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Getting Ready to Begin: An Editorial*

HUGH NIBLEY**

The publication of the Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri has now begun to bear fruit. Two efforts at translation and commentary have already appeared, the one an example of pitfalls to be avoided, the other a conscientious piece of work for which the Latter-day Saints owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Dee Jay Nelson.

CONTENTS OF WHAT PAPYRUS?

The first of the two studies can be dismissed with a few words. It appeared in a local newssheet, The Salt Lake City Messenger, for March, 1968, as a clincher to what was blatantly called "The Fall of the Book of Abraham." Bearing the heading "Contents of Papyrus," the study was meant to be an eloquent denunciation of people who misrepresent ancient documents, for it was conspicuously adorned with the image of a pair of scales with the resounding quotation: "A false balance is abomination to the Lord: but a just weight is his delight." (Prov. 11:1)¹ Those apocalyptic scales, a silent rebuke to all who presume to depart a hair's breadth from the full measure of truth, invite us to put the publishers to the same rigorous tests which they have sought so zealously and so long to impose on others. Here, on page four of the Messenger, is a picture of one of the fragments of the newly acquired "LDS" or "Joseph Smith Papyri," along with an impressive-looking transliteration and what is proclaimed to be "Mr. Heward's translation of this text." One does not have to search very far to discover that it is not a translation of "this text" at all. The picture of the swallow on the fragment makes it easy to spot it at once as Chapter 86 in illustrated editions of the Book of the Dead. E. A. W. Budge long ago translated the famous papyrus of the Book of the Dead known as the Papyrus

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¹Because of the continued high interest in the Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri since they were given to the Church, we have invited Dr. Nibley to write this editorial for our readers.

**Dr. Nibley is professor of religion and history at Brigham Young University.

¹The Salt Lake City Messenger (Modern Microfilm Co.), March, 1968, p. 4.
of Ani; this work appeared in a number of editions and is available in most school and public libraries. Mr. Heward freely admits making use of Budge, but if we compare three texts, namely (1) Budge's translation of the *Papyrus of Ani*, (2) Mr. Heward's purported translation of the LDS Papyrus, and the (3) LDS Papyrus itself, it becomes at once apparent that Mr. Heward has simply followed Budge's translation of the Ani Papyrus all the way, even when it differed radically from the LDS Papyrus which he was supposed to be translating.

Thus at the very outset we read in Budge "Here begin the chapters of making transformations," and in Mr. Heward, "Here begins the spells for making transformations," while in the LDS Papyrus "Here begins . . ." is omitted, the ending of the name Khonsu in black ink being followed immediately by "A chapter . . ." in red ink and in the singular. So of course one wonders from which manuscript the "spells" in Mr. Heward's translation are taken, from the LDS Papyrus or the Ani Papyrus to which Dr. Budge had already supplied a useful translation. Again we read identical translations in Budge (line 6) and Heward: "I am like Horus, the governor of the boat," whereas the LDS Papyrus reads, "Horus is in charge of the sacred bark": in Budge's text a simple ideogram has been taken to indicate *dpt*, "boat" as well it might; but in the LDS Papyrus the name of the boat is written out—it is the sacred *Wia*-bark—and the subject of the sentence is not "I" but "Horus." In the next line Budge translates "I have advanced for the examination," and Mr. Heward gives the identical rendering for the J.S. Papyrus, though the latter says "I have come with a message"—*shm.n=j m wp(w)t*, as against *shm.n=j r sip*; they are not the same at all, and there can be no doubt which text Mr. Heward is translating and whose translation he is giving us. Again in line 11 Budge reads *kh3r=j 3stw=j* as "I have put away utterly my offenses (or sins)," and that is exactly how Mr. Heward renders the corresponding passage of the LDS Papyrus, though the text is quite different: *kh3m.n=j 3stw—"I have not known transgressions." As a final example of dozens which we could supply, Mr. Heward follows Budge almost word for word in line 10 of the Ani text: "I have purified myself. I have made myself to be like a god." This passage is entirely missing from the LDS Papyrus, though the text at this place is well preserved. It should be noted that Mr. Heward
seldom follows Budge exactly, but consistently changes the reading just a little, that is, enough to make the translation sound like his own though he never does so where a grammatical point is at issue, e.g., he never once departs from Budge’s now outmoded rendering of the verbs. To copy someone else’s paper and hand in the work as one’s own has ever been a common practice in the schools; most students have been guilty of it at times—but rarely in essays devoted to the subject of false and just balances. We recall that it was this same Mr. Heward who circulated handbills at a general conference in 1967, pointing the accusing finger at Joseph Smith and proclaiming his own total and unflinching dedication to the truth at all times and at any price. This time Mr. Heward has preached even a more eloquent sermon than he intended on the importance of a true and just measure.

A WELCOME BEGINNING

It is a different story when we come to Mr. Dee Jay Nelson’s work, the *Joseph Smith Papyri.* This is a conscientious and courageous piece of work—courageous because Brother Nelson has been willing to do what Gardiner advises all Egyptologists to do: to set up a target for others to shoot at. Aware of the delicacy of the problem, Nelson has been careful to consult top-ranking scholars where he has found himself in doubt. He has taken the first step in a serious study of the Facsimilies of the Pearl of Great Price, supplying students with a usable and reliable translation of the available papyri that once belonged to Joseph Smith. This is the sort of thing that the experts of 1912 should have undertaken but did not. But it is, we cannot too strongly insist, the FIRST step in the serious study of the Pearl of Great Price and NOT the LAST step! The philological and historical questions raised by the Book of Abraham are legion if one takes that book seriously. Of course, if one does not take it seriously there are no questions at all—and such has ever been the position of the opposition. It was in perfect confidence that Joseph Smith could not possibly have know anything whatever about Abraham in Egypt that the experts made their definitive pronouncements in 1912. But we who do take it seriously are quite within our

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rights in asking a great many questions. Any serious study of
the Book of Abraham calls for the reading of many sources, and
these can be classified in four main cultural areas:

JOSEPH SMITH LITERATURE

First there is the Joseph Smith literature. The official text
of the Pearl of Great Price is all that we are bound to accept
as scripture, but the understanding of it may be furthered by
studies of other writings of Smith related to this one. Here are
some of the questions to be dealt with: Just how, when and
where did Joseph Smith acquire the mummies and papyri?
Where are they all now? Under what circumstances did he
translate Egyptian writings? What measure of inspiration did
he claim for his translations? How extensive are his works
relating to the Pearl of Great Price? Where are they? What
did he intend to teach us by introducing the Egyptians onto
the scene? How did he distinguish between the various classes
of Egyptian text? These are the problems that have been dealt
with through the years by LDS students of the Pearl of Great
Price, but little progress has been made because the sources
have remained locked up in archives and museums. Today how-
ever, some students seem to be getting their teeth into some
solid material.

However, as we noted in a preceding issue of BYU Studies,
these questions are of a preliminary nature. The presence of
the papyri now shows beyond a doubt that Joseph Smith did
possess genuine Egyptian documents—how he got them is
interesting but is quite aside from the main issue, which is
whether his story of Abraham in Egypt is true or not. The most
exhaustive study of the printing presses on which the works of
Homer have been published would never help us in the least
in solving the Homeric question, and if we knew every detail of
the modern vicissitudes of the documents of the Pearl of Great
Price we would be none the wiser as to its historical reliability.

THE EGYPTIAN SOURCES

These must be studied in order to place the LDS Papyri
in their proper historical setting and perspective. Are the LDS

3Hugh Nibley. "Prolegomena to Any Study of the Book of Abraham," BYU
materials typical? Typical what? What is the nature of Egyptian funerary literature in general? What known papyri are most closely related to these? What are the dates of the various fragments? How much is known about Egyptian cryptograms? It has long been known that the characters "interpreted" by Joseph Smith in his *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* are treated by him as super-cryptograms; and now it is apparent that the source of those characters is the unillustrated fragment on which the word *Sen-sen* appears repeatedly. This identifies it as possibly belonging to those writings known as *The Book of Breathings*, though that in turn is merely "compilations and excerpts from older funerary spells and burial formulas." This particular excerpt, if it is such, has still not been located among known versions of the mysterious book. Though our text is a short one and clearly written, Mr. Nelson, who certainly intends to supply the best translation available, must beg off for the moment: "I do not attempt a continuous translation at this time." Instead he is satisfied "to indicate particularly lucid phrases and passages." The following complete quotation of these "particularly lucid" items will show what he is up against:

"... the summer comes, Khensu (Moon God) ..." This might also be translated, "... the summer. Khensu comes ..."... the name of one of the parents of Ter. ..."... flesh ... ?? ... near his heart therein ..."... the name of the Book of Breathings. The word book (literally "writings") is spelled in an acceptable but unexpected way. ..."she is like the king and also like the God Ra." ... the word sensen, "breathings. ..." "Hail Osiris Ter, who is true of word, daughter (or son) of ..."."

And that is the story—still a lock without a key. The most likely key is the Osiris story; yet, as J. Cerny observes, "no systematic exposition of the myth is known from Egyptian sources ..."—and that in thousands of papyri that talk about little else! What, the student of the Book of Abraham would like to know, is the relation between a royal funeral and a coronation? What have both to do with the sacrificial victim? For that matter, what is Egyptian religion ali about? The

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answers to such questions have taken a new and interesting
turn in our day, and they are far less positive and dogmatic
than they were only a few years ago.

THE JEWISH SOURCES

We must never forget that the Pearl of Great Price is
supposed to be telling its story through the mouths of ancient
Hebrew patriarchs. There is a rich and for the most part but
recently published literature of Abrahamic legends and traditi-
ons in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, etc., which
contains very old stories astonishingly like the Abraham history
in the Book of Abraham, even to small details. This raises many
questions: How old are these stories? Where do they come
from? How are they related? Could they possibly have anything
to do with the real Abraham? It is only in our own generation
that scholars have agreed to answer in the affirmative the ques-
tion, whether there ever was a real Abraham. Could Joseph
Smith have had access to any of these accounts? To which ones?
Through which channels? It is significant that Joseph Smith’s
learned critics with the exception of Budge seem completely
unaware of the existence of the Abraham traditions. How do
these traditions relate Abraham to Egypt? How do they relate
Pharoah to other lands, especially Canaan? Here are things that
bear looking into.

THE CLASSICAL SOURCES

The Book of Abraham attributes certain rites and customs
to the Egyptians to which the Classical writers, especially the
Greeks, furnish an important commentary. They tell of strange
doings in Egypt that clearly match those in the Abraham story
and raise such questions as Who was the Pharoah with whom
Abraham had his run-in? How is he related to other Pharoahs
of whom like stories are told? Was he a native Egyptian? How
did he get to be king? Why was he worried about his priest-
hood? How, when, and where were rites of human sacrifice
introduced into Egypt? Who were some of the sacrificial
victims? Why were strangers allowed to sit on Pharoah’s
throne? How are ritual, myth, and history connected in these
stories? How are they connected in the Book of Abraham?
What is the significance of the recurring cycles of these stories?
At what periods are they to be dated?
THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

We have often been asked during the past months why we did not proceed with all haste to produce a translation of the papyri the moment they came into our possession. Well, for one thing others are far better equipped to do the job than we are, and some of those others early expressed a willingness to undertake it. But, more important, it is doubtful whether any translation could do as much good as harm. Recently Professor R. Anthes, commenting on A. Piankoff’s excellent translations of the funerary literature from the tomb of Tutankhamen, wrote: “I may say frankly that I wonder what a reader not very well acquainted with Egyptian religion may possibly get out of the study of these texts and pictures. He may find in them scattered ideas which appeal to him in one way or another, but he will hardly know if his interpretations harmonize with what the Egyptians actually thought.” The layman is not alone in his perplexity, however, for Anthes goes on to note that a “certain helplessness in the face of these mythological records is unavoidable to both laymen and Egyptologists.”

A translation, according to Willamowitz’s classic definition, is “a statement in the translator’s own words of what he thinks the author had in mind.” But who today really knows what the Egyptians who wrote the Book of the Dead had in mind, when even T. G. Allen, supreme in the field, notes that most of the funerary texts we possess were written by Egyptians who did not understand the original sense of the texts? Nay, it “may be that even in their original state,” according to Allen, “the sanctity of the spells proper was furthered by intentional obscurities.” Which pretty well puts them beyond our reach indefinitely. “The words we use to render Egyptian terms,” wrote the great Maspero, “make us commit many involuntary errors . . . and we always end up by missing the point and falling back on our own contemporary ideas. . . .” It often happens, Ed Naville observed, “that a sentence that is easily understood philologically, whose vocabulary and grammar present not the slightest difficulty, nonetheless presents a strange and even burlesque appearance; we have understood

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the form, but have not yet penetrated to the idea that lies hidden behind it."\textsuperscript{10} Hermann Kees describes all the funerary literature as "entirely disorganized collections of unrelated sayings," and notes that the Egyptians of the New Kingdom who filled papyri with ancient formulae had not the remotest idea of what those formulae were about.\textsuperscript{11}

Naturally modern scholars were early led to the conclusion that the very ancient literature of the Egyptians, and especially the funerary literature, was necessarily a lot of primitive mumbo-jumbo; but today they are not so sure. It was because scholars had "no knowledge of its inner relationships and no deeper insight into its religious content" that they were long unable even to make a beginning of the serious study of the Book of the Dead. According to W. Czermak: "The scholars had absolutely no concept of the spiritual setting (\textit{Landschaft}) of the book."\textsuperscript{12} But how are we to know whether Professor Czermak himself understands the Egyptians? In seeking for clues to Egyptian texts, Gardiner reminds us, the "most valuable of all, especially in historical texts and stories, is the logic of the situation."\textsuperscript{13} We are forced back on this because the writings are not self-explanatory. But the logic of the situation completely fails us in those funerary texts in which, as A. Shorter puts it, "one gathers the impression that the compilers . . . included anything religious suitable for recitation as a spell regardless of its contents."\textsuperscript{14} In this literature we have, to follow Kess, "nothing but the shattered remnants of a lost age once vividly alive."\textsuperscript{15} And in trying to put together the pieces the greater our ignorance the more readily we are guided by our preconceptions.

Mr. Dee Jay Nelson is quite right when he tells us (p. 6) that "to project those thought processes as expressed in written hieratic and hieroglyphic writings into literal English would present a bewildering phraseological maze which would have meaning only to a skilled Egyptian philologist." But what would they mean to him? Many years ago this writer learned that if he could not make a thing clear to a five-year-old child

\textsuperscript{10}Ed Naville, \textit{Das aegyptische Totenbuch} (Berlin, 1886), pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{11}H. Kees, \textit{Totenglauben . . . der alten Aegypter} (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 14f.
\textsuperscript{14}A. Shorter, \textit{The Egyptian Gods} (London, 1937), p. 64.
\textsuperscript{15}Kees, \textit{Totenglauben}, p. 451.
it was because he did not really understand it himself. Professional jargon and phraseological mazes are the scholar's refuge from the importunities and the too-searching questions of the layman, but they do have their purposes—they warn the idle onlooker to keep a respectful distance while the research is still going on, and they are a constant reminder to the professional himself that he has not yet got the answers that will make it possible to state the case in clear and simple terms. Professor Kees notes that even T. G. Allen's translation of the Book of the Dead can be a stumbling-block to the reader who wants to know "how far the original content of the ancient utterances remained a living thing and hence can be taken as evidence for the belief in the hereafter in the time of decadence."  

In his dealing with funerary texts, the student's best friend, formulaic repetition, can become his worst enemy. For he hails every oft-recurring phrase as an old and familiar friend and thereby gets the completely misleading idea that he understands it. The very commonest words and formulae, those which the student happily races through, are the very ones on which the experts have been least able to agree through the years. We have missed the meaning of these terms, Naville suggested, "because we always analyze an expression by breaking it up into component parts which we then translate literally, and so are led astray. Analysis can be destructive." Actually our translations are not translations at all, but simply a business of exchanging one set of symbols for another. And until we know the meaning of the original symbols, it is hardly likely that our transcribing of them into a laborious technical jargon is going to reveal their meaning.

We will never know by exactly what process Joseph Smith produced the Book of Mormon or the Pearl of Great Price. The scholars who commented on the Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham in 1912 agreed and insisted that they were not indulging in a study of revelation, that such a study was beyond their competence, they having been consulted purely in their capacity of linguist and scientist. One is free to criticize the product of a purported revelation, and even to make inferences as to the authenticity of inspiration in the light of what

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16 H. Kees, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1961, Nr. 9/10, p. 482.
it gives us; **but one may not reverse the process**, as all the critics of Joseph Smith have done. "Look," they say, "here is this Joe Smith sitting behind a blanket and dictating to a half-educated Oliver Cowdery—can a sound or rational book possibly be composed in such a fashion?" And therewith the problem of the Book of Mormon is considered settled, without anyone's having to take the pains to read the book for himself to see whether or not it is sound and rational. What concerns the critic of a painting is the final product, not the preliminary sketches; yet today certain parties are saying, "Look, here are the author's notes to the Book of Abraham! Can the writer of those notes possibly have known anything about Abraham in Egypt?" Again the answer is to be found not in psychological imponderables but in the pages of the Book of Abraham.

