not just for the people of the United States. Constitutional principles are lasting, not temporary; but, on the other hand, the Constitution is to be cherished because it contains principles that protect freedom, and not because every word was given by God.

This reading eliminates some erroneous conceptions about the Constitution and must be grasped before we can proceed further. It points up the exact question we must ask to clarify the proper role of a Latter-day Saint with regard to the Constitution. That question is: What principles in the Constitution are inspired? The answer to this question is a prerequisite for any practical political action. For when we understand true principles, we can recognize where we can safely adjust our views about the Constitution to changing circumstances, and where we must hold firm at all costs.

Doubtless many principles in the Constitution might be pointed to as bulwarks of freedom, and all of these might justifiably be included among the inspired principles. However, there is one that the scriptures and the prophets have repeatedly stressed as being essential to good government. That principle is liberty of conscience. It is significant that the two most important scriptural passages dealing with the Constitution were revealed shortly after the Saints were expelled from Jackson County because of their peculiar religious beliefs. At this time, the Church was particularly sensitive to the privilege of free worship. When the Lord said that the Constitution was justifiable because it protected men in their rights and privileges, the Saints would at once have thought of liberty of conscience. In the declaration of belief regarding government adopted at the general conference of the Church in 1835 this principle was stressed. Section one hundred thirty-four, where the declaration is recorded, states: "We do not believe that human law has right to interfere in prescribing rules of worship to bind the consciences of men, nor dictate forms for public or private devotion; that the civil magistrates should restrain crime, but never control conscience; should punish guilt but never suppress
freedom of the soul.” The same idea is repeated throughout the section.

In one of his pronouncements on the Constitution, Joseph expressed a similar belief: “It is one of the first principles of my life, and one that I have cultivated from my childhood, having been taught it by my father, to allow everyone the liberty of conscience. I am the greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is.” Clearly, in Joseph’s mind religious liberty and the Constitution were bound inseparably together.

Later in Utah the leaders of the Church consistently made statements in the same vein. Shortly after their arrival in the valley, they were looking forward to the establishment of a new constitution, that given by God for the millennial kingdom to be set up at His second coming. The present Constitution they thought would soon be replaced, yet they declared that the principle of liberty of conscience integral to the Constitution of the United States would be incorporated in the millennial constitution too. That much, at least, was of lasting value.

On this point, the Latter-day Saint position is clear. We are wholly devoted to the protection of men in their right to think and speak freely. But this is merely the beginning. For it is freedom in the fullest possible sense that the Lord recommends in the revelations. After endorsing the Constitution in the Doctrine and Covenants, He says: “It is not right that any man should be in bondage one to another.” Though we may be confused when conflicting ideas are presented to us, there can be no doubt about the paramount value of constitutional government. The first principle is freedom, and that should be our guiding light.

As Latter-day Saints, we should heartily subscribe to those programs and to those views on government which we believe will help remove any of the stultifying restrictions on human life, whether they be economic, social, or political. At the same time, we should be alert to challenge centers of growing power that might in time jeopardize liberty. The application of principles is often discouragingly complex, but at least our belief in the Constitution’s inspiration fixes one point—human freedom—by which we can set our political course.

2Durham, p. 122.
3D. & C. 101:79.
Can You Support the Political "New Frontier" and Still Be A Good Latter-day Saint?

Quinn G. McKay

In other words, excluding some extreme positions, is your standing in the Latter-day Saint Church affected by your political or economic views?

It has been argued by some that a good Latter-day Saint cannot support any group that advocates actions which tend to restrict a person’s free agency. This reasoning goes something like this: Welfarism, or governmental control tends to restrict free agency. The Democratic party encourages welfarism. Therefore, they insist, one cannot be a good Democrat and still be a good Latter-day Saint. Before the Republicans get carried away with undue pride, it should be noted that it was Hoover, a Republican President, who started or initiated the ideas for such governmental programs as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and approved $2 billion for federal public works in one term as President. If one adheres strictly to the first sentence of this paragraph, a member of the Latter-day Saint Church can support neither political party without negatively affecting his standing in the Church. This, of course, is absurd.

