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*Joys of Discovery – Historical Research and Writing**

LeRoy R. Hafen**

History is the record of man's sojourn on earth. It encompasses not only his aspirations, achievements and progress; but also his discouragements, his shortcomings, and his failures. The many branches of history treat and emphasize various phases of the subject, such as the economic, political, social, and military aspects of human development.

What passes for history is often folklore, myth, or legend. These each have their interest, their appeal, and their place; but that place is primarily in literature, not in history, although, as we shall see in a moment, good history is also literature. However, nothing in fiction, no fruits of the imagination, can equal in interest what actually occurred. The great English historian, George M. Trevelyan, said of the basic events of history: "Just because it really happened, it gathers round it all the inscrutable mystery of life and death and time. Let the science and research of the historian find the fact, and let his imagination and art make clear its significance."

In some respects history is a science. It seeks for accuracy, exactness, and truth. But dealing with humans and their attributes, the historian cannot set the stage and repeat an experiment, as is possible in chemistry, physics, or other sciences. So history falls short of the accuracy of science. But what it lacks as science it achieves as art. For in a real sense history is an art, akin to poetry, painting, sculpture; specifically, it is a form of literature. The *ideal* in history is not only to have dependable facts, but an artistic and intriguing presentation. Thus the study, the writing, and the teaching of history offer great challenges—an alluring opportunity.

History is so interesting that I am surprised you are not all historians. As a matter of fact, I believe all of you are, in a

*Given as the third annual faculty lecture at Brigham Young University, March 23, 1966.

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way. Some of you just tell stories of your youth to your grandchildren—and of course all of these tales are very accurate and unembellished. Some of you are ardent genealogists, and genealogy is a specialized branch of history. Much of the scripture you study is history. Some of you read, rather than write history; and history is never complete until it is read.

Historical work can be divided generally into two major undertakings: first, RESEARCH—the gathering of facts; second, WRITING—the synthesis of facts, the telling of the story.

Let us first consider RESEARCH IN HISTORY. This is the gathering and selection of information about what happened—the search for facts, the pursuit of truth. Research is detective work, and it has all the fascination and thrill of a detective's pursuit of clues. In research one tastes the *joys of discovery.* The pursuit of truth is the objective; in fact, the degree of truth attained is the measure of success in research.

The laboratories for historical research are the libraries, archives, and other collections of records. Where there are no records, it has been said, there is no history.

In the study of records, certain general canons of method have been developed. Scholars engaged in ancient and medieval history have found that many writings are not genuine or dependable. There have been forgeries of documents pertaining to land titles, church decrees, etc. So scholars have worked out what approaches a science in the matter of rules and methods of determining the authenticity of records. Langois and Seignabos have a textbook on methodology in medieval historical studies. I remember Professor Paetow at the University of California and his interesting examples of notable forgeries, and the ingenious methods of detecting forgeries.

We need not go into these problems here, for our subject and concern are of a later period. Students such as I, who are primarily interested in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have a somewhat simpler problem and challenge. But common sense and experience have suggested certain rules for determining the dependability of modern documents.

We roughly classify written records into *primary* and *secondary* accounts. *Primary* sources are those written by participants or observers at the time of a happening. The contemporary letters written to relatives or friends, the official reports,

the diaries of the persons on the scene, and contemporary newspaper accounts are examples of primary sources.

How thankful we are for the diaries kept by history-minded persons. Many journals of explorers and of pioneers have supplied basic information for our historical works. My wife, Ann, well expressed this indebtedness in a poem commemorating pioneers on the Old Spanish Trial, and entitled it, "A Journal Speaks":

> I am the voice of the exploring ages,
> Eternal life of fingers turned to dust.
> I am the Forever of man's will to tell,
> A buckskinned link with tomorrow
> Preserved by the acrid smoke of a campfire.
>
> While his comrades snore in their earthy rolls
> My creator—squinting, shivering—
> Hunches over the dying coals to scrawl:
>
> *Covered ten miles today—*
> *Two hundred yet to go.*
> *Left five mules by the trail.*
> *No water and grass for camp.*
> *Nor wood except Joshua burrs.*
> *Chewed bullets to wet my mouth,*
> *But that's no substitute for water.*
> *Is all of California gold*
> *Worth one day of agonizing thirst?*
> *Heaven, pour rain tonight!*
>
> The Journal, I—voice of questing man,
> Gold of his pack,
> Dust cry of a smothering mule.

Even persons who are present and report an event do not always agree. It is notorious that the witnesses of a fire or a dog fight do not tell the same story. So the historian endeavors to find as many contemporary accounts of an event as possible, and then by judging the objectivity and trustworthiness of the witnesses to come up with the most accurate account possible of what actually happened. And in some cases, with good diaries and letters, one can also learn the motive that impelled to

action. And motives are generally the most difficult problem for the historian to explain or establish.

As participants and observers of an event are removed farther and farther from the scene, they tend to become less reliable reporters. In other words, we learn that human memory is imperfect, that reminiscenses are not nearly so dependable as accounts written down at the time. So reminiscent accounts—old man's tales—are always suspect.

Secondary sources are those written not by participants or witnesses, but by persons who get their information second-hand. Such writings vary greatly. There are the wild guesses and imaginings of writers of fiction at one end, and then extending through a long scale of writers of varying degrees of dependability, up to the responsible scholar who does thorough work and produces monographs that are our most dependable historical writing. Such works cite the sources used, indicate the bases for conclusions, and thus can be judged as to their competence. Such are the ideals for the theses and dissertations produced by our graduate students and by competent scholars.

My main purpose is not to discuss the canons of historical writing, but to give in a more personal way some experiences in historical work and to reveal the joys in this field of endeavor.

First let us look at *libraries* and *documentary sources*—the laboratories for historical work. In research, which for most of us is the most interesting and enjoyable part of the historical vocation, the principal labor is carried on in documentary collections. The great libraries of the nation and the world are the storehouses of the accumulated wisdom of mankind. How thrilling to visit the British Museum, one of the largest libraries in the world, and to see the vast historical sources gathered and stored through the centuries. The Bibliothèque Nationale in France and the Vatican Library of Rome are but representative of the great record accumulations available to us.

Individual libraries tend to specialize in certain fields. Inasmuch as my own interest has been Western American history, I have gone to the great repositories of documents and records in this area. The Bancroft Library at Berkeley and the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino are the most famous in California. The William R. Coe Collection at Yale University,

the Newberry Library at Chicago, and the Harvard Library also have outstanding Western sources. The various state historical societies have marvelous collections pertaining to their respective areas. The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis is preeminent in the Western fur trade and early exploration materials. In the field of government documents, of course the magnificent National Archives are supreme. The Library of Congress, presumed to have a copy of every book published in the United States, is our largest and most inclusive library.

One could go on with a long list of libraries and their specialties, but this would hardly serve our purpose. It is enough to know that there are great libraries, available to the researcher, and that their doors are open to scholars.

For the full thrill, the researcher should visit the great repositories. At the National Archives the air-conditioned and specially lighted vault containing the original Declaration of Independence is raised up from the subbasement each day to be viewed by the long line of history-minded citizens who file alongside to view the immortal document. In the stacks of the Archives are the monthly reports of all the early military forts of the West, many of them still neatly folded and tied in red tape—the original for the popular term "red tape." The maps and drawings of the earliest explorers and surveyors, the reports of Indian agents, logs of emigrant ships, even the weather reports are there. The National Archives are truly a treasure trove.

If one is interested in the greatest exploration tour of Western history, the Lewis and Clark expedition, it is a privilege to go to the Missouri Historical Society and see and even handle the little leather-bound book that William Clark carried to the Pacific and back, with its queer spelling but good drawings and maps. The lists of the fur traders pulling keelboats up the muddy Missouri ten miles a day to the mouth of the Yellowstone, the men and supplies packing out to the summer fur trade rendezvous in the central Rockies are there.

When we were doing research for our history of the Old Spanish Trail, which ran from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, we flew to Mexico City in 1946. There in the Hemeroteca National we found the diary of the first packhorse trip from New Mexico to southern California. It was aggravatingly brief, but it did give the dates and the places of night camps; and from these we

were able to determine the route to a crossing of the Colorado River, to the Virgin and the Mojave rivers, and thence to San Gabriel Mission, southern California. This trace was mainly south of the Colorado and only its western end was along our Old Spanish Trail.

During the several years of our research we sought in vain for a contemporary and complete record of a trip over our trail. Regretfully we wrote at the end of our book manuscript that we had been unable to find a diary of a complete journey over the route. Finally, when our book was almost ready to go to the publisher, Yale University issued a large volume describing its manuscript holdings. Among these we noted the listing of a diary by Orville Pratte and among the names mentioned enroute was the Sevier River. We knew at once that this journey was through Utah and over the Spanish Trail. Immediately we obtained a microfilm copy of the diary, and when we saw its importance, got permission from Yale to publish the rare document. We added it as a final chapter to our volume and were happy.

How exciting to find a fugitive bit of information in some obscure library or collection, some long-sought fact that explains conditions or solves puzzles, some obscure name or report in a faded newspaper, a rare pamphlet with significant information. A few months ago we saw a pamphlet recently purchased by the Huntington Library. It was a blank-verse account of the Mormon sufferings in Missouri written by James Mulholland, the scribe to whom the Prophet Joseph Smith dictated the early part of his life history. The pamphlet was published at Nauvoo in 1841, a few months after the unfortunate death of the young author, age thirty-five years.

All searches are not fruitful. Sometimes after a long pursuit, you arrive at the right place, only to find that thoughtless descendants finally cleaned house last week and burned up grandpa's old box of letters and papers that had cluttered the attic these many years.

Sometimes you run up against a blank wall, as I did *literally* on one occasion. Rumor had it that there was a lost mine in the high Sangre de Cristo mountains of Colorado, a *caverno del oro*—a cave of gold. A party was organized, supplied with long ropes and necessary equipment. It is a long story that my wife published some years ago, and that cannot be repeated

here. Suffice it to say that after descending on a hundred-foot rope into the black pit at the end of the cave, I finally reached bottom. There was only a blank wall of limestone. No skeleton chained to the wall as legend had said; no evidence of treasure. Only a broken rib in the difficult ascent was my reward for the trouble.

Ann ended her article, "Detective Historian," thus: "To the party the venture was disappointing. No treasure found. No headlines for the newspapers. No relic of the ancient conquistadores. But to the detective historian it was just another clue pursued, another myth exploded, another triumph for the scholar's code—to build history on fact, not on fossilized fiction."

Libraries are the laboratory and the workshop of the historian. These great institutions not only open their doors and welcome the scholar; they provide card catalogues and descriptive calendars of holdings, have competent and willing librarians and assistants, and often provide research rooms, study carrels or offices, microfilm readers, and photocopying devices to promote the search for truth.

A few institutions are not willing to open their archives, even to the most sincere and competent scholars. Some corporations and some families keep their records sealed. Some are afraid of lawsuits. Some have skeletons in their closets, something to hide. They are afraid of the truth.

On the more recent subjects, American historians supplement the library materials by interviewing pioneers or their descendants. Here, as indicated earlier, one must take the stories with due allowance because of lapses of memory and human failings. Experience has proved that the recollections pertaining to dress, home life, and the general flavor of the times are more reliable than those giving dates and the chronology of events.

During the depression of the 1930's in a W.P.A. historical project in Colorado—the first such in the nation—there were fifty workers out in the state interviewing pioneers, collecting data on the history of towns, churches, schools, and other features of local history. They sent in to me each week the results of their labor. The accumulated information produced several volumes of excellent source materials on the history of Colorado and its people. These personalized the dry bones of history.

Study on the Ground. Another line of research is pursued by the scholar who is not merely or exclusively an armchair historian. A person who retraces trails, visits historic sites, studies geography for the setting of an event, is well rewarded and is a happy historian. Only by such personal contact can he get the feel of his subject, understand what happened and why, relive the story, and thus be equipped to properly tell it.

After Mrs. Hafen and I spent a year at the Huntington Library, working on the Old Spanish Trail, we devoted a very profitable month in retracing the crooked packhorse route that extended from Los Angeles to Santa Fe. We followed the dry bed of the Mojave River, visited the yellow alkaline Amargosa River that flows into Death Valley; we refreshed ourselves in the desert at Resting Spring; we located the original water pool, bubbling up with sand, in what is now a headhouse of the culinary supply of the city of Las Vegas, Nevada. In less than an hour we sped across the creosote-covered plain from Las Vegas to the Muddy River, a desert stretch of fifty-five waterless miles that were once strewn with the bones of horses that died of thirst and fatigue. We followed the roily Virgin—on the banks of which I spent by boyhood—and its Santa Clara branch, to the notorious Mountain Meadows, once a beautiful grassy retreat for failing pack mules and tired horses. We took the dirt trail from Little Salt Lake, up Red Creek Canyon and crossed Cedar Mountain to the Sevier River; followed this stream some distance; took the trail to Fish Lake, where Kit Carson made such a large catch of trout, over the Wasatch Mountains at the head of Salina Canyon, and traversed Castle Valley. We crossed the Green River, where packs were formerly rafted and horses swam the current; over another barren desert to a crossing of the Colorado River at present Moab; up Spanish Valley, and on to Charles Redd's La Sal Ranch—to be feasted at his annual beef sale party—across southwestern Colorado near Mesa Verde and Durango, to the Chama River, to quaint, rustic Abiquiu, perched on the side of a hill, and finally to Santa Fe.

Here was one of the rewards of Western historical research. Similar trips have taken us over the Oregon and Santa Fe trails, the California and Mormon Trail, the Bozeman Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail, the Pony Express and stagecoach trails, and many less famous routes. The sites of battlefields

lured us; some Western ones are the Little Bighorn, Sand Creek, Summit Springs, Tongue River, Pierre's Hole, and Glorieta Pass.

We have also visited the Plains of Abraham, where heroic Montcalm and Wolfe both died at the gates of Quebec in the climax of the struggle between France and Britain for control of North America. At Saratoga, one of the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," we toured the historic ground where occurred the turning point of the American Revolution. What an impressive monument one sees there. Benedict Arnold, you may recall, was the hero of the battle. But because of his later treason, he has a most tragic monument. In his previous patriotic campaign against Quebec he had been wounded in the lower leg. So, the monument at Saratoga shows in relief this booted leg against the side of a saddle. The name was not considered worthy to be inscribed on the monument; but the leg that was wounded in the true service of his country is preserved in stone on the battlefield of Saratoga.

The battlefields of Yorktown, of Antietam, of Vicksburg, and of Gettysburg, and many others have drawn us to their shrines. To such as these Eastern sites I went as a history teacher, to get atmosphere and sentiment, but not as a historical researcher or writer.

We have picked up bullets, arrowheads, and other mementoes of famous battlefields and historic places of the West. We have visited the sites of the sixteen famous rendezvous of the fur trade and most of the dozens of forts of the period. I was at Champoeg, Oregon, in 1943, for the centennial celebration of establishment of the first government in Oregon. We were at the centennial of the founding of Fort Sutter at Sacramento, California, in 1939; and the quartocentennial of the *entrada* of Coronado into New Mexico, celebrated at Santa Fe in 1940. We traversed the overland stagecoach route and were entertained at the Pioneer Trails Association gathering in Julesburg, Colorado, with a buffalo steak dinner in 1946. And so on and on, for several years. Indeed, research and vacation trips make a wonderfully enjoyable combination.

Often it is only by studying the ground that one can settle certain historical controversies. For example, the site of the first rendezvous in the Rockies has long been in dispute. The written records are scant and say merely that the site was twenty

miles up river from the mouth of Henry's Fork of Green River. But the question was: Up which stream, the Green or Henry's Fork? An examination on the ground showed that twenty miles up Green River is a barren, narrow valley incapable of sustaining the several hundred horses of a big trading camp. Twenty miles up Henry's Fork, a little above present Manila, Utah, at the mouth of Burnt Creek, was and is a fine, large, grassy meadow that met the requirements for a summer rendezvous. Thus was the decision obvious.

