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The "Renaissance" in Recent Thought: Fifteen Years of Interpretation

De Lamar Jensen*

"There was a time once—or at least I think there was—" mused scholar John L. Lievsay recently at a gathering of historians and literary critics in Washington, D.C., "when a man might innocently use the term 'the Renaissance' to refer to a reasonably well-defined single phase, however involute its composition, in the history of Western-world culture. And no one would have argued, seriously, that the expression was other than a general synonym for the sixteenth century. Nowadays, all that is changed. In an unguarded moment one says, as though it were a naughty word, 'Renaissance'—and is instantly challenged. Just what does he think he is talking about?" ¹

The confusion and frustration resulting from contradictory interpretations of the Renaissance may not be quite as extreme as Professor Lievsay suggests, but no one can deny the dilemma of today's reader when he is confronted with such a potpourri of renascences, renaissances, and prenaissances. The present study is an attempt to make the idea of the Renaissance a little clearer and more meaningful to the general reader through an examination of some of its recent interpretative literature.² It is also intended to show that, in spite of the infinite variety and divergency of contemporary views, there are some striking

*Dr. Jensen, professor of history at Brigham Young University, is on sabbatical leave in France.


similarities in these views concerning the nature and meaning of the Renaissance. Indeed, one might even discern if not a direction in these writings at least an orientation reflecting both the rising standards of scholarship and the growing interdependence of academic disciplines. For the Renaissance scholar—whether he is historian, art critic, or poet—just as for the statesman, businessman, or cleric, understanding and cooperation have become vital in our shrinking world.

I.

The logical starting point for any contemporary study of Renaissance historiography is Wallace K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (1948). Ferguson's lucid and critical analysis of the evolution of the "Renaissance" has made this almost a modern classic, but it is also important for another reason. Implicit throughout the work, and specifically stated near the end, is Ferguson's own interpretation of the Renaissance. It is this aspect of his study—although it has not met with the same acclamation as the more descriptive parts—that has exercised a great influence on Renaissance interpretations of the last fifteen years.

Ferguson's view, suggested as early as 1940, is that "the Renaissance grew out of the Middle Ages and was a period of gradual transition" which began "when the new urban and secular elements in European culture began to weigh down the balance against the feudal and ecclesiastical elements which had dominated the civilization of the Middle Ages."2 Here he emphasized the idea that the Renaissance was not a method nor an outlook, but a *period of time*, distinct in many ways from the medieval because of the essential differences in the social structure of the two eras. In *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, he again suggested the idea of a transitional period of time between the Middle Ages and the Modern world, and declared that the greatest need for future Renaissance scholarship was that of working out a new and up-to-date synthesis, based upon the detailed analysis of the many aspects of this period. "I do not mean to imply," he explained, "that historians should seek to discover anew the 'spirit of the Renaissance' in the sense of a *Zeitgeist* that will serve as the key to open all doors. My insistence upon the value of synthesis

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rests simply upon a conviction, which may be in essence an act of faith, that the events of the past are not isolated phenomena, that history is not a meaningless chaos of unrelated facts."

In 1951 Ferguson further elaborated his conception of the Renaissance, suggesting not only its general characteristics, but also its location in time, which he rather arbitrarily places between the years 1300 and 1600. He then described this period as the transition from a civilization that was predominantly feudal, ecclesiastical, and agrarian to one that was predominantly national, urban, and secular, with its economic center of gravity shifted from agriculture to commerce and industry. "It is, indeed, the distinguishing characteristic of these centuries that they are neither medieval nor modern, but represent a transitional stage which has a character of its own." This is the leitmotif which runs through much of contemporary Renaissance literature.

In recent years there have been many general histories of the period which might fall somewhere into the category of synthesis, but only two of these can be considered here. The most direct attempt to synthesize and integrate the cultural, political, and economic features of the Italian Renaissance into a meaningful historical interpretation is Denys Hay's *The Italian Renaissance in Its Historical Background.* Hay confesses his belief in the existence of a "Renaissance" between the mid-fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries and his acceptance of the view that it occurred first in Italy and then spread to the rest of Europe. Proposing to describe the "style of living," in the Renaissance, he succeeds in sketching an incomplete but

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suggestive portrait of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy with emphasis on both the continuity and the uniquenes of the period. He quickly admits the persistence of medieval attitudes, techniques, and institutions, but maintains that "when these and a thousand similar points are allowed for there is still a difference in the style of living between the Renai-

From this premise, Professor Hay illustrates the composite yet distinctive nature of Renaissance life. Politically it was the age of theoretical and practical dynastic monarchy wedded to the urban middle class as contrasted with both the medieval world of decentralized landed magnates and with the post-Renaissance period dominated by parliamentarianism and bourgeois political values. In economics too the Renaissance stood between medieval agrarianism and the modern world of heavy industry. "It was a world of banks yet without bank-notes; of commerce without industry; of enormous financial opera-
tions in an atmosphere almost devoid of financial security; where one had capital, so to speak, without capitalism; where town and country were almost evenly matched in economic importance; where money might be made in a hundred and one ways, but where the only long-term investment was land."

Further examples are drawn from its religious and cultural characteristics, which Hay describes as "essentially lay and yet essentially Christian." or what he calls "secularly religious," referring specifically to the Brethren of the Common Life, the Christian humanists, and to the Jesuits. In literature the Ren-

Above all, Hay insists that the Renaissance was not the prototype of the modern world any more than it was a con-

What has the Renaissance contributed to the railway engine, the aeroplane, mass education and the ideal of popu-
lar government? We live in a world where Latin letters are

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2Ibid., p. 19. Whereas Hay underrates the role of technology in the Renaissance and neglects the effects of geographical expansion and discovery, Sir George Clark, in his shorter Early Modern Europe from about 1450 to about 1720 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), emphasizes these as primary characteristics of the Renaissance.
remote from our present anxieties and pleasures, where even our art and architecture have left the norms set up in the sixteenth century. Beyond that we live, for better and for worse, in one world... This is all very different from earlier ages when the traditional geographical limits of Europe represented the furthest bounds of most European activity.9

In 1963, the long-awaited Ferguson synthesis finally appeared. His claims for his latest book, Europe in Transition, 1300-1520,10 are more modest than that, but it is apparent that between the covers of this 625-page general history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries he has carefully woven together the essential features of his conception of the Renaissance: Sociological evolution from an agrarian to an urban society, political transition to the territorial state, artistic and intellectual emergence of the "Renaissance man." Yet the format and treatment of subject matter are on the whole disappointing. It is largely narrative history falling somewhere between a real interpretative synthesis and a detailed survey text. Furthermore, by treating the "civilization of Western Europe as a whole" during the little more than two centuries from 1300 to 1520, Ferguson is forced to make the Renaissance embrace and encompass such unlikely bedfellows as the Hundred Years' War, French feudal chivalry, and the Angevin monarchy in England. Nevertheless, this welcomed study is a valuable addition to recent Renaissance literature, providing a much-needed college text and at the same time a comprehensive summary of the political, economic, and cultural life of Europe in the "age of transition."

II.

Early in the period under discussion, Nino Valeri published his great study of Renaissance Italian politics, L'Italia nell'età dei principi dal 1343 al 1516, in which he traced the long struggle between Milan and the other city-states of northern and central Italy, culminating in the erection of a precariously balanced Italian states system by the middle of the fifteenth


century. Unlike Luigi Simeoni’s well-known history of the same year, Valeri views that conflict, particularly in its effect upon Florence, as a prime factor in shaping the culture and the entire intellectual outlook of the Renaissance. For Valeri the civic consciousness engendered by the Milanese wars was the bridge dividing fifteenth-century Italian “social” culture from its individualistic antecedents of the fourteenth.

Valeri’s theme received its most adept and detailed exposition (though apparently arrived at independently) by the eminent Renaissance scholar Hans Baron. In 1953, continuing two decades of important contributions, he published a lengthy article focusing attention on the repercussions of the alliance of “liberty-loving” Florence with Venice against despotic Milan. “Out of the struggle had come the decision that the road was to remain open to the civic freedom, and to the system of independent states, which became a part of the civilization of the Italian Renaissance.” Baron’s interpretation of the Milanese defeat as a victory for freedom rather than as a defeat for national unity became the starting-point for a new interpretation of both the scope and the nature of the Renaissance. It was the coexistence of republican and monarchical states side by side in a working balance of power, says Baron, which provided the basis of Renaissance culture, and in a sense made Italy of the fifteenth century the prototype of the modern world.

Closely related to this interpretation is Garrett Mattingly’s view of Renaissance diplomacy. Certainly in the objectives, organization, and the techniques of diplomacy, Renaissance Italy was the model and teacher of the rest of Europe and, to

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a degree, of the world. According to Mattingly, the same struggle in northern and central Italy against the expanding power of Milan, which provides the key to Baron's interpretation, also gave birth to modern diplomacy.

Although all civilizations of which we have any record have had some set of diplomatic institutions, ours took a turn some time after 1400 which differentiated it from all other sets in history. This new development seemed to be a characteristic symptom of the new power relations of the nascent modern world. . . . Resident embassies, the distinguishing feature, were an Italian invention. They were fully developed in Italy by the 1450's and spread thence, like other Renaissance innovations, to the rest of Europe around 1500. And like other Renaissance innovations, they continued to develop along the lines laid down throughout the period which ended in 1914, so that their first stage may also properly be called the beginning of modern diplomacy.15

This "new diplomacy," created in Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century, was the expression of a new kind of state, unknown in the Middle Ages and still only partially developed by the sixteenth century.16

While rejecting Ferguson's early periodization, and preferring to call the Renaissance a change of phase rather than a change in kind, Mattingly adheres to a modified "transition" view. "I use it" [the term "Renaissance"], he explained at a 1960 symposium, "for the critical phase of the transition from the unified, hierarchically ordered, spiritually oriented society of Latin Christendom, to the heterogeneous, secularly oriented society of autonomous sovereign states which make up modern Europe."17

As our attention moves from the fifteenth into the sixteenth century and from Italy into the rest of Europe, we become aware of further changes in outlook and emphasis. Traditionally the Italian Renaissance has been explained in

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terms of the bourgeois city-states. But, according to some students of the period, this was no longer the prevailing structure in many areas by the late fifteenth century. David Hicks suggests, for example, that a new society was emerging in Siena at the end of the century which was dominated not by the urban-centered bourgeoisie but by a new aristocracy basing its wealth and power on agriculture and political privilege, a nobility “possessing a curious resemblance to the petty feudal aristocracy the middle classes had displaced two and a half centuries before.” This new emphasis on the importance and the strength of the nobility, especially in northern Europe, has been underlined by J. H. Hexter, who points out that the Renaissance nobility, far from being decadent as is traditionally assumed, took the lead in cultural matters and in university education. This was in sharp contrast to the medieval nobleman who was “uneducated and proud of it.” “A revaluation of our whole conception of social ideas, social structure, and social function in Europe in the age of the Renaissance is long overdue,” challenges Hexter, and suggests that we start our revision “by thinking in terms not of the decline of the aristocracy but of its reconstruction.”