I feel the importance of having free agency is as clearly understood by me as it is by most people. I am not here to argue against free agency, but to advocate the preservation of the right of free choice to all. To me the crux of the matter is that there are other principles taught by this Church to which most of us also subscribe, and it is not uncommon to find in a given situation that two or more of these principles are in direct conflict with each other. These are situations wherein to choose a solution which satisfies one principle causes the violation of the other.

The individual judgments necessary to resolve these conflicts of principle are the source of legitimately differing points of view on economic and political matters.

Under such circumstances, divergent views are permissible, realistic, and inevitable, and should be accepted without casting any reflection on a person’s devotion to the principles of the Gospel. Looking at it another way, the only criticism that can
be invoked is not that "you aren't devoted to the principles of the Gospel," but that "your judgment led you to choose, from my point of view, the 'wrong' principle to obey."

Let's look at some examples of this conflict of principle to more clearly understand this realm of judgment.

**CONFLICT**

**War**

Thou shalt not kill. \[\rightarrow\] Thou shalt defend thy liberty.

**Prohibition**

Men should be free to choose for themselves. \[\rightarrow\] Do away with evils of liquor.

**College Bowl**

Keep the Sabbath Day holy. \[\rightarrow\] Promote the Lord's work.

**Unemployment Benefits**

Provide food and necessities for worker's family. \[\rightarrow\] Don't give people something for nothing.

**Regulate Public Utilities**

A business should not have an uncontrolled monopoly. \[\rightarrow\] Business should be left to free enterprise, and not controlled by government.

**A-Bomb Testing**

We should not permit the maiming of future generations by causing further fallout. \[\rightarrow\] We must build our strength to preserve peace.

For instance, consider the question of whether there should be federal aid to education in the form of individual loans or grants-in-aid to young people desiring to attend college. Many of us are quick to argue that we are against federal aid to education because it increases the tax burden and the resulting government control restricts freedom. Furthermore, we may
argue, there are private sources for assistance without going to the government.

Others may counter with this argument: There are a lot of people who would be unable to go to college without this governmental assistance. Those of us who feel the strongest would likely retort, "If it really boils down to the choice of going to school on federal funds or not going at all (which we don't believe) we are all better off if we preserve the freedom from government control even if it means no school for some."

Our opponents advocating federal aid may then resort to a specific example: Here is a young man, 30 years old, married with six children, has never attended college, is unskilled, and has never earned more than $3,800 in a year. He has no collateral with which to obtain a bank loan. Neither his widowed mother nor other members of the family can supply any support. He wants to go to college to prepare himself to provide better support for his family and also to be able to contribute more to society. If he continues as is and loses his job at the age of fifty, the obtaining of another job will be a very difficult matter for an unskilled man. In his circumstances he must either get federal assistance or not go to school. So, he takes federal aid and prepares himself to be a teacher. With his education his income is increased and his choices of job opportunities are increased. Literally, federal aid has created freedom for this man and not only that, but all of society has benefited because he is now a much greater contributor.

Does federal aid restrict or create freedom? It probably does both. There will be "good" result either way the issue is resolved. There will also be some "bad" result in either case. The decision which results in the most "good" and the least "bad" is the "right" solution. But who is to say whose judgment about the most "good" is the correct one?

It is assumed that in making these decisions each one of us evaluates the situation, and on the basis of individual judgments we take our stand on the issues involved. Who is to say when a conflict of principles is involved that his judgment is more correct than yours? If the Lord would come down and tell us, as He has in some cases, then it would be unnecessary to exercise our judgment, but He leaves us to make our own judgments on many things, and lets us grow by so doing.
The G. I. Bill is another example. Some of the principles, pro and con, could be aligned thusly:

**Pro**

*Justice* — They deserve it after what they did in the war.

*Overcomes ignorance* — Many went to school who otherwise would never have gone. This helped to defeat ignorance.

*Makes nation stronger* — To enable so many to further their education makes our nation stronger.

**Con**

*Government control* — This is just a form of federal aid to education.

*Free agency* — We shouldn’t be forced, through taxes, to support veterans to go to school.

*Waste* — A lot of the G.I.’s wasted their time at school and didn’t get any good from it.