The route of the unfortunate Death Valley Party of 1849, in its journey from Salt Lake to southern California, could be determined only by going by jeep, horseback, or on foot over the ground west of Enterprise, Utah. The jump-off from Mount Misery to the upper Beaver Dam Wash clearly shows why wagons could not follow the packhorse trail and why the majority turned back to follow Jefferson Hunt over the Old Spanish or Mormon Trail. The location of the route of the *packers* was verified by finding the initials of Henry Bigler's name cut in the canyon wall. This is the Bigler who kept the diary that recorded the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, January 24, 1849.

Farther on the Mormon Trail, Apostle Charles C. Rich's route (when his party turned back toward the Muddy River) is determined by the unique ten-foot-wide gash so strangely appearing through a mountain in the desert, easily recognized as the unusual phenomena they called "Arrow Canyon."

Jedediah Smith's route, in turning from the Sevier River to the south of present Richfield and going up the Clear Creek branch and on to Cove Fort, is easy to understand when one is on the ground and can see the difficulties of farther travel up the river canyon and the easy westward course of Clear Creek. Students who did not know the country have thought Smith continued up the Sevier River and went down Zion Canyon, an impossible route.

Studying the ground for the site of famous Fort Hall, near modern Pocatello, Idaho, is fascinating, as is the entire route of the Oregon Trail. When one looks at the foot-deep ruts cut by the grinding of iron-tired wheels in the solid stone beside the North Platte near Guernsey, Wyoming, or sees the cuts in the sod of western Nebraska, he is impressed.

If you climb to the top of Independence Rock, which rests like a giant granite turtle on the plain beside the winding Sweetwater, you have only to close your eyes for a moment to see the circling wagons of Oregon pioneers at the base of the rock, the oxen grazing on the green grass of the plain and a buffalo herd spotting the distant horizon. Only a slight switch of thought and the scene is changed to a white desolation, with half-covered handcarts surrounded by freezing and starving men, women, and children of Martin's belated company of Mormon pioneers struggling to reach Zion. The Sweetwater is covered with floating ice, and heroic boys of the rescue party from Salt Lake Valley are carrying weak women and crying children across the waist-deep stream.

Being on the ground sharpens the perception and spurs the imagination of those who study history and those who honor heroism. They can visualize courage.

WRITING HISTORY. Research is enjoyable, and one tends to continue on and on in its pleasurable pursuit. Some persist from a perfection complex that urges further study and definitive findings; others perhaps are merely postponing the arduous work of writing. But sooner or later the historian must conclude that his gathering is substantially complete, that he must get down to actual writing; otherwise his efforts are wasted—gone with the wind.

Assembling and organizing his facts, evaluating the materials, and arriving at conclusions are often difficult. Making a synthesis and applying generalizations require broad knowledge and an understanding of human nature. But the climax, the object of the whole undertaking in history, is an adequate presentation through the printed word.

There are two basic types of historical writing: the *monograph* and the general *synthesis*. The *first* is exemplified by theses and dissertations, which are devoted to limited subjects. These are thorough and exhaustive studies where extensive research seeks definitive answers to limited questions. Such labor is primarily concerned with ascertaining the facts. What is required here is thorough spade work, clear thinking, and accurate writing. Such work is usually written primarily for specialists; it is the basic material for the general historian. Such writings are not expected to be gems of literature. Good monographs are the sound building stones with which the fine edifice

of general history is erected. Such monographic history most nearly qualifies as being scientific.

The *second* type of historical writing is the narrative or analytical presentation. It is a synthesis of monographic writings and is devoted to broad treatments and generalizations of major phases or periods of history. This is the kind of writing that can and should aspire to literary excellence.

There has been a tendency for historians to suspect literary historical writing. For fictioneers have frequently jumped into the field and without doing the necessary research have burst forth with would-be history that is full of imagination and is easy reading, but is entirely undependable factually. On the other hand, not all dull history is dependable; and well-written history is not always inaccurate. It must be admitted, however, that the staid and plodding type of writing is often the sounder kind. But as Wallace Stegner has observed: "The laudable lust for absolute accuracy can lead to dullness, can cause a man to proffer a set of notes instead of a finished book, as if one did not write history, but collected it."

Garrett Mattingly, notable historian and adviser to the brilliant writer Bernard De Voto, wrote to his literary friend: "The function of specialists in the historians' economy, is to mine and smelt the ore out of which better men write history. I've done that kind of collie work for years," he says, "and have the callouses on my bottom to prove it."

The ideal is for a person of literary ability to take the required time to do the necessary research, and then produce history that is sound in appraisal, keen with insight, and also is crowned with artistic, literary presentation. Francis Parkman, devoting a lifetime to the study of France in America, was able to approach the ideal, a hundred years ago. He did thorough research, arrived at sound judgments, and then with authentic detail and lively incident presented a narrative of literary excellence, but with footnotes to nail down his facts.

Such a writer, in drawing a picture of the past, is an artist. He picks and chooses the facts and incidents that are significant and that will form and point up his picture. Like the painter, he is creating. With words he is making a portrait of a leader; or with poignant sentences he is visualizing a thunderous battle or a steaming political campaign.

If by clear thinking, keen interpretation, and good writing the historian is able to produce readable and thrilling history, he is the ideal craftsman or artist. Bruce Catton, distinguished modern historian, contends that "at its best history is more art than science. . . . Good history," he says, "*is* literature." A dull history may be sound; but to be great history it must not only be accurate, but be alive with images and action. Perfect history has not yet been written, but as students and teachers, we can hold before us the ideal and work toward its achievement.

The writing of a book is labor; and there are rewards for scholarship, and penalties for lack of it. Once a book is published, it is here to stay. You cannot recall the volume, or destroy the edition. An architect once said to a doctor: "I am at a great disadvantage, as compared to you. We all make mistakes; but you doctors bury yours, and mine continue to stare me in the face." The historian is like the architect; his mistakes and shortcomings live on and glare up at him from the printed page.

The author of a book has moved into a glass house. His errors are there for everyone to see. There are always the critics, especially the young ones who are cutting their teeth. The easy way to show their scholarship is to point out the lack of it in someone else. Job of old said: "Oh, that mine adversary would write a book." The writer is helpless; he cannot undo a sentence, or even a comma. He must endure the blast, the innuendo, or perhaps even ridicule.

But I guess this situation is as it should be. The fear of criticism has made many a writer more careful in his work and less hasty to burst into print with some illy-matured opus. A maxim of one of my famous old professors, Dr. Bolton, was, "Don't be in a hurry to publish." He was eighteen years doing his book on Escalante.

On the other hand, a perfectionist may be so cautious, so fearful of having missed something, so desirous of pursuing further some elusive lead, that his precious findings never do see the light of day. I know of one historical scholar who has worked for thirty years on a biography; he cannot seem to bring the work to fruition. I doubt that he will ever publish it. An old proverb says: "Alas for those who never sing; but die with all their music in them."

Another reaction to a book is this: A famous story is told of a young couple engaged in research. The wife was so enthused that she told her friends about her husband's coming book. They were pleased, so she told more and more friends. The couple got so many compliments and had so much pleasure from the prospect of publication that they never did finish the book.

Another experience. A friend of mine sent her book manuscript to a publisher. He kept it for months; and then years passed before the publisher gave her a definite report on the manuscript. Her friends kept asking when the book would be out. She became so embarrassed that she would cross the street to avoid her friends and their inevitable questions. Finally she moved from Missouri to Oregon to avoid the embarrassing inquiry. At last she recalled her book manuscript, sent it to another publisher, and this one immediately accepted and published it. The girl came out of hiding and has lived happily ever since.

Despite the risks and dangers of publishing a book, there are also immeasurable rewards. If the book is sound, a piece of mature scholarship, and is reasonably well written, it can be a continuing satisfaction. One can look on a good book on the shelf and know that it will, through reprintings, last almost forever. An author can thus have eternal life on earth.

The object of history is to present a true account, an honest appraisal. At times history writing has been debased and outraged. Hitler prostituted history into propaganda to further the legend of a superior race. Even some of our early American historians altered the facts, in an attempt to show that America was always right and Britain was wrong.

Some biographers have whitewashed their heroes until they are too pure for credibility. In presenting Church leaders some writers will admit no errors, paint the subject so pure and white that he is hardly human. Such biographical writing is a disservice to the subject. For no character is all white or all black. There is a wide strip of gray in all human beings, and a recognition of this fact makes writing believable, more accurate, and also more interesting.

A related problem in the writing of history is the question of passing moral judgment on characters and on institutions. There are two alternatives: Should the historian be a neutral and objective observer who ascertains what happened and calmly

records it? Or should he judge men and institutions and praise or condemn what he finds? Through the decades and the centuries historical writers have taken opposing positions about this problem.

When William H. Prescott wrote his monumental history of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, he dispassionately recorded the methods employed by Cortez and Pizzaro and was inclined to excuse their cruelties and excesses by saying that men must be judged by the standards of their day, and that the inhumane methods of the sixteenth century should not be judged by the standards of a later century.

However, Prescott was severely criticized by Theodore Parker, who said that it is one thing to explain, and another to condone the crimes of the past. He went on to say: "In telling what has been, the historian is also to tell what ought to be, for he is to pass judgment on events. . . . History ceases to be a mere panorama. . . , it becomes philosophy teaching by experience, . . . while it tells the lessons of the past for the warning of the present and edification of the future."

In the 1880's Mandell Creighton published his volumes on *A History of the Papacy.* In them he recorded the deplorable activities of the popes during the late middle ages, but did this without censure or disapproval. He was brought to task by the great Catholic historian, Lord Acton, who hotly criticized Creighton for not sufficiently condemning the intolerance and the cruelty of certain ignoble popes. Acton gave this as his statement of principle: "The inflexible integrity of the moral code is, to me, the secret of the authority, the dignity, the utility of history." In other words, in his opinion, history should teach morality, not merely record events.

Ranke, the famous German historian, and his disciples in various countries have denounced moral judgment and set themselves the standard of simply recording what happened, with a minimum of comment, with neither approval nor disapproval.

And so the controversy has gone on. Professor Henry Steele Commager, outstanding history professor of today, in the February, 1966, issue of *American Heritage* discusses the problem of moral judgments in history writing and says: "The historian is not God. He is not called upon to judge the quick or the dead; indeed he is not called upon to judge. If he sets

himself up as a judge he changes the whole pattern of his intellectual and professional role, from one dedicated to objective inquiry, to one devoted to prosecution or defense."

The historian is not required to spell out in detail what is moral and what is not. If he presents the facts and tells the story fairly, his readers, who have moral standards of their own, can and will pass their own judgments.

But, however fully the historian may be committed to objectivity, he, like the judge and the statesman, is a creature of his race, his class, his religion, his education. He cannot escape these formative influences and achieve complete impartiality.

Commager concludes: "We should not confuse moral with professional judgment. In the field of his professional competence the scholar has the same obligation as the judge, the teacher, the physician, the architect. The judge who pronounces sentence, the teacher who gives a grade, the physician who diagnoses an illness, the architect who condemns a building, is not indulging in moral but exercising professional judgment. So the historian who, after painstaking study of all available evidence and after cleansing himself of all the perilous stuff which might distort his vision," makes a conclusion, he is rendering a professional, not a moral judgment, even though that judgment may have moral overtones. "It is equally exasperating," he contends, "to discover that scholars who may know more about their subjects than anyone else in the world, are still unwilling to share their interpretations or their conclusions with their readers. We want professional judgments from a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer; and we have a right to professional judgments from a scholar as well."

The writing of good history requires not only thorough comprehension of the facts and the sources, but a broad knowledge of human nature, a good understanding of psychology, sociology, and the relations and reactions of human beings to each other. Some knowledge of economics, technology, and the sciences also helps—but of course one person cannot have all the qualifications; he cannot be perfect.

In view of the great responsibility entailed by his role as historian, however, he is obligated to rise to the highest standard of which he is capable. He is expected not only to be competent in his field, but to be honest and conscientious.

Otherwise, he does irreparable harm to individuals and to groups. Honesty is essential; prejudice and unfair appraisals cannot be forgiven or tolerated.

Whether he likes it or not, the historian is sitting in the judgment seat, and every segment of the population, every nation, in fact every man, is entitled to justice at his hands.

A good historian makes us aware of the past; and if we are aware of the past, we better understand the present and are safer planners of the future.

The Squirrel

GLEN E. ROBERTSON*

A squirrel chirped like a bird
On my front porch, and my dog,
White and beautiful, stood at attention.
I moved the cardboard box

And ached to see the tailless squirrel
Chirp a brave warning to the dog.
My Samoyed I suddenly didn't know
With lips drawn back like rubber bands

And fastened there, and depthless
Black eyes focused like death
On a neighbor boy's lost pet
Which bravely stood to meet the test.

The moment froze on fear and hatred
And froze in my mind helpless,
And afterward the few small stains
Of blood I might have wept myself.

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*Charles the Bold**

De Lamar Jensen**

Five hundred years ago an illustrious ruler, impressively named Charles the Bold, strode briefly across the center stage of history. His formal title was Duke of Burgundy, but his personal domains and power extended through all of central Europe. In addition to the large Duchy of Burgundy, incorporated later into France, he was also ruler of Franche-Comté (the Free County of Burgundy), lying within the Holy Roman Empire of Germany; the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg; and the rich provinces and states of the Netherlands. From his famous father, Philip the Good, he had inherited not only prestige and wealth but diplomatic and personal ties with many of the great powers of the time.

But Charles the Bold was a restless and ambitious man. Not satisfied with ruling the scattered domains of his predecessors, although they were among the choicest of the continent; and not content with the title of mere duke, even when his court was the wealthiest and most garish of all Europe, Charles had visions of creating a mighty empire lying between France and Germany and extending from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. And for himself? Nothing less than the title and honor of king. He already commanded the most famous non-regal order of knighthood on the continent, the Order of the Golden Fleece, but his appetite was insatiable. He must carve out of central Europe a new kingdom, a third force reminiscent of the one once ruled by Lothar, Charlemagne's grandson, six centuries before, which could balance off the two great powers lying to the east and west of him. He had many cultural and economic ties with the King of France (he was in fact the king's vassal for the Burgundian duchy) and his relations with the German emperor were at least cordial. But Charles trusted neither of them. Invading armies had crossed Burgundy before on their way to either France or Germany, and they would do

*This essay was originally written in 1965 while the author was living in France.

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so again unless Burgundy itself were strong enough to stop them. The fact that the duke's estimate of his eastern rival's strength was vastly exaggerated does not change the reality of his aggressive fears.

Charles stood not only geographically between two potential powers, he also straddled two periods of time. He thought of himself and his destiny as a man of the future, yet he lived in the glory of the past. His spirit was torn between memories of ancient grandeur and hope for future renown. But medieval knight-errantry finally prevailed over common sense. Unable to resolve his inner contradictions, he strode fearlessly, and needlessly, to destruction. Failing to recognize the need and reality of diplomacy in the modern world (for his was also a modern world), and being too self-confident and obstinate to make good use of it even if he had, Charles met defeat and death at the hands of his neighbors—the Lorrainers, the Alsatians, and the Swiss—who might all have been allies had he not frightened and angered them with his extravagant plans and his arrogant bearing.

Today another bold Charles takes his place in the historical spotlight. The eyes of the world are focused upon him, partly because he is a great actor, partly because he sets the stage himself and operates his own lights. General Charles de Gaulle is not a simple personality. His mind is quick, his capabilities diverse, and his fortitude unquestioned. Visitors report that he can be graceful, charming, and kind—but he usually is not. Few leaders in the contemporary world can boast of such political successes. None can match the almost providential regularity of his fulfilled predictions. But there is much of the fifteenth-century duke in him. He is ambitious—for himself and for his country—arrogant, and uncompromising. He has visions of creating in France a powerful third force between East and West, while still holding his place, indeed, enlarging it, in the counsels of Western powers. To do this he wants a strong France and a prosperous European Community. But for his purposes the latter must be dominated by France, not by Germany or Great Britain. NATO does not fulfill his needs because it is controlled by the United States. So he sets his bold course, indifferent to the broader needs of society, or believing they can only be realized through him.