In the Pearl of Great Price Joseph Smith opened the door to the study of other worlds. He was not permitted to follow up the studies he initiated, but he invited and urged others to do so. Of the four lines of investigation mentioned above, only one is the monopoly of the Egyptologist, and that is not necessarily the most important one. To date the cosmological teachings of the Book of Abraham have had far greater influence than its antiquarian oddities, and those teachings command greater respect at the present time than ever before.\(^3\) Who can say, then, what surprises await the student who at last undertakes a serious historical study of the book? It would now seem that the Latter-day Saints are being pushed by force of circumstances through the door they have so long been reluctant to enter. And to Mr. Dee Jay Nelson goes the credit of being the first to **make the plunge**.

\(^3\)Walter Sullivan, *We Are Not Alone* (New York: Signet Books, 1966), p. 280; in the conclusion of his book that won the International Non-fiction Prize for 1965, Mr. Sullivan, the science-editor for the *New York Times*, includes a lengthy quotation from the Pearl of Great Price, not, of course, to prove that there is life on other worlds, but to show that the Mormons have long been teaching what scientists are now coming around to.
Worlds Without Number: The Astronomy of Enoch, Abraham, and Moses*

R. Grant Athay**

THE UNIVERSE BEHELD BY ANCIENT PROPHETS

"Now for this cause I know that man is nothing, which thing I never had supposed."\(^1\) So lamented Moses in utter humility after seeing in vision the complexities of the planet Earth and her countless inhabitants. Shortly thereafter Moses was to see once again the earth and her inhabitants "... and there was not a particle of which he did not behold ... and there was not a soul which he beheld not. ..."\(^2\) Surely this venerable old prophet must have been filled with awe and wonder. Imagine, however, his profound astonishment when, in answer to his plea for an explanation, the Lord revealed himself to Moses and told him of even more wondrous creations. "And worlds without number have I created. ... For behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power. And there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they unto man. ..."\(^3\)

These startling revelations of other worlds and their inhabitants, of their birth and eventual death were too intriguing for Moses to pass by. The Lord had just warned Moses that he intended to speak of this earth only, but he yielded to Moses' plea to know of the heavens also by declaring, "... The heavens they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man; but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither

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*Based in part upon talks given by the author at LDS Institutes of Religion at University of Colorado and University of Utah.

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1Moses 1:10.
3Ibid., 1:33-35.
to my words." Thus, Moses learned that the heavens he beheld, mostly the stars of our own galaxy, would, like the earth, pass away also. Other heavens and earths had already expired. New heavens, star systems with inhabitable planets, would be born in the distant future. The world and the universe are in evolution, ever changing. Birth, life, and death are known to the stars as well as to man. Moses would surely have felt even more insignificant had not the Lord reassured him with his presence and the counsel that "all things are numbered unto me."

Moses was not the first to behold at least a part of the workings of the universe. While conversing with the Lord, centuries earlier, Enoch had stated, "And were it possible that man could number the particles of the earth, yea, millions of earths like this, it would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations; and thy curtains are stretched out still. . . ."  

Abraham taught astronomy to the Egyptians, much of which was revealed through the Urim and Thummim. What is evidently a small portion of Abraham's teachings is recorded in the Pearl of Great Price. Evidence indicates, however, that some of Joseph Smith's translations from the rolls of papyrus containing the book of Abraham were not published, presumably because they were not directly relevant to the gospel of Jesus Christ. A most remarkable bit of information comes from other early church literature which quotes from a letter written by W. W. Phelps to William Smith, the Prophet's brother: "... and that eternity, agreeably to the records found in the catacombs of Egypt, has been going on in this system (not the world) almost 2,555 millions of years: and to know at the same time that deists, geologists and others are trying to prove that matter must have existed hundreds of thousands of years: —it almost tempts the flesh to fly to God, or muster faith like Enoch to be translated and see and know as we are seen and known!"  

The meaning of the parentheses setting off the words (not this world) is not clear; nor is it clear who added them, Brother Phelps, Joseph Smith or Abraham. In any event, it is

1Ibid., 1:37-38.
2Ibid., 7:30.
clear that Abraham's universe was billions of years old. By implication the stars he beheld were not created 6,000 years ago, nor 10,000, but during the preceding two and a half billion years.

Abraham further taught that stars rotate on their axes and revolve in space about other stars according to "set periods" of time, that star and planetary systems had central governing planets or stars, that the star Kolob is nearest the celestial residence, and that it governs the planet Earth. Kolob is said also to be the source of the sun's energy, although it is not clear whether Abraham taught this or whether it was an Egyptian belief.

Much of what is recorded in the Book of Abraham pertaining to astronomy is difficult to place in modern perspective. The words star and planet are used interchangeably for the same object, but they denote vastly different objects in modern usage. Also, the term "set time" is confusing. The set time of the earth is said to be less than that of the moon, whereas that of the sun is said to be longer than that of the moon. These set times cannot all refer to the same phenomena. The moon, for example, rotates somewhat more slowly about its axis than does the sun.

The most natural "set time" of the earth is one day, its period of rotation. The natural "set time" of the moon is the lunar month from full moon to full moon, and the natural "set time" of the sun is one year during which it completes its southward excursion. I suspect that these are the set times referred to by Abraham; yet each refers to a different property of motion. One can only speculate about what the "set time" of Kolob means.

In spite of the apparent ambiguity of words, it is clear that Abraham understood much about stellar motions, about star systems and attractions between stars and planets. He understood that stars require unusual and unknown energy sources. Exactly how much he understood is not clear. Clearly, however, he understood enough that it could have been learned only by revelation.

The concepts of worlds without number, of their birth and death, of the birth, evolution, and death of stars with lifetimes

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of a few billion years, of stellar rotation and stellar systems are each familiar to the modern astronomer. This modern knowledge has been slow to come, however, and it has been arrived at only after long, tedious research. Scarcely fifty years ago little was known of such matters, or even suspected, by astronomers. A little more than a century ago, when the Pearl of Great Price was published, these concepts would have been regarded as little more than idle, fanciful speculation. It is remarkable, therefore, that they were known by the prophets of old.

Before commenting further on the relationship of modern ideas to the preceding topics, it is of interest to digress somewhat to explore what may have been known of astronomy by contemporaries of Abraham and Moses. Was revelation the only source of such information? Were the general populace ignorant of astronomy, or were they, too, inquiring and thinking about the universe? Were they beginning to understand some of its mysteries? Much of what I will relate is mere speculation. However, there are important clues that suggest biblical man knew much more about the goings on in the heavens than we might suppose. Indeed, it is likely that a common shepherd boy of Abraham's day knew more astronomy, in many respects, that the average man of today's advanced technological world.

PASTORAL ASTRONOMY

The history of civilization is filled with folklore of the moon, sun, and stars. The farmer is alerted for frost when the moon is full. He plants by the moon and harvests by the Harvest Moon. A month later he harvests game by the Hunter's Moon under the constellation of Orion the Hunter. In the spring we celebrate Easter on a date set in accordance with the full moon following the spring equinox, a practice stemming from ancient tradition identifying the spring moon with the rejuvenation of earth life following the winter's death-like sleep. These and other traditions have carried over into our day.

We associate summer and winter with the annual excursion of the sun. We are vaguely aware that the moon is periodically full then absent from the night. The stars somehow look different in the winter than in the summer. Aside from these
vague associations, however, most of us are oblivious to the regular calendar-like changes of the moon and stars.

How many of our readers have noticed, for example, that the full moon is high in the northern sky during winter and low in the southern sky during summer, just out of phase with the sun? Or, having noted this, how many have also noted that for nine or ten successive years the full moon in the dead of winter moves progressively further north, then for the next nine or ten years swings back to the south, repeating the cycle in approximately 18.6 years?

Chances are that few if any of our readers have noticed these curious, but regular wanderings of the moon. Suppose, however, that you were a shepherd or a farmer living in Abraham's day anxiously watching the deadened pasture of winter or a dwindling food supply. You have no calendar on the wall to keep track of the passage of weeks and months. But you do have a moon whose phases mark off the months and whose position on the horizon at full moon marks off the seasons as well. This, then, is your calendar, reliable, mysterious, and carefully watched.

At rather frequent intervals, as our ancient pastoral ancestors ritually mark off the position of the full moon, an alarming event takes place. The full moon is slowly eaten away by an ominous, invisible *something*. Soon, however, the moon gradually reappears unharmed. The shepherd boy soon notices that this happens only when the moon is full. He hears stories from neighboring villages and travellers that sometimes the sun is similarly eaten away. Perhaps once during his life he sees this awesome, terrifying event. He is profoundly moved by its gravity and its beauty. What if the sun didn't reappear? Surely his life would end. What if some powerful god were doing this to demand a sacrifice?

One of this shepherd boy's friends noted, sometime after the sun had been eclipsed, that it happened at new moon. He learns from others who have experienced or heard of an eclipse of the sun that it too happened at new moon. He now knows two very important facts: the moon is eclipsed at full moon and the sun is eclipsed at new moon.

Sooner or later our ancient shepherd friends decide to appoint an official family moon and sun watcher. Markers are set up to use as reference directions and our official observer
begins to chart the daily locations of the sun and moon among the constellations. After a year or two of drawing crude charts, he notices that the paths traced through the stars by the sun and moon apparently cross each other twice each month. The dates and locations of this intersection arouse his curiosity. They bear watching, and perhaps his charts should be a little more accurate.

As he improves his charts and watches the points of intersection, which we call "nodes," he realizes that these points themselves are moving through the stars. Where are they going? Why? His charts are now accurate enough that he knows within a day or two when the crossing will occur. At each crossing he ponders its meaning and its curious motion. The crossing he anticipates tomorrow night must surely be an unusual one. On that very night the moon will be full. His heightened curiosity is amply justified as he watches the full moon on this special night gradually eaten away by an eclipse. This is an event he will not forget. Will it repeat? What powerful God controls these mysterious nodes? Was the eclipse a warning, a demand for a sacrifice, or what?

Patiently, year after year, our make-believe astronomer keeps his private account of the nodes and their motion. He has now seen several eclipses of the moon, each occurring when the time of the full moon coincided with the crossing of the node. The nodes continue to move slowly on a regular path. Their destination, he knows not.

The astronomer’s son takes over his father’s job. As an apprentice, he learned all that his father knew. He too is intrigued by the mysterious nodes. The pattern of their motion is soon clear. The nodes move along the same circle through the zodiacal constellations as the sun. They require a little less than nineteen years to complete the circuit as opposed to one year for the sun. This precession of the nodes, he discovers, takes the same time as the swinging of the winter full moon northward and southward on the horizon, both just under nineteen years. He correctly concludes that there must be a connection between the motion of the nodes and the wanderings of the moon on the horizon. (This connection is rather obvious, as our readers will realize after a little thought. Both features of the moon’s motion result from a slight inclination of the
moon's apparent orbital plane about the earth to the earth's orbital plane about the sun.)

Then one day when our astronomer's charts indicate that the moon is near the node, the remarkable and extraordinary happens. The sun is eclipsed. But what was special about this node? Nothing very unusual, except that it happened at new moon. But new moon had been at the node many times before without an eclipse. As an old man, he ponders the eclipse of the sun, wondering why it had happened only once. From a traveler, he learns of another eclipse of the sun. The reports are too inaccurate, however, and he cannot tell whether it happened on a day when the moon was both new and at the node.

The next few generations of astronomers finally establish that it is true. Eclipses of both the sun and moon occur at the nodes. The nodes obviously exercise a mysterious control over the sun and moon.

Eclipses of the sun are actually more frequent than eclipses of the moon. However, the fact that a given eclipse of the sun is visible from only a small area of the earth, whereas a lunar eclipse is visible from more than half the earth, gives the impression that solar eclipses are extremely rare and that lunar eclipses are common. Partial solar eclipses happen at a given location about once each hundred years, and total eclipses repeat on the average of only every thousand years. Some thirteen total eclipses of the sun will cross portions of the United States during the current century. However, seven of these, by chance, pass close to the New England area and an observer there may conclude that eclipses are really quite frequent.

The circumstances of a given eclipse are repeated rather closely each 18.6-year cycle of the nodes. Many early civilizations discovered this cycle. A rather serious fault with this particular cycle is that the eclipse repeats one-third of a day off schedule. During this time the earth rotates eight hours to the east and the eclipse occurs in a different location from the preceding one. In three such cycles the original eclipse repeats very close to the original location. This cycle requiring approximately 55.8 years to complete was evidently known by some early groups also. It could have been discovered only by several generations of carefully preserved astronomical records.
A more thoughtful astronomer than the average undoubtedly began to think about the strange regularity of the sun and moon and the nodes. Each appears to move in a circle, all completing their cycles in different times. The moon has two cycles, one a month long and one nineteen years long. The sun has only one cycle, one year long. Similarly, the nodes have a nineteen-year cycle and a longer cycle of fifty-six years. Eclipses of the moon occur when the full moon crosses the nodes and eclipses of the sun when the new moon crosses the nodes—when the circles intersect. But if this is true, our thoughtful astronomer would realize that he could predict when the next eclipse would most likely happen. Eclipses of the sun at any one location are rare indeed, but eclipses of the moon are relatively frequent. He knows that every crossing of the node by the full moon does not produce a lunar eclipse. Still, it's worth a chance. He predicts an eclipse at the next crossing. It happens, and he is now a man of great power. He holds control over eclipses and, in consequence, over his neighbors.

And so it goes; little by little new factors are recognized and eclipse predictions become more and more accurate. All of this has taken hundreds of years to establish and perfect. Undoubtedly many false starts occurred. Wrong clues followed brought disappointments and superstition and mysticism held back progress.

One may imagine that the painstaking record keeping required was too much to expect of early stone-age civilizations. Ancient Chinese records clearly show, however, that in Abraham's era the Chinese were attempting to predict eclipses of the sun.

The great Stonehenge monument in England, built and rebuilt over a period of about 300 years in Moses' era is now believed by many astronomers to be a giant observatory designed to foretell eclipses. Through its carefully placed giant stone arches and lesser stone pillars, it is possible to predict accurately all eclipses of the sun and moon no matter where they occur on the earth. The original builders of this amazing bronze-age observatory whose construction rivaled in difficulty the great pyramids of Egypt are unknown. At least one legend has them migrating from the Mediterranean peoples.

Biblical man was forced to have an interest in astronomy and was far better informed than we are prone to believe. The giant stone eclipse computer built at Stonehenge, however, requires knowledge that is only elementary to that held by Enoch, Abraham and Moses. Those prophets were truly giants of their day, of any day.

LIFE ON OTHER WORLDS

Current concepts of the birth, evolution, and death of stars and star systems have been discussed eloquently in an earlier issue of BYU Studies by D. H. McNamara. The picture presented there is in essential harmony with the scriptural picture of a universe in evolution and will not be repeated here. Our own sun is identified by its chemical composition as a second-generation star formed from the debris of earlier stars. It is a common star of a populous class. It appears to be in no way unique. Why, then, should the earth be unique?

Our Milky Way galaxy contains several billion stars much like our sun. Most of these stars may not have a planet similar to that of earth, but millions undoubtedly do. Since science has no way, at present, of knowing exactly what fraction of the stars have planets, we must rely upon intelligent guesses.

In order for a planet to sustain life there are certain conditions which must be met. Consider some of the more obvious ones. The planet must be at such a distance from its star that water remains liquid most of the time. If the planet is too far away, the water will freeze; if it is too close the water will evaporate. Thus, the planet must have a nearly circular orbit at a proper distance from its star. The gravity at the surface of the planet must not be too large or too small. If it is too large, land masses will not rise above the oceans. Even if they did, animals would not be able to move about erect. If the gravity is too small, the atmosphere will escape into space. The planet we seek must therefore be approximately the size of the earth.

A substantial portion of a life-sustaining planet must be alternately exposed to sunlight and darkness at a reasonable rate; otherwise, the dark side will be unbearably cold. The atmosphere would cool into liquid form and drain off the

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atmosphere from the hot, exposed side. This means that the planet must have its axis of rotation nearly at right angles to the plane of its orbit. Furthermore, it must rotate at such a rate that the days and nights are of reasonable length.

In other words, for a planet to sustain life similar to that found on earth, it must be similar to the earth in several essential respects. In all, about nine such requirements can be identified. Each requirement decreases the chance of finding such a planet, and nine is a rather large number. Suppose, for example, that the probability of fulfilling any one of these requirements is one in ten; that is, for each star with planets the chance of finding a planet at the proper distance is 1/10, etc. The chance of finding a star with a planet having all nine of the required characteristics would be \((1/10)^9\), or one chance in a billion. Only one star of each billion would have such a planet and only a few would be found in our galaxy.

On the other hand, suppose that each of the requirements imposed on the planet we seek has a probability of occurrence of 1/2. Then one out of each 500 stars will have such a planet, and millions would be found in our galaxy.

At least one of the sun's neighboring stars is known to have planets. The light from the star dims slightly at regular periods and the star periodically wobbles back and forth in the sky. Both effects are produced by a large planet orbiting the star. This planet partially obscures the star as it passes between the earth and its gravitational pull causes the star to move in a small orbit of its own. This single case of two neighboring stars with known planets is clear indication that planets are common companions of stars rather than rare ones.