This challenge has been eagerly accepted by many scholars. In a short article appearing in 1957, J. Russell Major indicated his support of the thesis that “the states of this period differed enough from what had gone before and what was to come after, to constitute a definite period in history.” Major illustrates his premises by describing the Renaissance monarchy of France as a decentralized dynastic institution characterized by an emphasis on legitimacy and legality, by uncertain boundaries and jurisdictions, lack of a national army, lack of bureaucratic machinery, and by its heavy reliance for support upon the people and representative assemblies. In a more recent article he has shown that French monarchs ruled according to

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18 This view was recently emphasized in an article by D. Maland, in which he outlined the ways urban life had caused changes in the social patterns which in turn gave birth to the cultural Renaissance. “The Italian Renaissance: A Problem of Interpretation,” History, XLIV (1959), 115-23.


law, that they accepted the inevitable decentralization of the state, and that they were inherently weak. He points out, furthermore, that the most dynamic elements in the society of the time were not the middle classes, but the nobility. Finally, he declares that the Renaissance monarchy had an end as well as a beginning, that it was a transitional phase rather than the beginning of the modern state. "It is my belief," he concludes, "that the economic crisis and the Thirty Years' War brought the French Renaissance monarchy to an end and led to changes as important as those brought on by the Hundred Years' War and the economic crisis of 1330-1450 [which marked its beginning]."22

III.

During the last fifteen years, a controversy—which began in the previous decade—over the economic conditions in the Renaissance blossomed into a full-scale academic war. Only in the last two or three years have the various parties appeared to be reaching some sort of modus vivendi.

At the 1950 meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Paris, Michael Postan spoke convincingly for the economic revisionists when he affirmed that economic contraction and depression characterized most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making it impossible to call the Renaissance a period of prosperity as has been done traditionally.23 In subsequent articles Postan has shown—through the use of wage data, land values, rents, and production rates—that population, trade, silver mining, grain production, and cloth production all declined markedly in fourteenth and

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fifteenth century England. Several other prominent economic historians have added their weight to the growing body of opinion that the Renaissance was a period of economic decline and stagnation rather than of prosperity.

In a recent symposium, Robert Sabatino Lopez spelled out in greater detail the meaning of this economic decline. There was a sharp population drop in the mid-fourteenth century, especially in the cities; impediments to trade routes, war, and disease contributed to spreading famine and unrest; increasing tax burdens; shrinkage of markets; drop in land prices and the abandoning of much arable land; urban industries declined, commerce was depressed, and interest rates dropped. These factors, he argues, hit the hardest in Italy and at the very time of the cultural Renaissance. He concludes, however, that due to the absence of economic opportunities in Italy the businessmen and aristocrats of the time invested their money in culture rather than in trade and industry. "Statesmen who had tried to build up their power and prestige by enlarging their estates now vied with one another to gather works of art. Businessmen who had been looking for the most profitable or the most conservative investments in trade now invested in books. Thus economic stagnation contributed positively to the Renaissance cultural vitality.

A few months later another prominent and respected economic historian, Armando Saporì, delivered a paper in Florence, Italy, which has had repercussions in subsequent interpretations. Saporì showed that a true economic expansion took place in the twelfth century but that this vitality had spent itself by the time of the classical Renaissance and had in fact been re-


placed by recession in most areas of economic activity.\textsuperscript{26} In a later essay, Sapori proposed a new periodization for the entire Renaissance. Postulating that the economic revival of the twelfth century was the basis for the cultural and intellectual activity of the Renaissance, he suggested moving the usual boundaries of the Renaissance back to include all of the period presently referred to as the High Middle Ages and making of it an integrated period of some five centuries lying between the Middle Ages and modern times.\textsuperscript{27}

Although there are few economic historians now who uphold the older view that Renaissance Europe was a time of unbounded economic prosperity, there are many who question the extent and nature of the depression. Carlo M. Cipolla, for example, maintains that an economic recovery began at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, and compares fifteenth-century Italy with the expanding frontier in America with its new areas of land opening, canal development, and rural investment. Even population, according to Cipolla, began to increase in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{28} At the International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Rome in 1955, the Soviet economic historian, E. A. Kosminsky, was the most persistent defender of the view that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries constituted a period of


economic progress. Adhering closely to the Marxist interpretation, Kosminsky insisted that the fifteenth century falls logically into place as a step in the evolution of modern capitalism.29

The published contributions of the last two or three years seem to express a greater moderation in the claims for both sides and point toward a recognition that neither depression nor prosperity were universal in the Renaissance. Gino Luzzatto observes that by the fifteenth century:

Italy no longer occupied the same place in the economy of Europe as in the two preceding centuries. The old position of monopoly was gone, and the old power of expansion was enfeebled. To this extent, undoubtedly, it is proper to speak of Italian economic decline. But to use the word 'decline' in the further sense, of an absolute fall in the volume and value of production and exchange, would be wholly unjustified... If production for export contracted in the woolen industry, the loss was largely balanced by compensating progress in the silk industry...

Not only the manufacture of silk was stimulated by the new love for luxury, elegance, and artistic refinement. All industries were affected which produced articles for personal adornment or the embellishment of the home and public and religious buildings. Handicrafts in wood and iron, cooper, bronze, precious stones and metals, glass manufacture and ceramics, embroidery and lacemaking...

For more than a century the preeminence of Renaissance Italy in the manufacture of artistic and luxury wares helped to maintain Italian foreign trade at much the same level as in the most prosperous period of the past, and may even have raised it higher.30

IV.

Humanism continues to be a controversial subject of Renaissance studies and is generally regarded as one of the key


issues in the overall interpretation of the Renaissance. While the works of Giuseppe Toffanin and Giuseppe Saitta still occupy polar positions, the recent writings of Garin, Baron, and Kristeller grapple more realistically and modestly with the problems of the Renaissance. They also reflect many of the same characteristics already noted in contemporary political and economic studies.

Eugenio Garin is one of the most perceptive and prolific contemporary writers. He believes, with Toffanin, that there was a strong religious flavor to Renaissance humanism, but does not interpret this to mean that medieval and Renaissance thought were the same. Garin emphasizes the change of attitude which took place and shows that attitudes are as vital as facts in shaping the character of an age. In all of his latest books, he emphasizes the anti-scholastic elements in Renaissance humanism and its tendency toward ideological and literary criticism. Experience and reason, says Garin, were highly esteemed by the humanists, and they expected to apply these to the problems of life as well as to the understanding of the natural world. But to a large extent their efforts met with frustration for, unlike the rugged individualism of Burckhardt's Renaissance man, Garin's humanists were racked with great anxieties and insecurity. For Garin, the Renaissance was the beginning of the modern world only in a very distressing sense.

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33Da medioevo al Rinascimento (Florence: Sansoni, 1950); L'Umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1952); Medioevo e Rinascimento: Studi e ricerche (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1954); and La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano (Florence: Sansoni, 1961).

Hans Baron, as we have already seen, stressed the civic and active elements in Florentine humanism of the early fifteenth century to show that "with comparative suddenness, a change in Humanism as well as in the arts took place which ever since has been considered to have given birth to the ripe pattern of the Renaissance. This was the Renaissance that heralded the modern world. In a courteous yet critical rejoinder, Ferguson objected to Baron's emphasis on Florentine civic humanism as the principal factor in the birth of the Renaissance, and protested his exclusion of Petrarch, Boccaccio and the other fourteenth-century humanists. Baron's immediate reply, published in the same journal, explained why the fourteenth century should not be included in the Renaissance proper. Petrarch, he maintained, and the other Trecento humanists, retreated from their initial enthusiasm for the classics and returned to an essentially medieval Augustinianism. It was not until after the beginning of the fifteenth century that the climate changed and humanism became the complete guide to civic and esthetic life. This "civic humanism," according to Baron, was the essence of the true Renaissance.

Paul Oskar Kristeller, one of the leading authorities on Renaissance thought, sees humanism much less as a guide to the active life than as a working curriculum for educational reform. His overall view of the Renaissance, closer to Ferguson's than to Baron's, is a reaffirmation of the distinctive nature and significance of the Renaissance.

I shall not repeat or refute any of the arguments proposed by others, but merely state that by "the Renaissance" I understand that period of Western European history which extends approximately from 1300 to 1600. . . . I do not pretend to assert that there was a sharp break at the beginning or end of "the Renaissance," or to deny that there was a

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35Hans Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, I, vii. In a closely related study published in the same year, Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), Baron makes a systematic review of the sources upon which he has constructed The Crisis.


good deal of continuity. I should even admit that in some respects the changes which occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth or in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were more profound than the changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth. I merely maintain that the so-called Renaissance period has a distinctive physiognomy of its own, and that the inability of historians to find a simple and satisfactory definition for it does not entitle us to doubt its existence.\(^{30}\)

Kristeller defends the assertion that "a number of important cultural developments of the Renaissance originated in Italy and spread to the rest of Europe through Italian Influence."\(^{31}\) As for the issue of continuity vs. break between the Middle Ages and Renaissance, he declares, "We may grant that there is a continuity, but it is a continuity of change, and the differences resulting from this change tend to accumulate as time passes."\(^{40}\) Kristeller also emphasizes the literary, historical, and philological nature of humanism, as contrasted with the more philosophical movements of the later fifteenth century. Thus the chief characteristics of humanism were its attention to grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy, and its reading and interpretation of the ancient Latin and Greek classics. Renaissance Platonism (as well as Aristotelianism), according to Kristeller, "had many sources, interests, and ideas that clearly set it off from humanism as a distinct movement."\(^{41}\)


V. Recent interpretations of Renaissance literature and art also reveal sharpening perspectives of the Renaissance as a whole. One of the most controversial books of this period is Hiram Haydn's *The Counter-Renaissance*. Haydn divides the "Renaissance" into three distinct intellectual-artistic movements: the classical Renaissance, or humanistic revival (roughly corresponding in time to the fifteenth century), the Counter-Renaissance (the sixteenth century), and the Scientific Reformation (the seventeenth century). The classical Renaissance exalted ethical and moral teachings and held learning and reason in high regard. The sixteenth century, Haydn argues, was not a continuation of these Renaissance traits but a rejection of them. The "Counter-Renaissance," with its anti-intellectualism, anti-moralism, anti-authoritarianism "repuated reason as the 'devil's Harlot.'"42 Finally, reason and empiricism were once more united in a sort of Hegelian synthesis in the seventeenth-century "Scientific Reformation."