Charles de Gaulle's success has been phenomenal. His singleness of purpose and his ability to completely ignore all opposition or dissention have carried him from the obscurity of a minor field officer, advocating a mobile armored army, to a feared protagonist in the great-power politics of our day. Through it all he has been the center of controversy, first as cantankerous leader of the Free French, then as head of the first post-war French government, and later as the taciturn and aloof opponent of the Fourth Republic. Since his prophetic return to power in 1958 he has accumulated an impressive record of triumphs. From the residue of a moribund political institution he quickly created a stable, orderly, and effective government—though noticeably less democratic than its predecessor. When securely in office he began a systematic attack on the major problems that had been festering in France since the end of World War II. The magnitude of his achievement should not be overlooked. In four short years he re-established French financial stability and greatly accelerated economic growth; reduced Communist strength at the polls and all but eliminated it in the legislature; ended the disastrous Algerian war; presided over the virtual liquidation of the costly French empire; and reached a remarkable agreement with Germany. At the same time he pushed his country through the nuclear barrier, and modernized the French army under the auspices of the controversial, but nationally popular, *Force de frappe.* The transformation of France between 1958 and 1962 was nothing short of a revolution; and, although some elements of the society were alarmed and resentful (the generals in Algeria regarded de Gaulle's colonial policy as a betrayal of France), the majority of Frenchmen hailed his achievements with admiration and devotion.

But there was more to this policy than the restoration of French stability, strength, and self-respect. These were means to a more ambitious end. De Gaulle had reduced French commitments in Africa and Asia in order to consolidate and strengthen the French position in Europe. Like his medieval namesake, he hopes to hold the balance of power between East and West. De Gaulle is no friend of Communism, but he is not satisfied with a Western alliance in which France plays only a subordinate role. This ambition to make the French presence paramount in Western councils underlies all of his exasperatingly inde-

pendent actions from the torpedoing of British membership in the Common Market to his complete military withdrawal from NATO.

Much of his immediate success—and hopefully his long-range contribution to the Western alliance—comes from his ability to recognize and probe the weak spots in the present structure. The freeing of Algeria, for example, was certainly an unhappy decision for the prestige-conscious general, but he realized that so long as Algeria remained a part of France it would continue to be a costly and explosive liability. He was willing to pay the price of temporary disappointment and even rebellion to gain the realistic goals of more effective national power. Equally perceptive were his more recent positions on the European grain-price controversy, recognition of Red China, the multilateral nuclear force, world monetary standards, and NATO. In each case he has put his finger on the heart of a real problem. His proposed solutions have ranged from the embarrassing to the ridiculous, but he has made Americans painfully aware of the need for new thinking about old situations. And he has reminded us that in international relations a pugnacious partner can be just as disconcerting as an offensive foe.

But de Gaulle has done more than this. By his pontifical, charismatic manner and his crude sense of grandeur, he has succeeded in alienating many of his allies. Even his staunchest supporters in France are becoming increasingly embarrassed by his international antics. His policy, like Charles the Bold's, may lead to his own destruction by detaching his best friends—not so much the United States, which can afford to ignore him more than it does—but his European allies and the people of France, who are even more directly affected by his actions. Recent strikes in France and his poor showing in the latest elections indicate a growing domestic disenchantment. As a consequence of this setback, it is not likely that the statesmen of Europe will feel the continuing need to submit to his demands as they have in the past. De Gaulle's greatest liability is his own personality and lack of diplomacy. Boldness and audacity may be successful against an enemy but can be harmful when carelessly used against friends. One playing such a consciously historical role as is Charles de Gaulle would do well to reflect on the lesson of Charles the Bold.

Growing Union Power – A Subject Revisited

J. KENNETH DAVIES*

One of the changes in our public policy frequently demanded by some special interest groups in America today is legislation to curb "the rapidly increasing power of monopolistic labor unions." The argument for such legislation frequently goes something like this: "Unions are increasing their stranglehold on America through their monopoly power. While we have placed controls on the monopoly power of the business community, we have done nothing to curb this same power of unions. Justice and wisdom demand that we do so."

The reasonableness of this argument assumes:

1. That union power is increasing.
2. That business monopoly power is being effectively controlled.
3. That nothing is being done to control union power.

Let us examine these assumptions.

First, the charge of increasing union power. If union power is getting greater, one or more of the following should be seen:

1. An increase in union membership in terms of numbers or as a percent of the labor force.
2. A substantial increase in the price level as unions use their increasing power to obtain wage demands in excess of increasing productivity.
3. In the absence of the substantial increase in prices, there could be a decrease in the profits of firms.
4. An increase in strike activity.
5. The passage of pro-union legislation or the repeal of anti-labor legislation.

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1. *Increased Union Membership*

Table 1 presents figures on the number of union members and the percent of the labor force belonging to labor unions between 1940 and 1962. Union membership reached a peak in number about 1959 since which it has declined. As a percent of the labor force it peaked about 1955 and has shown a decline since that time.

TABLE 1

National and International Unions' Memberships, 1940-1962

	Membership 1,000	% of Labor Force	% of Non-Agric. Force
1940	8,944	15.5	26.9
1950	15,000	22.0	31.5
1955	17,749	24.4	33.2
1958	18,081	23.9	33.1
1959	18,169	23.8	32.1
1960	18,117	23.3	31.4
1961	17,328	22.0	30.1
1962	17,630	22.2	29.7

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1965, p. 247.

2. *Increase in the Price Level*

Table 2 presents the change in both the consumer and the wholesale price levels over the last 25 years. While there were substantial increases in the 1940's and early 1950's, they have been modest for the past decade. Most of the price increase in the early period can be attributed to the pressures of World War II and the Korean War, as well as the great demand for American goods between the wars and for a few years following the Korean action. The larger increases of 1965 were primarily due to war spending for Vietnam. Evidently "union power" has been insufficient to push prices up at least for the past decade.

3. *Decreased Profits*

Table 3 gives the corporate profits for all private corporations since 1940. There was a great increase during World War II and the Korean conflict. Profits fluctuated during the 1950's but since 1958 have shown a remarkable increase. "Union power" has been insufficient to detract from corporate profits.

TABLE 2
Wholesale and Consumer Price Indexes

Wholesale Price Indexes 1957-1959 = 100			Consumer Price Indexes 1957-1959 = 100		
Year	All Commodities	Increase	Year	All Items	Increase
1940	43.0	----	1940	48.8	----
1950	86.8	43.8	1950	83.8	35.0
1955	93.2	6.4	1955	93.3	9.5
1956	96.2	3.0	1956	94.7	1.4
1957	99.0	2.8	1957	98.0	3.3
1958	100.4	1.4	1958	100.7	2.7
1959	100.6	.2	1959	101.5	.8
1960	100.7	.1	1960	103.1	1.6
1961	100.3	—.4	1961	104.2	1.1
1962	100.6	.3	1962	105.4	1.2
1963	100.3	—.3	1963	106.7	1.3
1964	100.5	.2	1964	108.1	1.4
1965	102.5	2.0	1965	109.9	1.8

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1965, p. 361 (Consumer Price Index), p. 356 (Wholesale Price Index).
Economic Report of the President, 1966, pp. 257, 261.

TABLE 3
Corporate Profits (In $ Billions)

Year	Corporate Profits Before Taxes	Corporate Profits After Taxes
1940	9.8	7.2
1950	37.7	24.9
1955	46.9	27.0
1956	46.1	27.2
1957	45.6	26.0
1958	41.1	22.3
1959	51.7	28.5
1960	49.9	26.7
1961	50.3	27.2
1962	55.7	31.2
1963	58.1	32.6
1964	64.5	37.2
1965	73.1	44.5

Economic Report of the President, 1966, p. 284.

4. *Increased Strike Activity*

If unions in general were becoming more powerful and providing an increasing problem, there might be expected an increase in strike activity. The man-days idle as a percent of the working time give a good measurement though the statistic includes both time lost due to strikes and time lost due to lockouts by management. Table 4 gives the statistics for the past two and a half decades. A better appreciation of these statistics may be had by comparing them with the figures for time lost due to unemployment and part-time employment.

TABLE 4

Man-Days Lost as a Percent of Total Working Time

Year	Work Stoppage	Unemployment and Part-Time Employment
1940	0.10	----
1945	0.47	----
1946	1.43	----
1947	0.41	----
1948	0.37	----
1949	0.59	----
1950	0.44	----
1955	0.26	----
1956	0.29	5.10
1957	0.14	5.30
1958	0.22	8.10
1959	0.61	6.60
1960	0.17	6.70
1961	0.14	8.00
1962	0.16	6.70
1963	0.13	6.40
1964	0.18	5.80

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1962, p. 243, and 1965, p. 249.
Economic Report of the President, 1966, p. 231.

There is nothing to indicate here that unions are gaining in power or being more abusive in the use of whatever power they have. In the worst year since 1940, less than 1.5 percent of total work time was lost due to work stoppages. These figures may be compared with the lost time due to unemployment in the economy in 1964 when it was estimated that about 5.8

percent of the total available work time was lost due to workers being unemployed. Certainly in comparison the time lost due to work stoppages (strikes and lockouts) is infinitesimally small.

5. *Pro-Union Legislation*

"Union power" might be expected to influence legislation. However, there has been no major piece of pro-union legislation since World War II. Nor has there been any substantial elimination of anti-union legislation. Following are the major developments in labor legislation since the war:

1. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. This act was opposed by the nation's labor leaders and is said by most of them to be a "slave labor" act. It placed numerous controls on the power of unions to negotiate agreements with management. It also limited the power of union leaders over union members.
2. Since 1947, nineteen states have passed and retained so-called "Right-to-Work" laws which limit the power of unions to organize the unorganized workers. Only one state has repealed its "Right-to-Work" legislation.
3. The Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 was generally opposed by labor leaders in its final form. Union leaders had requested some aid in fighting racketeers and undemocratic union practices but felt that the act went beyond this and restricted "legitimate" unions.
4. The much-talked-about repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act was defeated in the strongly Democratic Senate in 1965. In the state capitals, the increasing strength of the Democrats does not seem to have resulted in any substantial move in the direction of pro-union legislation nor in the elimination of anti-union laws.

From the facts that are available, it would appear that the assumption of increasing union power is a weak one if not invalid.

Now to look at the second assumption, that business is controlled in its exercise of monopoly power while unions are not.

It is true that Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act in 1890 which supposedly outlawed monopolies in restraint of trade. This act was not effectively enforced, however, and Con-

gress acted again in 1914 to strengthen it. Nevertheless, the courts remained antagonistic toward anti-monopoly legislation through the 1920's and in that decade business monopoly proceeded at a rapid rate. Since 1930 we have had a vacillating and inconsistent policy toward monopolies. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, while later declared unconstitutional, encouraged monopolistic business arrangements which persisted. The Fair Trade laws of many of the states, encouraged by federal law, still encourage businesses to establish monopolistic pricing policies. Our patent laws encourage monopoly. Since the Korean War, business consolidation has proceeded at a rate close to that of the 1920's. The federal government has taken some action against excessive concentration as demonstrated by the recent federal court order to DuPont to divest itself of General Motors' stock. However, illegal and criminal conspiracies do exist and are occasionally exposed as in the recent electrical industry conspiracy, as well as recent court action in the steel industry.

In addition to policy which attempts to outlaw monopoly, in the case of public-utility-type industries, public policy recognizes that in the absence of governmental ownership the existence of certain "natural" monopolies is economically desirable. These industries are purposely allowed to develop monopolies but the government retains the right to control their operations in such a way as to prevent an abuse of their power.

All of this is to say that business monopolies do exist, whether legal or not. Some exist legally but with controls, while others continue to operate illegally without government control.

Now let us look at the charge that unions are not controlled or checked in their exercise of monopoly power. It is true that the Clayton Anti-trust Act of 1914 exempted unions (and farm organizations) from the provisions of the anti-trust legislation. This exemption was not allowed by the anti-labor courts in the 1920's. In 1932, the Norris-LaGuardia Act made such exemption effective. However, the exemption does not apply to collusion between unions and management. When unions and management conspire together to control prices, the unions are as subject to prosecution as is management.

It is true that some unions appear to be monopolies. One union pretty well dominates the steel industry, while another

dominates the auto industry, etc. However, this power is offset by the right of businesses to combine together for the purpose of bargaining with the unions. Note the combination of steel companies in recent negotiations. In addition, the government has reserved and used the right to control unions in at least the following ways which limit them in the exercise of their monopoly power:*

1. Closed shops are outlawed.
2. Closed unions are outlawed.
3. In 19 states all forms of union security are outlawed.
4. Automatic check-off of union dues is outlawed.
5. Excessive union dues and initiation fees are outlawed.
6. Sympathetic strikes are outlawed.
7. Secondary boycotts are outlawed.
8. Communists cannot hold union office.
9. Persons convicted of felonies cannot hold union office.
10. Elections must be by secret ballot and must be regularly held.
11. Unions can be sued for breach of contract by management.
12. Unions must file financial reports.
13. In a plant where the union is recognized as the bargaining agent it must represent workers who do not belong to the union.
14. Mass picketing is outlawed.
15. The lending of union funds is regulated.
16. Union officers must be bonded.

It must, of course, be recognized that some unions are growing in membership and power. Some unions have great power. Some unions undoubtedly abuse the power they have acquired. Some unions and leaders break the laws which have been passed to protect employers and workers. The point of this brief article is that the facts do not support the assumptions of dangerously and rapidly increasing, unchecked union monopoly power made by those who favor a radical increase in the legislation controlling union activity through anti-monopoly action.

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*See Taft-Hartley Act and Landrum-Griffin Act.

Reminiscences of a Trip to Cedar Breaks

G. HOMER DURHAM*

"We'll take it easy and camp the first night at Jinny Beck Flat."

"Good pasture for the teams, good water, and good rest for the Mammoth hill next morning."

"Let's make it over the 24th."

Papa, Uncle Willy, and Uncle Wilford were the speakers. It was Sunday afternoon. Fast meeting was behind them. The men were sitting around after dinner. Mama, Aunt Mamie, Aunt Alice and the girls were washing up. It was the first Sunday in July. It was hot. A trip to the "Breaks"—to Cedar Breaks, 16 miles up Parowan Canyon, and ten thousand feet above sea level, was a natural topic. To an eight-year-old boy it sounded like an expedition to the moon, except, in a covered wagon. But we tried it first in an automobile.

The year was 1919. No automobile had yet ascended to the high 10,000-foot grassland plateau—"the Mammoth"—below Monument Point. Called Brian Head on the maps, Monument Point broke abruptly into the grass of the Mammoth, which more abruptly gave way to the pink and white clays, sands, and stones of Cedar Breaks. Father, in his 1918 Ford touring car, with all the family aboard, had made it "up Main Canyon" as far as the First Left Hand. The First Left Hand was another canyon near the mouth—the first on your left—which broke from Main Canyon. Actually it *wasn't* the first left hand. It was the second. The *first* canyon on the left was Dry Canyon which formed a "Y" with Main Canyon about two miles from the valley entrance—near, of course, the Two-mile. The First Left Hand, with its own assortment of red cliffs, a miniature Bryce Canyon, broke off to the left at "the Four-mile." The Four-mile was a grassy spot where Slim Bruhn, or one of his ancestors, had once built a cabin. There was a patch of grass and a spring at the Four-mile with watercress. A

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corduroy road ran up the First Left Hand to Grandpa Marsden's ranch. The ranch was called "Over the Mountain." Over the mountain, too, was Panguitch Lake. But nobody in Parowan called it Panguitch Lake. It was simply Fishlake. The mountain was Fishlake Mountain. Whether you liked it or not. And whether or not there actually was a big Fish Lake on the map east of Richfield.

Father had urged the Ford, boiling like a teakettle, up the First Left Hand. Beyond the little combination sagebrush-and-grass flat called the "Five-mile" (another spring, watercress), we had gone to the Six-mile (spring, watercress). He had even tried to go up the Hog's Back. In 1919 I thought the Hog's Back was spelled Hogsback. So that's the way I'll spell it here. It's better that way anyway.

He'd made it up the Hogsback, in low gear, up a sandy red corduroy dugway, halfway to the top. Then we ran into Jess Guymon driving a bunch of sheep. They were right in the middle of the dugway and couldn't move. Neither could we. Sheep never moved for automobiles in those days. They just stood, panting, crowding together, pushing each other with the sheepherder yelling "Ho! Ho! Sic 'em, King! Sic 'em!" Then King or Rover or Nig would bark like sixty. The herder would slap his leather chaps with his rope or quirt. His horse would snort but the sheep would just crowd up and push each other more.