When these arguments fail to demonstrate unequivocally that the person’s stand is “the right one,” which ever side he takes, he usually resorts to the argument that a lot of those G. I.’s just didn’t want to go to work and they abused the rights of the bill, implying or stating that the bill never should have been passed. Another may counter with, “Well, if you’re going to throw out something just because it is abused, you have to do away with free agency because it is also abused.”

So now where does one stand on the issue of the G. I. Bill and other issues—even nationalized medicine or federal aid to education? These situations involve conflicts of principles and hence judgments as to which is the more important. Where my judgment is involved you are also entitled to yours. And while I take a firm, zealous stand on the basis of my judgment, you have equal right to your position without my accusing you of being a Latter-day Saint who has less devotion to your Church than do I.

Finally, I believe Church practice also substantiates the idea that people can hold opposing political and economic views and still be good Latter-day Saints. It is of interest to note that in the First Presidency there are two Democrats and one Republican. One may argue that they are party members in name only, but in reality hold the same political views. This I do not believe, especially in light of the fact that not too long ago one of the counselors to the President was the keynote speaker at the state Democratic party convention.
If members of the First Presidency can individually hold and advocate differing economic and political views, I believe members should be able to do the same. Each member should be able to and should take a firm stand, advocate, and vigorously try to persuade others to views resulting from his judgments. Those with differing views should be able to do the same thing without abuse, accusation, social sanction, or aspersions concerning his worthiness.

From either logic or example set by our leaders, I conclude that individuals can hold differing economic and political viewpoints, and still be good Latter-day Saints, excepting those few who maintain very extreme positions.

*Economic Power and the Constitution: A Quarter Century of Change*

Richard Bitner Wirthlin

We have been led to believe this afternoon that the power of the Constitution to secure the individual’s right of conscience represents the divine touchstone of that great document. Certainly none of the several objectives stated in the Preamble of the Constitution takes precedence over securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity. In fact it could be cogently argued that the other objectives enunciated in the Preamble—to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defense, and to promote the general welfare—are but inseparable concomitants of that single, grand objective of liberty.

In this regard we as Latter-day Saints might appropriately ask ourselves, “Do economic programs created and administered by the government, ostensibly designed to insure domestic tranquility, or to provide for the common defense, or to promote the general welfare limit individual liberty to the extent that we as members of the Church should bend every effort to check and curtail the development of such programs?” Our answer to this question will determine to a large degree our role with respect to the Constitution.
My contribution to this panel is to provide a factual basis for a better understanding of the dimension of economic power of government over the past quarter century as it affects individual liberty. Only after we obtain a view of reality can we attempt to judge the beneficial or deleterious impact of economic power on the individual's right of conscience.

One need not look beyond his daily newspaper to find evidence, or at least allegations, that government economic power as measured by total government expenditures is expanding at a tremendous rate. It is true that when we use unadjusted or raw data total government expenditures rose from 15.9 billion dollars to 149.8 billion dollars, an increase of 842 per cent in the quarter century 1936-1961. From this and similar statistical "facts" it is concluded by some that government power has seriously encroached upon the sacrosanctity of the individual. But such statistical facts are so superficial that they are virtually meaningless.

In the first place dollar statistics do not take into account price changes and are emptied of any comparative value when the price level shifts as significantly as it did in this country between 1936 and 1961. A 1961 dollar is worth less than half of a 1936 dollar.

In the second place the bald dollar statistics in no way reflect the fact that the dimensions of society which government serves has expanded considerably in the last twenty years. Professor Mangum has indicated how the revolutionary process of industrialization alters the tasks of government. In this connection it should be pointed out that almost a hundred million more citizens of this nation now live in urban areas than in 1936. Proportionately more of the old and more of the young are now represented in our population than were represented twenty years ago; population itself has increased forty per cent since 1936.

In the third place the size of the total economy is increasing at an even faster rate than the growth of population. Thus if government expenditures, adjusted for price and population changes, remained the same over a given period, this would indicate that the relative economic role of government was shrinking in respect to the entire economy.