Although there has been much criticism of Haydn's thesis, some writers, particularly literary critics and art historians, have found his book provocative. The orderliness, precision, and optimism of Renaissance literature and art, writes Baird Whitlock, gave way after 1520 to expressions and feelings of uncertainty and unresolved tensions. "Doubts of man's capability of ordering his world threw men back upon a belief in the supernatural agency of God. This, unfortunately, not only lead to a cleansing of the church's actions and attitudes; it also brought back the evils of suspected witchcraft and the practices of the Inquisition."43 In art this reversion to medieval outlooks was expressed in the Mannerist distortion of forms, in its studies of unusual light effects, and its exaggerations of both


perspective and color in order to emphasize or suggest theological and spiritual conflict rather than depict human or natural beauty. "It seems to me to be a travesty of the meaning of cultural periods," Whitlock concludes, "to think of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as parts of the Renaissance. Their whole mood was antagonistic to the growing humanism of the earlier period."44

Many of the recent studies, however, have been less interested in periodization than in defining the motives of Renaissance culture. Arnold Hauser, for example, while not over-enthusiastic about the period in general, and insisting that the roots of most Renaissance characteristics lay deep in the Middle Ages, is impressed by the naturalism and realism of fifteenth-century art, especially Florentine. He also emphasizes its uniformity and depiction of cultural totality, which neither Gothic art before it nor Baroque a century later achieved.45

Few men have been more in the center of the Renaissance controversy than the art critic and historian, Erwin Panofsky. Developing a theme which he began many years ago, Panofsky concludes, in his Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, that "there was a Renaissance which started in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century, extended its classicizing tendencies to the visual arts in the fifteenth, and subsequently left its imprint upon all cultural activities in the rest of Europe."46 Panofsky demonstrates that from the fourteenth century through the sixteenth, men were convinced that the period in which they lived was a "new age" sharply different

"Whitlock, "The Counter-Renaissance," p. 449. John L. Lievsay and H. G. Koenigsberger both agree that there was a sharp difference between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but do not accept the Haydn-Whitlock suggestion that it was a decline from the former to the latter. Lievsay maintains that the late sixteenth century was more important than any earlier period in Italian literature, especially in its influence on England. Soc. and Hist. in the Ren., pp. 49-56. Koenigsberger demonstrates that the apparently decadent Italian culture of the second half of the sixteenth century really represented a shift in emphasis and expression rather than a deterioration. "Decadence or Shift? Changes in the Civilization of Italy and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Transactions of the Royal Society, 5th Ser., X (1960), 1-18.


from the medieval past.\textsuperscript{47} He admits there were numerous medieval rebirths, but his examination of each discloses them to be transitory and limited in comparison with the fifteenth-century Renaissance. "This Renaissance amounted to what the biologists would call a mutational as opposed to an evolutionary change: a change both sudden and permanent."\textsuperscript{48}

VI.

In the field of Renaissance science, the last fifteen years have marked a turning-point. In the previous two decades, those who upheld the preeminence of the Renaissance in science were all but laughed out of court by the prevailing view that "for natural science humanism was an almost unmitigated curse."\textsuperscript{49} Although this outlook has not been reversed, it has been modified. Few scholars will now deny that the Renaissance contributed far less to scientific discovery, methodology, or thought than did the seventeenth century. But even fewer consider it a period of complete scientific stagnation. Part of the reason for this is the recognition that indirect contributions to scientific thought and development were implicit in much of the work of the humanists, philosophers, and artists of the Renaissance, and partly due to a broadened conception of what constitutes "science."

In his article, "The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance," for example, Giorgio de Santillana illustrates the significant part played by the Renaissance artist in advancing the study and practice of anatomy, optics, experimentation, and observation.\textsuperscript{50} He agrees with Panofsky that art provided the

\textsuperscript{47}See Franco Simone's outstanding \textit{Il Rinascimento francese} (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1961), on the Renaissance attitude toward its time.

\textsuperscript{48}Renaissance and Renascences, p. 162. Panofsky further illustrated the almost autonomous nature of the Renaissance, equally separated from the Middle Ages and from the modern world, by the close association of art and science in the period, a phenomenon which from the seventeenth century on ceased to be true. "Artist, Scientist, Genius: Notes on the Renaissance-Dämmerung," in \textit{The Renaissance: Six Essays}, pp. 121-82.


means for transmitting observations into ideas. In the same publication, A. R. Hall extends Santillana's conclusions to the scholars as well as the artists and craftsmen. Hall demonstrates that by providing new raw materials and by correlating the work of the craftsmen and the scholars, the Renaissance provided the milieu necessary for the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

But the most interesting transformation is the dramatically changed views of George Sarton, the celebrated Harvard historian of science. In 1929 Sarton declared: "From the scientific point of view the Renaissance was not a renaissance. That age of tremendous revival, . . . was a golden age of arts and letters, but to the historian of science, . . . it is on the whole disappointing." But in 1952 he announced: "In the field of science, the novelties [during the Renaissance] were gigantic, revolutionary. . . . The Renaissance scientists introduced not a 'new look' but a new being. The novelty was often so great that one could hardly speak of a Renaissance or rebirth; it was a real birth, a new beginning." "Put it this way," he concluded, "the Renaissance was a transmutation of values, a 'new deal,' a reshuffling of cards, but most of the cards were old; the scientific Renaissance was a 'new deal,' but many of the cards were new." Among the factors responsible for the new outlook and achievements during the Renaissance, Sarton singles out the invention of movable type printing as the most important.

John Herman Randall's views seem to have changed much less than Sarton's over the last thirty-five years. He still maintains that "The movement we know as 'the Renaissance' was indeed a rejection of this scientific interest for other concerns,


practical, artistic, and at bottom religious.” With the exception of a few areas such as optics, perspective, printing, and possibly anatomy, says Randall, the concrete contributions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to scientific discovery were few. Nevertheless, during that period many of the impediments and pitfalls to the development of scientific thought were removed and the way was prepared for the “great awakening” of the seventeenth century. All of which emphasizes the scientific orientation of our time and the tendency to praise or condemn previous eras in proportion to their contribution to science.

Although he does believe there was “relative stagnation of the natural sciences during the fifteenth and for the first half of the sixteenth century,” Robert Klein insists that many humanists of the period made positive contributions to scientific thought and practice, much of which was not actually applied until later. Men like Agricola, Cardan, Scaliger, Mercator, Alberto, and Ficino made the Renaissance a unique period in science as well as in humanities. A limited but perceptive summation of the trend in current interpretation may be seen in Marie Boas’ The Scientific Renaissance, 1450-1630, which is intended to show that “the period from 1450 to 1630 constitutes a definite stage in the history of science.”

It was an era of profound change; but the change was curiously consistent. Equally, this era marks a break with the past. I do not wish to deny the importance or validity of the mediaeval contribution to science, especially to mathematical physics; but however much sixteenth century scientists drew from the science of the fourteenth century they were separ-

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rated from it by three generations' passionate attempt to re-vive Graeco-Roman antiquity in fifteenth-century Europe. The attempt to re-discover and relearn what the Greeks had known dominated men's minds in 1450; the brilliant innovations of the sixteenth century showed that this knowledge, once assimilated, had surprising implications. The revolutionary theories and methods of the 1540's were fully realised by 1630.57

The meaning of the literature surveyed here can best be judged by each one for himself. Yet it seems apparent that there are present some common denominators that merit emphasis. The view, for example, that the Renaissance constitutes a distinctive period in Western development appears as a recurring theme in recent Renaissance interpretation. It is repeatedly viewed as an epoch which was creative in many ways, yet decadent in others; a crucial period, if not transitional in the Ferguson sense, at least evanescent, lying between the equally distinctive civilizations of the Middle Ages and that of more modern times and having a very lasting effect upon the latter. The characteristics and features of this period look different to different people, but most agree that it was both a time of great change and of stagnation, of evolving methods and outlooks, and reaching out into the unknown while at the same time groping back into the resources of the medieval and classical past. It was the Renaissance.

To Joseph Smith

Rough stone, cut from the mountain without hands,
Why can't I match my will to your demands?
Is it I love the flesh, the world, the devil,
Too much to sacrifice my taste for evil?
Or does my natural self, now slave, now free
Of this or that, resent the hyperbole
Of total dedication to one cause,
No matter what, in spite of truth or laws?
I would in shadows dwell, knowing the rights
The wrongs, the damned; and satisfied with sights
Of higher kingdoms, as they come and go:
Christ could assign me to a bungalow.
But you, second to Christ in saving men,
Shall I respect, love, worship, or hate you then?
Or can I blend these four as others do,
And see you next to God and Christ, yet you?
Your life is less divine, but more intense,
For, mortal, it assaults intransigence,
By proving that the flesh can take, like stone,
A polish that approximates God's throne.
But there is flesh and flesh, and mine, in doubt,
Laziness, anger, lust, and pride decked out,
Resists the edge of Christ, and keeps its feel;
Battered, but never rounded, by the wheel.
The certain call of God comes to but few;
I cannot hear as easily as could you.

R. A. Christmas*

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The Challenge and Responsibility of the L.D.S. Teacher

by Bruce B. Clark

The subject of this paper, originally delivered as a talk to graduating English majors and the English faculty at Brigham Young University, and now slightly revised as an essay, is an ominous one. The responsibilities resting on the shoulders of a teacher, as any teacher knows, are both frightening and wonderful. No role, unless it is parenthood, provides a more awesome challenge than does teaching. And it is in the realm of these challenges and responsibilities that I wish to share some thoughts.

Because I am an English teacher, what I say will have a special relevancy to the teaching of English; but I hope I have spread the focus enough to encompass the broad field of teaching as a whole. Also, part of what I say will explore the challenges that all teachers share, and part will explore the special challenges peculiar to L.D.S. teachers.

As a beginning let me describe seven types of teachers that I feel we should determine with all our will power never to become:

(1) First is the sentimentalist—the teacher who reacts emotionally to everything and everyone he teaches. I don't believe a teacher can get away with gushy sentimentality even in grade school. The children will see through it and mock it. Certainly in junior high and high school the weepy or saccharine teacher will be looked on by students as both shallow and weak. The ineffectiveness, indeed the harm, of such a teacher in college is so obvious as to need no comment. We cannot teach those who do not respect us, and no one respects the sentimentalist, not even his fellow sentimentalists. (I am not, of course, talking against genuine sentiment, which has its place in education as in life, and lies at the center of literature. The difference between sentiment and sentimentality

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1 An address given at the English Department award banquet, May 15, 1964.
2 Dr. Clark is professor of English and chairman of the English Department at Brigham Young University.
is the difference between emotion that is honest and emotion that is cheap, surfacy, and false.)

(2) Second is the cynic—the sophisticated intellectual egotist who believes in nothing, not even the subject that he teaches. He analyzes to scorn and examines to ridicule. Criticism for him means hyper-criticism. He is skilled at finding fault with all that he reads and with all of the students he teaches. In his role as teacher he is at the opposite extreme from the sentimentalist, scorning all forms of sentiment, both the true and the imitative; and in his dread of being regarded as "soft" or "wholesome" he sustains a pose of flippancy and snobbish boredom. Students may learn from such a teacher, but often he will do them harm greater than the help he gives them.

(3) The third undesirable type, the sadist, is a first cousin of the cynic. His attitude towards everything, including especially his students, is negative always, and he prides himself in failing as many students as possible, justifying himself by his "high academic standards." He delights in student blunders because they give him an opportunity to ridicule. His students are in the grip of his power, and he punishes them without mercy, finding fault equally with all that they do and all that they don't do, much like a Setebos delighting in the plight of a Caliban. He enjoys the suffering of others, and seems even to get a masochistic pleasure out of his own sour attitude. Pessimism is his dominant mood, sarcasm is his main weapon, low grades are his principal threats, and his students are his victims.

(4) Fourth is the egoistic show-off, the teacher who uses his classroom mostly as a theater in which to parade his personality before a captive audience. He is so interested in himself that he has little concern for others, including especially his students. Whether they learn or don't learn, whether they fail or pass, is secondary to the marvelous experience they have of seeing and hearing him, and he hopes that they appreciate him as he deserves to be appreciated. In my criticism of such a teacher, I don't want to imply that teaching should be dull and flat. Quite the contrary, it should be as vivid as possible, and every good teacher is properly part showman, perhaps even with a tinge of the prima donna in his nature. But teaching that focuses on the teacher's desire to display himself
rather than on the needs of the students will always, I think, be bad teaching.