When we met Jess Guymon on the Hogsback that day, Mother said, "Oh, George!"

Father just said, "The bloomin' things," and took his foot off the clutch. Taking your foot off the clutch in those days meant going from low gear to high. So, of course, being on the steep hill, the engine killed. We began to roll back gently.

Mother *yelled* this time. "Oh! George!"

Father George let out a high-pitched groan (today I say "Aw, Nuts!" to the same musical theme), and reached down the left side for the emergency brake. He yanked it on. We stopped.

By this time the sheep were about to envelop us. We were to become a Ford island in a sea of sheep; on the Hogsback dugway. A year later we made it over the Hogsback, in low gear, radiator boiling, up to the Bowery. The Bowery was a long pine-and-quaking-aspen-filled valley on the valley side of

the mountain. It had a nice stream and lots of black volcanic rock. Papa tried Fishlake Mountain that day, that time, but gave up because of high centers. A high center in 1919 on that mountain was a high center, too, believe me, because the differential of a 1918 Ford was nearly two feet off the ground. But on this occasion Jess Guymon, his dog, Sport, and his horse were masters of the situation. We backed down the Hogsback, turned around, and that little Ford went down the First Left Hand back to the Five-mile, the Four-mile, and to Main Canyon. Past Dry Canyon, the light plant on the left (going down) and the grist mill on the right, then we putt-putted past the cemetery like a top. We were pioneers! At the age of eight, in a Ford, I was baptized by immersion in the Spirit of Columbus, the Pilgrim Fathers (in whose Massachusetts neighborhood I had grown up), and in the tradition of Brigham Young. The top on our Ford was black. The top of Uncle Wilford's wagon was white. But I translated easily. Besides it was easy for a boy to translate.

The trip to the Breaks, by covered wagon, was scheduled to leave Parowan City on July 21. Not an early start. Convenient. We would camp the first night at Jinny Beck Flat.

Uncle Wilford had two horses. They were black. I thought they were black but he and Uncle Willy laughed and said they were brown. One was called Old Ted, and the mare was Old Kit. Old Kit and Ted; or, Old Ted and Kit. Old Ted was kind of lazy. His double-tree always sagged a little behind Old Kit's. Either Old Ted was wiser or Kit was more willing. Maybe Kit's metabolism was better. Anyway, although Uncle Wilford sang bass in the choir, I heard a new voice come out of him on occasions as he broached the subject of the lagging double-tree to Old Ted.

The year before, upon arrival from Boston and discovering the Parowan way of life, to me the team seemed huge. Their weights were mentally cataloged. Uncle Wilford didn't brag. He suggested, however, that Old Ted weighed about "1400" and Kit about "1200." I suspect that Old Ted was slightly less in poundage. Once I offered the opinion that Grandpa Marsden's Percheron team, Old Kurt and Old Frank, at 1600 each or more, was "better." A man's team and their weight, in 1919, I discovered, was a sensitive subject. At an early age one learns that people are happier when their super-ego is well above the

ego. Hadn't the Prophet Joseph said that "Happiness was the aim and object of our existence?" Who was I to run counter to the Prophet Joseph.

The morning of July 21, 1919, was sunny and bright. Uncle Wilford drove up to Bentley's house (which we rented) about 9 a.m. The horses were spanking bright and shiny-black (or brown). The harness was new. It had enough bright metal rivets to shine. Wagon hoops were in their places forming parallel "U's," upside down, the length of the wagon box, and they were covered with a white canvas top. The top was rolled half way up the sides of the wagon. People inside could see out and be ventilated, yet sit in the shade. General Motors and Fisher Bodies have produced nothing to equal it in the field. Instead of the spring seat, Uncle Wilford was sitting on a sack of oats. Bedding and grub boxes were neatly arranged for seats nearby and behind. Aunt Alice and Aunt Sarah were in the wagon with him.

We had spent the preceding afternoon and evening packing our own grub. Instead of a grub box like Uncle Willy's and Uncle Wilford's, we had a white pine dry goods box from the Co-op. Uncle Willy's grub box was a mellow, polished brown. Its surface was smooth with ancient use. No slivers. Ours was fuzzy and full of slivers. But it was strong and held a lot. A side of bacon, a big one. Dozens of eggs, packed inside Quaker Oats cartons between some of the oats for safe carriage. Jam. Bread. Raisin bread. Always raisin bread for a trip to the mountains. It kept fresh longer. Besides, it was doggone good. Especially with currant preserves. No Viennese bakery ever produced finer pastry, especially for consumption with cool, mountain spring water. Six or seven slices were only a beginner. Durham pickles (mustard, sour-sweet; so Mother could demonstrate to her husband's sisters that she could make the Durham pickles even if she had spent the past five years in Boston). Fruit cake. Of course! Fruit cake held more raisins than raisin bread. Smaller raisins, too. With currant preserves, only raisin bread and butter could hold second place to fruit cake. Even if made with muscat instead of Thompson seedless. Rice pudding. Bean soup, mostly beans, in two-quart jars. Also dried corn. Dried peaches and apricots, and bottled pears. Few vegetables. The old potatoes were too spongy and the new ones in the garden were the size of peanuts. But, canned pork and beans,

canned milk, sugar, and Postum. That was about it. Fresh milk and fresh mutton (the latter on occasion) could be had at Adams' Ranch on the Mammoth. ("Ireland," they called that ranch. It had long-pole fences around it, enclosing lots of green grass.)

We finally boarded the wagon. Aunt Sarah and Aunt Alice wore sunbonnets and gingham dresses and had wool cardigan sweaters for the high altitudes. Uncle Wilford wore bib overalls (Scowcrofts') and a blue chambray shirt. It was the local Deseret costume. Father only in the party wore shirt, tie, and trousers held up by a belt. Pioneer days thus had a link with modern times.

With food and bedding safely aboard, we were off. The big iron-tired wheels crunched softly into the red Parowan sand. We headed past Wm. H. Lyman's on the corner, then turned east past Wm. C. Mitchell's (with the "big ditch" running in front of it), toward the mouth of the canyon.

It didn't seem a slow ride then. One had time for landmarks. There were many of them. The Blue Slide and the Fan to the northeast went out of perspective as the cemetery drifted by on the left. On the right the grey, sagebrushed, pyramid-like hill with the "P" whitewashed on it became more awesome and less gentle as the black lava outcroppings became visible on the right—across the gravel trap and the creek. Every tree, grass blade, the new powerline, and the leaky wooden water-main had a story to tell. Not to mention Squaw Rock, Dry Canyon, and, as we progressed of course, the First and Second Left Hands.

Beyond the Second Left Hand, Main Canyon continues nearly due south for several miles, then disappears into the Summit Mountains below the hole-in-the-rock. The road, however, turned east—past the stone bears on the mountain wall to the left. You left cottonwoods and sagebrush and came to quaking aspens, firs, columbines, and ferns. At this point, Main Canyon could almost be called the Third Left Hand. But nobody ever called it that. It became simply *"the"* canyon. Turning to the left, the road in those days got gradually more steep; but only after one left an old mill—a sawmill—site. It was the old Co-op Mill, I believe, gone in 1919, although an ancient slab pile and a foot or two of sawdust remained.

Here it was cool. There were ferns. The trip up Main Canyon into the sun had been warm. As Old Kit and Old Ted, steaming, pulled us into the old mill site we saw the quaking aspen bowery, full of people it seemed. Three other wagons and outfits were ahead of us. Uncle Willy had a pony team. Old "Dick" and a nondescript mare hauled a covered wagon carrying Aunt Mamie, her daughter Ruth, Cousin Annie Rasmussen, and some of the Robinson children. Another outfit was led by Hans J. Mortensen, Parowan's bishop, filled with his children and wife. The other was Uncle James Robinson's, a well-turned-out wagon hauled by two well-groomed mules. Uncle James was different. He not only owned lots of sheep, but he subscribed to magazines and owned lots of books like we did.

It was lunch time. Fresh watercress had been discovered. Cool water in a galvanized bucket from the spring was available —for drinking from porcelainized tin cups. The teams were unhitched, watered, tethered, and fed. A brief debate occurred whether they should be hobbled and permitted to graze untethered. Tethering won; hobbling lost. They were soon rehitched.

The remainder of the afternoon was hard work for the teams and occasionally for the teamsters. Passengers walked up Bear-Pit hill. Uncle Wilford spoke with unusual vigor to Old Ted and even lashed his flank with the reins. The automobile road today goes right past the bear pits, or at least—used to. The road then went up the left side of the canyon, through a steep incline that finally led through darkened forest (it seemed), to Jinny Beck Flat.

It was six o'clock when we reached Jinny Beck. Camp was made in the aspens on the right side of the road. Brian Head loomed and lorded over us on the left. Immediately below the jagged cliff and below the timber, was another deserted sawmill. This time the building, a long, open shed, was still standing. Of course, the machinery was gone—all except an old, rusty, black boiler. Debate again: hobbling or tethering. Uncle James tethered his mules and gave them half a bale of hay in a clump of aspens. The rest were hobbled. Old Kit wore a bell. It tinkled as she took clumsy horse-dancer's steps with her forefeet. It clanged and glicked when, hobbled, she lunged and took a leap forward with both feet. In my mind today I can hear the bells of hobbled horses and see them take tiny

steps, necks down, teeth showing green grass stains, mouths dripping saliva, and tongues whipping in the grass.

There was work making camp for the night. Wagons to unload. A few slept in the wagon boxes. Father was strong for sleeping on the ground, "under the stars." I've forgotten the details of the evening meal but not the crisp mountain air, the walk through the dark, deserted mill after the meal, the rustle of the aspen leaves, the bright, bright stars in the luminous sky, the real milky milky way, and the coldness of the top quilt under my chin.

It was daylight when I awoke. Fires were already made. Men were hunting the horses. Bacon was crackling in pans on an open fire. Eggs were soon swimming in grease, their whites turning curly brown. And the Postum was boiling over on the coals, making ash fly into the frying pans and making steam with a sizzle.

After breakfast, harnessing and hitching up, we followed the way through the flat (more sagebrush than grass at our campsite end) and finally into the trees leading to the final climb. The Mammoth Hill. I walked with the other passengers as before, marveling at the softness of the dirt in the road beneath my feet when we finally came to the last pitch—in contrast with the hard rocks and shale lower down its course. Not having the benefits of a geology course at that time, I could only take off shoes and paddle along, with wild flowers on each side the road. The soft, clean, almost spongy mountain dirt gave wings, it seemed almost, to the feet.

But not for long. We were soon on top. The main road seemed to fade out. There was a variety of wagon tracks, some deep-cut, running off in a variety of directions. We were on the high, grassy plateau, with clumps of evergreens here and there, with Brian Head above, timberline on our left and to the rear. We followed a flint-strewn wagon track toward a wide stretch of blue sky trailing off into the distance.

Beyond must lie the Breaks! Too awesome to run ahead and see. We had been warned of the wind and the dangerous edge, the slick clays and sandstones. Besides I had to stop and put on shoes. The flint was hard, too frequent, and too numerous.

We came to a place where the ground seemed to break away beneath our feet. The sky stretched wider in all directions.

There were small evergreen brush and trees on each side, like a picture frame. The wagons stopped. Brakes were fixed. Their rope halyards were criss-crossed and half hitched through the spokes of the front wheel. If the horses moved, the harder they pulled the harder the brake-blocks would be applied. Still, men or boys stayed with the teams. Children of tender years clasped hands to their parents'—including mine. We walked slowly to the bright edge of the world.

Boston Common, the statues on Commonwealth Avenue, B. F. Keith's, Jordan Marsh at Christmas time, Bunker Hill Monument, the Boston Pops, Dr. Muck, the French Blue Devils marching with General Joffre and Woodrow Wilson—nothing in my experience could touch it. A gentle breeze blew. The sun was warm. The air, though dry, was cool. Not a city sound, nor any man-made sound for that matter, could be heard. Only the soughing of the breeze in the nearby pines and junipers. The pink and white cliffs, with yellow here and there, seemed to stretch endlessly below us and on either side. Then they would blend and fade into the Cedar Mountains beyond Blowhard at the far left. Blowhard is called Sunset Point today. But it's still Blowhard. Nearer to my feet the Breaks ran down endless, dry ravines and stream beds toward dim blues, then the dimmer blues, then the faded blues, then the barely, barely gray-blue mountains of the desert far beyond Lund and the railroad, toward Nevada. Looking down and straight ahead, one occasionally caught a slight sign, nearly a moan, as the wind circulated through the depths, to disappear into some rising thermal elevator. Otherwise, all was still, as we were still. Here was beauty, here was goodness, here was truth. The truth and the peace of God. A pioneer, aged eight, had arrived at Cedar Breaks. This too, Brother Brigham, was the place!

Tristram Shandy and the *Comedy of Context*

GEORGE P. LANDOW*

> *La Fosseuse's* voice was naturally soft and low, yet 'twas an articulate voice: and every letter of the word *whiskers* fell distinctly upon the Queen of *Navarre's* ear—*Whiskers!* cried the queen, laying a greater stress upon the word, and as if she had still distrusted her ears—Whiskers; replied *La Fosseuse,* repeating the word a third time—There is not a cavalier, madam, of his age in *Navarre,* continued the maid of honour, pressing the page's interest upon the queen, that has so gallant a pair—Of what? cried *Margaret,* smiling—Of whiskers, said *La Fosseuse,* with infinite modesty. . . . 'Twas plain to the whole court the word was ruined: *La Fosseuse* had given it a wound, and it was not the better for passing through all these defiles— . . . the word in course became indecent, and (after a few efforts) absolutely unfit for use. The best word in the best language of the best world, must have suffered under such combinations.[1]

La Fosseuse endows the word with other than usual meanings by changing the context in which it appears until most unusual associations accrue to the tarnished innocence of whiskers. What La Fosseuse has done, though wittily of course, is to redefine whiskers in a way which is an implicit criticism of Locke's view of language. First of all, the passage is a commentary on Locke's assertion that "He that applies the words of any language to ideas different from those in which the common use of the country applies them, however his own understanding may be filled with truth and light, will not by such words be able to convey much of it to others, without defining his terms. . . . Standing for other ideas than those they are usually annexed to . . . they cannot make known the thoughts of him who thus uses them."[2] La Fosseuse has not

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[1]Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman,* ed. James Aiken Work (New York, 1940), pp. 344-47. Hereafter referred to in text as (V, i, 344-47).

[2]John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* ed. Alexander Campbell Fraser (New York, 1959), II, 144. Hereafter in the text, Book III, Chapter x, Section 29, page 144 cited as (III, x, 29, 144).

defined his terms in the Lockean manner, yet he communicates only too well; for, as Sterne has demonstrated, the definition by context, whether it be of tone, of character, or of situation, is effective in communicating.

But the passage above also concerns the basis of Locke's view of language, that it functions as a sign for internal conceptions in order to communicate them to the mind of another (III, i, 1, 3). This idea becomes most important when Locke demonstrates that essences, as they are accessible to us, are not something which lies beyond us in another realm of existence, but are merely that core of mutually accepted definitions by which men designate an idea or thing. The true nature of objects and ideas, then, does not lie outside or "exist"; so that if men do not have clear ideas which are shared by others they will not have the same definitions of words, and with this confusion it would be, and for this reason often is, impossible to deal with the basic nature of the world in which man lives. Sterne in his own manner accepts this, and makes it part of his novel, but this view of language has become much transmuted before it appears in the novel's madcap action. For rather than seeing the difficulties of definition, knowledge, and communication as a horrible source of isolation, Sterne sees them as a means to comedy which is saved from the Kafkaesque by a belief that human emotions are a strong enough force to link men—even those such as Toby and Walter Shandy—together in a nonlogical, illogical, and more than logical understanding. Sterne, then, having partially accepted Locke's view of words, that it is often chaotic, often abused, and often confusing because of bad definition, nevertheless sets out along his way to communicate his views and his comedy to the reader. His way is to demonstrate that words can be defined and that one can communicate by the use of connotations which are underlined by context, and in so doing he demonstrates that there are more ways to confute a philosopher than by kicking rocks.