The remaining requirements for a life-sustaining planet are each believed to occur with a relatively high probability. Our best available evidence indicates that our single galaxy has millions of planets similar to earth. Countless other galaxies exist and, with them, countless other worlds.

In all essential respects, save perhaps one which we discuss in the following section, modern astronomy agrees with the astronomy of the ancient prophets. Those parts of the Book of Abraham that discuss set periods of time for the sun, moon, and planets do not invoke a strong interest from astronomers. Similarly, the control supposedly exerted by Kolob over the
earth and the sun is not stated explicitly enough to have physical meaning.

BORROWED SUNLIGHT

The legend accompanying Facsimile No. 1 in the Book of Abraham states that the sun borrows its energy from Kolob. As an astronomer, I do not understand what meaning this might have. The sun generates its own energy from nuclear fusion deep in its interior.\(^{10}\) The processes are known and understood. The sun has no apparent need to borrow energy from another star, and science knows of no process by which such energy can be borrowed.

The sun does, however, owe its origin and its nuclear fuel to an earlier generation of stars, to a mother cloud of stellar matter. Perhaps this is what is meant by the Egyptians. It seems more likely, however, that they simply had no basis for understanding nuclear energy and therefore could not describe it.

There is much going on in the universe that is spectacular and challenging to the imagination but cannot be seen with normal eyes. We have discovered these phenomena with huge radio telescopes and with X-ray telescopes flown in satellites. Enoch, Abraham, and Moses talked mostly of things they could see or could visualize. If the more mysterious, "invisible" objects in our universe were revealed to them, they wisely elected to remain silent and avoid meaningless descriptions.

THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE OF MODERN ASTRONOMY

Human eyes are sensitive to just certain colors of light. We see red, yellow, green, and blue with ease, but deep red colors at one end of the spectrum and violet colors at the other end are seen only with difficulty. Obviously by design rather than chance, our eyes are tuned to the colors of the spectrum radiated most intensely by the sun. The earth's atmosphere is "tuned" to transmit most easily just these colors also. Because we see essentially all physical objects around us, in our earthly environment, we are prone to believe that we, in fact, see all that exists. The astronomer is aware, however, that there may be many objects in the universe whose radiations are either too far to the red or too far to the violet to be detected by normal

\(^{10}\)Ibid., p. 15.
optical means. In the past, he has been forced by circumstances merely to speculate about what might exist in the unseen realm of the heavens. Now, however, our "eyes" have been opened to the rest of the spectrum by modern technology.

The spectacular growth in the field of electronics since the 1940's has opened up the radio end of the spectrum, and huge antennas have since searched the sky for sources of radio signals. Hundreds of new objects have been and are now being discovered. Some appear to be well-behaved, rather ordinary members of the universe. Others are fantastic objects surpassing the most fanciful dreams of the science fiction writers.

Rockets and satellites have, in just the last decade, opened our "eyes" to the ultraviolet, X-ray and γ-ray universe. As a result, still another spectacular new universe is unfolding to us. Normal stars and galaxies combine to form a universe of such incomprehensible dimension and of such complex phenomena that we scarcely need more to challenge our imagination. Nevertheless, the challenges are coming hard and fast. What are these new X-ray and radio stars? These are not simple nuclear furnaces, such as the sun; they are as different from the sun as the sun is from the earth. It is not possible to discuss all of the properties of these newly discovered members of our universe in a brief article. Instead we shall choose one of the more bizarre classes of members and discuss a few of their more unusual properties.

Quasars, an abbreviated name for quasi-stellar radio sources, present one of the most exciting challenges in all scientific experience. They have so far defied understanding. Yet they may possibly abound in the universe. Their discovery was made in 1960 when some of the peculiar radio sources were finally matched with faint star-like objects in the night sky. Subsequent analysis of their radiation has yielded an array of startling conclusions. These quasars are true giants of the universe seemingly bent on self-destruction.

The spectrum of the light emitted by quasars is shifted far to the red.\footnote{A given atom, when it is at rest, emits and absorbs radiation at a number of fixed frequencies or colors in the spectrum. These sets of colors are different for each atom and provide the spectroscopist with a set of "fingerprints" by which the atom can be readily identified. The familiar yellow light of a candle, for example, is produced by sodium atoms which are particularly good emitters} Features that occur in the inaccessible ultraviolet
region of the spectrum for normal stars and galaxies are shifted into the visual range for quasars. The photons of light have somehow lost much of their energy (as much as two-thirds). We are familiar with the concept of an expanding universe which produces an analogous, but smaller, red shift in the spectral features of distant galaxies. It is tempting, therefore, to explain the red-shift of quasars in the same manner. If that explanation is accurate, then quasars are the most distant members of our universe. The recessional velocities of quasars are amazingly high, up to one-third the velocity of light for the most distant. Light from the most distant quasar discovered thus far has been traveling for more than 2.5 billion years in its journey to the earth. By studying its light we are thus looking back in history to a much earlier epoch in our universe.

If quasars are indeed so distant from us, almost insuperable problems immediately are raised. For some quasars, the light emitted varies in intensity in a periodic way. This enables the astronomer to place a limit on the size of the source producing the light. The period required for a completed cycle of variation in intensity is short, only a few days, for some quasars. Consequently, the quasar itself must be only a few light-days in size, not many times larger than our solar system.

On the other hand, to be seen at all from such a distance, quasars must radiate enormous amounts of energy. Our sun is a fairly average star and our galaxy of approximately 100 billion stars is fairly average also. A single quasar may radiate as much energy as 10,000 galaxies of the brightness of ours, more than is radiated by a hundred million-million suns. It is difficult to imagine processes capable of producing such energy in a relatively small object whose dimensions are only modestly larger than many of the familiar giant stars of our Milky-Way.

12*Of yellow light. A trace of copper in the candle may give the flame a greenish-blue color, etc.

13If an atom is moving when it absorbs or emits radiation, each color at which it absorbs or emits is shifted by an amount directly related to the atom's velocity. An atom moving toward an observer will have its characteristic color shifted to the violet, and an atom receding from the observer will have its characteristic color shifted to the red. The faster the motion the greater the change in color. Thus, the radiation from a star (or quasar) moving rapidly away from us will contain the "fingerprints" of many atoms, each displaying a shift to the red.

The mass of the quasars is estimated to be comparable to that of a small galaxy less than a tenth the mass of the Milky-Way. This corresponds to the mass of many millions of stars. When so much mass is compressed into the relatively small volume required for quasars, it is unstable and tends to collapse under its own intense gravitational attraction. Even the nuclei of atoms collapse, and theory predicts a catastrophic implosion and annihilation of the matter.

If the quasars are very distant members of our universe, they evidently generate energy far more efficiently than do normal stars. They have less mass and a much smaller size than a normal galaxy, but they radiate far more energy. Throughout the universe we see many giant stars, but always their mass is less than the critical value beyond which gravitational collapse occurs. There seems to be, therefore, a natural limit on the size of a star. However, quasars are much beyond this limit and they still behave as single star-like bodies. Perhaps they really are undergoing this most curious phenomenon of gravitational collapse and the resulting self-destruction. Presumably this would account for the enormous energy they release. The theory of how the energy is produced in this case and how it would escape into space is not at all clear, however.

There is an alternative to placing the quasars at such large distances, and even some observational evidence indicates that they may indeed be much nearer. Quasars occur in pairs somewhat too often to be explained by chance coincidences. This phenomenon of pairing suggests they are associated with galactic systems much nearer to us. If this were true, then the energy they are required to produce is far less than if they are very distant. No special energy sources are required.

The small size required for the quasars remains unchanged, but the estimate of mass is considerably reduced. Gravitational collapse is no longer so catastrophically eminent and it seems possible to construct stable models. Another problem arises, however, and it may be equally as perplexing as the energy generation problem.

If quasars are local, they are very numerous and if they are moving as fast as is indicated by their red shifts they will move out of the local system in relatively short times. Hence, they must be continually replaced. This presents such an enor-
mous energy drain on the local galactic system that spews out the quasars that the galaxies would apparently expend all their energy in a time period that is much shorter than their apparent age. We thus turn from one dilemma to another. Quasars apparently either must generate too much energy to be understood or they drain away impossible amounts of energy from their breeding grounds.

The only competing alternative to interpreting the red shift of the quasars as being due to a high velocity of recession is to assume that the light loses its energy in escaping the strong gravitational field of the quasar. Such an interpretation is possible. However, this theory requires that the quasar be even more massive than suggested above, and it runs into serious difficulty in accounting for other features of the spectrum. Consequently, it has not been widely accepted.

We have touched on only a portion of the amazing properties of quasars. No theory seems adequate to explain them. But then we have known of their existence for only seven years. The picture we have of quasars is evolving rapidly. Perhaps in a few more years we will understand their relationship to the rest of the known universe. Perhaps, also, we will discover still more classes of peculiar objects that challenge our understanding.

Suppose that Enoch, Abraham, or Moses had been shown quasars in revelation. Surely they would have had the wisdom to ponder these strange objects by themselves lest they be considered senile by those to whom they described such unbelievable objects.
Liverpool, 1856: Nathaniel Hawthorne Meets Orson Pratt

RICHARD H. CRACROFT*

Although Nathaniel Hawthorne created a long line of idealistic heroes (Fanshawe, Aylmer, Dimmesdale, Hollingsworth), he seemed to have little talent for appreciating the real-life variety. Not only was he unenchanted by the torch-bearers of Transcendentalism, but, in 1856, when he met Orson Pratt, one of infant Mormonism's brightest lights, Hawthorne was notably unimpressed, and his reaction, recorded in Our Old Home and English Note-Books, reflects no more than typical contemporary thinking on the harassed and misunderstood Latter-day Saints.

In 1856 Hawthorne had already completed three years of his appointment as United States Consul to Liverpool, England—a political appointment resulting from his life-long friendship with President Franklin Pierce, for whom Hawthorne had written an official campaign biography. Hawthorne was fifty-two and would live eight more years, but he was already entering a period of decline in his creative powers. Although he was still to write The Marble Faun (1860) and several other less distinguished works, his greatest writing lay behind him.

In 1856, Orson Pratt (1811-1881), forty-five, was on his fourth of fourteen missions to England and Europe. The apostle, president of the European Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had begun this journey on April 22, 1856, and on this trip alone would convert upwards of thirty thousand persons to Mormonism before his return to Zion in 1858. He would continue to make significant contributions to the welfare of his Church through missions to Great Britain. For example, in 1865 he would, after being expelled from Austria-Hungary where he intended to open a mission, return to England and successfully preach to and preside over the conferences until August 1867; in 1876 he would again return to translate the Book of Mormon into Pit-

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270
man phonetic characters; and in 1878-79 he would once more return to arrange the stereotyping of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants into verses, including references and footnotes—a challenging task for the then sixty-seven year-old scholar.

As the last of the original Council of Twelve appointed by Joseph Smith, Orson Pratt was remarkably successful as an apostle and missionary, and that has made his life and visage familiar to all Latter-day Saints. Though dark in 1856, his long white beard was to become his trademark in later years, and Matthias F. Cowley describes him as a man of "medium height, and squarely built," who wore a "flowing full beard, white as the driven snow, which made him to appear truly patriarchal."¹

However, the sophisticated New Englander, Nathaniel Hawthorne, that Bowdoin-educated friend and associate of Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Longfellow, and Pierce, was not so favorably impressed as had been the thousands of converts to Mormonism. On December 31, 1856, he wrote of Pratt's visit to the consulate:

O[rsen] P[ratt], the famous Mormonite, called on me a little while ago—a short, black-haired, dark-complexioned man; a shrewd, intelligent, but unrefined countenance, expressively unprepossessing; and uncouth gait and deportment; the aspect of a person in uncomfortable circumstances, and decently behaved, but of a vulgar nature and destitute of early culture.²

As unable to assess the inner greatness of his visitor as he was unable to sympathize with the impossible idealism of his optimistic Transcendental neighbors, Hawthorne noted of the self-taught mathematician, scientist, and author of such works as *Cubic and Biquadratic Equations*, "I think I should have taken him for a shoemaker, accustomed to reflect in a rude, strong, evil-disposed way on matters of this world and the next, as he sat on his bench." Hawthorne erred, for this "rude" man was the brilliant and learned debater who was to score many triumphs impossible to a man of "vulgar nature," triumphs such as the humiliation of Dr. J. D. Newman in their

famous three-day debate on polygamy, a defeat that Newman never forgot.

But Brother Pratt, who probably had little patience with novels and novelists and thus seems to make no reference to Hawthorne in his writings, merely explained to Consul Hawthorne that "He had been residing in Liverpool about six months; and his business with me was to ask for a letter of introduction that should gain him admittance to the British Museum, he intending a visit to London." Pratt offered Hawthorne references to "respectable people for his character," but Hawthorne simple directed him to his sceptor "as the proper person for his purpose."

That was it! With this brief journal entry Hawthorne dismissed the "Mormonite," passing an opportunity to hear Pratt's message, or to explore the deep riches of this intensely interesting character. Certainly Mark Twain, Artemus Ward, or even Sir Richard F. Burton would not have allowed such an opportunity to pass without some satirical or anthropological probing into the famous preacher's history and character.

But, just as Hawthorne's David Swan slept through the almost-realized events of wealth, romance, and death, so one of the world's foremost men of letters passed an opportunity to engage in more than a perfunctory exchange with one of America's foremost evangelists. As Hawthorne wrote in "David Swan," "... we hear not the airy footsteps of the strange things that almost happen."  

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1 As Orson Pratt's concern in England was the progression of the saints and missionary work, he also failed to mention meeting Hawthorne in any of the letters or journals in the Church Historian's Office. Ed.
Poems by Colleen Whitley*

The Dying Leaves

The leaves looked safely dead upon the tree,
Their veins collapsed as those of crucified
Men, or animals, hung up and dried.
Yet when the wind at last shook them free,
I saw a moist and spreading drop still
Flowing from each freshly broken edge.
I watched the leaves, but when I tried to catch
The falling fragments to see if life still
Flowed from them as from their parent, they rattled
Brown-paper edges against grass stiffened
By frost, and shivered as they skipped beyond
My reach. In starting leaps, they scuttled
To the warmth through the open kitchen door,
Where I found them dead on the polished floor.

Apple Trees in Winter

The skeletons of summer stand
In regimented rows,
Feeling twigs and summer sprouts
Frozen where they used to grow.

*To give our readers a broader view of the poetry of one poet, we have printed seven poems on various themes by Colleen Whitley in this issue. Mrs. Whitley, who has an English M.A. from Brigham Young University, now teaches in Ames, Iowa.
I sat in mist like this once as a child.
Sir Ector had told me that if a wild
sea bird ever tried to reach the dome of heaven,
he'd crack against it, tumble back, leaving
bloody feathers on the angels' wings and
holes in the clouds. He'd ruffle sea-blown mist and
where he struck the earth, no moss could grow, for
dream-drawn birds who tried to fly too far
would catch their wings in clouds and soon would find
their feathers dampened and their eyes made blind.
I sat by gannet banks along the coast
and waited on moss-clothed rocks for almost
half a day. I watched the watchless ocean play
lick-tag with the cliffs and rolled the clay
beneath the moss-rocks into balls and threw
them at the cliff-devouring sea who
gobbled them. But then the evening mist seeped
in from rocks and sea and sky and slipped
about the rookeries and over me.
And so I went back home. I could not see
the birds along the banks or in the sky;
I couldn't see them leave or land and I
was cold and wet and no more quite convinced
where Heaven was, or what. I've wondered since
whether either men or birds should ever try
to set such sun-soaked goals and fly so high.
Merlin

I was a wise old man
willow whistles
But now giddy Guenivere's
replaced the rhymes and
his brain. He used to
tried to tell him, but
like chanting charms to
while he does, his thoughts
I could, and I would
If he would hear, I
whole Table will
spiral staircase
peasants and the villeins
and hamlets will
being burned in a
witches and the
from lowly classes
the rabble, in the
for the priests and
But he won't listen.
I've told him all that I can
Table and the tactics and
ruling. I need a
miss me, probably. Not
comes to claim crown and
he'll know. I tried
before he saw Bellicent,
he would go see that
I warned him now, he
There's no sense in my
stay and still I would
he would only come
when he whittled
watched will-o-the-wisps.
grown more important and
runes I settled in
listen while I
telling him now is
children. He'll listen, but
dance off with her.
warn him about her.
would warn him that the
tumble down her
someday and the
from the villages
come to see a queen
bone-fire like the
warlocks who come
causing trouble in
restless landless rabble
for the barons.
I've stayed here long enough.
tell about the
the trickery of
rest. Besides, he'll never
me, not till Modred
kingdom, and then
to tell him that time, too,
before the babies, but
wilful witch. And if
likely wouldn't listen.
staying—still I could
stay to warn him, if
and ask me to.
The Genealogist

I hear them calling me beyond the years,
    beyond the graves,
    beyond the books and records
    beyond the seeming inexhaustible expanse
    of lives.