(5) Fifth is the faddist, the hobby-horse rider, the teacher with narrow interests who cannot see beyond his own myopia. Here we find the classicist who sees nothing of value in modern literature and art, and the modernist who views all literature and art before 1900 as uselessly old-fashioned; the American enthusiast who won’t waste his or his students’ time on foreign works, and the traditionalist who feels that only the uninformed will stoop to read an American book; the preacher-type teacher who turns art into a tool for instruction, using only those works that are explicitly didactic, and the obscurantist who scorn anything that can be understood; the scientist who sees nothing worthwhile in art, the artist who sees nothing worthwhile in science, and the moralist who sees nothing worthwhile in either art or science. Narrowness and prejudice can ruin an otherwise able teacher, who in his limited vision often becomes a cultist crusading to shape his students in his own narrow image and labeling as evil anyone who doesn’t share his constricted views. In religion such narrowness can be especially dangerous, for one narrow man’s orthodoxy may well be another narrow man’s heresy. In religion, as in literature, as in art, as in education, as in life, the broad view should be cultivated, not at the sacrifice of truth or of critical standards, but with the reward of truth and of deepened critical standards. And all of this, I believe, is in harmony with the Prophet Joseph Smith’s counsel that we should seek all things virtuous, lovely, and praiseworthy, getting the riches of the mind and spirit out of the world’s best books.

(6) Sixth is the information-giver, the teacher who deludes himself into believing that he is fulfilling his teaching role when, like a machine, he feeds students a mass of facts and has them parrot the information back in examinations. Years ago I took a course in Shakespeare from a famous Shakespearian scholar. I looked forward to the course with excitement—and left it with disappointment. In it we learned every detail of Shakespeare’s life, every date in and around his career, multitudinous facts about the publication of all his plays, and about their sources, innumerable items of information about the Shakespearean theater, and the language of Shakespeare’s London, and the politics of Shakespeare’s England. Everything,
in short, except an understanding of Shakespeare’s writings. We had missed the most important thing; and with this missed, all of the other things were of little importance. I am not suggesting that knowledge is unimportant. It is very important, both as an end in itself and as a tool. But beyond knowledge lie principles and relationships and thought-processes and value-judgments that should be the ultimate concern of both a teacher and his students. Ignorance is dangerous, but knowledge without responsibility may be more dangerous. More than to give information, a teacher needs to help guide a student’s mind to think, and even beyond that, to help him shape his character. Giving information is easy. Forming a thinking mind is hard. And shaping a strong character is hardest of all, partly because it must be shaped mostly from within. Giving information is only the beginning of a teacher’s responsibility; the end is to stimulate, excite, motivate, lift, challenge, inspire.

(7) Seventh is the "wage-earner teacher," the person for whom teaching is primarily just a job, just a way to make a living. I am not implying that a teacher should work for a sub-standard salary; he should not. As a highly trained professional person, he is worthy of an adequate salary and should get it. But if he is a first-quality teacher he will work for higher wages than money. His reward will be the growth of his students and of his own vision, and the satisfaction of unselfishly giving himself in the service of the human struggle upward. As teachers we must resist the trend of our time to demand more and more money for less and less work, and we should also resist a growing tendency among ourselves to waste our energy in complaining about salaries, and about the burden of papers to correct and students to advise and committees to serve on. We need to subdue any feeling within us that teaching is just a job and cultivate an attitude of dedication in our work. At least we must do this if we want to rise above being mere wage-earners and become great teachers. Frankly I worry about the future of our profession when I see such teachers as P. A. Christensen and Orea Tanner reach retirement age, with such as Karl Young following only a few years behind. Will those of us who are younger fill their places? We may have

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2Professors emeriti of English at Brigham Young University, having served as outstanding teachers on the Provo campus since 1927 and 1938 respectively.
the knowledge and the skill, but will we have the power and the dedication?

Up to this point I have been talking mostly about extreme attitudes that as teachers we should avoid. Let me shift ground a little now and talk more directly about our goals in teaching. First, I believe, we should recognize that above all else we exist professionally to serve our students. This means that we should be concerned about them and available to them, outside the classroom as well as in it, for much of our best teaching is done outside the classroom. If we hide from our students, making ourselves as inaccessible as possible, we are neglecting one of our major responsibilities.

Some say we should be as objective as possible in teaching, treating each student impersonally. To the extent that this applies to standards of grading, I agree that it is the proper and necessary attitude; but to the extent that it applies to our relationship with the personalities of the students, we must see them as individuals. Every student is a unique personality and must be approached uniquely. The right way of handling one student may well be the wrong way for another, and we must treat each as sensitively and wisely as possible.

I remember a boy suffering from cerebral palsy whose brilliant mind was hampered with spasms that weakened the control of his body. He needed special arrangements to complete his examinations, and I would have been inexcusably unfair if I had treated him the same as the other students.

That boy’s uniqueness was, of course, visible and invited immediate sympathy. Sometimes the injury is hidden inside. I remember a Freshman English student who was so torn emotionally that she could not complete some of her assignments. A few months earlier her father had shot her mother and stuffed the body down an abandoned well because the mother had caught the father molesting this girl, his own daughter. The father then shot himself as a posse approached his hideout in a clump of mountain trees. This girl had seen too much of life and too little of love. She needed the special understanding that a teacher can give when the parents have failed.

Sometimes, too, we must be firm and seemingly harsh. It is easier to be tenderly considerate than to be rigid, but sometimes rigidity is needed. I remember a boy who asked me to falsify a grade because he said he was suffering from an in-
curable disease and did not want to die with a "D" on his record. He was a brash boy who had never learned to be honest with himself; always he had found a way to maneuver around the truth. I told him that it was better to die with a "D" on his record than with a lie on his conscience. This is the cruellest thing I have ever told a student, but it was right. At least I think it was right.

These are dramatic examples. But, in less extreme ways, all of our students are unique personalities and need to be treated as such if we are to influence them beyond just feeding them information. I shall never forget the student who came to my office three or four years ago and said, "You are the worst teacher I ever had, and I've had some bad ones." I was stung by his comment, not by the falseness of it but because, as I thought the course over, it was true. I was his worst teacher. At least I was for him a bad teacher. He had special academic problems and I had failed to help him overcome them. I may have been a good teacher for other students in the class, but I was a bad teacher for this particular student. Our responsibility is not only to teach part of the students but to teach all of them who come to us. And when a student fails, a teacher fails also.

I suppose there has never been a teacher skilled and powerful enough to reach all his students, but we need to try. There is the student who sleeps with bored or weary eyes, and the one who sleeps with eyes open but mind closed; the one who says "I dare you to teach me," and the one who, like a sponge, uncritically absorbs everything; the girl who has learned to use her body more than her mind, and the boy who spends his time looking at her; the would-be writer who thinks that his small talent excuses him from learning anything, and the memorizer who confuses an accumulation of facts for genuine knowledge; the girl who always has a sympathy-winning explanation for her failure to measure up to her image of herself, and the boy who has brilliant possibilities but is so torn in the depths of his own thoughts that all we can see is a tangled mass of potentiality; the student who tries very hard and is very sweet and very wholesome but just doesn't have the mental strength to come through, and the one who terrifies because he is obviously brighter than the teacher; the gregarious student whose personality makes him always the center of a circle, and the one who is a misfit in all groups and all sit-
uations; the student who never speaks because he has nothing to say, and the one who never speaks although he has much to say, and the one who speaks often even though he has little to say. All of these and the hundreds of others equally diverse, all must be reached. At least we should try.

Part of our responsibility is to help students enjoy the excitement of learning. Perhaps teaching should at times be painful, but it should never be dull. I came out of high school hating English, although I had loved it in earlier years. A succession of dull teachers had poisoned me against it, the worst of whom was the football coach who taught English to round out his schedule and who spent one full semester reading to us The Bridge of San Luis Rey in the flattest, most drearily monotonous voice I have ever heard in a classroom. The only things that saved me from hating the whole world of literature were a mother who encouraged me to love books and an inner compulsion that caused me to write dozens of grim short stories and romantic poems in secret, and to read endlessly. It wasn’t until I was lucky enough to have Wallace Stegner as a Freshman English teacher in college that I rediscovered a pleasant relationship between the formal study of English in the classroom and the things I was reading and writing in secret. Even then I was so conditioned against English that three more years were needed to get the poison, and my passing desire to be a chemist, out of my system so that I could return to the first-love of my boyhood, literature, and could decide that teaching English would be my life.

Therefore, I repeat: Perhaps teaching should at times be painful, but it should never be dull. The best guarantee against poor discipline is good teaching. If the teaching is good enough, the students will be attentive and responsive. When students are bored and unruly, the best solution is not harsher rules but better teaching.

I would like to say a little more about the hard work of being a good teacher, because I think it is hard work—hard and long. Anyone who thinks otherwise can probably find and keep a good teaching, but he won’t be a good teacher. One of the unfortunate things about teaching as a profession is that all teachers, whether strong or weak, energetic or lazy, inspired or dull, are paid about the same. Oh, we hear talk of merit pay, etc., but the truth is that the best teachers aren’t paid much more than the worst teachers. They may be worth
several times as much, but they won't be paid according to their worth. The strong ones will be paid too little, and the weak ones will be paid too much. Therefore, the rewards for a good teacher must be other than money. Fortunately, the rewards are abundant, and they are available daily, including the wonderful pleasure of teaching itself.

If we are good teachers we will have to work hard just to complete our daily tasks. Even so, I don't think most of us ever reach our potentiality as thinking, creative human beings. Most people, including both those of us who are teachers and those who are students, operate at about half efficiency, I fear. We sleep too much, eat too much, idle too much, and waste too much time in trivia. We need to work harder, think deeper, exchange ideas more constructively, and create more abundantly. One of our special problems as teachers is that we talk constantly about the need to do scholarly and creative work—and then spend hours of precious time explaining why we don't have time to do these things. I am convinced that we do have time if we will organize and discipline it. Many years ago I planned to do a great deal of writing. In fact, I thought writing would be my central career. Then came doctoral work and teaching, and writing was forgotten. Well, not really forgotten but pushed to some indefinite time in the future. Then, about five years ago, I read some place the awful comment that if one has not published by the time he is forty he will never publish. I was annoyed by the statement, partly because I was already a little past forty. And I determined to write. Now, in the past four years, which have been the most crowded of my life, I have made time to write, in spite of increasingly extensive administrative responsibility, and without giving up teaching, even for a semester, because teaching is the relaxation that keeps me sane in an otherwise too tense existence. If I can do it, anyone can do it. At least any of you can do it.