Locke had written that "all the artificial and figurative applications of words that eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgment; and so indeed are perfect cheats. . . . They are certainly, in all discourses that pretend to inform or instruct, wholly to be avoided; and where truth and knowledge are concerned cannot but be thought a great fault"

(III, x, 34, 146). Locke believes that words can only function effectively when denotations, the definitions formulated within a purely intellectual context, carry the burden of meaning. This denies the value of literature, which largely communicates not by denotation but by the indirect definition the context of a dramatic situation provides. La Fosseuse demonstrates the possibility of such definition by context, and such definition is actually implicit in Locke's view of language: Locke's view is that because nature is only organized and hence only accessible in words which are, in turn, signs of ideas in the mind, one must go to the mind to understand what is meant when a person speaks of external reality. The minds of the speaker and the listener, then, are the contexts to which the word is related and by which it is defined (III, ix, 4, 105). Locke's attempt to define the bounds of human understanding leads to a consideration of the manner in which the mind works (Introduction, 2-4, 26-8), and, similarly, his concern with language leads to a need for knowledge of what the speaker means by a word; for each person has his own definition that is slightly different than anyone else's, and to communicate one must have some knowledge of what a word means in the context of the other person's mind. After asking Uncle Toby where he received his wound, the Widow Wadman would certainly agree:

> My uncle *Toby* returned into the parlour, and sat himself down again upon the sopha.
>
> You shall lay your finger upon the place—said my uncle *Toby*.—I will not touch it, however, quoth Mrs. *Wadman* to herself.
>
> This requires a second translation—it shews what little knowledge is gotten by mere words—we must go to the first springs. (IX, xx, 624)

This second translation requires the gloss of each character's mind, for it is in this context, in this little world, that one must discover meanings for words. Sterne has produced comedy by making these contexts far more individual, far more private, far more hobby-horsical than Locke intended, and what he has done is to concertize an abstract idea, that is, to illustrate it and to qualify it, by bringing it from the category of words to the category of things. This placement of something from the world of abstract language in the world which represents everyday life produces an incongruity which is comic and may

be, when recognizably derived from a particular source, satirical as well. A good example of Sterne's general method occurs when Trim enters the learned discussion about radical dryness and moisture:

> And what conclusion dost thou draw, Corporal *Trim*, cried my father, from all these premises?
>
> I infer, an' please your worship, replied *Trim*, that the radical moisture is nothing in the world but ditch-water—and that the radical heat, of those who can go to the expense of it, is burnt brandy—the radical heat and moisture of a private man, an' please your honours, is nothing but ditch-water—and a dram of geneva—and give us but enough of it, with a pipe of tobacco, to give us the spirits, and drive away the vapours—we know not what it is to fear death. (V, xl, 401-2)

That Trim should enter the discussion at all, or that he should use the scholastic term of inference, is one aspect of Trim's world encountering Walter's, but the final encounter is the ossification of Walter's abstract idea by something from the world of existence. This *reductio ad absurdum* which causes or which results from the clashing of two worlds, two contexts, or two categories, is Sterne's primary comic technique, and it is, in essence, a comic extension of Locke which takes the philosopher from the world of his study into the world of action and conversation. In relation to the characters, the contexts may be those of the everyday world, those of the everyday world and a private one, or those of two private, isolated worlds, such as those in which Toby and Walter live.

Some of the finest comic scenes arise from the collision of the world of Toby and the world of Walter, but before Sterne can capitalize upon these collisions he must first establish the worlds of his characters, and he begins this early in *Tristram Shandy*. Hearing the noise of running feet over their heads while they are waiting for the birth of Tristram, Walter turns to Toby and asks him,

> —I wonder what's all that noise, and running backwards and forwards for, above stairs. . . . —What can they be doing, brother? . . .
>
> I think, replied my uncle *Toby*, taking his pipe from his mouth, and striking the head of it two or three times upon the nail of his left thumb, as he began his sentence, —I think, says he:—But to enter rightly into my uncle

> *Toby's* sentiments upon this matter, you must be made to enter first a little into his character, the outlines of which I shall just give you, and then the dialogue between him and my father will go on as well again. (I, xxi, 63)

This explanatory digression takes thirty-six pages in the Work text before we are returned to the next part of that sentence, but in that period Sterne has been able to establish Toby's hobby-horse, his modesty, and his history. Sterne sets the words of his characters firmly within the context of their personalities. In the case of Walter and Toby these personalities are isolating factors causing them to see everything in terms of their particular hobby-horse. In any conversation between these two humor characters there is almost certain to be a lapse in communication as soon as an area of mutual hobby-horsicality is encountered.

At the one point when Walter seems to understand Toby's way of seeing things and hence appears to be communicating, it turns out, instead, that the subject of concern is not a bridge for Toby's fortifications but for his son's nose, which, along with Walter's own hobby-horse, has just been crushed by Slop's forceps—"Lead me, brother *Toby,* cried my father, to my room this instant" (III, xxvii, 215). And this, of course, requires the digression of fifty-eight pages which presents the world of Walter's mind and its belief in the importance of names, noses, birth, and education—all in some sense a comic commentary on both Walter and on Locke. My father "was serious;—he was all uniformity;—he was systematical, and, like all systematick reasoners, he would move both heaven and earth, and twist and torture every thing in nature to support his hypothesis. In a word, I repeat it over again;—he was serious" (I, xix, 53). Though he is well-meaning, this serious man's attempts to mold the world into system and pattern appear as the greatest absurdities, and, as his ossified vision continually peeps out upon the flux about him, he becomes both the target of gentle satire and the cause of comedy. Walter assures Yorick with the solemnity of science "that there is a North-West passage to the intellectual world. . . . —The whole depends, added my father, in a low voice, upon the *auxiliary verbs,* Mr. *Yorick.* Had *Yorick* tread upon *Virgil's* snake, he could not have been more surprised" (V, xlii, 404). Once again Walter's hobby-horse has thrust something of apparently minor importance into

contact with something of a very different scale; and the difference in scale causes the surprise of an expectation which has been denied. The confrontation of two scales of value, of two contexts, reduces Walter's concern with auxiliary verbs to the level of absurdity. This typical reduction of an idea to absurdity by carrying it beyond its usual context derives additional force because Locke, in his chapter "Of Particles," makes much of a similar matter.[3]

It is true that Locke was working with abstract ideas in his study and that to remove them from this context will naturally make them absurd; and to mock them is perhaps too unfair to Locke. But one point for which Locke cannot be excused, says Sterne, is his unbalanced and unbalancing elevation of understanding above wit and emotion, when the fact of the matter is that all must always be in balance. To one who sees the world as comedy the denial of importance to wit is the more alarming, because it "has been made the *Magna Carta* of *stupidity*" (III, xx, 202), enabling those without wit and humor to claim solemn wisdom as their realm, while Sterne, one feels, would hold that wisdom is never solemn. Sterne says he does not write his book for such serious ones, but he does write it with them, with Mr. John Locke and Mr. Walter Shandy. "My father, whose way was to force every event in nature into an hypothesis, by which means never man crucified TRUTH at the rate he did" (IX, xxxii, 644), tries continually to impose system on all around him, while brother Toby, who sees everything in relation to his military hobby-horse, bumblingly ex-

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[3]Locke's "Of Particles" (III, 98-100) ends with an example of different uses of particles and this is probably parodied by the close of Sterne's Chapter xliii, Vol. V,—

A WHITE BEAR! Very well. Have I ever seen one? Might I ever have seen one? Am I ever to see one? Ought I ever to see one? Or can I ever see one?

Would I had seen a white bear! (for how can I imagine it?)

If I should see a white bear, what should I say? If I should never see a white bear, what then?

If I never have, can, must or shall see a white bear alive; have I ever seen the skin of one? Did I ever seen one painted?—described? Have I ever dreamed of one?

Did my father, mother, uncle, brothers or sisters, ever see a white bear? What would they give? How would they behave? How would the white bear have behaved? Is he wild? Tame? Terrible? Rough? Smooth?

—Is the white bear worth seeing?—

—Is three no sin in it?—

Is it better than a BLACK ONE? (pp. 406-407)

Once again, Sterne transfers something from one context to another, gradually taking the questions not as exercises but as actual inquiries.

poses his obsession by taking everything as though it had immediate relevance to his own world: these two men are incarnations of Locke's statements in Chapter X, "The Abuse of Words," and as such they fulfill our expectations, for their contexts are so personal that they cannot communicate by words. After Toby has led Walter to his room, and after Sterne has carefully provided the setting with an elaborate description of Walter's posture of grief, he has Walter break the silence as follows—

> Did ever man, brother *Toby,* cried my father, rising himself up upon his elbow, and turning himself round to the opposite side of the bed where my uncle *Toby* was sitting in his old fringed chair, with his chin resting upon his crutch—did ever a poor unfortunate man, brother *Toby,* cried my father, receive so many lashes?—The most I ever saw given, quoth my uncle *Toby,* (ringing the bell at the bed's head for *Trim*) was to a grenadier, I think in *Makay's* regiment.—Had my uncle *Toby* shot a bullet through my father's heart, he could not have fallen down with his nose upon the quilt more suddenly.
>
> Bless me! said my uncle *Toby.* (IV, iii, 274)

Although they are aware of each other's hobby-horse, they are nevertheless so concerned with their own that they cannot communicate with words, and their Marx brothers' dialogue continually impinges the world, the humor, the context of the one upon the other with the resultant double-meanings and plays on word and idea. But this does not leave Walter and Toby and us in isolated boxes, ghostly Robinson Crusoes (to quote Ryle) living within the mechanical islands of our bodies; for granted that, because no one has the same context, denotational, philosophical language will, for all its occasional efficiency, be most often subject to misunderstanding. Nonetheless, human beings have two means of communication: there is human feeling, which is the language of benevolence, and connotational meanings, which are the language of art. These cut across, even if they do not explain, the "riddles and mysteries" (IV, xvii, 293) among which we live. For all that Toby and Walter can rarely explain their ideas to each other, their good natures bind them together in a firm understanding. For example, after Trim has cut up Walter's boots for siege mortars to be used in Toby's scale-model war, a peculiarly chaotic conversation occurs, but, at last, "My father could not help smiling for his soul;—his

anger at the worst was never more than a spark,—and the zeal and simplicity of *Trim,*—and the generous (tho' hobby-horsical) gallantry of my uncle *Toby,* brought him into perfect good humour with them again" (III, xxii, 206). The communication that takes place is not by the denotation of the words, but through the conclusions indirectly drawn by Walter—that Trim is zealous and simple and good in Toby's behalf, and that Toby is generously gallant for the sake of his country, both of which are perceived from a long-established context. Sterne has shown that Locke's views of language are, in one aspect, quite correct, and he has used the problem of definition for his comedy. On the other hand, he has shown, first, that such problems of definition and communication are not of ultimate importance in relation to his characters; and second, that art, which defines in a non-Lockean manner, is a proper means of communication. Sterne has accepted definition by context, carried it beyond what Locke intended, and shown that, contrary to Locke's assertions, such definition by artistic context works better than attempts at denotational communication.

Walter's method of understanding once again points up Sterne's emphasis upon the indirect aspects of communication. The context of Toby's goodness evokes the best of Walter's feelings, and this reliance upon the benevolence of feeling is dependent upon and derived from two major influences upon Sterne, the church and Locke: The favorable attitude toward feeling is in large part the result of the Latitudinarian movement in the church[4] and it is further supported by Locke's empiricism, which implies that, since all knowledge must be derived from experience, [therefore] all experience, all sensation must be good.[5] Sterne not only believes wit and judgment cannot be separated, but that "REASON is half of it SENSE; and the measure of heaven itself is but the measure of our present appetites and concoctions" (VII, xiii, 494). While this

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[4]See R. S. Crane, "Suggestions towards a Genealogy of 'The Man of Feeling,' " *ELH,* I (1934), 205-230.

[5]See Dorothy Van Ghent, *The English Novel, Form and Function* (New York and Evanston, 1961), pp. 95-100. Similar is John Traugott's remark that "The following definition of sentimentalism at least suits Sterne's practice: By sensory apprehension of the behavior of other persons, and by comparing that behavior by an association of ideas with our own, we conceive a sympathy with other persons. . . . The core of Sterne's sentimentalism lies in his insistence that by certain public signs . . . we can come to understand individuality." *Tristram Shandy's World: Sterne's Philosophical Rhetoric* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954), pp. 73-5.

has many meanings and many contexts, among them that reason is empirically derived, it also means that "A man's body and his mind, with the utmost reverence to them both I speak it, are exactly like a jerkin, and a jerkin's lining;—rumple the one—you rumple the other" (III, iv, 160). Sterne's need to set things in context, in their complete and proper setting, causes him to see mind and body, head and heart, sex and love, and sense and nonsense in a series of continuums, a vision which prevents hardening of both the heart and categories. This rooting of things deeply within their context, which is one aspect of the wide perspective of a comic vision, makes the logic chopping of Walter and of Locke the more ridiculous. But while there is some mocking of Locke, and while there is some sharp satire, especially that of learned hokum, Sterne is primarily a writer, not of satire, but of comedy: Walter and Toby are by and large not targets of satire but the subjects of comedy. The multiple perspective created by the different contexts provides an irony which leads to understanding, not censure. The importance of these personal contexts requires Sterne to define his characters and provides one mechanical reason for the digressive structure of *Tristram Shandy.*

Thus far I have been discussing context or setting as it emanates from the minds of the various characters, and have been concentrating upon Toby and Walter Shandy, because they exemplify the individual mind as particular world at its most comically obvious. Sterne not only deals with the worlds of the mind, but with the adjacent worlds of art and life, and much of the novel is concerned with the encounter of the two. Sterne creates a fictive reader, the Sir or Madam to whom so many comments are addressed and who sits at Sterne's elbow watching the events and occasionally interrupting their presentation. While this reader provides an excuse for Sterne to address his audience through the voice of Tristram, his narrator, this convention is so used that this audience becomes a character in the novel like those repoussè figures in baroque painting who turn half toward the audience and half toward the scene being presented. Sir and Madam have their own context which furnishes something for the novel to be fitted into, or better, something to which the novel's "inner" action can be contrasted. While, of course, this reader is part of the novel and this is not real life, he or she represents the world of conven-

tional novels and insensitive readers. This aspect of *Tristram Shandy* points up the problems of art as a means of communication. The critical history of the novel would suggest that many actual readers are in the same relation to the novel as is Toby to Walter: sympathy but not understanding. When Tristram assigns penance to his lady reader for not reading his novel closely enough, thus playing a joke both upon himself and upon the conventional skimmer of pages, he would seem to be emphasizing that aspect of his work which is likely to be neglected. "I wrote a careless kind of civil, nonsensical, good-humored *Shandean* book, which will do all your hearts good—And all your heads too,—provided you understand it" (VI, xvii, 436), he adds later in the novel, expecting that it will cure the spleen before it strikes the mind.

Tristram and his reader occasionally carry on a dialogue which is much like that of Walter and Toby, but this comedy is due as much to the reader's ignorance of events, his lack of proper context, as to his lack of perception. In the first chapter this fictive reader creates a comic misunderstanding by the infliction of a usual context and its associations upon the particular and peculiar situation of Walter Shandy's one night a month. After Walter Shandy has burst out, "Did ever woman, since the creation of the world, interrupt a man with such a silly question?" our reader inquires, "Pray, what was your father saying?—" "Nothing," replies Tristram (I, i, 5). The creation of this reader provides a means of varying comic distance and perspective, and, because such a device must interrupt the primary action, it also gives Sterne another way of controlling the pace of the novel. This fictional reader is about as close as one can get to bringing the audience into the story, and the creation of this outer circle adds a new context which not only provides additional possibilities for comedy but which also produces an implicit commentary on the relation of the novel to the world outside it.