Hence, using unadjusted dollar figures to compare present economic power of government with its magnitude of an earlier
date must obviously lead to distorted judgments. The tremendous margin of distortion can be partially appreciated when we realize that the 842 per cent increase in unadjusted dollar government expenditure is cut by considerably more than half to about 287 per cent when the froth of inflation is skimmed out of the figures. The 287 per cent is cut again by half to about 173 per cent when the increasing size of the population is accounted for by taking per capita figures. The 173 per cent is cut by four-fifths to 39 per cent when the relative role of government is measured in terms of Gross National Product.

Thus the increase in government expenditure from 1936 to 1961 shrinks from 842 per cent to 39 per cent when its relative economic role is considered. It should be emphasized that this latter figure in no way attempts to reflect increases in government expenditures generated by advancing urbanization and by the changing structure of population.

But still someone may quite logically argue that there is much room for concern for individual liberty if the relative economic role of government as measured by its expenditures expands by over a third. Certainly such an argument would be well taken if this increased governmental economic power represented the taking over by government the primary means of production. Closer examination of the data reveals, however, that virtually the entire increase in governmental expenditure for the period we are considering is attributable to war-related and defense costs. Does this increase represent a curtailment of individual liberty? This question can best be answered when the alternatives to increased defense expenditure are considered. What could we now say about individual liberty if this nation had failed to rise to the terrible challenge of totalitarian facism of the forties or to the danger of atheistic communism of the fifties? Of what significance would the right of conscience have under a Hitler or a Khrushchev?

When expenditures for wars, defense, and international relations are excluded, general government expenditures as a proportion of total Gross National Product fell from 15.2 per cent in 1936 to 12.4 per cent in 1961.

Am I suggesting that government economic activity never threatens the freedom of the individual? Not at all, for I am firmly convinced that either government ownership of the primary means of production or massive government regulation
of the free market would rob us of part of our free heritage. I am suggesting that the Frankenstein monster of governmental economic power in our age, as defined by the dimensions of gross governmental spending, collapses like the punctured balloon of a child when these figures are critically examined.

We are a more populous, a more wealthy, a more urbanized nation than we were twenty, thirty, or fifty years ago. Such change works for ineluctable change in the economic role assumed by government. Further, this country now faces a foe that is completely dedicated to our economic and political downfall and this, too, imposes its economic burden on the federal powers.

If we refuse to face that challenge on the international scene; if we refuse to provide sufficiently for our aged, our lame, our halt despite our opulence because charity was a private and not a public matter of concern a hundred years ago; if we refuse to recognize that forced idleness is as abhorrent to a free society as forced labor; if we refuse to recognize that mass unemployment is a problem that impinges upon domestic tranquillity as well as the general welfare and that the national government possesses monetary and fiscal tools not possessed by any state or city that can and do alleviate forced idleness, then the Constitution of this great land may, by default, become but an anachronistic curio in the halls of the Kremlin.

What then should be the role of the Latter-day Saint with respect to the Constitution?

It should be a conservative role in that our deepest loyalty is to the ideal of liberty. To paraphrase James Madison, we should support the conferral of power to government only if it is decided that such power works to the benefit of the public good; if such power must be given we should guard as effectively as possible against the perversion of that power. We should attempt to keep the matter of choice as close to home as possible. All problems that can be solved by the city should be solved by the city. All problems that can be solved by the state should be solved by the state. Only those problems that cannot be solved by the local or state governments or those problems of a pressing nature that these two lower levels of government refuse to solve should be of concern to the federal government.
In addition to being a conservative role, the role of the Latter-day Saint with respect to the Constitution should be a liberal role in that obedience to, and the administration of, the laws should be done without prejudice, but with compassion and tolerance, with charity and devotion.

The role of the Latter-day Saint with respect to the Constitution should also be a progressive role in that time change and the social order continues to evolve until that perfect, God-ordained order is established.

*Industrialism and the Role of Government in the American Economy*

**Garth L. Mangum**

My contribution to the question before the panel will be an attempt to put into economic perspective the changing role of government in the American economy and then relate that role to the Latter-day Saint and the Constitution.

To understand that changing role, it must be kept in mind that the United States was born on the eve of the greatest revolution in human history—the industrial revolution. The agrarian society was characterized by stability and self-sufficiency, but a low standard of living; the industrial society by the interdependence of specialization and exchange, large accumulations of economic power in the individual business firm, dependence on wage and salary income, urbanization, a rising standard of living, and a rapid rate of economic and technological changes. We still do not fully realize the dramatic nature of this transition which our nation has experienced, but we live daily with its problems.