Their voices come beyond the half-plowed fields,
    and calling birds
    and wrinkled newspapers
    and papers never read
    and ironed clothes
    and clothes untouched by soap
    and wagon ruts
    and ruts rubbed smooth.

Through all the thousand things of their experience
    and mine,
    They call unerringly.

To Robert Welch

Sing a song of suspects,
Pockets full of spies,
Look at all the pinkos
Right before our eyes.

When the files are opened,
See them all appear.
Haven't we such dainty things
To whisper in your ear?
Reuben Miller, Recorder of Oliver Cowdery's Reaffirmations

Richard Lloyd Anderson*

One of the spectacular events of Latter-day Saint history unfolded as Oliver Cowdery walked into a conference session in progress at Council Bluffs in 1848 and was personally escorted to the stand by his friend Orson Hyde. That his remarks on that occasion were a striking vindication of Mormon claims is shown in all recollections of the event. George A. Smith wrote within ten days: "His testimony produced quite a sensation among the gentlemen present who did not belong to the church, and it was gratefully received by the Saints." No one in the latter group seems to have been more impressed than Reuben Miller, who at the same meeting had made his own public reconciliation with the Church. At least, no one else is known to have recorded the Cowdery remarks in such detail. The reality of the return of the former "Second Elder" does not rest alone on the Reuben Miller account, since a score of solid historical references disprove an anonymous "confession" describing the astounding feat of impersonating Cowdery before hundreds of his former intimates. But while the return itself is abundantly attested, no historical source but the Miller account adequately reveals Oliver Cowdery's public testimony upon his return to the Church.

The Miller-reported speech recounts the irony of Cowdery's humble return contrasted with the presiding and initiating power that he once held; he reiterated Orson Hyde's observations that any successful career in the Church must be based on loyalty to the true priesthood leaders. There is a considerable amount of historical information about Cowdery while he was out of the Church that portrays the co-founder of Mormonism in just this light, as one who took a good deal of personal pride in his spiritual experiences in founding the Restored Church.

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and as one who was considerably pained by his separation from its people. The main interest of his returning speech, however, is doctrinal. He discounted the Spaulding story as totally inconsistent with his own experience as secretary to Joseph Smith during the production of the Book of Mormon. He publicly reaffirmed the chief facts within his knowledge of the founding of the Church:

I wrote with my own pen the entire Book of Mormon (save a few pages) as it fell from the lips of the Prophet... I beheld with my eyes, and handled with my hands, the gold plates from which it was translated, I also beheld the Interpreters... I was present with Joseph when an holy angel from God came down from heaven and conferred, or restored, the Aaronic Priesthood and said at the same time that it should remain upon the earth while the earth stands.

I was also present with Joseph when the Melchisedek Priesthood was conferred by the holy angels2 of God, which we then confirmed on each other, by the will and commandment of God.3

An occasional anti-Mormon writer has denied the accuracy of this discourse on the ground that it was not printed until a decade after the event, but it appears in Miller’s journal, a contemporaneous document. In printing this journal account later, Miller insisted that he made notes at the time and consequently had a "verbatim report."4 Whether that is believed obviously depends upon whether one trusts Miller. And in investigating that question, what emerges is not only his individualistic integrity, but his experience as a reporter and his unusual interest in both the visions of the Restoration and in Cowdery as a person.

PROMINENCE IN UTAH

Coincidence brought Cowdery and Miller together in the Kanesville conference session of October 21, 1848. In the following year, Cowdery was stricken with his last illness in

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2This term, plural in the original Reuben Miller Journal, was made singular in the initial Deseret News printing of the incident. Later changes adding the plural form have been wrongly interpreted as tampering with the text.

3Reuben Miller Journal, LDS Church Historian’s Office. As noted, the text differs in some minor wording from the initial publication during the life of Reuben Miller, Deseret News, April 13, 1859, p. 48. All quotations made from original documents in this article are exact, with the exception of punctuation and spelling corrections.

4Deseret Evening News, April 13, 1859, p. 48.
Richmond, Missouri, while Miller had migrated to Salt Lake Valley and was beginning his one-third century's prominence there as a farmer, businessman, civic leader, and pioneer bishop. In his second year of residence in the valley he was appointed bishop of the Mill Creek Ward and held this position until his death in 1882. The year after he became bishop he entered county government as a selectman, the equivalent of today's commissioner. This post he also held until his death. John Taylor, then President of the Church, spoke at his funeral, paying tribute to him as a "highminded, honorable man." Another speaker at Miller's funeral was the perceptive and candid Elias Smith who, as probate judge, had been chairman of county government for the entire time of Miller's tenure. Something of Miller's personal character emerges in Smith's estimate: what impressed him was Miller's "wide practical experience coupled with the best of judgment, to say nothing of his uprightness and honesty, which he possessed to an eminent degree." Biographical sketches of Miller verify his prominence and effectiveness as a pioneer and community leader in Utah and describe other facets of his life, such as his successful farming and business operations and his large and able family. The Church newspaper editorialized on these qualities at his death:

He was an active and capable man, with a strong individuality, and both as Bishop and Selectman, was an able public servant, whose services and experience were of great value to the community.

No doubt his contributions to Utah merit further study, but it is the story of Reuben Miller's religious convictions and conflicts in the pre-Utah period that shows why he would be an

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3Andrew Jensen, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 504.

4*Deseret Evening News*, July 26, 1882.

5See Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), Part 2, p. 1040: "He was known to be a hard worker and a keen business man, and succeeded in accumulating considerable worldly goods."

6Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1920), Vol. 3, pp. 166-67, gives details of his wives and children. In 1918 total descendants were 360. The National Historical Record Company's *Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1902) publishes biographies of Miller and five sons who were active in business and community affairs.

accurate reporter of Cowdery’s recollections of the supernatural events of the founding of Mormonism.

MILLER’S CONVERSION

As a young man Miller migrated from his Pennsylvania birthplace to Illinois, where he became first a millwright, then a substantial farmer in Ottawa, La Salle County. There, as an undoubtedly respected member of the community, he became a Mormon convert (1843) while in his early forties. That he was early given important Church positions demonstrated his ability and reliability. The year following his baptism, he was selected as bishop in the formal organization of the Latter-day Saints in his area. A machine duplication exists of a Miller letter dated July 29, 1845, which describes what must be typical activities of the period of this early bishopric. He reports to William Clayton that he is about to leave La Salle County for Chicago to facilitate transportation of several wagon loads of goods (particularly glass) to Nauvoo, and that he will use three yoke of oxen taken in tithing. Miller’s own summary of his early performance in the Church was made in 1846 and lists a call to settle at Nauvoo, an assignment as collection agent for tithing and building funds, and appointment as “the leader of a company to go West in the coming Spring.” The pursuance of this calling was the beginning of an episode in Reuben Miller’s life that is but faintly disclosed in published sketches and yet is the key to his intense interest in Oliver Cowdery’s words at the time of his return.

BELIEF IN STRANG’S REVELATIONS

James J. Strang maintained that Joseph Smith wrote a letter appointing him as successor, that this appointment was effected

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30 In his pamphlet exposing Strang (James J. Strang, Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Found Wanting [Burlington, Wisconsin, 1846], p. 5), Miller challenged anyone doubting his integrity to "write to Ottawa, LaSalle Co., Illinois." Later called on a mission to this area, he wrote (Ottawa, LaSalle Co., Ill., January 24, 1870) that he was personally well treated; in spite of basic prejudice against his message, many came to hear him preach "for respect to an old neighbor." (Deseret Evening News, February 8, 1870.)

31 The date, October 23, 1844, and basic facts agree in Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, 1932), Vol. 7, pp. 311-12, and in Miller’s résumé (cited in the previous footnote), p. 1.

32 Ibid., See Journal History, September 24, 1845, where Reuben Miller is listed with several dozen local leaders to effect the exodus to Nauvoo.
through the visit of an angel, and that the location of ancient plates was also revealed. By the Urim and Thummim he translated their message: the "forerunner" (Joseph Smith) would be slain, but the translator of the records (James J. Strang) would be a "mighty Prophet." The documents embodying these revelations were printed, along with the testimony of witnesses to Strang's plates, in the initial number of the *Voree Herald* in January, 1846, immediately before Reuben Miller's first contact with Strang. Both men were in northern Illinois, Miller attempting to effect the gathering west and Strang attempting to prevent it. The most detailed account of their confrontation is found in the Strangite *Chronicles of Voree*, the manuscript history of this movement. Miller is introduced in that record as "a man of distinguished worth and sterling integrity."  

The narrative relates that William Marks was instrumental in introducing Miller to Strang's disciples, who arranged that he should hear Strang present his claims, with the privilege of refutation allowed. On January 12, 1846, this meeting took place before an audience of about sixty. Strang spoke four hours "in his rapid manner," and Reuben Miller was impressed:

High Priest Reuben Miller said that the main points and principles which had been set out were well sustained by the authorities referred to in the Book of Doctrines and Covenants. That he was not able to contend against the force of them. Strang had all the authorities on his side. And as nothing but truth would do them any good he consented then to learn the truth by all their testimonies which God had given and should give them and to receive the truth, whatsoever it might be.  

Miller queried Strang closely on the details of his appointment by divine manifestations. Sincere if somewhat naive, he determined to "go to Nauvoo and see what discoveries I could make in regard to Joseph's writing such an appointment and the claims of the Twelve to the Presidency of the Church."  

Admittedly "mired in Strangism," he approached Brigham Young on January 30, 1846. The leader of the Twelve grasped

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13Chronicles of Voree, microfilm negative at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 52.
14Ibid., pp. 52-53.
16Ibid.
the central issue, Miller's search for direct revelation to establish divine authority:

Yesterday I had some conversation with Reuben Miller of Ottowa, he being considerably bewildered by Strang's new fangled revelation—rendered him almost devoid of reason although apparently honest in what he was doing, and said the word of the Lord would be decidedly satisfactory to him—whereupon I said, Thus saith the Lord unto Reuben Miller through Brigham Young—that Strang is a wicked and corrupt man and that his revelations are as false as he is—therefore turn away from his folly—and never let it be said of Reuben Miller that he was ever led away and entangled by such nonsense. Thus saying, I left him, my time being too precious to be spent in hearing and even talking about such trash.17

Still believing in the reality of Strang's vision of appointment, Miller publicly lectured some six weeks longer in Nauvoo for the new cause; thereafter, he left for Strangite organizational conferences in Wisconsin.18

Miller's thinking at the point of Strangite conversion is revealed not only in the Strang records and the Journal History of Brigham Young, but in his own accounts of the experience. His recollections minutely agree with these two contemporary records in stressing "a divine appointment through Joseph"19 as the foundation upon which acceptance of Strang was built. Miller alludes more than once to the initial number of the Voree Herald, which he examined "carefully."20 Since this issue contained the basic documents alleging Strang's divine commission, Miller's emphasis upon it shows that he regarded the visitation of heavenly messengers as conclusively establishing authority to represent God:

The Voree Herald was placed in my hands; I read it with care, and at that time not having a very great knowledge of the Law of the Church or the Book of Doctrine and Covenants—I considered his appointment and his arguments reasonable.21

18Miller's activity in Nauvoo and complete commitment to Strang at this period are recorded both in his James J. Strang (p. 2) and also a letter written to Strang from Nauvoo, Feb. 15, 1845. (Yale Strang Collection, Ms. 14.)
20Ibid., p. 4.
It is evident that Reuben Miller thought that these documents would impress other Latter-day Saints, for he shortly brought out 3,000 copies of a tract entitled *A Defence of the Claims of James J. Strang to the Authority Now Usurped by the Twelve; and Shewing Him to be the True Successor of Joseph Smith, as First President of the High Priesthood.*22 The pamphlet is characteristic of Miller's frame of reference. He regards divine manifestations as the source of authority and uses the approach of merely reprinting the "historical" basis of Strang's authority, with a minimum of comment.23

**DISBELIEF IN STRANG'S REVELATIONS**

Miller was soon disenchanted with Strang and came to doubt the integrity of his divine commission. The pamphlet defending Strang was in the press in February, 1846, about a month after his conversion. His commitment then was serious enough not only to publish this pamphlet, but to be agent in notifying the Twelve of their impending excommunication by Strang, and to participate in the event as high councilman in the Strangite April Conference, when he was sustained as "President of the Stake at Voree."24 In repeated organizational meetings, Miller frequently served as a clerk in recording minutes of speeches and transactions.25 But this close and official contact with Strang only hastened disillusionment. In a later pamphlet Miller explained that in the beginning Strang took the clear position that the appointing angel merely appeared and announced his authority, and did not perform any ordaining ceremony through laying on of hands. Miller thus expected the proper ordination to follow in Strang's organizational conferences, since he knew that Strang was merely an elder and

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22 Proof of Miller's authorship and the fact that the pamphlet basically reproduces the initial number of the *Voree Herald* are discussed by Dale Morgan, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [Strangite]," *Western Humanities Review*, Vol. 5 (Winter 1950-51), pp. 51-52.

23 Only four pages out of sixteen are original, and even these are highly documentary. Two pages treat "The Doctrine of Primitive Mormonism" and another two pages contain "Irresistable Conclusions," all of which is really an argument for Strang based on the laws of succession from the Doctrine and Covenants.

24 References to these and other less important events in Miller's Strangite period in the Chronicles of Voree attest to his prominence: pp. 24, 63-64, 67-68, 76, 85. By p. 99 Miller is conspicuous by his absence at the September 1, 1846, conference.

held no keys of priesthood leadership. When no such ordination materialized, Miller temporarily held his peace until he heard that Strang now claimed that an elaborate ordination ceremony had accompanied the initial angelic visitation. Miller bluntly accuses Strang of manufacturing a new story "that was entirely contradictory to his former remarks (on this subject) to myself and others." In the same pamphlet Miller reveals his own thinking upon being confronted with the second, contradictory version of Strang's visitation:

I came to the conclusion, irresistibly, that I had embraced an error, a delusion, and one that would be handed down on the pages of history, as a monument of his folly and of the corruption and wickedness of the human heart; and that it was a duty which I owed to God and to his people, to resign my station as President over the Stake, and my place on the High Council, and give my reasons for the same to the brethren. This I done on the 27th of June last, at the meeting ground in Voree.26

The Strang collection at Yale contains detailed notes of a Miller speech dated July 25, 1846, the essence of which is his insistence that Strang's authority and revelations do not measure up to the patterns of Joseph Smith's priesthood and the testimony of the witnesses of the Book of Mormon.27

Miller now resolutely retraced his steps. The trustees at Nauvoo communicated with Brigham Young on October 20 that Reuben Miller had been baptized the previous day.28 In response to a later summons by Strang to defend his membership, Miller issued a terse ultimatum of his own. Insisting that he had told nothing but the truth about Strang, he requested "the favor to cut me off immediately." In his blunt critique of Strang, Miller sees a single issue:

You hold no authority to remove me from the Church of

26Miller, James J. Strang, pp. 3-4.
27Yale Strang Collection, Ms. 48 (cp. Ms. 47). It is likely that either the Miller or Strang manuscript date is wrong and that the two speeches are the same, since the content Miller describes corresponds exactly to the main outline of the speech of the Strang manuscript. For further evidence of Miller's outspoken opposition see also Ms. 165 and Ms. 235, both letters from John C. Bennett from Burlington, Wisconsin, on August 18 and August 20, recognizing the impact of 'the whole Miller conspiracy.'
28Journal History, November 4, 1846; see also ibid., November 11, 1846, p. 3, which quotes a letter of John M. Bernhisel of November 4, 1846: "Reuben Miller has recently been here, was baptized and ordained again, and then returned to Voree to enlighten his benighted and deluded brethren."
Christ or to give or take the priesthood of the Son of God. 
So go ahead.29

MISSIONARY TO THE STRANGITES

Not content with verbal and local disassociation with Strang, Miller took unhesitating steps to set the printed record straight. Because of "a duty which I conscientiously believed I owed to God and to his church" he published in September 1846 the pamphlet, James J. Strang, Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Found Wanting. His Claims as First President of the Melchisedek Priesthood Refuted. He challenged Strang's "appointment" as fraudulent and his witnesses of plates inadequate in comparison to those of the Book of Mormon.30 He perceived Strang as the inventor of false experiences: his ordination by "an unknown messenger" is a defective "picture to hand down upon a church record to future generations."31 Later Miller was outraged by John C. Bennett's version of Strang's appointment, and before February, 1847, he published his second attack upon Strang's legitimacy: Truth Shall Prevail: a Short Reply to an Article Published in the Voree Herald (Reveille), by J. C. Bennett; and the Willful Falsehoods of J. J. Strang, Published in the First Number of Zion's Reveille.32 Again, Miller was preoccupied with documentation. Affidavits of prominent Strangites were given to show that Miller was correct in maintaining that Strang had switched stories on his ordination. The printed revelations of Joseph Smith were cited to prove that the laying on of hands characterized the restoration of both the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods. As for Strangite impeachments of Miller, he retorted:

They cannot injure me with their lies and hellish spirit of revenge. I hold the documents in my hands.33

29Yale Strang Collection, Ms. 46, Letter from Reuben Miller to James Strang, Burlington, Wisconsin, Dec. 23, 1846.
30Miller, James J. Strang, pp. 10, 16.
32The date of the pamphlet is known from Bennett's rebuttal, written February 1, 1847. Miller's letter of February 5, 1847 (on file in the LDS Church Historian's Office) alludes to the recent publication of "my second epistle." See Morgan, cited at n. 22, supra, p. 113. Although no copy was found by Morgan, BYU Special Collections Librarian Chad J. Flake recently located one complete and one defective copy in working on his forthcoming bibliography. These copies are in the LDS Church Historian's Office. Since the complete copy is signed by Brigham Young, it probably is the pamphlet sent him by Miller.
33Miller, Truth Shall Prevail, p. 11; italics are Miller's.
With their taste and talent for polemics, Strang and his associates lost no time in excoriating Miller. They answered his first pamphlet with the sneer, "Reuben 'is a great man of the kind,' but the kind is very peculiar, Brighamite, and terrestrial." Bennett's answer to the second pamphlet was a general denial, prefaced by the significant admission, "I have heretofore regarded Mr. Miller as a man of unquestioned probity." Even though Miller stirred up bitter charges of misrepresentation, it must be admitted that his character fared surprisingly well in Strangite circles. After most of the issues ceased to be current, Strang still referred to him as one of the "several men of talent and influence [that have] separated from me . . ." This is an important point in assessing Miller's trustworthiness as a recorder of Cowdery's returning discourse. Miller proved his independence by dissenting openly both in Nauvoo and Vorcee; he also proved his reputability by earning the grudging respect of the leaders of both camps who differed from his position. An enlightening confirmation of the sincerity of such respect comes from the letters to Strang of "Louisa," in Dale Morgan's phrase "a superb woman." She first doubted Strang because her high opinion of Miller postulated "some very good and substantial reason" for his dissent, although her revulsion of polygamy kept her from following Miller in his loyalty to the Twelve. She said of Miller:

I have known him for a long time, and his conduct has always been such as to give me a high opinion of his integrity and uprightness. I cannot believe that he would intentionally do wrong or suffer himself to be influenced by any improper motives.  