Critics have remarked on Sterne's devices as a means of criticizing the conventional novel of his time;[6] but more impor-

[6]Richard C. Boys, "*Tristram Shandy* and the Conventional Novel," *Papers of the Michigan Academy . . .*, XXVII (1951), 423-36, points out that Sterne is certainly not commenting upon Smollett or Fielding, and A. A. Mendilow, *Time and the Novel* (London, 1952), p. 166, remarks that Sterne was most interested in the problems of conventional techniques and their relation to reality.

tant than these criticisms, some of which are tongue in cheek, is the novelist's concern with the relation of convention to the reality it is supposed to represent. We see Sterne's attitudes toward the capability of literature from another vantage point when he brings objects from the external world into the novel, when he inflicts not representations of reality but real things upon the context of his fiction. Such expressionistic devices as the black page which follows the announcement of Yorick's death and the marble page which is to be an emblem of the novel are all attempts to gain a new notation that is more effective than words. Once an object is introduced into the context of a work of art, it no longer is an object for it has become language. The most obvious example, perhaps, is the introduction of the musical notation for "Lilliburlero," which is used to describe Toby's character. Similarly, in the last book Trim gives an eloquent speech without words. As uncle Toby and Trim advance to a frontal attack on the willing Mrs. Wadman, Trim says the final word for the bachelor's life: "Whilst a man is free—cried the Corporal, giving a flourish with his stick thus—[and then Sterne gives the path of the stick's movement]. A thousand of my father's most subtle syllogisms could not have said more for celibacy. My uncle *Toby* look'd earnestly towards his cottage and his bowling green" (IX, iv, 604). But, of course, these strangely introduced elements are not a marble page, a sheet of music, or a pattern of movement any longer; for once they have been introduced into the context of the novel, however uncomfortably or humorously they may remain there, they have become redefined by their present company. Once more Sterne has shown that nondenotative language can communicate when it has the proper context. Sterne here reverses a frequent tactic, moving something from the category of object into the category of word and idea. These contrasts between different orders of reality comment upon the nature of art, and, by pointing out its limits, help keep it—or at least the reader—as flexible as the reality the novel is trying to present.

Just as Sterne tries to keep his language from solidifying, so, too, he attempts to keep his novel and his reader limber, implicitly warning us that conventions are only conventions and not to be taken as reality. But it is the nature and purpose

of all system, whether it be of convention or of philosophy, to limit human experience by the imposition of pattern, and hence to provide an order by which we can live. Systematizing is by nature solemn; it is also intrinsically false, both in that the system must in some areas be an inadequate description of reality, and in that it is too serious about its pretensions of adequacy. Sterne's comedy continually sets the various systems of John Locke, Walter Shandy, and the artist within a wider context, which is fatal to the solemnity of any systems that have pretensions of completeness. By its very nature and reason for existence, a system attempts to provide a complete context in its particular area, giving all the answers and expanding into all the empty spaces; but the eye of comedy is always matching context and system, which, inevitably, is a process of reduction for anything which is supposedly complete. *Tristram Shandy* uses, shatters, and comments upon Locke's view of language. Locke is suggestive and perceptive, but not complete enough, and, like Walter Shandy, he is too rigid and systematical. In Walter we see all the foibles of the system maker carried to greatest extremes. His encounters with life produce the most powerful, most comical commentary on systems of all kinds. At the opening of the novel and in the first long digression about him, the reader learns of Walter's systematizing hobby-horsicality and of its expression in elaborate theories of childbirth and childbearing. But from the beginning, the very beginning, of Tristram's existence the systems topple of their own weight; for, after all, it is Walter's systematic winding of the clock which causes all the trouble. He was a very exact man, and

> As a small specimen of this extreme exactness of his, to which he was in truth a slave,—he had made it a rule for many years of his life,—on the first *Sunday night* of every month throughout the whole year,—as certain as ever the *Sunday night* came,—to wind up a large house-clock which we had standing upon the back-stairs head, with his own hands:— . . . he had likewise gradually brought some other little family concernments to the same period, in order, as he would often say to my uncle *Toby,* to get them all out of the way at one time . . . from an unhappy association of ideas which have no connection in nature, it so fell out at length, that my poor mother could never hear the said clock wound up,—but the thoughts of some other things unavoidably popp'd into her head,—& *vice versa.* (I, iv, 8-9)

The problem with the system is that it does not take into account the nature of the human mind, which includes this association by habit as well as denotative faculties, and this, of course, is what is wrong with Locke. Having realized that his offspring's troubles had begun nine months before birth and had been increased by Slop's forceps, Walter next tries to counteract this with his opinion, "That there was a strange kind of magick bias, which good or bad names, as he called them, irresistibly impress'd upon our characters and conduct" (I, xviii, 50). This is an extreme example, perhaps, of Locke's point that taking words for things causes great difficulty in thought, but it is also an example of taking words too seriously and of trying to impose them on another order of reality. Once again, Walter's system helps destroy itself, for by choosing Trismegistus, a name of which no one has heard, and which resembles Tristram, the name he most dislikes, Walter provides the possibility for the inevitable Shandean confusion. Finally, when it is obvious that everything has gone wrong for Tristram, Walter begins to apply his system to the education of his son. He begins to write the massive *Tristra-poedia,* but by the time he has set his thoughts in order and culled the answers from the scholastic masters, three years have elapsed, and during the whole period, Tristram remarks, "I was all that time totally neglected and abandoned to my mother" (V, xvi, 375). These systems are not only removed from life but also prevent Walter from living and acting.

Better than all these systems of education are the disordered associations of good examples. Toby's benevolence towards the fly, which occurs when Tristram is ten years old, finds a way to the boy's heart—

> I know, that the lesson of universal good-will then taught and imprinted by my uncle *Toby,* has never since been worn out of my mind: And tho' I would not depreciate what the study of the *Literae humaniores,* at the university, have done for me in that respect . . . yet I often think what I owe one half of my philanthrophy to that one accidental impression.
>
> This is to serve for parents and governors instead of whole volume upon the subject. (II, xii, 114)

Sterne uses Locke's theory of association, which Locke sees

as "madness," and contradicts the system of the philosopher that will not allow the irrational to be anything but dangerous.[7]

Walter imposes his version of reality upon those around him, even choosing to see Toby's natural reactions as system. His obsession with system is the more comical, because it is always so fantastic, and the more Sterne piles detail upon detail, in the manner of Rabelais, the more absurd become Walter's methods. When Walter decides to put his son in breeches, he sets his immense, top-heavy system in movement, and, once he winds it up, it topples of its own weight. Having consulted Mrs. Shandy, who as usual is annoyingly acquiescent, he next goes to Albertus Rubenius, miring himself in an elaborate confusion of pedantry. Sterne carefully cites authorities for trivial points and indulges in elaborate mock-logical subdivisions, all of which serve to place a load of importance on something which is unimportant. Walter's northwest passage to the intellect, his fascination with Slawkenbergius, and his passion for argument are all things which Sterne uses to comment upon; not only these kinds of intellectual swamps but all systematizing. Much of Sterne's comedy comes from the destruction or stretching of system by matching it, implicitly or explicitly, with other systems and other contexts. He can bring the world of Toby into collision with Walter's, or Locke's into Toby's; he moves words into the order of things, and things into the order of words; he moves systems into the Shandean world of no-system; and he tries to move the reader and his context into the world of the novel.

Sterne not only confronts his two fictional worlds, one of art and one of life, he confronts various times, all of which are observed as occurring in the present. Tristram presents a story in the past as happening before us, and yet he is also the subject of this tale, appearing twice, once as child or embryo and once as author. In the midst of a dramatic scene comes "What was your father saying?"—Sterne is using time as a series of sliding panels, and once again he has burst the context in which we live, creating a vision, which by the presence of different vantage points, is necessarily ironic and potentially comic. Any view which contains the individual world of

[7]Traugott, p. 47, comments "Sterne's fun with Locke does not constitute a dislike or disapproval of the philosopher," but Sterne is not just playing with these ideas, he is contradicting them, especially where education is concerned.

Sterne's characters, the interpretations of his reader, and the layers of different times must be ironic unless all those vantage points coincide, and in Sterne almost nothing, unless it be a sill and window, ever coincides.

The effect of these various contexts of time upon the novel is that everything, or almost everything, is presented as happening, and, therefore, little of the story is told to the reader. The advantage of this is that the entire action can be dramatic, for exposition as such does not occur; even when Sterne is supposedly presenting an expository digression, he presents it as happening, and it becomes part of the action. This structure allows a great percentage of action, while simultaneously permitting authorical commentary for other purposes. With everything shown as becoming, as in process, the novel groups into scenes which are shown with little explanation, the significance becoming apparent from the context.[8] This occurs in the Phutatorius episode, where "Zounds!" first is heard, and then the explanation follows, tracing what has happened by making it happen again, this time from an accessible point of view. Once again, context furnishes meaning.

This use of time as context in the novel is derived from Sterne's conception of time as individually perceived. After playing with the Lockean idea of duration (II, viii, 103), Sterne deals with it again when Walter and Toby are waiting for the delivery of Tristram.

> It is two hours and ten minutes,—and no more,—cried my father, looking at his watch, since Dr. *Slop* and *Obadiah* arrived,—and I do not know how it happens, brother *Toby,* —but to my imagination it seems almost an age. . . .
> —'Tis owing, entirely, quoth my uncle *Toby,* to the succession of our ideas. (III, xviii, 188-9)

Just as all human beings have their own interpretations of language, they also have their own interpretations of time, for, as Toby says, time is measured by the movement of our train of ideas. Sterne takes this, manipulates it, and as usual, carries it to an extreme. In the process he contrasts inner and outer time, the personal and the objective contexts of human life.

This manipulation of time has been seen as similar to that of Proust, Mann, Woolf and Joyce. In a manner similar to

[8]Mendilow, p. 182.

these modern novelists, Sterne creates Tristram by rooting him in the context of the past, a past, moreover, which is portrayed as important in its presentness. The characters are set within their past, and, since this is to be a mocking commentary of many of Walter's ideas, Tristram's beginnings are found rather far back in time. Yet there are significant differences: unlike Proust, to choose one example, Sterne is writing a history of himself more for others than to discover himself. There is no great need to accomplish this rendering within himself, and, significantly, Sterne's narrator uses much extrinsic information, some admittedly derived from Toby and some unadmittedly derived from the convention of the omniscient author. For these reasons there is not Proust's emphasis upon either the active or passive memory, and, similarly, there is no yearning, no feeling of great loss in and through time. While Sterne would hold with Proust that "Une heure n'est pas qu'une heure, c'est un vase rempli de parfums, de sons, de projets et de climats," and while he might agree partially with "Ce que nous appelons la réalité est un certain rapport entre ces sensations et ces souvenirs qui nous entourent simultanément,"[9]—for these are, in essence, Lockean—he does not have the emphasis and tone to claim "ces résurrections de la mémoire . . . cachaient . . . une vérité nouvelle."[10] The primary difference between Sterne and his heirs is that Sterne still has a confidence in the integrity of self, which, largely due to Sterne's contemporary, Hume, those who followed had lost. Hume's point is, that if experience is just "perceptions which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in perpetual flux and movement," the self has no unity and is "nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions."[11] Hume's explanation for what we call "self" is that habit creates a functional organization, but this is not enough to satisfy many. But Sterne did not have this problem, believing as he did in a fixed character and in the existence of the soul, so he did not endow time with such importance or, most important, with such seriousness. Surprisingly enough, Sterne comes to many of the same conclusions

[9]Marcel Proust, *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu,* ed. Pierre Clarac and André Ferré, 3 vols. (Paris, Pléiade editions, 1954), III, 889.

[10]Proust, III, 878.

[11]Quoted by Hans Meyerhoff, *Time and Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954), p. 32. My discussion of Bergsonian and modern ideas of time is largely dependent upon Meyerhoff.

and the same technical developments from his position as do the moderns with their peculiar concern with time. We have already seen the effects of this view on the structure of the novel. Quite similar, indeed, is Sterne's view of language and his suspicion of system: the Bergsonians, who see time as flow, feel that the mind imposes language as a means of congealing thought. Though this imposition is necessary it also renders all expression falsely. Like Sterne, these modern writers firmly embed their words with a series of widening contexts. Some are so chary of the limiting nature of words that, like Hermann Broch, they construct a *gleichgewichtskonstellation,* a gestalt in which only the total effect of the words communicates. These techniques are much like Sterne's elaborate definitions by context, and his comic vision with its suspicion of system and limitation arrives at much the same point as did those obsessed by time. The major difference is that of tone—but in comedy tone is everything.

This suspicion of system comes from a view which sees that system is never a complete context—it always fits into or against another. Sterne's comedy occurs when he thrusts things from one context into another. Sometimes this collision is caused by and sometimes it causes extreme and absurd extension of an idea, a word, or a thing beyond its usual sphere. Sterne's point is that these collisions always occur and that systems which ignore this are, in their seriousness and in their rigidity, absurd; and while Sterne may satirize particular systems or particular foibles they are most important as comic examples, not as targets in themselves. Sterne's primary purpose is not to attack but to drive away the spleen with laughter and understanding.

Mormon Bibliography 1965

CHAD J. FLAKE*

The 1965 Mormon bibliography follows the pattern adopted in the previous issues of the *Brigham Young University Studies.* It consists of selected items from the 1965 (v. 6) *Mormon Americana,* a cooperative listing of books dealing with Utah and the Mormons. In this bibliography only the items concerning the Church have been considered.

In the 1964 edition of the "Mormon Bibliography," two problems were noted concerning books being published in this area: the confusion of "edition" and "printing," and the lack of care in the printing of bibliographies. Another problem facing the scholar as he works with local materials is the lack of proper indexing.

This is not a problem which is peculiar to materials printed in Utah. However, the fact that it is a general problem does not keep it from being annoying. During the past two years I have worked on a *Bibliography of Mormonism,* and one of the most trying parts of the project has been to locate sections of books dealing with Mormonism. Equally frustrating to other writers are the periodicals and newspapers which have never been properly indexed.

A great deal of work has been done to index the more prominent Church periodicals. Mr. N. I. Butt, of the B.Y.U. library, has been the principal person responsible for these indexes, having published indexes to the *Times and Seasons, Messenger and Advocate, Elder's Journal, Journal of Discourses,* and many more. Still others are indexes in manuscript form, such as his index to the *Juvenile Instructor* and *Contributor.* Also there is hope for more being published by other people such as the index to the *Millennial Star* by Beth Oyler. Though most helpful, most of the indexes now published have a great deal to be desired as far as completeness and availability are concerned. Also there is the problem of cumulative indexes

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for current publications. Since 1952, the B.Y.U. library has indexed the Church Section of the *Deseret News* and published it since 1957. There has, however, never been an accumulation so that a person must go through fourteen separate indexes. Each year the problem increases.

A problem more serious, and for which there is less excuse, is the lack of good indexes in books published locally. True, the responsibility for an index usually is the author's, but certain guidelines could be set forth by a publisher whose name is being placed on the title page of the work. An example of such an index is in Sterling W. Sill's *Leadership* (Vol. I). Ten items in the index are listed under "The" which is never properly a filing word; there are thirteen references to Joseph Smith under "Joseph" and twelve under "Smith"; the reference to Major M. Treptow is found under "Major." What is otherwise a fine book is reduced in value due to poor indexing. With so much material available, the scholars usually do not have time to read or scan a book in the hope of finding something of import. If the book does not have a good index, it is often omitted from consideration.

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Reformation

CHARIS SOUTHWELL*

I

Underneath the pressed-marble foundations
They have buried the witches,
And in the dark library storerooms, they have put away the myth.
Now the dark shape drifts up the stairs,
Stands on the rostrum, and conjures.

A chain of laughter moves around the cocktail party,
Light laughter like the clink of glass and ice
And the jingle of bracelet rings.
The smoke rises between us in a screen,
And everyone is gay except for you,
And you are restless and turn away
To look for nothing,
And could not tell me, if I asked you,
"Why?"

Dante rose out of his grave and passed a bar.
From the asylum where the air is a camouflage
And the intimacy impersonal, he heard Hell's music.

The well-dressed lady blushed and said,
"Would you mind if I call you Father?"
"Not at all, if it helps," he said.
The well-dressed lady bowed her head
And tried to find a way to tell.

When the storm lifts the litter from the streets
And screams around the buildings
Tearing at the wires and throwing down the leaves,
When the earth heaves and breaks itself,
And the sea comes in a great hand to slap the land,

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*Mrs. Southwell is an alumna of Brigham Young University where she won several awards for her poetry.

The shadow rides upon the water
And contorts his face in lightning
For the pain of another power.