Among the many myths with which we seem to be burdened is the one that has the U. S. economy rising to great wealth and power in an environment of *laissez-faire* (A term of French origin which has come to mean the absence of government intervention in the economy) and then declining under pressure of government intervention. This myth like many others will not stand the test of history. Despite the coincidental dating of both Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* and the Dec-
laration of Independence in the same year—1776—laissez-faire did not come to America for another hundred years and then never completely and only briefly. Mercantilism—extensive government regulation for promotional purposes—was still the prevailing economic philosophy of the late 18th century.

While no one would deny the individual American enterpriser his central role in American economic development, one must keep in mind that local, state, and national governments and foreign sources were the major sources of capital for the development of the new nation. It was only after such promotional intervention had brought development to the point where private capital accumulation was substantial that the business community shook off the governmental hand which had supported it and ushered in the post-Civil War age of laissez-faire. Until then bounties, subsidies, franchises, tax exemptions, grants of monopoly privilege, tariffs, government loans, government stock, and bond purchases and other trappings of mercantilism continued their role. Indeed, some were never removed.

The post-Civil War period of minimal, though not nonexistent, government intervention was shortlived. By the time the larger business community felt ready to venture forth from the nest of government sponsorship, small businessmen and farmers were becoming aware that government was not the only possible threat to their freedom. Attempts in the 1870's and 1880's to control accumulations of economic power in private hands began a long-term regulatory trend designed to insure the free market economy against the effects of monopoly, protect consumers and investors from more crass manifestations of the search for profits, and insure the public against some of the uncertainties of a wealthier but more unstable society.

In the new economy of specialization and exchange, the farmers and small businessmen felt themselves to be at the mercy of the railroad's transportation monopoly. The result was, first, state regulation and then the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Three years later the same farmer-small business alliance was successful in winning the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act but they were never strong enough to get it enforced. During the next decade, the sensational exposes of the food preparation and patent medicine industries by the "muckrackers" led to passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. Recurrent "money panics," particularly that of 1907, brought into
being the Federal Reserve System in 1913. The same year saw
the cumulation of a forty-year fight for an income tax, again at
the behest of the farmer-small business coalition now being
augmented by the rising power of the new industrial working
class. The following year saw the passage of the Clayton Anti-
Trust Act, unsuccessfully designed to reverse the Supreme
Court's negation of the Sherman Act. The 1920's brought the
Federal Power Commission, the Federal Communications Com-
mission, and special legislation to aid the chronically ill agri-
cultural industry. All of this presaging a quickening of the
trend to government activity in the economy during the 1930's.

The new shift was in the direction of increased govern-
mental concern for the welfare of the individual. The hallmarks
are familiar to us all—government concern for maintaining a
high level of employment and a guarantee of at least a mini-
mum of economic security in the form of unemployment com-
pensation and old age and survivor's insurance. During these
same years, another of the phenomena of industrialization was
occurring. The industrial labor force, disturbed by the unilateral
rule-making of their employers was attempting against great
odds to organize for participation in the rule-making process.
Here, too, government played a role, generally opposing or-
organized labor until 1932, taking a briefly laissez-faire position
in the labor market until 1935 and swinging to a promotional
role thereafter. Something was happening which the Marxians
thought impossible. The problems of industrialism were being
solved, not perfectly, but adequately within the context of a
free democratic society with a private enterprise economy.

What is the constitutional role of government in our econ-
omy? This depends on one's view of the Constitution. To state
the question somewhat unfairly, "Is the Constitution to be an
obstacle to the solution of social and economic problems, or
does it just establish a framework within which problems are
to be solved while individual liberty and the general welfare
are maintained?" The Constitution says surprisingly little about
economics. Congress has the power to coin money and regulate
the value thereof, tax for the common defense and general
welfare, impose tariffs, and regulate foreign and interstate
commerce. Internal tariffs are forbidden. Private property can
be taken for public use, but due process of law must be followed
and just compensation paid. The actual type of an economic
system and its adjustment to changing problems was left to a pragmatic solution, though preference for a diffusion of political power also suggests a bias toward the diffusion of economic decision-making available in a private enterprise economy.