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34Voree Herald, October, 1846.
35Zion's Reveille, February 4, 1847.
36Ibid., August 12, 1847.
37Letter of "Louisa" to James Strang, from Ottawa, July 15. The fact of Miller's disillusionment with Strang makes an 1846 date virtually certain. The letter is Ms. 37 of the Yale Strang Collection. Morgan's opinion of the quality of this woman is given in his typewritten notes to Ms. 37. See also his commentary to Ms. 159, where he justly calls the author "wise and witty" and identifies her signature on that letter as "Louisa S." This is a correction of Milo M. Quaife's incorrect reading in his biography of Strang. The Morgan reading is confirmed by several similar "S" capitalizations in the letter. Morgan suspected that "Louisa S." of Ottawa was Louisa Sanger. This is now clear from the fact that two letters of James Strang to Louisa Sanger are preserved in the LDS Historian's Office (Dec. 5, 1844, and March 10, 1845) that fit minutely into the dialogue between Strang and this correspondent. From the Patriarchal Blessing file her birthdate can be determined, March 20, 1812. She was 34 years of age when she gave the quoted opinion of Miller. The 1850
Reuben Miller's lot was now cast with the people whom he regarded as holding true authority: "I have truly and sincerely repented of my course and conduct, and have traveled 270 miles and was baptized for the remission of sins, and had my priesthood confirmed."\(^8\) His source of authority and direction was the Twelve, with whom there seems to have been considerable mutual respect. Even during his days as the emissary of Strang in Nauvoo, he reports a cordial relationship:

[I]n justice to the Twelve I must say, while investigating their claims to the Presidency of the Church, and that of Mr. Strang; they treated me kindly, and affectionately, and as brothers; reasoned with me, and remembered me in their prayer meetings, and done all that was required at their hands as servants of God in my case, to save me from what they said they knew to be a delusion of the blackest die. But I could not see the force and power of their argument, for I was completely mired in the spirit of apostacy, and when they shook hands with me the last time I saw them, they blessed me in the name of the Lord, and said I would return to the bosom of the Church again.\(^9\)

His correspondence in the LDS Church Historian's Office reveals a deep though not abject desire to be reinstated to his former status of trust with the leaders of the Church. On November 17, 1846, he wrote from Nauvoo to Elders Young and Kimball, "I have examined myself and believe I acted in honest sincerity." He further stated, "I come before you in all confidence, believing as I do that God has forgiven me," and called the attention of "Bro. Brigham" to their last conversation, when "you told me I would see my error before six months and would again return to the bosom of the Church." He sought approval for his missionary activities among the Strangites, whom he now sought to reclaim.

Miller's private correspondence from Wisconsin shortly before rejoining the migrating Saints consistently emphasizes the double theme of honoring his priesthood authority, all the more important now after the risk of losing it, and of reaching anyone in his former status of a deceived believer. His letter to Brigham Young on April 21, 1847, insists:

census indicates that she was then unmarried. LaSalle County histories speak of the family as respected and indicate that Louisa had died by 1877. Elmer Baldwin, *History of La Salle County* (Chicago, 1877).

\(^8\)Miller, *Truth Shall Prevail*, p. 6.

Brother Young, my object is to do good and be useful in the day and generation in which I live. magnify my priesthood, and assist to build up the kingdom of God, and truly as far as in me lies be a servant of the Lord. Therefore I consider it right to use all honorable means to redeem the Saints from the spiritual darkness in which the devil has thrown them and bring them back to the true fold and the principles of immortal glory.

A similar letter to Brigham Young on February 5, 1847, reiterates Miller’s strongest theme, underlined by himself: "And by the grace of God that priesthood shall be magnified." This means to Miller an intensified campaign of disseminating his writings among the Strangites. This letter asks for some official reaction to his first pamphlet and states that in the absence of direction, "I consider it for the welfare of the cause of God to publish my second epistle," which was enclosed with this letter. He admits that his publications might be seen as too contentious, but insists that the best way to reach those deceived is by printing the truth.

On Reuben Miller’s side, his writings seem to have been a substantial influence in disillusioning Strang’s followers. The letter just quoted states that the initial pamphlet against Strang produced "a great revolution . . . among the honest Saints." "Whole branches" were affected, and requests were received "almost daily" for the publication. That Miller’s publications had such an effect is revealed in Strangite correspondence. For instance, Lester Brooks wrote from Ohio to the Wisconsin headquarters on January 12, 1847, that on his recent stopover in New York he found the branch in a "most stupid condition. They have a pamphlet written by Reuben Miller against Brother Strang. They are inclined to think there is something quite wrong.”40 Another Strang adherent wrote him by way of deploring dissent from him, reviewing as a major crisis the fact that "that paper Miller put out was circulated with triumph. . . .”41

MILLER’S CONTACT WITH COWDERY

Miller’s own motivation was the sole reason for his publications, since he received no encouragement from the leaders

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40This letter is quoted in full by Milo M. Quaife, The Kingdom of Saints James (New Haven, 1930), pp. 243-45. (Periods and capitals of obvious sentences are mine.) Yale Strang Collection, Ms. 54.
41Letter of John Macauley to James Strang, from Galena, Illinois, June 29, 1849. Yale Strang Collection, Ms. 422.
of the Church. At the time of his reconversion they had written him, but in the next six months no other letter was received. On April 21, 1847, as just discussed, Miller appealed for direction once more, describing his past publishing activities. In addition, he reported rumors of a planned Strangite mission to England and indicated that he was countering it by preparing a documentary communication for the British Mission "in which is embodied some of the visions and revelations of Mr. Strang," together with "the full history" of their newly established secret ceremonies. While former information from Miller seems to have been received without complete enthusiasm, this last letter provoked the bluntest direction from the Church leaders. It was not delivered until some five months later on the Platte River, and was answered by Willard Richards "as an individual" after the Council had declined to answer Miller formally. Richards' answer of September 17, 1847, assumes that Strang's claims are patently ridiculous and thus takes a dim view of Miller's writings as useless controversy. Richards further alludes to "the many calls of the council for you to come home" and chides Miller for "wasting so much time with your pen" instead of acting on their advice. One who reads this letter will realize that Miller was given a stinging rebuke, despite, in Richards' words, the "spirit of kindness that has dictated it." 

Some ten miles from Reuben Miller's residence near Burlington, Wisconsin, was Elkhorn, Wisconsin, to which Oliver Cowdery had moved shortly before Miller was told in no un-

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42Journal History, November 14, 1846, notes that Brigham Young heard a letter that "he had written in behalf of the Council to Reuben Miller, giving him advice in relation of his future movements."

43Two of the letters quoted above, on file in the LDS Church Historian's Office and written from Burlington, Wisconsin, to Brigham Young, establish Miller's lack of contact with the Twelve. The letter of February 5, 1847, reads: "Bro. Haywood has been here a few days since and informs me that you have written to me, but I have never received anything from any of the brethren in the camp. And I feel bad enough. Nevertheless I must do the best I can and act according to the best light and knowledge that God may bless me with." The letter of April 21, 1847, begins: "I have written to you from time to time, but as yet have received nothing from you. But I am not discouraged. Believing that you have not given me over as one unworthy of your notice, I expect something soon."

44See the Journal History entries of November 16, 1846, and December 22, 1846, which seem to have connotations of skepticism concerning the value of Miller's work in Wisconsin.

45The letter is quoted in full in the Journal History, September 17, 1847, pp. 2-5. What is evidently the writer's copy is on file at the LDS Church Historian's Office.
certain terms of his duty to migrate west. The two men were now in remarkably similar circumstances, for the reconciliation of Oliver Cowdery had been effected through the means of Phineas Young (Brigham's brother and Cowdery's brother-in-law), and the invitation to be baptized and gather with the Saints was extended in a letter to Cowdery of November 22, 1847, sent from Winter Quarters by Elders Young and Richards for the Twelve. Thus both Miller and Cowdery were in close proximity in the winter of 1847, and both were making plans to dispose of their properties and join the Saints migrating west. Cowdery's response (February 27, 1848) to Brigham Young expresses his hope to be present at April Conference at Winter Quarters. Because of a combination of poverty, ill health, and personal projects, Cowdery did not fulfill this plan, and he explained to Phineas Young in a letter of April 16, 1848, that he still planned to migrate but was counting heavily on help from Reuben Miller:

Brother Miller has manifested the right spirit on the subject of my going West, nor does he know but I am now on my way, or there, ere this. and he said that he will furnish me with a team, if I went in the fall, and go up when he does, as he intends to go if he succeeds in making a sale. He will do that at any rate, if I wish it, and as much more as you shall say is the wish or advice of Brother Brigham.

The financial condition of the two men on the eve of

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46Cowdery's name first appears as attorney of record in Elkhorn, Wisconsin, in a case filed May 20, 1847; however, the firm of Cowdery and Wilson tried numerous cases throughout July of the same year in Tiffin, Ohio. This data published by Stanley R. Gunn (Oliver Cowdery, Salt Lake City, 1962, pp. 186-190) can be supplemented by further facts. Cowdery wrote one letter from Madison, Wisconsin, on May 18, 1847 (Seneca Advertiser, June 18, 1847); his next published letter was written from Elkhorn, Wisconsin, on August 15, 1847 (Seneca Advertiser, Sept. 3, 1847) and indicates receipt of "some four numbers" of the weekly Advertiser in Wisconsin prior to that time. This implies that his residence was in Elkhorn, Wisconsin by mid-July of 1847.

47Cited by Gunn, Oliver Cowdery, pp. 191-192.

48Cited in full ibid., pp. 268-269. Journal History, February 27, 1848, copies the letter in full, and the original is on file in the LDS Church Historian's Office.

49This letter, not in the Journal History, was copied from the original by Stanley R. Gunn and is printed in full by him, Oliver Cowdery, pp. 255-257. In addition to the paragraph quoted, the urgency of Cowdery's financial reliance on Miller is underscored by the request that Phineas Young "say a word to Brother Miller, in your next letter to me, as I know he stands ready to render me any aid I want, on your suggestion." The postscript reiterates the point: "As I determine to come even if I do not dispose of my place, it is important that you enclose to me a word to Bro. Miller. This will enable me to go about it in good time, and not suffer a disappointment."
their return to the Church as portrayed in the foregoing letter of Cowdery is confirmed by the existing deeds on file in Walworth County, where both resided. Miller had sold farm land on June 10, 1848, for a recited consideration of $1,000, which probably did not constitute his total assets. On the other hand, Cowdery held title only to his Elkhorn residential property, then subject to mortgage, and did not locate a buyer until long after the above letter. The sale was made, for a recited consideration of $300 on October 3, 1848, and there is reason to assume that debts encroached upon this small sum.

Cowdery’s deed of sale marks an approximate time of departure for his return to the Church at Council Bluffs, inasmuch as one of the witnesses on the deed is “Phineas H. Young,” his brother-in-law, in Elkhorn to assist in his return to the Church. Reuben Miller had left with his family for Council Bluffs some three weeks earlier, noting in his journal the departure from the Burlington, Wisconsin, area on September 12, 1848. Miller travelled through La Salle County, Illinois, where he stopped with former acquaintances in this area of his initial career in the Church. At this point the most important entry of the journey appears under the date of September 18, 1848:

Here we met Bro. Phineas H. Young and stopped with him the remainder of the day. I paid to him 50 dollars in money, and 31 dollars on Bro. Oliver Cowdery, making in all 81 dollars.

From the Cowdery deed of sale in Elkhorn two weeks after this, it is clear that Phineas Young was on his way then to get Cowdery and his small family. The Miller journal entry fits precisely the earlier Cowdery letter representing Miller’s willingness to contribute money to Cowdery’s return.

50Deed of Reuben Miller to Edward E. Prindle and Others, June 9, 1848, recorded at Walworth County Courthouse, Elkhorn, Wisconsin, under date of June 16, 1848.

51Deed of Oliver Cowdery to Jonathan Delap, October 2, 1848, recorded at Walworth County Courthouse, Elkhorn, Wisconsin, January 8, 1848.

52Reuben Miller Diary, LDS Church Historian’s Office.

53In Strang’s community of Voree, but a few miles from Cowdery’s residence at Elkhorn, the presence of Phineas Young in the area was noted: “Even Phineas Young is here, telling that brother Cowdery is going with him to Council Bluffs.” (Gospel Herald, October 5, 1848.) Young must have arrived some days before such a published notice.
Because of his earlier departure Reuben Miller arrived in Kanesville, according to his journal, in the late afternoon of Sunday, October 15, 1848. Cowdery arrived just six days later, proceeding immediately to the session of conference that he addressed. Just before Cowdery’s arrival, Miller had himself addressed the conference, making public acknowledgment of his mistake in believing Strang’s revelations.54 It is obvious that he was necessarily interested in the parallel situation of Cowdery’s return, especially in the reiteration of Cowdery’s solemn witness to the reality of the revelations that stood as the foundation of Mormonism. The proof of this is a private letter from Reuben Miller to his friends in La Salle County, Illinois, after his own return to the Church in Kanesville. No letter of the Apostle Paul to his converts is more ecstatic. Miller insists that his faith has found nothing but confirmation:

Yes, true it is the church has been nourished and fed according to the word of God. And the kingdom of our God has moved steadily on amidst all the opposition of the apostates and wicked and corrupt men. I can say to you and to all my friends and brethren that I have come home. And never felt more at home in all my life. It really appears as though the trees. Bluffs, and everything around us are praising King Immanuel. While the holy priesthood is swaying a scepter in righteousness that will sooner or later arouse the nations of the earth from their midnight slumber of ages. Yes, there is a spirit and power with this people that no mortal arm can withstand, or any nation or kingdom overthrow.55

Reuben Miller had once detected inconsistent testimony from James J. Strang and fallen into deepest disillusionment. The profound conviction of the Kanesville letter of November 16, 1848, rests in no small part upon the consistent reaffirmations of the “Second Elder” on his return, for the postscript of this letter of elation reads:

Brother Oliver Cowdery is here and has been baptized by Elder Hyde on last Sunday, is again restored, and bears a strong and positive testimony. This people are united, and are a good, great, and mighty people.

54Letter of George A. Smith to Orson Pratt from Council Bluffs, October 20, 1848, Millennial Star, January 1, 1849.
55Letter of Reuben Miller to Brother Sabey [Henry Sabba Erekson] from Council Bluffs, November 16, 1848, a photocopy of which was furnished by Vaughn Erekson of Salt Lake City, Utah. The original is held by his aunt, Miss Mary Fern Erekson. All underlining is Miller’s in the original letter.
CONCLUSIONS

In summary, an informed reader of the Reuben Miller account of Cowdery’s speech on his return to the Church will recognize the following insights into Miller’s personality, interests, and abilities:

1. No religious vagabond bent on exploiting Mormon factions, Miller changed his affiliation once and was recognized by associates in both groups then and throughout later life as a man of independence and honesty.

2. Because of his conversion to and deconversion from Strang’s claims of visions, he was intensely interested in the validating evidence of the revelations of Joseph Smith.

3. His specific religious interest, revealed in his pamphlets, is in the question of priesthood authority through the physical presence and ordination of resurrected beings. His general interest is in the integrity of supernatural experience, including the reality of the plates of the Book of Mormon.