As a final point I want to comment on what I feel are our special responsibilities as L.D.S. teachers, particularly for those of us who teach L.D.S. students in an L.D.S. school. Above all, I think we have a special responsibility to live the Gospel, remaining as true as we can to its fundamental principles. I have heard some say that we have no more responsibility than do all members of the Church. But I don't feel this way. I feel that because we are selected to teach the youth of the Church we have a special responsibility to be loyal and spiritual
in our personal lives. Our students need to observe our activity in the Church, to sense our faith, to hear our convictions. I do not mean that we should spend our class time preaching to our students. Our responsibility is to teach the subject matter for which we are professionally trained, and besides, preaching tends only to alienate the most sensitive of the students. But occasionally we need to let students know where we stand on the vital issues of the spirit. They need to know that we have studied philosophy and literature and science and remained strong in our faith in the Gospel. They need to know that we have explored the unanswerable questions with our testimonies intact. I am not asking that we betray our integrity. I am asking only that we fulfill and share it.

As I say all of this I hope no one feels I am denying my loyalty to the world of literature and art that I respect so much. I believe we have a solemn obligation to teach in harmony with the fundamental principles and practices of the Church, and I believe we have an equally solemn obligation to be defenders of liberal culture and the humanities. And, which is most important of all for me, I believe we can keep both loyalties strong, without hypocrisy or double-talk or double-think. Through the centuries literature, and especially poetry, has been the bulwark of man’s faith and the guardian of his spiritual ideals, as well as the goad to his conscience. That there should be, or seem to be, a battle between religion and art is most regrettable. Of course, there are extremists on both sides, but we should lament them, not extol them. We should pity the men of religion who see art as an obstacle to their Christian faith, and we should pity the men of art who see religion as an enemy to their ideals. Many have deplored the rift between religion and art, and many have pleaded for an armistice. But too often the crusader for religion has been willing to compromise only on his terms, with the bulk of art thrown out of his ideal Christian republic and only that left which can be turned into the handmaiden of religion; and too often the crusader for art has been willing to compromise only on his terms, with religion knuckling under to acknowledge not only its sins and prejudice but also the ultimate supremacy of art. If the war between religion and art is lamentable, the efforts to end the war with such unequal compromises are hardly less lamentable. As L.D.S. teachers, we need to speak courageously our confidence that liberal education and religion
are comrades in arms against the common foes of selfishness, materialism, and all things maudlin, superficial, and gross. This is the goal of education, and this is the challenge of the first-quality teacher.

I have been talking about the ideal teacher. My students will testify that as a teacher I too fall short. My only plea is that I am human, and that, however, inadequate, I see the vision.
The Other Presences in Irish Life and Literature

Douglas Hill*

Sir John Mahaffy once said, "In Ireland the inevitable never happens, the unexpected always." It is partly for this reason that the traveler there frequently comes away with an absurd rag bag of generalizations, quaint stories and customs, for example, that are often dazzling distortions of fact or captivating embellishments of truth. Once having publicly expressed them, however, he can return to Ireland only at the peril of good natured, but nevertheless, embarrassing derision. Perhaps some satisfaction comes in knowing that the Irish themselves are not much more accurate at analyzing their motives and emotions, institutions and histories. At worst they read their own publicity and imitate themselves shamelessly; at best they live lives of charming disorder and hospitable individuality. Indeed, the Irish, no less than the visitor, are perplexed by ambivalent beliefs, victimized by beautiful green hills and sparkling brooks, beguiled by mysterious Catholicism and pagan mythology. Therefore any study that undertakes a clarification of the Irish character must also be an apology, for no matter how careful the writer, how sound the argument or fresh the insights, error is likely to blunder in. But it is the very likelihood of error that makes the Irish endlessly fascinating.

If there is any consistent revelation of character at all, it seems to survive in literature. Discovery and rediscovery stimulate expression. The Irish literary Renaissance happily, but not necessarily fortuitously, coincided with the reawakening of the national and historical spirit. Perhaps one could never have occurred without the other. With almost an excess of patriotism and love of ancient lore, the Irish achieved independence from England and, at the same time, literary rediscovery. The patriots turned their patriotism to literature and the writers turned their literature to patriotism, but instead of wracking the land with sentimentality, they produced works of high

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merit and penetrating beauty. Their zeal for a new Irish state based on ancient tradition and Gaelic faith and tenacity led to a surge of creativity unlike anything Ireland had known for centuries. Today there is no common enemy around which the Irish spirit can rally, but the love of ancient Gaelic lore still burns as brightly as ever. The land still lends itself well to stories just as it did during the Renaissance and the days of the shanachies, or wandering story tellers. In other words, literature still has a momentous bearing in Irish reality and imagination.

The Irish still have the child’s capacity for belief. The child really lives in two worlds: the one is much the same as the adult’s, full of tangible, rational impingements on the mind; the other is no less real but exists in the imagination. What is true for one world may be false for the other, and certainly one cannot be explained by the other. Even when a child knows there is no hobgoblin in his room, he is not exempt from fright if it peers threateningly from the forests of his imagination. The adult makes no sense whatsoever and offers little comfort when he tells a child that his fears are only imaginary, because it is precisely those imaginary fears that are most vivid. Informing a child of the improbability of dragons lurking behind corners in a darkened house fails to dispel the reality of those evil creatures simply because they live in his imagination, and the truth of their existence is incontrovertible. The Irish, like the child, place their fears and hopes where they belong, without altering their significance or enervating their impact on their consciousness. And if they so choose they can transform the facts of one world into the facts of another. In a sense, the primal instinct to mythologize is still intact and flourishing. Though mythology isn’t necessary for literature, mythological thinking is—that is, the free use of the imagination, the searching nostalgia for the Hesperides of the mind or that tantalizing Irish land of youth, Tir na n’og. This mythological thinking, so evident in contemporary Irish life and literature, is what gives the Gael his peculiar visionary detachment from the harshness of his environment.

The lore of places is always with the Irish. They stand in Connemara when the air and sky are uncommonly still, looking out over the horizon where the clouds lie in streaks of dark and white silence. The turf is somber and rich in the subdued light—bank after bank of soft scumbled earth. Not a bird stirs
in the sunken fields. The lake gurgles queerly and the light reflecting off its surface is cold and bright. All the pagan enchantment of ancient Erin is here: the dark landscape, the icy light on the lake, the apprehensive cessation of animal sounds. There is a feeling of other presences and alter purposes. Conchubar seems to call from the waters and to beckon from bent reeds in the shallows. The Irish are bewitched and frightened. An excess of indefinable emotions pours through them as they stand confronted with the mystical past speaking to the present, whispering through the gorse and hawthorn shrubs surrounding the lake.

Again, the afternoon landscape near Maam Cross is dark and turfy and glides away into a thin milky mist under a polished nickel sky, now gleaming more brightly over the sea, now fading into the soft blue rubble of mountains in the north, rocks and turf thrown up by some great hand of the past. In the fine white haze of a moonlit night, the ancient trees, rocks, sod, and shrubs all melt and absorb each other and rise in silhouette against the sky like a broken body chewed and spat out upon the ground. All bear reminder of hordes and legions of men ripping and plowing up the centuries, then sinking into bogs like their dreams of glory and conquest. The wind is like the long steady cry from Angus's horn announcing his arrival from the bowels of the earth. But Angus never comes, and the horn blows on endlessly.

One is tempted, however, to ask if the Irish really do believe in these historical or mythological presences. The answer is yes. They are just as real to the Irish imagination as the hobgoblin is to the child's. In Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales, Yeats has this to say:

There are, of course, children of light who have set their faces against all this, though even a newspaper man, if you entice him into a cemetery at midnight, will believe in phantoms, for every one is a visionary, if you scratch him deep enough. But the Celt is a visionary without scratching.

Devin Garrity says in his introduction to The Irish Genius:

What about fairies and leprechauns? It is reported that when a certain Hollywood producer went to Ireland recently in search of some genuine "little people," he was given a rough time. Perhaps the Irish attitude might best be summed up by a certain old country woman who was asked whether
she believed in fairies and who gave the only possible answer, "Of course not, but they're there"—as indeed they are.

One who has read about Irish pookas, cluricaunes, and fir darrigs need only bicycle across a moonlit bog in Western Ireland once to agree with Yeats, the old countrywoman, and Devin Garrity.

But even when the writer finds nothing to remind him of historical or mythological characters and events, his vision is animated with the contradictions of the landscape. The Western counties are an enigma. The grass doesn't grow, it explodes to the surface then glows with an inner fiery-green intensity. Even the melancholy bogs seem to smoulder with life when the mist hangs low over the land, smoking in a precipitate attempt to burst into flame. And the land itself rolls and twists rhythmically like a waking giant. Yet with all this readiness and renewal of life, the land is bleak, the trees are stunted and seem to be almost screwed out of the ground. The shrubs lie close together in a tangle of protection, and their little yellow blossoms are defiant rather than joyous. Granite slabs and boulders obtrude everywhere like cairns and dolmens, fragments of castles and villages. Even when the wind breathes more benignly the trees remain permanently bent and misshapen, so that on the mildest days life huddles close to the ground.

Even the mountains, cold and hazy, have an elusiveness, exceeding that of the clouds; for in the clouds elusiveness is expected; in the mountains, substantiality. But when the mountains are neither here nor there, they must be hallucinatory or simply a dalliance of the imagination.

In Connemara, the trees, walls, and boulders cast very long shadows that sometimes suggest late afternoon rather than ten or eleven in the morning. The meadows are bright from the angled sun; overhead the sky is dark with clouds, making the intensity of light quite a perplexity. The bright sunshine occurs unexpectedly—in a grove of oaks, upon a wet road, over a lake. It looks as if it seeps up through the landscape rather than down upon it. Everywhere the senses are shocked into a new reality like the flagrant mysterious violation of shadows and lights in a Chirico painting.

Near the Salmon Weir Bridge on the River Corrib, gulls break upon the sky. Their wings rush and beat in the wind
their winnowing cries are almost lost. They wheel and hover over the weir, then bank through an updraft and fall out of sight only to suddenly pull steeply into the sky again and into a sudden gust of wind that carries them over the white roar of water breaking from the spillway. Beyond the calamity of screaming gulls the strange byzantine spire of University College rises out of and above the thickness of trees; and even further, beyond the lean white houses overlooking the river, the green hills of Ireland are dappled with the sun.

Yeats said that if mankind did not "remember or half remember impossible things, what Aran fisher-girl would sing?" Indeed, what Irishman would tell his stories or recite his poetry if he didn't half remember or half see the impossible in his world. Surely Padraic Pearse must have half believed and half disbelieved, like an intoxicated man, the hedgerows swamped with dewy spider webs on the shores of Lough Aroolagh, and the little smoky islands, indecisively green, and vanishing before his eyes like a dream; or the lime-washed cottages across the lake hovering on the verge of oblivion as the mist grew deeper and frostier over the vine-woven earth.

Can the collective unconscious of the Irish ever be suppressed? In few societies is the past so vigorously a part of the present. In few societies is the contemporary scene so colored by antecedent belief.

One should never doubt the possibilities of the Irish imagination at all. Having endured seven centuries of subjugation, the Irish are now almost ferociously determined to retain their individuality. Words, which they have become so adept at using, are perhaps the best way they have discovered to assure the rehabilitation and preservation of Irish values and beliefs. Certainly having come upon the overwhelming truth about their environment they are right in refusing to exchange it for something more comfortable or more glamorous. There is little likelihood that they will succumb to an easier but less creative life. They are like the trees shaped by the wind from the sea. Bending with the wind, however, isn't a debasement, but a condition of survival, an alertness to the vicissitudes of life, and a strong affirmation of life itself. As long as the Irish retain their strength of character and love of language, literature will never suffer more than a temporary decline. Its death would mean the death of everything distinctively Irish.
An English Graveyard

Once I climbed a castled hill
And saw below me in a nook of land
A village there
So neat and prim
It flickered like a diadem.