The founding fathers were practical men. They must have known that government by the consent of the governed is the instrument by which men pursue collectively the goals they cannot or do not care to attain individually. They knew they lived in a changing world and they wrote into their document provisions for change to meet changing problems. Their purpose was not to prevent the people from meeting the problems of future ages but to insure careful consideration before the change and through checks and balances prevent a single interest group from running away with the machinery of government.

The remarkable aspect of the Constitution, it seems to me, is the flexibility with which it has met the tremendous problems of the transition I have described. To have denied the Constitution this flexibility would have been the surest way to destroy it. God's instructions to Noah in his shipbuilding enterprise are of little value in building atomic submarines, yet the Bible is not out of date. Neither is the Constitution, but we must now apply those "just and holy principles" to new problems. Government can be, but is not necessarily, a threat to individual liberty. Poverty, lack of opportunity, and accretions of economic and political power in private hands can threaten individual liberty as well. Government wisely used can protect the individual from these other threats to his liberty.

Even the strictest model of a free market economy must allow for a public sector to satisfy collective wants such as national defense which cannot be met by private enterprise. There is another area of quasi-collective goods such as education which produce social benefits over and above the private benefits. Only the private benefits can be sold in the market place. The welfare of society will be diminished unless the social benefits are supplied by public provision or subsidy of the service. The technical nature of some production processes require the productive unit to be so large that the restraining hand of competition is not available. These natural monopolies require either public regulation or public ownership, and, since
the normal market forces are not available, the differences between them are not great.

Modern fiscal and monetary policies can be used to promote a high level of economic activity and employment without interfering directly with the functioning of the market mechanism. Thus the wastes of under-utilization of resources and the high human costs of unemployment can be reduced within the framework of private enterprise and free individual economic decision-making. Unemployment insurance insures the industrial worker against the temporary dislocations of technological change and change in consumer demand as well as his own freedom of occupational choice. Smaller families, high mobility, the disappearance of the extended family unit, and the sharp cut-off date of retirement from industrial employment rather than the gradual retirement of the aged in agriculture have made the costs of aging a charge upon society.

Government regulation can be used to promote competition and enhance the functioning of the free market economy. It can be used to intervene in the market to protect the consumer, the investor, or natural resources against an occasional excess of avarice. Unfortunately government regulation can also be used to interfere with the market on behalf of special interest groups whether they be farmers, businessmen, or organized labor. Also unfortunately we seem to have an overdeveloped notion of the efficiency of legislation as a solver of problems and a reluctance to accept the results of private decision-making. Yet the answer is not elimination of government regulation but the wise and restrained use of regulation.

In our own rather peculiar form of government, another question must be asked. Not only do we have to decide whether to solve problems publicly or privately, but our federal system requires a decision as to which level of government shall supply any particular service. There is real value, in my opinion, in handling local problems locally and national problems nationally. Part of the trend toward increasing centralization is a result of the increasing interdependence of our society. Unfortunately it is also in part a result of failure to handle local problems at the state and local level. In our society we have a few people who would like government to do nothing and a few who would like government (preferably federal) to do everything, but most of us are only concerned with finding a
solution to social problems. The surest way to insure government intervention is to refuse to solve privately problems which could be solved in the private sector of the economy. The surest way to insure federal intervention is to refuse to handle local problems through the machinery of local government.

What should be the attitude of Latter-day Saints toward the Constitution in 1962? I am authorized to speak only for one Latter-day Saint, and I'm not even prepared to claim divine origin or bear testimony of his views. However, it seems to me there are two possibilities. One can insist that the Constitution must be interpreted exactly as it was interpreted in 1789 (though most Latter-day Saints who take this view seem more enamored with the Social Darwinist interpretations of 1889) and refuse to face any social problem which was not existent and being faced in George Washington's day. One who does so can expect to contribute no more than amusement and mild exasperation to his age. On the other hand, one may choose to face the problems of his time and help in the search for a solution which is compatible with the just and holy principles of the individual liberty, human dignity, and freedom of conscience.
Book Review