4. In his own words, he was concerned with “a church record” for “future generations” and was highly sensitive to what “would be handed down on the pages of history.” His experience of being deceived by contradictory documents led him to this position.

5. His experience in writing (including the publication of three pamphlets) and minute-taking demonstrates some skill in recording the essentials of public speeches.

6. He contributed financially to Oliver Cowdery’s return and was vitally interested in him because of proximity and similar circumstances in returning to the Church.

7. Because of a Miller letter written four weeks after Cowdery’s return and while Cowdery was still at Kanesville, there is clear evidence independent of the journal that Miller was at the time deeply impressed with the “strong and positive testimony” of the returning Second Elder.

No one in 1848 had more access to the facts of the modern dispensation than Oliver Cowdery. And no one in his audience that October had better motivation and capacity to record Cowdery’s reaffirmations than Reuben Miller.
Government in America—Master or Servant?

JOHN T. BERNHARD*

The controversial theme of government as master or servant raises one of the most perplexing problems in society today; but other times have also witnessed the lively ferment created by this issue. For example, in the American context, note the fear so carefully voiced by George Washington:

The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and prouen to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.1

Therefore, we can obviously detect the early vintage of this problem in America. But certainly we are also aware of the immediacy of this question. Our effective media of communication virtually inundate us with news and commentary concerning the war in Vietnam, civil rights and the Negro ghetto (with its tragic and bloody implications in Watts, Newark, Detroit, and elsewhere), school desegregation, deficits and taxation, more specific regulation of the economy, urban renewal, federal aid to education, the war on poverty, et al.

Behind each of these critical issues in our modern scene is the distinct shadow of government. But does it pose as master or as servant of the people? Perhaps a cursory examination of our past history and experience will enlighten us and give some basis for answering the query presented by this perplexing issue.2

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2To some the shadow of government is merged with the spectre of Communism. Note this interesting statement by one Robert Welch: "... while we are destroying and after we have destroyed the Communist tyranny, let’s drive on towards our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility, in which we can create a better world." The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, 9th printing (Belmont, Mass., 1961), p. 174.
Implicit in the American heritage is a deep-rooted tradition of minimum or limited government. Puritanism bequeathed to America a great stress upon the role of the individual—his worth, his purpose, his significance (although perhaps not exalted!) in the Lord's scheme of things. True, much of Puritan thought was cramped, narrow, and intolerant in flavor. But essentially there was a strong belief in the divine mission and independent self-reliance of man.³

As America progressed through the colonial era, the Puritan concept of the individual was absorbed, almost unconsciously, into the secular streams of colonial thought and culture. As a result, the stress upon the individual gradually shifted from the religious to the political sphere, and this transformation became even more apparent with the steady decay of the old Puritan rigidity.⁴ Mixed into this melting pot of beliefs were various bold ideas cast abroad from the Age of Enlightenment in Europe: the vital role of human reason, strong skepticism regarding ecclesiastical standards, the inevitability of progress, and the inviolability of the scientific method. The clarion call was to set man "free" so that he could make his maximum achievement without restraint from government or from any other repressive institution. As Adam Smith expressed the thought in his revolutionary Wealth of Nations:

Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men.⁵

A common golden thread for much of this thinking about government and the individual was the concept of "natural law" (and "natural rights"—the logical offspring). The basic premise was simply that natural law, available and accessible to human reason, governs the individual. And this condition prevails regardless of the acceptance or rejection of such rule.

³Masterful treatments of this area of thought may be found in the two following works: Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Volume One: The Colonial Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927); especially Part I, and Samuel Eliot Morison, The Puritan Pronaos (New York: NYU Press, 1936).

⁴This development was strikingly portrayed when John Wise used secular sources for his significant treatise, A Vindication of the Government of the New England Churches, 1717 (Boston: J. S. Clark, 1860).

Hence, government as such is rationally and mechanically formed only to implement and fulfill the natural law. Obviously then, under such a mechanistic concept, government must be limited in scope and power. Our Founding Fathers were deeply imbued with this natural law approach; the Declaration of Independence is clearly a natural-law document, and many of the epistles and tracts of revolutionary America were but simple variations on this same great theme.

In essence, the natural-law advocate argued that that government is best which best protects the rights (natural) an individual possesses as an independent entity. He constantly emphasized the point that the standard of judgment regarding political authority rests outside the sphere of government, and that the foundation for all the rights and responsibilities of individuals is a body of eternal and universal principles of truth. Hence, man as an individual possesses a "sovereignty of independence" which exists separate from his commitment or obligation to the state, or to its organized creature, government.6

For added color, Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism contributed still another element to the American melting pot of ideas. Bentham rejected the metaphysical and nonprovable basis of the natural law, arguing instead that government-individual relationships would have to be based upon an evaluation of the "pains" and/or "pleasures" given to the individual by government—directly or indirectly. Hence, to the utilitarian, human welfare or happiness was to be the standard of judgment; this was the valid test of the rightness or wrongness of any institution, tradition, or action. Obviously then, to Bentham, that government is best which is most successful in increasing the net total of "pleasures" for the largest number of its citizens. In the application of the utilitarian "hedonistic calculus," the government-individual relationship should be determined by the judgment of the rational man in computing the sums of his "pains" and "pleasures." In terms of obedience to government, the individual must rationally weigh the "probable mischiefs of resistance" versus the "probable mischiefs of obedience." To Bentham, this was to be a deliberate and rational

6A classic statement on this issue was once given by Woodrow Wilson: "America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they obey and whom they will serve, for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty." New York Times, January 30, 1916, p. 2. (Italics mine).
process of *individual* choice. Consequently, we can see that although the utilitarians rejected the metaphysical base of natural law, they did accept the notion of the mechanistic origin of government and its limited sphere.\(^7\)

But as history sped forward and America stretched out toward her Manifest Destiny, modern problems sprouted along the way. These were related to an increasing population, a declining agrarianism, and a growing complexity and sophistication of social and economic life.

America's economic revolution enhanced national wealth, raised standards of living, produced cycles of prosperity and depression... depressed agriculture and speeded up urbanization, encouraged immigration, and stimulated the more rapid growth of population. It led to mechanization and standardization of social life, modified social institutions such as that of the family and the church, and changed the intellectual outlook of the people.\(^8\)

Therefore, concomitant with this historical development came a growing interest in the idea of "positive government." Related to the optimistic "law of progress," so typical of the 19th Century, was the notion that there is an orderly movement in society toward rational goals of social change and improvement. And in this pattern of things, it should be government's role to aid and abet the law of progress and pave the way for these inevitable social changes.\(^9\) In this climate, then, arises a new challenge to the individual. What right does he have to claim a so-called "sovereignty of independence"? In the face of increasingly complex civilization, can (or should) the individual stand alone? Should he not recognize the unalterable fact that he is indeed a member of "society"? True, society or the collective mass may now question the role of government as master or servant. But the advocates of positive government now argued that society must take over and make

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\(^9\) The relationship between "progress" and "power" was first described by Marquis de Condorcet, *Outline of an Historical View of the Human Mind*, 1795, and was given new facets by Comte and Spencer in the 19th Century. This relationship remains firmly entrenched today as a characteristic element in modern political theory.
the individual realize that there is strength (as well as "good") in numbers. The mass or group concept of communal strength now regained some of its ancient importance.

Perhaps, to the pluralist, an argument can be fashioned that individual freedom rests upon the multiplicity of social units and the existence of a thriving and vigorous society.\textsuperscript{10} However, to others, the distinction between "society" and "government" has never been clearly drawn and hence, in either sense, the individualist could stoutly maintain that the general collectivist notion simply added up to the tyranny (malevolent or benevolent) of government over man—or the many over the few.

Actually, during this period of ferment, a great struggle for compromises occurred, flavored by the constant hope that all conflicts could be resolved even on a tentative basis in a democratic and peaceful environment. Perhaps Abraham Lincoln gave us the best glimpse of this pattern when he wrote:

> I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for those of each part doing just as they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else.\textsuperscript{11}

In a very real way, this Lincoln standard would be much too general to be of specific help in weighing concrete issues. Nonetheless it does exemplify the effort of Americans to find proper balances and relationships between government and the individual.

Still, the problems of a growing nation have persisted, and in recent decades the gnawing and tormenting burdens of international relations have been added. For example, to what extent shall liberty be circumscribed to guarantee security in the world of nations? In our modern and baffling nuclear age, which things belong to government and which to the individual? Generally, we can say that since government acts through coercion (direct or indirect), the things that are properly under

\textsuperscript{10}A rewarding insight into pluralism may be obtained from Harold J. Laski, \textit{Authority in the Modern State} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), and \textit{A Grammar of Politics}, 4th ed. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1938); also William Y. Elliott, \textit{The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics} (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

its sway are those which must be done under compulsion or not be done at all. And since the individual acts through voluntarism, the things that are properly under his jurisdiction are those which, in their very nature, must be done of free will if they are to have any value in life—for him. Examples in this sphere would include issues of morality, the exercise of credal faith, and the nurture of habit, custom, and tradition.

However, this is no air-tight compartment of values. In many instances the interests of government and the individual impinge upon the same real issue. For example, in the realm of censorship of literature, the conflicts may be very dramatic and very serious. Government will take action against that which it judges to be unclean, obscene, or "dangerous." But the individual may raise the question of proper definition of terms and may also protest against the intervention of government in an area so intimately related to personal taste and culture. Can a writer, for instance, legitimately argue that his ultimate obedience is to something "higher" than government? Obedience to his inner promptings? Obedience to the cause of beauty? Of truth?

... there ought to exist a certain minimum area of personal freedom which must on no account be violated, for if it is overstepped, the individual will find himself in an area too narrow for even that minimum development of his natural faculties which alone make it possible to pursue, and even to conceive, the various ends which men hold good or right or sacred. It follows that a frontier must be drawn between the area of private life and that of public authority. Where it is to be drawn is a matter of argument, indeed of haggling.12

This gives rise to the grievous quandary of determining whether obedience to government is absolute or conditional. Is disobedience or resistance ever justified? Thoreau obviously thought so when he refused to pay his poll tax and ended up in a Massachusetts jail, arguing all the while that when law was unjust, all honest men belonged in prison!13 But how is the line to be drawn, and what criteria will apply? In the eyes of government, each citizen is obligated to obey duly promulgated laws. But in the eyes of the individual, such an obligation

13"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison," Henry David Thoreau, Walden and Civil Disobedience (New York: Mentor, 1957), p. 230.
is conditioned by his own evaluation of government’s action. If he feels that such action violates a “higher law” (be it natural, utilitarian, beauty, truth, etc.), his loyalty becomes divisible. Hence, government is limited in its scope of power to the extent of the individual’s loyalty to the higher law.

But in the case of a government-individual impasse, how is the Gordian knot to be unraveled? Government could, of course, simply impose force and ride roughshod over individualistic reservations. On the other side of this same equation, however, the individual could “strange” himself and revolt against the constituted political authority. But, given the environment of democracy and justice, the general tendency will be to hammer out tentative compromises—a ceaseless struggle for solutions to the impasses created by the vexing issues of the day. Of course, at times this temporizing tradition has capitulated to the forces of rage and hate. Witness the bloody and hideous tragedy of the Civil War, and note the terrible sorrow which is rife in the modern “Negro revolution”:

Swirling black and thin white line,
Hymns of hope and prayers of peace,
Gutter curse and silence of stone,
Gandhi and King.

Yellow fang and cruel, coarse club,
Stinging water, and fire’s glare,
Frenetic, senseless flame,
Anguish and agony.

And Jesus wept.

But in the main, despite insane setbacks, we have tried valiantly to meet the bewildering challenges of our world in the arena of lawful controversy and democratic decision-making.

If the rule of reason can prevail, both government and the individual will make commitments to refrain from force and violence. The individual should then be willing to subject the rationale of his resistance or disobedience to close scrutiny and debate and should also be willing to accept the consensus of judgment—no matter how rough, crude, or temporary—of the public. Accordingly, government should then be willing to permit the environment where such free testing may take place and should also be willing to accept the public’s consensus.
Obviously, there is no simple rule that can be applied automatically to solve all conflicts between government and the individual. Each issue must be judged tentatively on its own merits at the particular time and circumstance of history, in the environment of tradition, convention, and law. However, it must be recognized that genuine progress in society can occur only in the climate of peaceful social persuasion. Hate campaigns, slander, shotgun blasts, and fire bombings certainly do not make an environment for intelligent debate, nor a launching pad for meaningful social progress.

Perhaps we can apply the term "empirical individualism" to this struggle for balanced compromises. In this sense we could maintain that government may intervene in those areas where experience and common sense show that the intervention is essential for human welfare. Accordingly, in this same line of reasoning, government should interfere with the individual only when his conduct affects the welfare of others directly, substantially, and adversely. Of course, empirical individualism, no matter how closely defined, cannot be the automatic panacea for our critical conflicts and hence cannot completely solve the question of government as master or servant. But again, as Sir Ernest Barker once put it, this may be "... the only answer which the mind can ever get, however hot for certainties it may be!"

Nevertheless, at this point it should be emphasized that in stabilizing the government-individual relationship, decisions must be made. Though they be painful and filled with anguish, they are the price we must pay for the civilization we do enjoy. Certainly this pathway is far more preferable to the decay and erosion created by indecision. My prior emphasis upon history is based on the idea that the study of history is imperative for proper decision-making in the struggle between government and the individual. After all, life can never be a convenient vacuum in which we can conduct detached experiments, nor

15 "History, by apprising them (the youths of America) of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views." Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, 1782 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), Query 14, p. 148.
can it ever be an electronic device capable of producing exact duplicates! Wise choices will depend upon our ability and willingness to learn from the past. Of course, historical application must always be qualified. We cannot reach definitive conclusions with slide rule or computer. But if we regard history as a “social art,” we may then draw broad conclusions which will aid us in avoiding the pitfalls of tyranny and anarchy. In this way, we can be armed in our struggle for rational, though tentative, decision-making.

America rests upon the threshold of modern greatness. She has much to contribute, and her impact upon the world has been and will continue to be monumental. However, the hardest challenge of all still faces her. Is government to be master or servant? The world watches America to see what decisions will be made regarding the struggle between government and the individual. But above all, these decisions must be made and made in the environment of democratic social persuasion. In every conflict we will face alternatives and we must choose between them. The choice is always hard because no alternative is ever completely satisfactory, and to some extent, each decision must trample upon some value in our society. But choose we must, for ironically, the refusal to choose is in itself a choice. Herein lies the core of genuine human tragedy.

Courage is the cornerstone of choice, and men can never be free unless they are also brave. This is America’s challenge then: to flourish in truth as the “home of the brave and the land of the free.”
Death, the Cradle of Life

Lucile C. Tate*

Man's search for wholeness, or a "fullness of harmony," is of universal import. This theme has inspired artists in every field to create masterworks. The German born author, Thomas Mann, is no exception, for in his novel Magic Mountain, he probes the widely-loved "quest" theme to the fullest.

Magic Mountain was to have been a brief story based upon a personal experience. Mann's wife, suffering from a lung ailment, was obliged to spend six months in a sanatorium in Davos, Switzerland. Toward the last of that period Mann spent three weeks with her and there experienced the tantalizing "high altitude" atmosphere of a prewar luxury Kurhaus.

Everything including time, he says, is thought of on a luxurious and lighthearted scale, so strangely ironic when barely under the surface are creeping disease and death. The cure always lasts several months or several years, during which time the patient readily adjusts to the deceptive sense of well-being. He soon loses his capacity for solid ideas and useful action, and he often becomes incapable of life in the "flatland" of responsible living.

To Mann, the irony was profoundly symbolic of the social-political-philosophic state of pre-World War I Europe. The symbolism became the idea for a brief story which, during the next decade, deepened and grew with the profundity of its multiple ideas until it finally appeared in 1924 as a two-volume novel. It has been translated into all the European languages and has found a wide audience in America.

The force and fascination of Mann's novel derive partly from its pertinence to our complex and troubled time, and partly from the intriguing theme of the quest. As all seekers after the Grail have been willing to pass through evil, suffering, and death to attain it, so Mann's hero, Hans Castorp, "voluntarily embraces disease and death, because his very first

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contact with them gives promise of extraordinary enlightenment and adventurous advancement, bound up, of course, with correspondingly great risks." In the writing of *Magic Mountain*, Mann himself seems to be seeking after the very knowledge, wisdom, and consecration which so involve his "foolish hero." The dream of both is the dream of Humanity—the idea of the human being made whole through his total search—or the "conception of a future humanity that has passed through and survived the profoundest knowledge of disease and death and stands in reverence before the mystery that is enduring man."

To the author, *Magic Mountain* was always "like a symphony, a work in counterpoint, a thematic fabric." He takes a time motif, a symphonic form, and the dominant chord, "death, the cradle of life," and overlays an amazing synthesis of all knowledge, all philosophy, and all human pursuit extant in 1907 to 1914 Europe. Against this chaos, he sets adrift his hero, Hans Castorp, "life's delicate child," who has but the "decent leanness of youth." Wholeness is not freely given; it must be searched and suffered for; it must be earned by struggling against opposing forces. Settembrini, the humanist of the story, is one such force, and he warns Hans away from the central search. Settembrini's warning, if heeded, would have sent Hans prematurely back to the "flat-lands" to be shaped with his age into "idiotically symmetrical crystallometry."