II

In my dreams I run until I am out there
In the middle of everywhere, Wyoming,
Where a hundred thousand voices sing the silence,
And the clouds as big as giants expand their chests and roar!
Where there is a stillness in between
For the quiet things that sing in the smaller amplitudes
And play on the fragile strings,
Where only flowing water passes never hours
And the undulance and coolness of the stream
Share the lovely solitude of dreams.
It is a myth the quiet place.
I waken from the illusion of the schedule
Into the shelter of the willow,
The soothing moving of the water,
And the warm enclosing arms of sun.

III

Idumea, Idumea, we have forgotten.
The blur of pigeon wings moves into the evening,
Following the day into the west,
Dipping under the rose edge of the gray bowl
And out into the ever-light.
The great eye dims as earth turns beneath the aperture
And closes away the blue.
Plate-glass windows watch the white translucence
Change through blue into the crystal black of night
And sigh into the security of stars.

Idumea, Idumea, we have forgotten.
The shadow hovers down so near
We cannot see. We only feel the cold, like fear,
Brush past, and wait and play to pass the time
That's ticking faster than before,
And the dark shape moves from door to door.
Who knows when it has passed
Or whether we are all dead at last?

Book Reviews

R. JOSEPH MONSEN, JR., AND MARK W. CANNON. *The Makers of Public Policy: American Power Groups and Their Ideologies.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965. 355 pp.

Increasing interest in public policy decisions is revealed in both the dramatic behavior of citizens' interest groups and the proliferation of journal articles and books on public issues and the policy process. On the one hand are mounting citizen awareness and involvement in the process and, on the other, are efforts of social scientists to analyze and describe more effectively the realities of issues and processes.

In *The Makers of Public Policy,* R. Joseph Monsen, Jr., an economist in a school of business administration, and Mark W. Cannon, a political scientist, endeavor to articulate the ideologies of American power groups as a basis for understanding the motivations of citizens as they join groups in order to influence public policy.

The authors contend that ". . . the widespread ignorance of the influence of interest groups and their ideologies on public policy often handicaps reasoned policy formulation."[1] Hence, they have undertaken an effort to bring together in a single volume a succinct statement of the goals and ideologies of the major occupational groups which affect public policy at the national level. There are two major exceptions to this generalization: (1) one chapter is included on an ethnic group —the Negroes—who are largely dissatisfied with low occupational status, however; and (2) another chapter is included on the public school teachers who influence domestic policy at the local level.

The authors express three general hopes regarding their writing: ". . . first, that greater awareness may be gained about which groups dominate our legislative process and how they operate in the making of public policy; second, that by succinctly stating the positions and ideologies of the various major power groups in one volume it will be easier correctly to

[1]Preface, p. v.

ascribe to a particular group the propaganda and arguments popularly heard regarding major domestic issues; third, that such information can raise discussion of public policy to a more rational and informed level in this country."[2]

The book is written somewhat as an "intelligence paper" as it reviews the ideology, organization, and techniques of the various power groups among the several major "publics." As such, it is a significant reference work. However, the authors sometimes appear to be writing for the layman and at other times for students of the political process. For example, since the appearance in the late 1930's of Pendleton Herring's two classics, *Group Representation Before Congress* and *Public Administration and the Public Interest,* it has been widely recognized by students of the political process that interest groups profoundly influence the determination of public policy in both the legislative and administrative arenas. Yet the authors make no reference to the extensive influence which their "power groups" wield upon policy determination in the administrative sphere in a volume which observes that "The makers of public policy—and their goals and ideologies—are strangely unidentified to the American public. Government decision making is not simply the congressional voting process that many suppose."[3]

The authors then proceed to make known the goals and ideologies of these power groups through eight well-written chapters. One chapter each is devoted to what they call the formal groups of business, labor, agriculture, Negroes, public school teachers—to which they might have added a chapter on the clergy—and the informal groups of intellectuals, civil bureaucracy, and military bureaucracy—to which they might have added a chapter on the reactionaries. The authors acknowledged that "in studying the expressed goals and ideologies of the groups, this work generally takes at face value the assertions and public statements of the groups themselves," despite "occasional camouflages."[4]

Throughout the work, Monsen and Cannon both imply and make explicit the notion that if the individual citizen desires to influence governmental policy, it is imperative that he join

[2]*Ibid.,* p. vii.
[3]Chapter I, p. 1.
[4]*Ibid.,* p. 22.

groups which will give direction, purpose, and weight to the interests he espouses. The citizen ". . . must be represented by one or more of the major power groups if he is to feel any identification with society or public policy. In present American society it is membership in these groups that gives meaning to individual lives by providing common goals and values which are expressed by the groups in ideological form."[5]

They contend further, that since occupation is ". . . the most powerful economic thread that binds men together, the major occupational power groups discussed here and their ideologies have widely replaced religion with its theology as the major sociological institution in modern man's life."[6] On this point, the authors emphasize that for those who desire power, the chief way is to become one of the elite who effectively control a major group.

The entire volume is filled with quotable quotes and interesting insights. Of the eight "ideology" chapters, perhaps three of the better ones are on business, the public school teachers, and the military bureaucracy. Three other chapters especially invite quotation and comment.

Describing an emotional facet of the ideology of the intellectuals, one of their informal groups, the authors suggest that "The emotional support for Negro rights is so strong that other rights may be sacrificed in the process."[7]

"It is this quality of emotional involvement that helps make the majority position of the intellectuals an ideology rather than simply a consensus."[8] Yet earlier in the chapter the authors concluded that ". . . there is . . . sufficient political consensus among intellectuals . . . to classify them as a political community or group. . . ."[9]

If emotional support for a consensus becomes the rationale for the existence and description of "power groups," then this logic is negated when it comes to the chapter on farmers, among whom there are distinct cleavages rather than consensus. For example, "In the whole of the United States it would be difficult to find two organizations more opposed to each other on

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[5]Chapter XI, p. 329.
[6]*Ibid.*, p. 331.
[7]Chapter VII, p. 202.
[8]*Ibid.*, p. 221.
[9]*Ibid.*, p. 179.

social legislation than the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union."[10]

Moving from this paradox to a bit of irony, the authors observed that it is highly interesting that the one farmer organization which has been nurtured by government, the Farm Bureau, ". . . would turn out to be ideologically the most hostile of all three farm groups to government intervention."[11]

The chapter on Negroes sets the present ideology in historical perspective which has led to the militancy of various groups representing the American Negro. "Strange as it seems now, in 1896 Negroes made up a majority of those registered in twenty-six parishes in the Deep South state of Lousiana. Six years later they did not comprise a majority in any parish. Stated numerically, Negro registration plummeted from 130,334 to 1,342 during this brief period. The Lousiana move to white political supremacy characterizes what took place in the rest of the South because of Negro economic dependence on the whites and judicial and legislative decisions weakening the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment."[12]

The oppression and deprivation which has ensued has engendered an overwhelming desire of the Negroes to be treated like men. This ". . . repudiates the notion of inherent inequality, but recognizes perhaps an environmental handicap—the environment that the Negroes want changed."[13]

In an otherwise excellent chapter, a comment which causes wonderment is the statement that "Negro progress in the North has taken place in a vacuum of opposition."[14] Undoubtedly the word "vacuum" is an inadvertence because despite some progress in the North on behalf of Negroes, there indeed has been and is opposition.

In a provocative final chapter on "How Democracy Really Works," the reader does not find out how democracy really works, but he does discover some interesting political insights. The authors develop the theory of "minority rule" as contrasted with "majority rule" as the basis for decision-making in American democracy. To support their case they cite examples of minority positions and minority elections which

[10]Chapter IV, p. 118.
[11]*Ibid.*, p. 114.
[12]Chapter V, p. 140.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 136.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 149.

have become governmental policy. There is both reality and logic to their argument. They overlook, however, the element of consensus in the concept of what may be termed "passive majority rule" in American democracy; that is, the tacit general acceptance by the majority of the governmental policies not in conflict with their own interests, even when fabricated by a minority.

American democracy is characterized by pluralism and negotiation among contending interests. Traditional understanding of the concept of majority rule should be modified to comprehend that in a pluralistic democracy, the "will of the people" is determined and expressed by a coalition of minorities. This coalition of minorities will vary for every issue in dispute and every decision made. Each will be a transient coalition of groups. People are motivated by their interests. To make interests known and prevail, they join groups. They must act in concert, not unilaterally, if they are to succeed.

Monsen and Cannon have done a great favor to both students and laymen alike in preparing this volume. Even though there is no bibliography, every chapter contains excellent footnotes and each of the ideology chapters includes a pertinent case study which illustrates the ideology in application. All who read the book will find it fascinating reading as they discover new insights regarding the policy process in America.

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P. A. M. TAYLOR, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966. pp. xvi, 277. $7.50.

The story of the populating of America by the poor and oppressed peoples of lands across the seas is one of the great sagas of the nineteenth century. During that period the United States grew from about five and one-half million people clinging to the eastern seaboard to a nation of over 75 million that spanned a continent from sea to shining sea. A significant part of this saga is the peopling of Illinois and the trans-Mississippi west by European converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

To tell the whole story of the Mormon experience requires that one be a poet, a hard-boiled business man, a scholar, a sceptic, a religious mystic, a philosopher, a psychologist, a sociologist, and an economist. The indisputable fact that no one writer is all of these has not, however, prevented many of us from trying to interpret various phases of Mormon history.

One of the more successful of these laborers in the vineyard is Dr. P. A. M. Taylor, a lecturer in history in the Department of American Studies at Hull University, England. The primary purpose of *Expectations Westward,* he says, "is not to tell an exciting story, but to explore the relationships between Mormon theology, the early history of the Mormon Church in America, its missionary activities in Britain, its colonizing work in Utah, and the planned emigration of its British converts." Dr. Taylor has organized his study into three broad subject areas: "Britain," "Utah," and "The Emigrants and Their Journey." Part I contains a brief summary of the doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as these doctrines were concerned with the "Gathering," describes conditions in the British Mission and the methods employed by the missionaries to secure converts and further the migration, and concludes with a summary of the beginnings of emigration. Part II deals with the authority of Brigham Young and the priesthood in Utah and attempts to show that only the authoritarian policies of the Church made possible the peopling of the Great Basin. The author devotes one chapter to the policies and practices adopted by the Church authorities to build up Utah. Another chapter details the methods employed in bringing the British

Mormons to the Rocky Mountains. Part III of the volume comprises five chapters which analyze the economic background and occupations of the emigrants, discuss the Mormon emigration agents in Liverpool and British legislation designed to insure the health and welfare of emigrating citizens, life aboard the emigrant ships, the overland journey from the eastern United States to the Missouri River, and finally the journey from the Missouri to Utah. (Dr. Taylor feels that "the study of individual and family adjustments among British-born Mormons must be left to scholars who live in Utah." This reviewer is a bit chagrined that Dr. Taylor was apparently unaware of his studies on British Mormon migration and the British Mormon in Utah which appeared in the *American Historical Review* in 1947 and 1952.)

It is evident from the foregoing summary of the volume that it contains a wealth of information and is the result of much painstaking research. The author has explored extensively the Church archives both in Salt Lake City and in the British Mission and has utilized microfilm supplied by the National Archives. In addition, he has used most of the recent historical publications on Mormon history. The result is an excellent and informative study of the English Mormons, though not a definitive one.

In studying the works of some leading writers on Mormonism, Dr. Taylor became confirmed in his belief that his own study "was worth making, since it would fill an important gap in the others' results." It is true that a gap exists, but it is neither as deep nor as broad as the author implies. In reviewing *Expectations Westward* for the *Utah Historical Quarterly,* Professor Gustive O. Larson said, "However, the very abundance of source materials and recognition of more recent publications emphasize a curious oversight of at least four pioneering contributions; namely, 'Church Emigrations' (an analysis by years) by Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson appearing in three volumes of *The Contributor* during the years 1891-92; 'History of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company,' a master's thesis by this writer completed at the University of Utah in 1926; *A Century of 'Mormonism' in Great Britain . . .,* by Richard L. Evans in 1937; and 'The Gathering of the British Mormons to Western America,' a Ph.D. dissertation, by M. Hamlin Cannon at American University in 1950."

Dr. Taylor has researched deeply in the occupations and number of the Mormon emigrants. He has not, however, utilized earlier research: Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (1861); Sir Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (1861 and 1964); and Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (1855 and 1962). In other areas Dr. Taylor has high praise for these authors. If he felt that their statistics were inaccurate, it would have been well for him to say so for the guidance of present and future students.

Certain facets of the story of the British Mormon emigrants which this reviewer feels might well have been touched upon in *Expectations Westward* include the efforts of President Buchanan and the Secretary of State under President Hayes to block the migration; the interest of British Mormons in colonizing Canada; and the importance of Kanesville, Iowa, both as the home of the *Frontier Guardian* and as a jumping-off place for the overland journey to Utah (according to Jenson, Kanesville for several years had a larger population than the Utah settlements). Somewhat fuller treatment might also have been given to the reasons for the establishment of the British Mission and to the migration of the British Saints to Nauvoo.

None of these comments are intended to detract from the many merits of *Expectations Westward.* Unquestionably, Dr. Taylor has written the best account of the British Mormons that has yet appeared and has added much to our knowledge of the movement. His prize-winning volume belongs on the bookshelf of any serious student of Mormon history.

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WINTHROP S. HUDSON. *Religion in America.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965. 447 pp.

One of the most difficult responsibilities of a historian is to summarize historical developments without misrepresenting the facts. Therefore, works, such as Winthrop S. Hudson's *Religion in America,* that contain generalizations and avoid oversimplifications are most valuable. Hudson's recent publication is not only the most thorough and lucid one-volume survey of the story of American religious life that is currently available, but it is also one of the best written works on this subject. In addition to inserting in this history numerous thought-provoking explanations of the causes of significant religious developments, he has aptly described the major trends in American religious history and has competently discussed the emergence in this land of new religious societies in light of their historical settings. There is also an excellent balance in this work. Instead of primarily concentrating on the colonial and early national period, Hudson has devoted equal attention to the pre-Civil War period, the post-Civil War era, and the twentieth century. The major concern of this author was not to consider denominational histories nor beliefs of members of American religious societies, but "to depict the religious life of the American people in interaction with other dimensions of their experience." (p. viii)

Hudson's description of the progress of religion in colonial America and in the new nation is one of the best summaries that has been written on this subject, and his analysis of religious trends in the twentieth century is the most clear and complete exposition of this difficult topic that is available in a work of this nature.

Although this survey is relatively free from factual errors, a few statements need revising and others need clarification. Hudson incorrectly wrote that "Anglican clergy, with a few notable exceptions, were zealous Tories." (p. 95) A careful investigation of these religious leaders reveals that a number of Anglican clergy were active patriots or were neutral. Probably about half or slightly more of these ministers were "zealous Tories." Hudson further mentioned that settlers of various religious persuasions resided in New Netherlands, but failed to state that prior to 1664 only Dutch and English Calvinists were

permitted to organize congregations and hold public services in this Dutch colony. In his summary of religion in colonial America, he failed to emphasize that organized religion was neglected by most settlers partially because the vast majority of inhabitants lived on rural farmsteads.