So down I went to find it real,
But well before I reached the square,
Before I shook a hand
Or saw such stony heads
As do their nodding over bowls
and boards of fare,
I found a graveyard
Topsy-turvy by a church,
Undulant with grassy mounds,
In some slow laughter of another time.

The headstones nodding wise with epitaph,
I walked along a grassy path,
By yews and elms,
Jotting down their dates and lore.

What dowager is this who mocked the poor?
What husband here with wives around?
What vixen nestled there alone?
And why?

An easy party do they keep,
As they must, abounding here,
And near a church.

I would not pry,
But if their headstones are awry,
Do they sleep?

Clinton F. Larson*

* Dr. Larson is professor of English at Brigham Young University.
Marcel Schwob and
"The Talking Machine":
a Tale a la Poe--via Thomas A. Edison

Introduction and Translation by JOHN A. GREEN*

"Marcel Schwob, né à Chaville le 23 août 1867, décédé à Paris le 26 février 1905." Time and weather have all but obliterated these words from a tombstone in the Jewish section of Montparnasse cemetery, and the man’s niche in present literary history is scarcely more noticeable. It is not that Schwob never achieved any fame. Alfred Vallette, director of the leading young review, the Mercure de France, was quick to defend him in 1892 as "one of the keenest minds of our time," and soon added that Schwob gave promise of defining tomorrow's taste in literary criticism. Teodor de Wyzewa, in 1893, thought it would be tomorrow's taste in literature itself. Only a year later Schwob's Livre de Monelle—eventually to be described by René Lalou as "a breviary of all the influences which acted upon Symbolist sensibility"—inspired Maurice Maeterlinck to assess its pages as "among the most perfect... in our [Symbolist?] literature." The following year young Paul Valéry dedicated his Introduction à la Méthode de Léonard de Vinci to Schwob, and in 1896, when Camille Mauc- clair rated him "one of the most brilliant of today's writers," both Valéry's Soirée avec M. Teste and Alfred Jarry's Ubu Roi were dedicated to him.

Probably no one suspected that Schwob's period of literary creativity was already at an end, and that his literary reputation, unlike that of Gide, Valéry, Jammes and Claudel, would therefore rest solely on his contributions to Symbolism. In the

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1Both Vallette and Wyzewa wrote for the Mercure de France. See V (June 1892), 165; VII (March 1893), 236; VIII (July 1893), 198. (All translations mine.)
3Mercure de France, XI (August 1894), 367-368.
4Ibid., XX (December 1896), 457-458.
closing weeks of 1895 Schwob had undergone the first of a number of serious abdominal operations which caused him such excruciating pain as to effectively terminate his literary career. As his health permitted he turned to research on François Villon, France's greatest medieval poet, and translated Shakespeare's Hamlet for Sarah Bernhardt who used it to open her own theater in 1899. By 1905, when Schwob died, he had acquired some international status as an Elizabethan scholar, and was recognized as one of the world's foremost authorities on Villon, but his interests ran also to the eighteenth century and to his contemporaries across the Channel and in America. He had previously corresponded with Robert Louis Stevenson and George Meredith, and at the outset of his career had fallen, as French poets and conteurs had been doing for forty years, under the spell of Edgar Allan Poe.

In the early 1890's Schwob had formed a close, though brief, friendship with Oscar Wilde. Wilde's star was then in its zenith, and The Picture of Dorian Gray, published in 1890-1891, caused no little stir in Paris. Perhaps it inspired an ending to a tale Schwob seems to have had in mind since 1889. The basis for that story probably was an interview accorded by Thomas A. Edison to the press during his visit to the Paris International Exposition. Edison at the time was pioneering in the development of the phonograph, and "Une Conversation avec Edison—'le Sorcier de Menlo Park,'" appeared on Sunday, 19 August 1889, in Le Petit Phare, a small paper published by Schwob's father in Nantes. The following is extracted from that article:

On the subject of the phonograph, our colleague [a reporter of the New York Herald] asked if it had been brought to its highest degree of perfection.

"Almost, I believe," said Mr. Edison, "in the latest instruments produced in my workshops. You understand that the phonograph ordinarily used in business does not come up to the special machines I use for my private experiments. With these latter, I can obtain a sound powerful enough to reproduce the sentences of a discourse that a large audience can listen to without any difficulty.

"My latest improvements have to do especially with the aspirate sounds—the weak point in our present gramophones. For seven months I have been working 18 and 20 hours a day on the single word 'specia' [sic], I would say into the phonograph: 'specia, specia, specia,' and the instrument
would answer back: 'pecia, pecia, pecia,' and I couldn't get it to do anything else. It was enough to drive me mad. I kept at it, however, until I had succeeded and now you can read a thousand words from a newspaper into a phonograph, at the rate of 150 words per minute, and the machine will repeat them back to you without one omission.

"You will appreciate the difficulty of the task that I accomplished when I tell you that the impressions made on the cylinder when the aspiration of 'specia' is produced are no greater than a millionth of an inch in depth and are invisible even under the microscope.

"That is just to give you an idea of my work. I am not a theoretician, and I don't pretend to be a savant. Everyone applauds the theoreticians and the savants, when they explain, in a very formal language, what someone else has done. But all of their formulated knowledge put together has never given the world more than two or three inventions of any value. It's easy to invent astonishing things, but the difficulty comes in perfecting them enough to give them some commercial value. It's the latter kind of inventions that interest me."

"And what new discoveries will be made in the field of electricity?"

"Well, that's difficult to say. We may, one of these days, run up against one of the great secrets of nature."

In December of that same year the poet Robert Browning, whom Schwob greatly admired, died. The connection between this event and the Edison interview appears tenuous except that, in 1890, one year after Browning's death, a group of the poet's friends gathered to pay him homage and to hear, as it were from the grave, the voice of Browning speaking to them from an Edison recording. It was a singularly impressive event in that day.

Almost a year later the Paris newspapers published Schwob's latest tale:

The Talking Machine

The man who came in, holding a newspaper in his hand, had an expressive face and an intent gaze; I remember that he was pale and wrinkled, that I didn't see him smile even once, and that his way of placing his finger against his lips was charged with mystery. But what first caught one's attention was the stifled, broken sound of his voice. When his speech was slow and deep, the solemn tones of that voice could be heard, with unexpected, resonant silences, as if there were far
distant overtones quivering in unison; but for the most part
the words tumbled from his lips, and spouted forth muffled,
broken, discordant, like the noises of cracking china. There
seemed to be in him an endless host of breaking cords. And
from this voice all intonation had disappeared; no nuances
could be detected and it seemed remarkably old and exhausted.

Nevertheless this visitor that I had never seen before came
forward and said: "You wrote these lines, did you not?"

And he read: "The voice which is the aerial sign of the
thought, and through that of the soul, which teaches, preaches,
exhorts, prays, praises, and loves; through which in turn the
being shows itself to exist; something almost tangible to the
blind; impossible to describe because it is too fluctuating and
varied, simply too alive and embodied in too many sonorous
forms; the voice which Théophile Gautier renounced telling
about in words because it is neither sweet, nor dry, nor warm,
nor cold, nor colorless, nor colored, but something of all that
in another dimension; this voice that one can neither feel nor
see; the most immaterial of worldly things, the one which most
resembles a spirit—science, with a stylet, pierces it in its flight
and buries it in little holes on a revolving cylinder."

When he had finished—and his tumultuous speech reached
my ear only as a muffled sound—this man danced on one leg,
then on the other and without opening his lips uttered a dry,
rasping laugh that seemed about to split asunder.

"Science," he said, "the voice . . . Further on you wrote:
'A great poet taught that speech could not be lost, since it is
movement; that it was powerful and creative, and that perhaps,
at the ends of the world, its vibrations were bringing into
existence other universes, aqueous or volcanic stars, blazing
new suns.' And we both know, don't we, that Plato had pre-
dicted, long before Poe, the power of the spoken word:
'The voice is not merely a striking on the air: for the tapping
finger can strike the air and never make a voice.' And we also
know that on a certain day in the month of December, 1890,
one year to the day after the death of Robert Browning, there
was heard at Edison-House, coming from the casket of a
phonograph, the living voice of the poet, and that the sound
waves in the air can forever be restored to life.

"You are savants and poets; you know how to conceive
preserve, even restore life: the creation of it is unknown to
you."
I looked at the man pityingly. A deep line cut across his forehead from the hairline to the bridge of the nose. Madness seemed to bristle his hair and illuminate the balls of his eyes. The look on his face was one of triumph, like those who believe themselves emperor, pope, or God, and who, from the height of their greatness, despise the ignorant.

"Yes," he went on—and his voice choked up the more he tried to make it strong—"you have set down all that the others know and the greater part of what they dream about; but I am greater. I can, to borrow from Poe, create worlds in movement, and blazing, roaring spheres with the sound from matter without a soul; and I have surpassed Lucifer in that I can force inorganic things to blaspheme. Night and day, according to my will, skins which were alive, and metals which perhaps are not yet so, utter lifeless words; and if it is true that the voice creates universes in space, those that I have caused it to create are worlds that have died before they came to life. In my house lies a Behemoth that bellows at a wave of my hand; I have invented a talking machine."

I followed the man as he started for the door. Along noisy, well-frequented streets we passed and arrived finally at the outskirts of the city as the gas lamps, behind us, were lighting up one by one. Before a low postern set in a black wall the man stopped, and slid a bolt. We made our way through a somber, silent courtyard, and then my heart filled with anguish at the groanings, grating cries and syllabized words which seemed to come roaring from some cavernous gullet. And these words were totally without shading just as the voice of my guide, so that, in this unbounded exaggeration of vocal sounds, I could recognize nothing human.

The man showed me into a room that I could not describe because my attention was taken immediately by an awesome monstrosity towering in the center. There, as high as the ceiling, gaped a gigantic throat, blotched and swollen, with folds of black leather hanging or bulging from the tempestuous current of air that rumbled up from its depths to pass through two enormous, trembling lips. And amid the grinding of wheels and the screaming of metal wires I could watch the piles of leather shuddering, and the gigantic lips yawning falteringly; deep inside the gaping red pit an immense, fleshy lobe was flapping, rising, dangling, stretching up, down, right and left. A sudden burst of air shook the machine to its
foundations, and a few articulated words spouted forth, uttered by an extra-human voice. The explosions of the consonants were terrifying, for the P and the B, like the V, escaped directly from between the black and swollen labial folds, as though being born under our very eyes. The D and the T burst forth under the snarling superior mass of leather, and the R, which took time to form, rolled ominously. The vowels, crudely modified, seemed to spurt out of the yawning gullet like notes from a trump, and the lisping of the S and the SH surpassed the horror of even monstrous mutilations.

"Here," said the man as he placed his hand on the shoulder of a thin little woman, deformed and nervous, "here is the soul that works the keyboard of my machine. She executes on my piano pieces of human speech. I have trained her to admire my will: her notes are stammerings; her scales and exercises the BA, BE, BI, BO, BU of the classroom; her studies, the fables I compose for her; her fugues, my lyric pieces and poetry; her symphonies, my blasphemous philosophy. You see the keys which represent, in their syllabic alphabet, and in only three rows, all the miserable signs of human thought. I produce, simultaneously—and without being struck down as damned—the thesis and antithesis of man's truths and those of his God."