Mann's hero, "neither genius nor dunderhead," has saving graces, however, which qualify him for the process of evaluation and refutation. They are his flushed face—Hans blushes "to be gaping at disease and death from the breastwork of material well-being"; his acute apperceptions, which so aggravate the good doctors; and his determination to "get used to not getting used." Because of these qualities, we are willing, fascinated even, to see Hans' soul subjected to the Job-like play between God and Satan as well as to every enticement conceived by ingenious man.

Hans' real story begins, as Mann's idea for it began, at Davos, in a baked-Alaska world of symphonic inversions. The delightful egg-froth exterior deceptively hides the ice beneath, and against the icy pull, Hans, the guest, protests, declines, criticizes, laughs at, tries out, and accepts. His metabolism is
now "sanctified" and his mummy shroud of downy blankets becomes a perfect preburial for Hans of the "narrow hypercivilized breast." The guest has become comrade.

From his comfortable "grave," Hans is reborn to a strange almost passive search. He is fed "soup everlasting," a sumptuous array of food and ideas. His path is middle-of-the-road, and exasperating to Settembrini, who warns him away, then dubs him a wag. But for all the gourmet offering, physical and mental, that makes up over half the book, Hans' face still burns, his apperceptions remain acute, and he yet tries to get used to not getting used.

He is now ready for the greatest risk of all, freedom, which lies in a perilous, uncharted region. On skis, he sets off to be completely alone with his "stock-taking" activities. He now has a "lively craving to come in touch with snowy desolation." The path is through fear, valour, and reverence.

The storm bursts. He sees the "action of blind, nonsentient forces which have no purpose to destroy him, but are merely indifferent to him." He knows that progress under such circumstances is impossible, but he labours deeper and deeper into this callous sphere of snow. It is a fierce struggle, but Mann's "simple" hero, with fevered face, beats against "sensory confusion." Here the author plays another chord of inversion. In a white snow burial, Hans sees, in vision, man at his blackest in the very act of tearing and feasting on new life. Hans is "sicker than he had ever been." Again the inverted chord. Out of his darkest vision comes his greatest illumination, a dream of love where "death shall have no sovereignty over man's thoughts again."

Hans is reborn to a new mastery over his will. He no longer travels middle-of-the-road. He has chosen defiance for his role. He now says what he thinks and "rounds off his period." He says, "Let me do it." He acts.

Behrens, the doctor, presents the patients of the Berghof with a gramophone (casket) and Hans directly takes over its operation. Its music fills him with a new enchantment, a new burden of love. After the other patients have retired, Hans plays his favorites with a familiar "fellow-feeling" that increases each time he listens to them. Each of them is an echo of his own experiences, live burial, pan-piping freedom, rejected love, family ties, and from these he now understands
the triumphant idealism of music, of art, of the human spirit, and of its "power to shroud with a sense of beauty" the actual fact.

It is from the vocal recitative performed by a patient, a lad of parts and discernment, that Hans gains a true conception of the spirit. Mann is explicit.

After so many years of ascent from one stage of being to another, Hans has now reached a point where he is conscious of the meaningfulness of his love and the object of it. The song (the German lied, "Lindenbaum") meant a whole world which he must have loved, else he could not have so desperately loved that which it represented and symbolized to him.

His life had been marked by stages, adventure, and insights which made themes for his stock-taking, and these ripened him into an "intuitional critic of the sphere" with a love of its exquisite image.

Mann again sounds his dominant chord, "death, the cradle of life." Music, the symbol of love has come from a casket, and behind the beloved song is death. It is only through self-conquest that love triumphs. What is needed is an artist of such "sound-enchantment" that the song's volume can subdue the world to a "fullness of harmony." Hans has not lost his dream of love.

He awakes to see the world at "cross purposes"; he hears the "rushing pinions of eagles." The whirlwind comes, and he is ready. His third burial will be in blood and fire, the "universal feast of death and extremity of fever." All evidence indicates that when Hans goes into the war singing, he does so with near perfect inner harmony; the fever is no longer burning in his face, but in the world. He has perceived; he has endured; and he is at last used to not getting used.

Fortunately Settembrini's warning to turn from the search was not heeded. Reason is not enough, Hans found, for it is, in itself, sterile. Faith and a fearless dream must be added.

Mann's synthesizing genius took a time motif, a symphonic form, and the quest theme and created a masterwork. Magic Mountain is not only a novel, but a tremendous "musical" experience, and its message is vital to our day. We desperately need its dream of man rising anew from his state of disease, war, and death to a wholeness and harmony.
The Hudson from Heine Cook's

An Etching

by

Mahonri Young
A Note on "The Hudson from Heine Cook's"

DALE T. FLETCHER*

This etching was produced by Mahonri Young in 1916. In today's world of anxiety and extremes his confidence in the long-standing artistic values of sympathetic understanding, faithful representation, and modest personal transformation seems all the more precious. His work is so simple and direct; as his friend Charles Locke once commented, "His interest centered in what he had to say and he said it without any conscious mannerisms." All his work shows the American respect for common people accomplishing their daily tasks as Mahonri Young accomplished his. There was a great white secret to be revealed as the ax split open the wood:

How work is holy
When the heart of the worker
Is fixed on the Highest.

And if not that, at least one may have seen a kind of rejuvenating zest in the simple rural ritual.

But today it is asked "sympathetic understanding of what? Faithful representation of what? And how? And why?" Today the talk is of new realities, if any.

"Of that," Mahonri would have said, pointing, puzzled that the value there was in question. A contemporary artist might respond, "There? Out there is chaos and I am here. Lama Sabachthani."

Is a Mahonri possible today? Or is it as Allan Kaprow, the man of "Happenings," said recently: "At present, any avant-garde art is primarily a philosophical quest and a finding of truths rather than purely an aesthetic activity; for this latter is possible, if at all, only in a relatively stable age when most human beings can agree upon fundamental notions of the nature of the universe."

Oh, to split a stick of plain real wood again.

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Symbols and Salvation
CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE*

This article is an attempt to set in orderly perspective certain elements of the process of obtaining an exaltation. No pretense is made to elucidation of any mystery, nor should the order of the ideas herein be confused with the Gospel. The justification for the existence of this work is the sincere hope that members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who understand the Gospel may receive some further insight into and appreciation of its greatness and of the urgency of serving the Lord with all of their heart, might, mind, and strength through the Gospel plan. To that end, then, I assert the following thesis: Qualifying for exaltation consists essentially in the proper ordering of symbols.

SYMBOLS AND MENTAL LIFE

We must first take account of certain features of the correlation of the mental and physical actions of men. The conscious physical experience of human beings is a mental recording or registration of the influences of the environment that work upon the physical body. This experience is composed of "ideas," mental elements having a possibility of persistence and somewhat subject to recall. The most important aspect of these ideas for our purpose is that every experience-idea is a symbol. If it is a memory, it is a symbol of a past situation; if it is a sensation, it is a symbol of a present external configuration of physical affections; if it is imagination, it is a symbol of some future or possible experience. That which is symbolized by a given symbol is its referent. If an idea is true, it will have a one-to-one correspondence with certain elements of the referent which it symbolizes. In addition to its referent, each idea-symbol has a meaning, which meaning consists essentially in expectations for future sensation associated with the given idea. Idea-symbols thus become the basis for all conscious reaction to our environment. We act so that the most desirable

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possible consequent known to be available to us will become 
a reality, a future present-sensation.

An example may serve to clarify these general statements. 
As a man in our culture sees an automobile, a mental image of 
that automobile forms in his mind. This image is for him a 
symbol of that externally real object. Away from it, he can call 
the symbol to mind and contemplate the automobile by analyzing 
the corresponding elements of the ideas. Through his 
imagination he can mentally dissociate the parts and reassemble 
them, perhaps in new form or with new elements and components. This latter process of mental creation is the key to all 
invention. The meaning of the automobile symbol is what 
he expects from the various components; if he imagines it to 
have a horn, he would expect to be able to produce a noise; if it 
has pneumatic tires, he would expect a certain comfort of ride 
and contingency of continued serviceability.

Language complicates the idea-object symbol relation by 
introducing a secondary level of symbolization. Words "mean" 
the ideas which we each individually associate with them. In 
common sense we sometimes think that when we talk of Provo 
that what we "mean" by the word "Provo" is the physical city 
itself. Reflection shows that all we can possibly mean is some 
kind of amalgamated memory of all the experiences we have 
had in relation to the physical city; we "mean" the ideas we 
remember about the physical city. If we have never personally 
experienced Provo, we will mean by the name "Provo" only 
those ideas which we have habitually come to associate with 
that name. Words are, then, symbols of ideas, those ideas 
being mental symbols of actual or imagined external physical 
objects and events.

Man's mental life may be described as a symbolic awareness 
of external reality and a symbolic preparation or planned 
reaction to that reality on the basis of understood possibilities 
of given situations. A man reacts to a moving automobile by 
removing himself from its path. Or he satisfies the need for 
change of place by recognizing in the idea of automobile the 
possibility of transportation. Mental life is internal symbolic 
adaptation to the realities and possibilities of the external 
world, both the internal and the external being equally real and 
necessary to man's existence and to the satisfaction of his 
desires.
The mental symbolism by which each person adapts himself to his environment and seeks satisfaction of his desires necessarily involves elements which have no present counterpart in sensation. We react to the here and now on the basis of an imagined continuity of today with yesterday and all prior days, and with tomorrow and all future times. We react to the place in which we find ourselves at present by imagining a continuity of the place we see with other places we have seen or have heard about or which we suppose exist. Our minds use, as it were, great maps of time and space which we take as accurate symbols representing external reality. We are able to use these maps because of the physical reality attached by present sensation to certain points of contact with those maps, and also because using them has in the past enabled us to predict our sensations of future times and different places with a high degree of accuracy. On the framework of these time and space maps we construct mentally the whole physical universe and its past, present, and future. We add details of geography, objects, persons, and events in accordance with the range and depth of our observation and education. The inner world of mental construct tends to become a symbol of the universe, seen, as it were, sub species eternitas, without regard to particular perspective of time and place but in regard to the whole of space and events at once, emphasis changing from place to place as the attention varies.

One business of science is the implementation and correction of the social thought-symbol of the universe using purely physical data. In science, the details of present sensation are carefully incorporated into the conceptions of the universe that relate to present time, then inductively distributed backward and forward in time by the principle of uniformity. Theories of things not sensed at all are invented to fill the remaining gaps. The infinitesimal, the infinite, and the distant, all of which are outside the realm of sensation, are imagined and added to the universe-symbol on the basis of what is consistent with and possibly explanatory of the elements of present sensation. The ultimate scientific criterion for creation of the universe-symbol is that all ideas incorporated must be either directly observable or be theoretical projections having an economizing and predictive function. One special aspect of science is that the modern scientific universe symbol is naturalistic; its constructs must be
limited to matter or energy in motion in relation to other matter or energy, specifically rejecting the existence of God, spirits, devils, etc.

The practical advantage of the human universe-symbol is enormous. If a man wants, say, to erect a factory at a certain spot, he employs an architect to plan a building. He has in his mind a general idea of the functional requirements of the desired structure. He symbolizes this mental image in words or drawings which the architect or engineer must interpret to form a mental image which will have a one-to-one correspondence with the functional necessities of the project envisioned by his client. The architect or engineer must then imaginatively create an image or mental symbol of a building which will at the same time satisfy those functional necessities and also the necessities of sturdy structural characteristics and proper adaptation to the building site in accordance with the details and regularities of his own scientific world-image. This new mental symbol of the building is given a physical symbolism in blueprints and specifications. The building contractor then seeks to order the materials of nature and manufacture to build the physical structure in accordance with his understanding or mental symbol of what was intended by the creator of the blueprints and specifications. The finished physical structure is then put into operation by the entrepreneur; if it fulfills his functional needs, then everyone is satisfied and symbols have served as could nothing else in achieving that satisfaction.

In summary, human life is a constant interplay and adjustment of reality to mental symbol, and vice versa. As we observe the world, we adjust the mental symbol to reality; as we work and create, we adjust reality to our mental symbols. Questions of metaphysics aside, mind and matter are profoundly and functionally related.

LEARNING THE GOSPEL

We noted that the scientific world-image is naturalistic. It contains no gods or demons, spirits or spiritual forces, dead or unborn men. Furthermore, the scientific world-image is quite neutral in relation to values; it can sometimes tell men how to get what they want, but never what they must or should want.

The message known as the Gospel of Jesus Christ is, in the framework of our discussion, an opportunity for men to
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add to and to correct their mental image of the universe in such a way that they can more successfully achieve their desires and avoid unpleasant experiences. It teaches men that there are gods in heaven and that we are their children; that there are spiritual influences of both uplifting and degrading effect; that we must account for all of our trespasses against our fellowmen; and that we may receive the assistance of one Jesus Christ if we think enough of our fellowmen to try to make amends for whatever sorrow we have brought into the world. The Gospel teaches men who already believe in a god how they should conceive of him and what they can do to please him, to put themselves in a position to receive his assistance. The Gospel, then, instructs men on how to construct and furnish their mental construct of the universe in relation to the things which most of them cannot see. One who has seen and personally knows of the truth of what he says bears witness to men of the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth and of our Lord’s literal resurrection and appearance in the latter days. He testifies that the power and influence of the Holy Ghost is real, and that peace and joy are the fruits of living by the Spirit. He who hears the Gospel message truly delivered will be touched himself with a spiritual experience, the witness of the Spirit to the truth of the words of the missionary, a veritable specimen of the actual spiritual reality about which the missionary is talking. Pricked in conscience and mind by living evidence of a dimension of reality which he had previously discounted or only imagined, the hearer of the Gospel is then moved with Peter’s hearers to exclaim, “Men and brethren, what shall I do?” Already sensing the power of the Gospel message and the authority of him who speaks, he feels drawn to the minister of salvation and hungers for further word.

Having already explained to his hearer the essential personages which should be part of his world-symbol, the messenger proceeds to relate the requirements of salvation, the opportunities which those divine personages have made possible. The hearer of the Word is told of the importance of faith, obedience to the directions of the Savior; of the wonderful opportunity of repentance; of the covenant and promises of baptism; and of the comfort and guidance possible after receiving the Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. In short, the messenger attempts to create certain ideas of divine standards of
conduct, setting an ideal pattern after the fashion of the architect’s blueprint. But the missionary is not the architect, for his message is vague, general and in the vernacular. The Lord is the architect. It is his Holy Spirit which clarifies to the mind of the hearer the specific standards and ideas suggested by the missionary. The workings of the Spirit are analogous to the engineer who takes the rough intentions of his client and transforms them into precise and realistic specifications; so does the Spirit accompany the necessarily vague and limited utterances of the missionary to create in the mind of the hearer exact and precise symbols or ideal standards. All this is so that the demands of perfect justice and divine mercy might not be rendered inapplicable through total dependence on human communication with its necessary faults and limitations. The Lord sees that all men are sufficiently instructed in good and evil.

Thus it is that a man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge. That is to say, his ability to please God is limited by the awareness he has of the exact ideal standards of the Gospel he must abide in order to have faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The first requisite for salvation is, then, repentance. In repentance a person must order his mental image of the universe to include all the following: the Father; the Son; the Holy Ghost; the spirits of men who are dead; the spirits of the unborn, angels, and devils; the Gifts of the Spirit; the powers of Satan; Adam and Eve; the Fall of man; the Atonement of Jesus Christ; the Priesthood and keys; the Day of Judgment; the Church of Jesus Christ; the prophets, seers and revelators; the Gospel ordinances; the visions and revelations of Joseph Smith; the historicity and divinity of the Bible, the Pearl of Great Price, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants; and the divine leadership of the living prophet, etc. Within the framework of these persons, things and events, the person must order his mental symbol of the universe to include the standards and laws of the celestial kingdom, the love for the Lord with all one’s heart, might, mind, and strength, and obedience to all His commandments. He will project in his mind the heavenly city which all the prophets have longed to see, where no one hurts or destroys, where all the pure in heart dwell in righteousness under the leadership of the Savior. While it is true that no one will receive precise concepts of all these things before he accepts the Gospel, in the process of
SYMBOLS AND SALVATION

earning his exaltation he must come to have a true understanding or mental image of all these things. The first step in salvation, then, is to order one's mental image of the universe to include true spiritual realities as one is taught them. Only then is he prepared to live the Gospel, seeing and doing all with the perspective of spiritual eternity.