Over a hundred years ago, in July of 1856, James Jesse Strang, self-styled Mormon prophet and king of Beaver Island, died at the hands of assassins. But one of the curious if minor phenomena of American history is that his ghost, like that of Banquo, will not rest. Again and again it has returned to haunt historians—to ask them who he was and what motivated him to establish his version of the kingdom of God on earth. Many of the questions about Strang's enigmatic but fascinating life have been answered. And yet, admits one of his biographers, "in seeking for the deepest truth of Strang's character I may have erred." This "deepest truth" we will perhaps never know, for much of what was buried in Strang's mind is now forever buried in his grave. But thanks to the indefatigable and painstaking efforts of Mark A. Strang, a grandson of King James, historians are now permitted additional glimpses into the mind of a man who was the founder of the first schismatic group in Mormon history.

An earlier version of this diary was published by Milo M. Quaife in The Kingdom of Saint James, A Narrative of the Mormons (New Haven, 1930). But Quaife, who made a number of serious mistakes in his transcription, failed to crack the private cipher which Strang had used to guard his most intimate thoughts and actions from the eyes of possible future readers. Mr. Mark Strang has succeeded in deciphering the code and is now, for the first time, publishing the diary fully transcribed and corrected. It is to be regretted, however, that Strang only recorded the events of his life from 1831 to 1836.

This record reveals a young man torn between heaven and earth, between the world of dreams and reality. His overriding ambition occasionally stops little short of delusions of grandeur: "I have spent the day in trying to contrive some plan of obtaining in marriage the heir to the English Crown. It is a difficult business for me, but I shall try if there is the least

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chance. My mind has always been filled with dreams of royalty and power.” At other times he dreams about nature and its “benevolent spirit” in an almost visionary manner only to return to earth by proclaiming “I am a perfect atheist.” He is an able debater and shows a strong concern for public affairs. The nullification controversy arouses within him great anxiety about the future of the United States. But he has one consolation: “... if our government is overthrown some master spirit may form another. May I be the one. I tremble when I write but it is true.” He reads Walter Scott and concludes that if Scott’s fame came from his writing, “who could not be great ... I have better writing.” Among the latter he counts the Age of Reason by Tom Paine and Blackstone’s Commentaries. The diary thus reveals Strang as a dreamer who was also enough of a realist to accomplish some of his dreams. “Some time since took a resolution which I now solemnly confirm, to be a Priest, a Lawyer, a Conqueror, until I find better business.” Perhaps Mormonism was this better business. That he used his membership in the Church (he was baptized in 1844 by Joseph Smith himself) to further these ambitions is a matter of history.

The grandson-editor’s own exegesis, which fills some twenty odd pages of introduction and numerous footnotes, is an attempt to correct a view which stamps “one of the world’s great thinkers and teachers” as overly ambitious. Biography, understandably, lends itself more to adumbrations of the hagiographer than other areas of history. But this does not excuse the editor from painting halos. True, Milo Quaife’s incorrect transcription made some of Strang’s statements appear more ambitious and selfish than intended. The most glaring example is Quaife’s misreading of “ignorant” for “eager,” which completely reverses the meaning of a sentence. But to claim, as the editor does, that the image of Strang’s character for the last thirty years has largely rested on this error is an exaggeration, to say the least. Yet even if one grants distortion and misinterpretation to Quaife and those that follow him, the editor’s overemphasis on Strang’s resolve to devote his life to the service of mankind backfires and dissolves in irony. For a reading of the diary as a whole reveals that its tone is not so much set by Strang’s desire to serve, but by his overriding ambition. And none other than the editor himself is respons-
ible for the necessity of a new interpretation of Strang’s character that will show the king of Beaver Island even more ambitious than his biographers to date have made him out; for almost all of the numerous passages in cipher, with the exception of those dealing with Strang’s amours, are recordings of his secret dreams of ambition and power. It is thus only unfortunate that the editor, instead of leaving the record to speak for itself, has distracted from the excellence of his otherwise superior job of editing by succumbing to ancestor worship. The same bias can be found in an otherwise excellent annotated bibliography which serves as a helpful introduction to the vast literature on James Strang.

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