He seated the little woman at the keyboard, behind the machine. "Listen," he said in his muffled voice.

And the bellows began to move under the touch of the pedals; the hanging folds of the throat filled out; the monstrous lips quivered and gaped open; the tongue began working, and the clamor of the articulated speech burst forth:

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD

roared the machine.

"This is a lie," said the man. "It's the lie of the books we call sacred. I have studied for many, many years; I have opened throats in the dissecting room; I have listened to voices screaming and weeping, to sobs and sermons; I have measured them mathematically; I have drawn them forth from myself and others; I have broken my own voice in my efforts; and I have lived so long with my machine that I speak, as it does, without nuances. Nuances, you understand, are part of the soul, and I have eliminated them. Here then is the truth and the new
word.” And he screamed at the top of his voice—but the phrase resounded no more than a raucous whisper: “The Machine is going to say:

I HAVE CREATED THE WORD."

And the bellows began to move under the touch of the pedals; the hanging folds of the throat filled out; the monstrous lips quivered and gaped open; the tongue began working and the speech burst forth in one prodigious stutter:

WOR-D WOR-D WOR-D

There was an extraordinary tearing of wires and crunching of gearwork; the throat sagged, there was an over-all withering of the leather, and a blast of air that swept away the syllabic keys into a twisted heap of debris. I couldn’t tell whether the machine had refused to blaspheme or whether she who played the words had introduced some principle of destruction into the mechanism: for the little, deformed woman had disappeared, and the man, whose taut face was suddenly furrowed with wrinkles, was crisping his fingers furiously in front of his muted mouth, his voice having disappeared forever.
The Library and the Availability of Knowledge

by S. Lyman Tyler**

"There is nothing more to the credit of a library than that every man finds in it what he seeks, having failed to find it elsewhere." So wrote Gabriel Naudé as he outlined the steps that were necessary to the establishment of a library in the 1640's. The argument is as sound today as some 320 years ago, but the store of knowledge or information that is available to man, and the number of individuals seeking it have increased tremendously.

Possibly one of the most significant changes that have occurred since the Industrial Revolution relates to the classification, availability, and uses of knowledge. In our rapidly changing world, to avoid duplication of effort on the part of scholars, a research library must contain in books, learned journals, and technical reports an up-to-date record of recent progress in research as well as the documentary materials that allow one age to speak to another.

Scholarly pursuits lead into hundreds of specialized fields, and the results of research are cataloged and classified in order to bring them together, as nearly as possible, in the collection. Great universities with important libraries and competent faculties are in a position to significantly influence our modern societies, for today as in past times power follows knowledge. This powerful ally, knowledge, is a formidable tool in the hands of those wise enough to use it.

More than any other institution, the library of a university "is the custodian of the world’s actual knowledge and the reservoir of its potential knowledge." It preserves and makes available the results of previous human seeking. It makes possible a fruitful continuation of that search. Each

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educational advance depends upon its resources, and the extent of the advance is in very direct proportion to the ability of the library to respond.

In the words of Paul Buck, formerly Provost and now Director of Harvard University libraries, "A quality education is impossible without a quality library." He states further that "You cannot have a quality faculty without a quality library."

The maintenance of strong libraries is one of the responses universities have made to the vast increase in the bulk of recorded knowledge. To invest in a well-balanced research collection for a university library is to make a permanent investment—one that will guarantee returns in terms of a creative faculty and well-trained students for generations to come.

It is a compliment to the faculty and students of Brigham Young University that the administrative officers and Trustees have had sufficient faith in them to approve the construction of a library building adequate to accommodate the growth of the collection through the 1960's.

It is a further compliment that funds have been secured and continue to be made available to assure an orderly expansion of the research collections. Our society is dedicated to the idea that man's salvation is secured only as rapidly as his knowledge grows: both religiously and secularly, the two to be judiciously combined in a way that will result in a well-balanced man. This was the goal of Brigham Young when he established the university. It continues to be its reason for being.

Great libraries do not grow accidentally. Given a well ordered building and adequate funds, they are the result of years of knowledgeable seeking and finding on the part of a well organized library staff and an informed faculty.

Friends of libraries in the form of collectors who have spent a life-time bringing together a meaningful collection in a specialized field; and bookmen who have sought out and acquired the landmarks of scholarship and of printing and publishing; all these combine to help in the work of accumulating the results of scholarship and of the arts and letters to build a monument to man's past seeking, a library.

To quote Naudé further:

And since it is commonly with readers as it was with Horace's three guests, "With gullet various seeking food diverse," libraries can be compared to nothing better than
to the meadow of Seneca, where every living creature finds that which is most proper for it, 'the ox, grass; the hound, the hare; the stork, a lizard.'

And besides, if one considers times, places, and new inventions, no man of judgment can doubt that it is much easier at present to possess thousands of books than it was for the ancients to get hundreds, and that therefore it would be a shame and eternal reproach to us to be inferior to them in this particular, in which they may be surpassed with such advantage and ease.

In the past ten years the number of volumes in the Brigham Young University Library has more than tripled, and the collection is now very near the half-million mark. If it can be doubled again before the end of the decade we will be able to more fully accommodate the ever-expanding program of the university, as well as the research efforts of its faculties.

Library usage at Brigham Young University in the past 10 years has shown a phenomenal increase. A recent library statistical report disclosed that while the student body increased 261 percent in the last decade, the use of library books and materials increased approximately 1000 percent during the same period. Another substantial increase in total library use is noted for 1963 which showed a 17.3 percent hike over the previous year while the student body enrollment for the same period increased about 12 percent. President Ernest L. Wilkinson in his annual address to the Brigham Young University faculty last September stated that "perhaps no single development has done more during recent years to raise academic standards and to increase scholastic achievement at Brigham Young University than the construction of the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library." The President paid tribute to the new library facilities and open stacks by asserting that this "has made it possible for the entire student body to have access to the book collection. As a result, the cost of making each item available for use is now only half what it was under the closed stack system in operation in the old library." Clark Library statistics also show that library materials are used far more extensively in the library than those that are checked out for home use.

To paraphrase the words of Yale University Librarian, James T. Babb, when the library fully satisfies the scholarly needs of its patrons, both students and faculty, the contribu-
tions of the Brigham Young University Library to the scholarly community in the intermountain area will be remembered long after the winning football teams of our neighbor institutions have been forgotten.
The Institute of American Indian Studies at Brigham Young University*

PAUL E. FELT** and S. LYMAN TYLER***

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Americas during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is estimated that approximately 500,000 Indians lived in present Canada, approximately 1,000,000 in what is now the United States, and several millions in that part of the Americas now designated Latin America (Mexico, Central, and South America).

Today there are some 200,000 Indians in Canada, over a half-million in the United States and a good many millions, according to the way a particular country defines an Indian (usually the percentage of Indian blood), in Latin America.

Since the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which sponsors Brigham Young University has historically encouraged its membership to entertain a particular interest in the American Indian, it may seem natural that this university chose to organize an Institute of American Indian Studies four years ago.

The institute’s field of study includes all the Indians of the Americas: Their past, their present situation, and the prospect for the future. It is anticipated that the approaches of the various social sciences as well as the humanities and arts will eventually be utilized in assisting non-Indians to more fully understand the richness and variety represented in the many facets of the various Indian cultures.

To support the research necessary to accomplish the program as outlined, work is now in progress to broaden the scope of and to considerably enlarge the library collections that per-

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**Director, Indian Affairs, Brigham Young University.

***Professor of history and director of libraries at Brigham Young University.
tain to the Indians of the Americas. In addition to books, the journals of learned societies and manuscript materials are being sought that will enable scholars to do original research and will eventually result in publication. The distribution of these publications, with the improvement in understanding of the Indians by the non-Indian that will follow, will result in further demand for information and a continuing enlargement of the basic program.

The Institute of American Indian Studies exists primarily to serve the various agencies of the Church with programs that relate to the Indians of the Americas; to assist Brigham Young University and other units within the Unified Church School System to develop programs for the enlargement and improvement of educational opportunities for Indians; to cooperate with governmental agencies in their attempts to improve Indian adjustment to and a more satisfactory participation within the predominant society; and to work with Indian tribes or groups as they attempt to solve their own problems.

To illustrate more clearly, here are a few examples of the kinds of service the institute has been able to give:

**Alcoholism.** Various agencies within and outside the Church have clearly shown the need for the development of programs to combat the heavy inroads that alcoholism has made into both Indian and non-Indian societies. The institute has undertaken studies that it is anticipated will eventually result in a program to assist Indians and those who work with Indians to better understand problems connected with the use of alcoholic beverages. The film "Bitter Wind" depicting the results of excessive use of alcohol on a Navajo family grew out of a phase of this study.

**Higher Education.** Studies to determine what benefits Indians expect from education have enabled us to make recommendations that we anticipate will result in a greater ability to fit educational programs to the specific needs of Indian peoples. Based on these studies, the Indian Education Program at Brigham Young University presently offers an increased range of courses to Indian students, and still other courses to improve the training of both Indian and non-Indian who wish to work with Indians professionally are being enlarged.
Cooperation with Government. The institute is working with the Governor's Committee on Indian Affairs in the State of Utah to improve relations between Indians and the various state agencies that serve Indians. Consideration is also being given to programs that will call for an increase in inter-relationships between Indian communities and the adjacent non-Indian communities. Two surveys have been made by the institute to gather data essential to the progress of these programs.

Work with Tribes. Research has been undertaken to assist tribes in Utah and Arizona with intra-tribal programs and inter-tribal relations, and to develop programs involving the relations of tribes or tribal groups with both state and federal agencies. Historical research should soon result in publication of tribal histories, bibliographies, and accounts of the relations of Indians with government agencies.

Identification of Tribes and Groups. The first phase of a study to locate geographically, identify as to tribal affiliation, and determine the population, religious affiliation, political and socio-economic conditions of the various Indian groups throughout the Americas is in progress and some preliminary information has been made available.

Work with Church Indian Committee. Through the executive-secretary of the Indian Committee of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, various projects are undertaken to provide specific information useful to the agencies of the Church that work with Indians. An information sheet, Indians of the Americas, is distributed periodically to keep those who direct these agencies informed of current developments pertaining to Indians.

As the membership of the Church continues to increase in Latin America, undoubtedly the Institute of American Indian Studies will continue to be able to supply useful information concerning the Indian groups that the expanding organization will inevitably come in contact with. In the meantime those associated with the institute continue to gain experience through their research projects and current activities.
The Institute of
Government Service*

by Stewart L. Grow**

One of the great challenges facing mankind is to develop attitudes and techniques which permit people to live together happily and safely. As man invents more devices of communication, transportation and warfare and at the same time rapidly increases his numbers and concentrates them in larger and larger cities, the problems become more and more complex. The result is that the problems facing government at all levels, international, national, state and local, grow more challenging. Trained personnel of good moral character and high motivation are needed to meet these challenges. To train such personnel the Institute of Government Service has been organized at Brigham Young University.