Although no accurate membership figures are available for the colonial period, this reviewer seriously questions Hudson's conclusion that the Presbyterian society was the second largest denomination in 1776 and that the Baptists and Anglicans were about equal in membership at that time. According to one competent study (Clifford M. Drury, "Missionary Expansion at Home," *They Seek a Country,* G. J. Slosser, ed., New York: Macmillan Co., 1955, 169), in 1789 only about 14,000 Presbyterians had gathered into this religious society. Moreover, Hudson includes in this survey estimates of membership in the early nineteenth century that have been widely cited (about 7 percent in 1800 and 12.5 percent in 1835) but then, without sufficient evidence to support his claims, overestimates the numbers who were attending church during this era by writing that "the number attending a Sabbath service was usually three times as large as the membership." (p. 129)

Since the emphasis in this work is not on denominational histories, Hudson does not devote much attention to Mormonism, but he does mention the rise of this movement. He is among a minority of non-Mormon authors who have not erred regarding Joseph Smith's description of the First Vision, and he accurately described most aspects of this history. In relating the migration of the Saints, however, Hudson incorrectly wrote that after the Panic of 1837, the Mormons shifted "the base of operations to Independence and then Far West, Missouri." (p. 193) And his bibliographical citations on this subject were most deficient. Hudson recorded that "The best biography of Smith is Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* . . . and the best account of the movement is Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons.*" These are the only books included in his bibliographical references on Mormonism, with the exception of a reference to Whitney R. Cross's *Burned-over District.*

In considering the origin of the Book of Mormon, Hudson cited a theory proposed by Alexander Campbell. Quoting Campbell, Hudson suggested that the Book of Mormon "had anticipated and given a definitive answer to 'every error and almost

every truth discussed in New York for the last ten years.' " (p. 191) In an attempt to prove that the Book of Mormon was not a translated work from ancient records, Campbell (whom Hudson selected as an authority) sought to limit the authorship of this book to an individual living in western New York in the early nineteenth century by listing popular topics of discussion of that period, but these were also subjects which were seriously considered by many people during the Middle Ages and during the era of the Reformation. Many reformers, such as Menno Simons, discussed in their writings nearly all the subjects listed by Campbell and Hudson. Moreover, it is incorrect to state that the Book of Mormon provides a "definitive answer" to subjects such as "ordination, trinity, . . . church government, . . . eternal punishment, who may baptize, . . . freemasonry, republican government, and the rights of man." (p. 191)

Although Hudson failed to defend satisfactorily his position regarding the origin of the Book of Mormon and included a few other errors in his work, this scholar has produced an excellent survey that is, with only a few exceptions, accurate, objective, provocative, and penned in an excellent style. This and other literary contributions of Winthrop Still Hudson place him high on the list of American authors who are publishing competent works in the field of American church history.

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ROBERT BRUCE FLANDERS. *Nauvoo—Kingdom on the Mississippi.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. 364 pp. $6.50.

This book is based on a doctoral dissertation written for the University of Wisconsin. At present, the author is an associate professor of history at the Reorganized Latter Day Saints Church's Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa.

Professor Robert Flanders has attempted to search deeply and give insight into the temporal life of Joseph Smith and the Mormons in Nauvoo. Joseph Smith is considered not primarily as a religious leader, but as an economist, promoter, architect, politician and man of affairs. Without fully considering the religious forces, the author has attempted to analyze the social, political, military and economic facets concerning the Mormon kingdom. He has done what most secular historians would accuse church historians of doing—that is, of writing church history in a vacuum.

An example of this weakness is found in an interpretation of the Word of Wisdom (D&C 89). To divorce the theological implications of this revelation and make it a matter of economic necessity is to ignore a complexity of forces in favor of a simple cause. Religious forces as well as economic, social and political forces must be considered in order to reconstruct the "why's" of events in church history.

After the publication of many inaccurate works by splinter-groups of the Church, it is refreshing to read in Flanders' book a somewhat objective account of historical events such as the origin of polygamy. He sees polygamy originating in Nauvoo with Joseph Smith rather than in Utah with Brigham Young. Moreover, he writes about the nine apostles who were led to Utah with the majority of Mormons, and of those who were opposed to the exodus as being a small minority.

Five of the chapters were most appealing to the reviewer. Chapter one has excellent factual material concerning the various reasons the Saints were so well accepted by the people of Illinois in 1839. Extensive research had to be done before writing chapter four. It deals with the economic, social and political setting of the British converts and their purpose in emigrating from England. Chapter seven on the Nauvoo Temple helps the reader to understand the keen feelings of the Saints in their desires for a temple. Perhaps the eighth is the most enlightening

chapter. It is concerned with the Saints' political controversies and their affiliation with both Whigs and Democrats. The commendable research and writing accomplished by this author is reflected in these first chapters particularly.

There are very few noticeable mechanical errors in the book, such as the misspelling of Berrett (p. 23). There are, however, certain errors of fact. The author said that "details of its[Nauvoo Masonic Temple] size and cost are lacking" (p. 248). The Masonic Temple is still standing and thus the size would not be difficult to measure. In the text (p. 311) Flanders said that "few, including Smith himself, seemed to have seriously considered the possibilities of his death." However, early revelations to Joseph Smith indicate that he did seriously consider this possibility. Certainly, as he went to Carthage on June 24, 1844, he knew, according to his own record, that he would probably be killed. The author confused Orson Hyde with Orson Pratt (p. 269). He quoted Ebenezer Robinson's account of Orson Pratt's disappearance and indicated this was Orson Hyde. The author makes it sound as if the "five thousand persons" who received their endowments in Nauvoo were a minority of the Mormons in the Nauvoo region (p. 336); but four-fifths of the adult population is not a minority.

The reviewer questions the author's liberal use of and reliance on anti-Mormon sources. Too much reliance is given to apostate testimonies. John C. Bennett was a bitter enemy of the Prophet Joseph and the Mormons, and yet Mr. Flanders says that the "historian" could not discount Bennett's charges (p. 267). Ebenezer Robinson, who wrote a history of the Church fifty years after the events occurred and who at the time was an apostate from the Church, might have had some doubtful "historical" statements; yet Flanders has quoted extensively from his writings. On the other hand, Flanders failed to even list B. H. Roberts' *Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* in his bibliography. He seems to have chosen the "morsels" to suit his own taste. Is it history when the writer tries to reconstruct the feelings of the Saints in Nauvoo by quoting such unreliable representatives as John C. Bennett? Does Bennett express the feelings of the majority of Saints?

Two other aspects of Flanders' book make it objectionable to members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. One is the criticism of Brigham Young and the Mormon Church

in Utah. The second is the accusation that Joseph Smith was an imposter—a false prophet. Examples of the first are as follows: (1) Brigham Young and his "assumption" of control over the Church (p. 123). (2) The Nauvoo Temple being "unfinished" (He says it was unfinished like the "city" and "kingdom," which might be a good indication of how it *was* finished.) (3) The tithing practice of the Reorganization being the proper method (p. 207). (4) The age-old accusation that Masonry provided the basis for the Nauvoo Temple endowment ceremony. (5) Although the author courageously admits the practice of polygamy in the Nauvoo period, he is careful to point out that this came not by revelation, but as a "simple logical step." (6) He criticizes Brigham Young for not following Lyman Wight to Texas as he claims Joseph had planned. In this, Flanders seems to misunderstand the workings of latter-day prophets—the receiving of revelation "today" to guide the people. (7) He contends that Joseph Smith III was designated by his father to succeed him as the president of the Church.

Finally, the most serious objection of the book from a "Utah Mormon" point of view is the denial of the Prophet Joseph Smith as a living prophet of God. The view of the author is not unlike that of most "modern historians": That Joseph Smith was a product of the times; a creature of the society; a temporal planner, promoter, architect, entrepreneur, executive, filabusterer and politician. This view would quite naturally preclude any notion that Joseph Smith could have received revelations from a Supreme Being, and therefore was an imposter. Flanders accuses Joseph Smith of being an exaggerator (p. 132), a liar (p. 275), a compromiser (p. 120), and a false prophet (pp. 102-103). He says that his motives were questionable (p. 163); that he was not opposed to the Danite movement in Missouri; and that the revelations he received were of his own making. To the reviewer, all these accusations are false, and the last accusation is the most serious. He denies the revelation on plural marriage (p. 267). Although he gave Joseph credit for having had a vision of the Nauvoo Temple, he still says that the conception of the building was his own. The author claims that the integral part of the gathering of the Saints to Zion was for the purpose of speculation rather than to fulfill prophecy and revelation (p. 46); and that the Lord did not give the Saints foreknowledge of the Saints' move to the West

(p. 289). (See Andrus, Hyrum L. "Joseph Smith and the West," *B.Y.U. Studies,* Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 129-147.)

The criticisms of the Prophet Joseph Smith are not based on an examination of all sources available. The author seems to try to place "doubt" in the mind of the reader concerning Joseph Smith and revelation. An example of this may be found in a footnote on page five. The author would place doubt in the mind of the reader when he says Matthew L. Davis was not a member of Congress as Joseph Smith had said he was—intimating that Joseph did not tell the truth. This doubt towards Joseph's character could have been dispelled had Flanders noted that Matthew L. Davis was a political correspondent in Washington at that time. It was not a serious mistake for Joseph to assume that Davis was a politician rather than a correspondent. Although Joseph made an error in identity, the man did exist who apparently wrote the article Joseph was quoting.

Yes, Joseph Smith was human. He made mistakes, and was the first to admit it. But why emphasize his errors unless the errors are significant?

In spite of these weaknesses, much valuable historical information has been collected and well written by Professor Flanders. This is a book that amateur and professional historians should read if they are interested in an economic, social and political treatise on the life of Joseph Smith and the Mormons in their kingdom on the Mississippi.

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WALTER M. ABBOTT, S. J. General Editor, and VERY REV. MSGR. JOSEPH GALLAGHER, Translation Editor. *The Documents of Vatican II.* New York: America Press-Association Press, 1966. 792 pp.

Many of the outstanding works of both Catholic and Protestant conciliar scholarship, especially those produced on the continent in languages other than English, are almost unknown here in the United States. This publication has compensated in part for that deficiency. The whole work is a witness of the reasonable reliability of the conciliar operation as it was carried out under modern conditions in Vatican II.

Although editor Abbott deserves proper recognition, the real credit should go to the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph Gallagher for an outstanding translation job. The technical terms of any ecclesiastical Latin document present a formidable challenge to the best language scholars, and Father Gallagher has not been found wanting.

It would not be easy for the general editor to get into academic trouble with the redaction of the documents themselves. They simply are all there, relieving the reader of any concern about control of information through selectivity. It is with respect to the choosing and editing of those who wrote the introductory portions preceding each document and the respective follow-up response in each instance that there is justification for criticism.

Not every author of the given response offers genuine and objective critical evaluation of the document under consideration. This might be anticipated in light of the fact that eight respondents were hand-picked from among the non-Catholic official observers at the Council and must have sensed, at least indirectly, a degree of responsibility for the outcome, some having functioned in an advisory capacity to the several draft committees in spite of their non-Catholic identification with the Council.

Several of the writers of introductory materials from an inner-cameral vantage point have witnessed the evolution of certain documents from the first draft through to the accepted and promulgated finished product. Knowing the painful process of polishing which took place, they feel proud and satisfied with what emerged in comparison with what was first

offered. This is vividly described in the words of Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta:

> Every document of the Council picked its way through the rocky fields of preparation and debate (with a crossfire of criticism, amendments, rejection or qualified approval) to the final conciliar approval and promulgation.

In some instances the respondent, showing forth his general enthusiasm for the spirit of *Aggiornamento* so apparent in much of the work of the Council, has read greater ecumenicity into the text of a given document than a more careful scrutiny will justify. Moreover, the occasional appearance of a statement or portion of a document which reflects a reversion back to Catholicism's traditional position brings forth a show of disappointment from the Protestant respondent as though such were not to be expected, and the resulting mild hand-slapping has an amusing, naughty, naughty tone.

In spite of any weaknesses, the whole work is generally commendable and as in the case of the Council itself, might well cause one to wonder if the dialogue which it reflects is really true. On the other hand, there remains always the tragic possibility that much of this may suffer the fate of many former Council contributions and in the words of Dr. Albert C. Outler, "promptly be interred in the vast mausoleum of ecumenical literature," and never be actually implemented in the ongoing life of the church.

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GRAHAM B. BLAINE, JR. *Youth and the Hazards of Affluence. The High School and College Years.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965. 143 pp. $4.50.

A week before publication date of this delightful book, Dr. Blaine previewed it for the Utah chapter of the Harvard Club, to the mutual pleasure of the author and the club. Now anyone with $4.50 or a library card can share the pleasure of hearing a professional person in a high place (chief of psychiatry, Harvard University Health Services) uphold the need for decency, self-control, self-restraint, postponement of some gratifications, concern for the welfare of others, and spiritual and ethical values in religion.

Brevity and a misstatement of title are the principal criticisms. Profound changes in attitudes and behavior are acknowledged, but affluence is implicated only in making the student role the way of life for most Americans between five and twenty-five (as a rite and a right, at least for white children), in making available to youth unearned material goods, in removing family-survival values as concrete, transmissible virtues, and in paradoxical reduction in communication time available between parents and children (moon-lighting fathers and working mothers).

We are inheriting the wind of a generation of progressive educators and misinterpreters of St. Sigmund, who held that a child should not be punished and that encouraging the expression of every hostile, aggressive or destructive impulse would automatically insure the development of creativity, originality, and a healthy personality.

Now we return to the ancient wisdom that the conscience is formed in the first six to eight years, by parents who have a clear sense of right and wrong, a willingness to punish, and firmness. From eight onward, conscience is further developed by example from parents or other models who set limits for themselves, who define and make known their views, who let the child learn by experience, and who reserve punishment and basic limit setting to the major issues. "There is no mechanical substitute for the rewards of parents' hugs, smiles, glows of pride, nor for the punishments felt from a frown, growl, spanking, or groan of disappointment. Human communication by voice, hand, facial expression, or loving arms is as essential for healthy child development as air and water."

Dr. Blaine views the dropout problem lightly. The majority of high school dropouts go into apprenticeships or trade schools. The college dropout is most likely to return to the same school. Dropping out may be helpful, giving the student experience with direct, simple, completable tasks and a chance to reevaluate the attractiveness of the world of the laborer.

The tragedy of underachievement often masks, from student, parent and school, an underlying adolescent rebellion, usually dismissed as poor attitude, laziness, or lack of will power. Failure to recognize the underlying rebellion usually leads to ways of handling which only aggravate it.

Changing patterns of sexual attitudes and behavior, "the new morality," tremendously concern students, parents and administrators. Ready availability of contraceptive material and information, importation of attitudes from Norway and Sweden, decline in religious interest and fear of eternal damnation, decline in prohibitive attitudes of some churches, encouragement by mass media, drive to demonstrate masculinity or femininity or popularity, and apparent approval in some professional circles, all play some role in the changing patterns. But one factor has been the cruel hoax of confusing maturity with "freedom and license." Parents and administrators have been guilty of not facing the double-talk of youth for what it is—outwardly a demand for freedom, masking a plea for help in control, in setting limits. "Parents as well as authorities in schools and colleges should not be ahead of the times in their attitudes toward sexual morality." Giving up rules has deprived many students of a protection that has been valued highly and needed badly. "College rules and expressed parental attitudes should bolster and protect both the girls and the young men who are not yet ready to adopt for themselves the standards of what appears to be a movement toward greater sexual freedom."

Recent bitter experience at Harvard with drug problems could be repeated on other campuses. Dr. Blaine suggests more firm control over the availability of narcotics, pep-pills, sedatives, psychedelic drugs, and alcohol, and recommends that youth be furnished with enough factual information that they can make valid decisions about not using drugs. The search for a change in personality, escape from feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, relief from anxiety tempt many adolescents to

experiment with drugs. "We must look to the needs of the person who is seeking answers to his personal problems in drugs and help him find these answers elsewhere."

Riotous behavior, the bane of the college administrator, seems to be getting more destructive, more vicious. Search for brutal excitement, deep contempt for law and order, and boiling rage seem to be replacing "high spirits" of earlier student riots. Riots need a cause, a trigger and a climate. Causes are a dime a dozen today. Triggers exist almost every day. The climate is the place where college authorities can concentrate their preventive efforts with firmness and reasonableness. Here, again, students send a double message, a demand for freedom and a need for control. They protest, but they want limits set. They "expect authority to react to their rebellion but to react in a strong and unflustered manner and not to cave in no matter how strong the provocation. . . . They expect their elders to be respectful, concerned, and at the same time wise and resolute."

Dr. Blaine considers religion second only to the family in healthy personality development. He decries current trends of despiritualization, intellectualization, rationalization, and the attempts to amalgamate religion and psychiatry, which should be complementary and not competitive. Adolescent rebellion against the church, profession of atheism and agnosticism are often handled by churches in ways which tend to further alienate the person most in need. Recent capitulation of certain churches to accept the "new morality" abandons youth at a time he needs a firm spiritual and ethical position.

Parental responsibility to youth converges around three areas: being good models or providing them from exemplary persons, from fiction, theater, TV; citing facts out of their own greater experience and knowledge; and providing a challenge so the youth may feel their own strength through constructive experience. The fight for grades is no longer a proper challenge for many, and for these, military service, VISTA, or the Peace Corps may present a suitable challenge. This reviewer would like to add an L.D.S. mission as the best example of meaningful challenge.

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