The Institute of Government Service offers graduate training in public administration in three major areas: 1) International Affairs, 2) National Administration, and 3) State and Local Administration. Studies in the institute lead to the Master of Arts or Master of Science degree depending on the nature of the course work taken. The type of training given in the institute is inter-departmental in nature and attempts to widen the student's knowledge and perspective so that he will be qualified to make decisions in areas where complicated and contradictory forces are at work. Courses are taken in a number of departments and are arranged to augment the student's undergraduate training and to give him additional classes in areas in which he may have had little or no previous work.

To be admitted a student must possess a bachelor's degree from an accredited university and meet the requirements of Brigham Young University for admission to graduate study. Students may be admitted from a variety of backgrounds.

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**Professor of history and political science and director of the Institute of Government Service.
Those who have majored or minored in political science, economics, history, psychology, sociology, business, geography, languages or engineering will generally possess good training. Entering students are required to have adequate preparation in such fields as national history, national government and basic economics. If the student lacks such background, he is required to take lower division courses which will not be counted toward the master's degree. Applications for admission should be addressed to the dean of the Graduate School at Brigham Young University.

Although the program of the Institute of Government Service is only three years old, its graduates have already been placed in a wide range of positions. Some have entered upon further study leading to the Ph.D. degree. Others have entered the foreign service, others the national government service and others have chosen to work with state or local governments. A surprising number have entered business where their knowledge of government has been valuable in international trade, government contracting, governmental and business relations and personnel. Another group has found employment as teachers in junior colleges and high schools.

At the present time approximately 75 students are enrolled in the master's degree program and consideration is being given to the further expansion of the number of options offered within the institute.
BOOK REVIEW


Review is called for mainly on the strength of Martin's reputation as a specialist on the "cults," with a record of lectures, books, and even editorship of something of a journal devoted to them. The preface claims for the book a reliance on source material: "the first attempt in over twenty-five years to present a thoroughly documented, historical, theological, and apologetic survey of the Mormon religion." Although recognizing the outdated and unreliable nature of much literature on Mormonism, the book does not substantially alter the situation. For one thing, the author has not mastered his "vast and complex subject" (p. 34), since he redundantly insists that Mormon scholars have not treated issues that have actually been discussed many times. Failure to respond is taken regularly as supporting evidence, so a reviewer must protect himself against appearing to validate what is not discussed (for want of space) by paraphrasing the epilogue of John's Gospel: "There are many other errors in this book, the which if they were stated every one, the whole journal would not contain them."

The initial chapters concern the "verdict of history." Of all people, the star witness against Joseph Smith is his mother. By mentioning that Josiah Stoal had heard of Joseph Smith's powers of spiritual discernment, Lucy Smith (in Martin's view) confirms the Palmyra affidavits on "money digging." But her narrative places Stoal's appearance after the visitation of the angel, and there is no reason to suppose that he heard anything different from a garbled version of the visions, which (according to Joseph Smith's story) were perverted in the bitter tirades against him. As for the affidavits, they merely prove the same thing—that stories were circulated about Joseph Smith. Martin seems to be unaware that many family members and close associates also left recollections of this
period quite at variance with the gossiping residents of Palmyra.¹

The next historical judgment exposes "the many difficulties" which the Book of Mormon "introduces in the light of already established facts" (p. 39). Professor Anthon's 1834 version of what he told Harris is given in order to impeach Harris, with no mention that Anthon's contradictions in an 1841 letter throw considerable doubt on the accuracy of his 1834 story.² Concerning the "reformed Egyptian" of the Book of Mormon, "no one has ever been able to find the slightest trace of the language" (p. 44). Such a statement betrays a great deal of ignorance of both Egyptian and language in general, which is always being "reformed." Demotic Egyptian, of origin not long before Lehi's exodus, is certainly a "reformed Egyptian," as are other well-known and less-known variations. Given the facts of a millennium's isolated existence and social degeneration, any linguist would expect precisely what Moroni describes (Mormon 9:32-4). Without knowing it, Martin raises a similar problem by arguing that American Indians are racially Mongoloid, with neither physical nor blood-type affinities to the Near East. But the one thing that emerges clearly from a cursory look at racial blood types is the uniqueness of the American Indian, who is at the opposite pole in A and B groups from supposed Asiatic relatives. The data pose the greatest problem for the theory of Oriental origin. And blood types may shift, somewhat as language, through the isolation of small groups. William C. Boyd, who is cited but not quoted in support of Martin's thesis, suggests that the best explanation of present knowledge is the migration from "central Asia" of "small groups" in the fashion of Lehi's departure.³

Finally, the Book of Mormon "betrays a great lack of information and background on the subject of world history and the history of the Jewish people" (p. 53). Judged by the

¹The affidavits are treated, together with contrary evidence, in Francis Kirkham, A New Witness for Christ in America, I (3d ed.; Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University, 1960), and Hugh Nibley, The Myth Makers (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961). In a similar problem of exaggerating history, Martin mentions "the order" (p. 33) of Brigham Young to kill immigrants, which the most thorough investigator, Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), has failed to find.

²Both letters are reprinted in Kirkham, op. cit., 414-422.

examples given, it is Martin’s lack of background that is showing, for not once (in common with O’Dea and Whalen) does he betray the slightest knowledge of Hugh Nibley’s evidence that its knowledge of world and Jewish history is at present the strongest proof in favor of the Book of Mormon. Such consistent and perverse failure to perceive the state of the question before contributing is unknown in any scholarly field. Essential “anachronisms” in support of Martin’s contention follow:

Anyone thoroughly conversant with Jewish law would know that the Jews were forbidden to eat or to keep swine; yet Nephi, allegedly a very orthodox Jew, kept swine; according to the Mormons. And not only this, but the Jaredites enjoyed “glass” windows in the miraculous barges in which they crossed the ocean; and “steel” and a “compass” were known to Nephi despite the fact that neither had been invented, demonstrating once again that Joseph Smith was a poor student of history and of Hebrew customs (p. 53).

The initial objection listed merely mistates the facts. “Swine” appear in the Book of Mormon among the Jaredites of the pre-Mosaic era and once in the Book of Mormon version of the Sermon on the Mount, where the derogatory Jewish attitude is retained. The technique of checking one’s references will similarly solve the problem of glass by determining that it existed in many forms in the Near East at the approximate time required by the Book of Mormon. It is standard ritual in non-L.D.S. treatments of the Book of Mormon (in which Martin, O’Dea, and Whalen join) to assert knowingly that steel in the age of the Book of Mormon is impossible. But the fact is that iron was less useful than the copper alloys of the Bronze Age until heating and tempering imparted some amount of carbon to the metal. In this sense ancient technology produced steel squarely within the period of the Book of Mormon, as a check of the studies of R. J. Forbes and others will show: “. . . we are sure that steel was produced in antiquity.”

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1 See Hugh Nibley, Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), and An Approach to the Book of Mormon (2d ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964).  
3 R. J. Forbes, Metallurgy in Antiquity (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 409. Cp. p. 414: “For only steel is definitely better than bronze for tools and weapons and only the invention of steel could herald the Iron Age.”
As a matter of fact, the Book of Mormon references to steel intimately reflect its ancient use in that it is always listed as semi-precious and utilized mainly in the manufacture of weapons. The "compass" criticism (levelled by both Martin and Whalen) disregards the basic difference between the medieval magnetic compass and the Book of Mormon "Liahona." Both authors have been tricked by their inflexible approach to the translation English of Joseph Smith. The Liahona was an instrument similar to the Urim and Thummim in that it worked by the principles of metaphysics, not physics; it has ancient cultural affinities, not modern.7

The balance of The Maze. . . is essentially theology. Of these chapters, that devoted to arguing the cause of "sole grace" against Mormonism is the most accurate, and (given their commitment to Christ) Mormons should not take issue with Martin's characterization "that they cannot conceive of a God who could save apart from human effort...." (p. 115) The chapter on Priesthood is strangely legalistic. Instead of treating descriptions in the Acts or Pastoral Letters concerning the bestowal of apostolic authority on others, Martin prefers to base his case on a dubious translation of Hebrews 7:24, maintaining that Christ's priesthood is "untransferable." But his vintage 1889 citation from Thayer's lexicon for this use is squarely contradicted by the best authorities in the field. The lexicon of Arndt-Gingrich (in agreement with Moulton-Milligan) gives more than a dozen secular uses of the period to show that the term in question (aparabatos) "rather has the sense permanent, unchangeable."8 The point of the passage is not that Christ's priesthood cannot be transferred, but that it permanently remains superior, as does he, to all other authority.

The chapters on the "Doctrines of God" and the "Virgin Birth" caricature L.D.S. doctrine. Venturesome and intelligent Latter-day Saints have boldly speculated on the ultimate nature of theological reality. But whether from Orson Whitney, Parley P. Pratt, or Brigham Young, opinions are subject to formal proposal and acceptance by common consent before becoming official theology. The result is that Martin has perverted instead of explained what Mormonism teaches about Adam (al-

ways subordinate to Christ in L.D.S. scripture), the Virgin Birth (accepted fully but not defined as to method), and the Holy Ghost (a person, not a substance). Martin repeatedly contends that any statement of Joseph Smith or Brigham Young is doctrinally binding upon all Latter-day Saints (e.g., pp. 90, 102, 140). The technique is not as ridiculous as citing anti-Mormon writing (Kidder) for the supposed concept that the lost tribes are in polar “deep freeze” (p. 118), but it is equally misleading and disqualifies Martin as giving any serious analysis of true L.D.S. beliefs.

This brings up the central difficulty of the book’s approach: something akin to the “conspiracy theory” that opens every promoter of a better world to the charge of secret Communism. In the author’s view, the real problem of Mormon exposition is “that they do not use language which might reveal the true nature of their theological deviations” (p. 123). One good reason may well be that Mormonism does not really teach such deviations, but that is not considered. The supposed answer is that Mormon propaganda is a “masquerade” characterized by “shifty language” (p. 127). In fact, “it is extremely difficult to write kindly of Mormon theology when they are so obviously deceptive in their presentation of data . . . ” (p. 85). In other words, Mr. Martin never has solved the problem of why his image of Mormonism does not correspond to what Mormons say. He attacks an imaginary system instead of the real thing. The only substantial example of such deception in a whole chapter devoted to this subject is Richard L. Evans’ statement in Look affirming that Latter-day Saints believe in the Trinity. The Mormon leader proceeded immediately to qualify L.D.S. belief as Tritheism and obviously faced serious risks of misconception by denying belief in the Trinity. Yet this example is really all that supports the sweeping conclusion that “scholastic dishonesty and twisted semantics are standard Mormon practices” (p. 129). But what is actually twisted is the class of non-L.D.S. literature that continues to use such discreditable methods. Who can study a religion based on doctrinal premises of continued revelation and eternal progress by pouring its theology into an outdated mould? Such inconsistency needs to be underlined at this time when literature on Mormonism is being overhauled. More generations will be misinformed on the true nature of L.D.S. beliefs unless men of perception recognize the “fabrications
and myths which characterize many anti-Mormon tracts." Although Martin's preface promises an up-to-date and scholarly treatment of Mormonism, the result is neither. Because it portrays a creative, dynamic religious movement through atypical, archaic documentation, *The Maze of Mormonism* is itself an anachronism.

Richard Lloyd Anderson

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