LIVING THE GOSPEL

Having attained an adequate mental basis for the proper living of the Gospel, if a person then desires the association of the gods and the blessings they can bestow, it is incumbent upon him to act according to the specific prescriptions of those divine personages. If he can change the natural actions of his life so that he conforms to the new standards they have put into his mind, he then can be saved. For example, he learns that not only must he avoid fornication and adultery, but that he must avoid every thought or desire of physical pleasure which is outside the precise bounds of righteousness the Lord has established. He then labors to fill his mind with the words of the scriptures, to garnish his thoughts with virtue, to remember the Savior always, to be led by the Spirit to understand why unchastity is such a terrible abomination; that through all this he might come to have the pure love of Christ toward all men and no longer desire any kind of evil. This lifting of one's actions to measure up precisely to the standards of celestial law is called "justification," the process of becoming a just or law-abiding man. This achievement is possible only under the constant tutelage of the Holy Ghost. This process is also known as finding the strait and narrow way. We enter the gate, which is acceptance of the first principles and ordinances, and then begin the struggle to tread the path to exaltation. We must struggle against the temptations of good things apart from divinely prescribed conditions, temptations of pride, of intellect, of physical attainments, of the flattery and cunning of worldly persons, of the shame of the world, and against the taunts of unholy men. If we can humble ourselves sufficiently to receive and be obedient to the Spirit, then no worldly influence can block or thwart our treading of the straight and narrow. As a little child submits to his father, so we then become meek, submissive, patient, and full of love that we might receive grace upon grace, the light of truth growing brighter and brighter in
us until the perfect day, the day we become perfect by obeying the enticings of the Holy Spirit in all that we do.

The straitness of the way to exaltation varies as we progress. It always directs us squarely to our goal, but varies in its breadth. The closer we come to living celestial laws, the more particular will the Spirit be in warning us of pitfalls. What the Spirit allows us to do in our early weakness, it will forbid us to do in our later strength of increased righteousness. As fast as we can receive and live the principles of righteousness, we are led on unto perfection, wherein we do only that which we are directed to do. Living the Gospel, then, is bringing our treatment of real physical things and events into accord with the standard of saintly action prescribed by the Lord and described in detail to us by the Spirit. It is the adequation of the acts of a free agent to the specifications of a celestial symbol through human willingness and divine spiritual power.

But the importance of symbols does not end with the mental image of the world which a saint enjoys. There is yet another level of symbolism which might be illuminated. For the real elements of the physical world—the persons, things, and events—are all themselves symbols of a yet greater reality. These are neither linguistic nor mental symbols; rather are they physical realities symbolic of things spiritual, present realities symbolic of things future. To distinguish these special symbols which are the referent and physical reality of the Gospel standard, and at the same time are the symbols of a spiritual and future reality, let us call them “surrogates”: that which stands in the stead of. Surrogates are special symbols because, in opposition to linguistic or mental symbols, they have more than instrumental or operational value. Surrogates are intrinsically valuable as realities in their own right, and cannot be expended or disregarded in favor of their referent. In fact, the surrogate provides a unique access to the referent. Whereas the linguistic symbol is a matter of custom and convenience, proper action toward gospel surrogates is the only way of obtaining the ultimate which they symbolize.

Let us examine a specific instance of a surrogate. The celestial standard is that we treat each human being with perfect and complete kindness and love; be he friend or enemy, we must not condemn, but bear witness to the truth; not
wish evil against him, but pray for him; not harm, but return
good for evil. Each human being is a surrogate or symbol of our
Savior, Jesus Christ, and whatsoever we do unto the least of
our brethren, even so we do it unto him. If we would be
exalted, we must learn and come to have in our minds that
celestial standard. We must then bring our actions up to that
standard, treating each of our fellowmen as if he were the
Savior. Thus realizing that each person is a symbol or surrogate
of the Savior, we learn to relate properly to those symbols in
the real world, that is, to treat that person in such a way that
we may become worthy of enjoying the personal presence of the
Savior and do for him directly what we now do only for his
surrogate. Only if we treat his surrogate as we should treat
him, may we receive the Lord. This surrogate is thus a unique
factor in gaining the ultimate spiritual reward we seek.

Other examples of the surrogate-symbol relationship are as
follows. A man’s wife in the new and everlasting covenant is a
surrogate of the blessings of that covenant and a symbol of
the covenant itself. If he dishonors her in thought or in act,
he dishonors that covenant; if he does not repent, he cuts
himself off from the blessings of the covenant. The children
a man and wife have are surrogates of a numeless posterity.
Their physical possessions, of land, animals, and things, are
surrogates of an eternal physical dominion. Their priesthood is
a surrogate of the full powers of godhood. The Church is a
surrogate of the heavenly Church of the Firstborn. The
authorities who preside in the Church are surrogates of the
Lord and his role as governor of the universe. The influence
of the Holy Spirit a man enjoys is surrogate of the fulness of
light and truth enjoyed by the exalted. The saving ordinances
are surrogates of the eternal pronouncements of blessings in the
eternal world. In short, earthly things are surrogates of an
eternal and a future greater reality. Each is of great intrinsic
worth, and only as we accord to each that intrinsic worth and
order our lives and them in relation to celestial standards can
we ever enjoy the eternal and ultimate reality. Those who are
damned are those who abuse the intrinsic worth of surrogates
here and now in order to satisfy an urge or lust or fear, being
unwilling to abide the celestial image given to them in their
minds by the power of the Spirit.
CONCLUSION AND COROLLARIES

The force of the thesis of this paper should now be manifest as that thesis is restated: Qualifying for exaltation consists essentially in the proper ordering of symbols. This means, then, that the essential steps in becoming exalted are (1) ordering our mental symbols to conform to the spiritual realities of the universe, (2) ordering the affairs of our lives in accordance with those mental symbols. We should remember that each thing, event, or person in this world is a symbol or surrogate of an ultimate spiritual reality and that our actions relative to these things demonstrate how we would react in that ultimate spiritual situation. The following corollaries might now be drawn.

(a) It will be noted that the most important element of ordering symbols in the two steps of gaining an exaltation mentioned above are changes of self more than of anything else. We change our world-image as we are taught to understand truth by the Holy Ghost. We change our actions to treat everything and everybody as we should according to the world-image which the Spirit has given us. The ordering of symbols thus consists in ordering the position of the self, each for himself, in relation to all things external. For the concept of self is itself symbol and surrogate as is everything else. My body is surrogate for the resurrected body I shall some day have. My present desires are surrogates for my eternal desires. My thoughts are surrogates for what I shall think in eternity. If I can subject my body, my desires, and my thoughts to the standards of thought and action prescribed by the Lord, I then can be blessed by him. Subordination of the self to the will of God, then, is the particular ordering of symbols which is in my power which will lead to exaltation. Any deviation must lead to damnation. But the Savior has said this more simply; Except ye "become as a little child, ye can in nowise inherit the kingdom of God." (3 Nephi 11:38.)

(b) Another consequence of our human situation here delineated is the nothingness of man when he pretends to be anything without the help of the Lord. If we are not led by the Spirit, we cannot begin to know whether we have a correct or incorrect idea about things we cannot directly perceive. All human description of the unseen is a guess, "educated" though
that guess may be. Men make sufficient errors to convince at least all who try that the theories of men can never be trusted completely. But even if a man learns for himself from the Spirit the true image of the universe, he is yet helpless if he then rejects the guidance of the Spirit in his daily actions. Without the guidance of the Spirit he will not know what to do in all things to be perfect, since light and truth are different things.

Furthermore, we have not in ourselves the power, worlds without end, to change the past, to change the consequences of our evil deeds, that we might stand blameless before a just God. Through the Atonement of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Ghost, we may be saved from the consequences of our mistakes, and we may be led to sin no more. Both of these great values, guidance and forgiveness, depend solely upon the proper relating of our own concept of our self to our concepts and precepts of our Savior and the Holy Ghost. If we pretend to any merit, worth, or intelligence on our own that entitles us either to a necessary claim upon the Savior’s atonement or to an ability to dispense even temporarily with the guidance of the Spirit, we have so misordered the symbols that we cannot be made perfect and cannot reach exaltation. Again, the Savior has said this more simply: "Without me ye can do nothing." (John 15:5.)

(c) Heretofore little has been said of scripture, but the place of scripture can now be located within the framework already established. Written scripture is a collection of human symbols which have been ordered in a particular fashion by holy men as they were directed by the Holy Spirit. Contrary to what is often supposed, the purpose of written scripture is not, generally, to make clear and certain to men the ways of the Lord. The scriptures are written in a human vernacular which is not designed for nor capable of expressing spiritual truth with any high degree of accuracy. That fact may be coupled with the fact that there is no such thing as literal interpretation of any human symbol, all meaning being strictly a matter of convention. To these mechanical difficulties we may add the deliberate confusion created by the Lord, "that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and
their sins should be forgiven them.” (Mark 4:12.) It is also obvious that the scriptures are not topically organized nor is any pretension to completeness made for any doctrinal question other than the simple message of the fulness of the Gospel as found in the Book of Mormon. These factors surely demonstrate that the scriptures are not intended to be a clear exposition of the mind and will of the Lord. Compared with the level of communication established in modern scientific discourse, the human interpretation of scripture is almost completely blind.

What then is the intended purpose of our scriptures? They are intended to prick the conscience, to excite the curiosity, to stimulate one to search, and to baffle him who seeks for the wrong reason. They are intended as enigmas that must be unraveled by the same power as originally gave them. He who supposes that he can in any way determine the meaning of any scripture without the explicit guidance of the Holy Ghost, however literal or historic the reference may appear, has not yet learned the answer to the most basic of all religious questions: “Can a man by searching find out God?”

All who have the enlightenment of the Holy Ghost regarding the meaning of any passage of scripture are of one mind with the Lord, with the Lord’s appointed prophets, and with all others who enjoy the guidance of the Spirit. The scriptures, are, then, a symbolic enticement to learn of the things of God and at the same time a barricade to the learning of spiritual truth. They are a blessing to humble men who seek true wisdom and a warning to proud men to humble themselves if they wish to know truth and light instead of the vain imaginings of men. Eternal life is found only in coming personally to the Savior as we heed the living prophets and the voice of the Lord through the Holy Spirit. Hence the Savior’s challenge to the mistaken Jews: “Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.” (John 5:39.) The Jews thought the scriptures would guide them to eternal life. But they didn’t understand their own scriptures. If they had, they would have seen that the scriptures point men to Christ, and only in him can any man gain eternal life. Thus the Savior’s lament: “And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.” (John 5:40.)
(d) It is important to mention in connection with scripture a didactic symbolism employed by the Lord wherein physically real things on the earth are used to teach men of things they cannot now experience. Brief mention of certain examples of this must suffice. The sacrifice Adam offered was to teach him of the Sacrifice of the Son of God, through which Adam would be saved. The flood which ended the patriarchal world is a symbol of baptism. The ark wherein eight souls were saved by water is a symbol of the saving power of the new and everlasting covenant. The rainbow is a symbol of God’s forbearance and will not be removed until He is again about to destroy the world. The tower of Babel episode is a symbol of what happens when men attempt to find out God by searching. Light is a symbol of guidance and good; darkness and consequent stumbling of evil. Abraham’s attempted sacrifice of Isaac is a symbol of the sacrifice by the Father of his Only Begotten. Moses holding aloft the brazen serpent was a symbol to Israel that whosoever should have faith to look, to believe on the Savior, should be saved. The rituals of the Law of Moses all were types and shadows, living prophecies of the Atonement. The cross whereon the Savior was crucified is a symbol of the evil of this world. The parables of the Savior were likenesses of things physical to things spiritual. The Liahona is a symbol of the guidance of the Spirit; the Urim and Thummim of the power of Seership. The destructions of the wicked, upheavals of the earth, and subsequent blessings of the righteous in Book of Mormon times were a symbol of the events accompanying the Second Coming of the Savior. Modern temples are symbols of the mountains where the prophets have gone to get away from the world and commune with God, and vice versa. Almost every physical aspect of the temple is symbolic of truths of a spiritual order. The temple ceremonies are highly symbolic but intended to convey important truths for both everyday living and for eternity. Every Gospel ordinance is a symbol: baptism, of death and burial, of cleansing, of rebirth; confirmation, of receiving the Holy Ghost; anointing with oil, of receiving the blessings of the Lord; shaking the dust off shoes, of leaving a witness; the emblems of the sacrament, of the body and blood of the Savior; our reaching out to partake of the sacrament, of our voluntary promise to obey God in all things. Obviously, this list could be extended almost indefinitely. The point is
this: the Lord employs every opportunity to use physical things to teach us things spiritual. As we receive this teaching under the influence of the Holy Ghost, we are given an understanding of the truth sufficient for our salvation. If, after all this, we will not accept of the ways of the Lord, it is to our own account. After these many witnesses we cannot stand blameless.

Suffice it to say in conclusion that symbols are at once the key to our exaltation and the lock that damns us. Only as we are honest in heart and hunger and thirst after righteousness do they become the means for our blessing which our Lord intends.

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The Scripture Scholar

Colleen Whitley*

Spindrift starfire
from celestial spheres
glimmers in the eyes of men
looking for it here.

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Dickens and the Mormons

RICHARD J. DUNN*

In "Bound for the Great Salt Lake," The Uncommercial Traveller essay for July 4, 1863, Charles Dickens admitted that "to the rout and overthrow of all [his] expectations" Mormon emigrants merited praise instead of the censure he had been prepared to give them.1 To the study of mid-Victorian religious and social attitudes and particularly to the study of Dickens' increasing religious toleration, this largely neglected essay presents fresh insights. It also gives a colorful account of the sailing of the Amazon from London in June, 1863—an important event in the history of Mormon emigration. Previously, Dickens unquestionably had adopted much of the prevailing distrust and contempt with which his contemporaries regarded Mormons. But in his later years, as he grew more tolerant of other religious minorities, he observed Mormons personally and radically changed his opinion of them. To explain this reversal in his opinion and to realize how his final view differed from the typical attitude of his age, it is necessary to trace his opinions of the Mormons before 1863 and also to survey briefly the Mormons' position in midcentury England.

Dickens first mentioned the Mormons in American Notes, published in 1842. After describing an insane woman (not a Mormon) who heard voices, he went on to suggest that just as she had been committed to an asylum so might it be a good idea "to shut up a few false prophets of these latter times," starting with "a Mormonist or two."2 Nowhere in American Notes did he indicate that he had known personally any Mormons in either America or England, but he did declare that England "is not unknown to Mr. Joseph Smith, the apostle of

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1The Uncommercial Traveller and Reprinted Pieces (Philadelphia: The Nottingham Society, n.d.), p. 219. Further references to this essay are from this edition and are included in the text.

2A Child's History of England and American Notes (Philadelphia: The Nottingham Society, n.d.), p. 75. Further references are from this edition and are included in the text.

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Mormonism, or to his benighted disciples." He further remarked that he had "beheld [Mormon] religious scenes in some of our populous towns which can hardly be surpassed by an American camp meeting" (pp. 247-248). He may well have witnessed Mormon missionaries preaching in the London streets, where they had begun their work in 1840. But his comparison between Mormon religious scenes and American camp meetings reveals his ignorance of Mormon practices, for, as he was to learn from his visit to the *Amazon* in 1865, their services, unlike camp meetings, were quiet and orderly.

Neither Dickens' published works nor his letters during the remainder of the 1840's contain any references to the Mormons, for probably he was not aware how rapidly, since first coming to England in 1837, they had been increasing their numbers. The spread of the new religion during the 1840's was phenomenal: in 1840 they established the *Millennial Star* as their official newspaper; in the same year they began emigration to the United States; in 1841 they presented Queen Victoria with a copy of the first British edition of the Book of Mormon; and by the end of the decade they had extended their missions throughout the British Isles.

Dickens' first brief references to the Mormons were no doubt based largely upon what he had read and heard about them. Anti-Mormon propaganda had been present in England from as early as April, 1838, and by 1840 the ministers of southern England had unsuccessfully petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to seek parliamentary prohibition of Mormon preaching. Joseph Smith, commenting from Missouri during the time of great persecution in 1839, worried because "the enemy of righteousness was no less busy with the Saints in England. . . . Temptation followed temptation, and being young in the cause, the Saints suffered themselves to be buffeted by their adversary." A modern Mormon writer believes that, although more fair generally than the American papers, the British press often "acceded to misinformed public opinion or bowed to the will of opposing factional interests, whose accusations have at times been in the nature of willfully dis-

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4Ibid., p. 113.

honest and grossly untrue fabrications." In 1859 John Stuart Mill condemned "the language of downright persecution which breaks out from the press of this country whenever it feels called on to notice the remarkable phenomenon of Mormonism." Not only did such journalism probably influence Dickens in the 1840's, but also he later endorsed it editorially.

By 1851 there were over fifty thousand Latter-day Saints in England and Scotland, a number large enough to cause the historian Bancroft to remark that "at this period the British Isles were justly termed the stronghold of Mormonism." John W. Dodds observed that because they were composed of "solid citizenry" and because their conduct was exemplary, the British Mormons differed from the wilder Followers of Joanna Southcott and the Irvingites, with whom they were often erroneously linked in public opinion. Dodds' is, of course, the retrospective view; few Victorians distinguished the Mormons from the numerous more fanatical religious orders. Overt hostility toward Mormons was never as severe as that in the United States, and so religious persecution was not the primary motive for the emigration of tens of thousands of British Mormons. Nor, despite the fact that a majority were from the agricultural and laboring classes who had suffered greatly during the hungry 1840's, was expected improvement of economic and social position the most important cause that led an average of twelve thousand Mormons a year to leave England during the 1850's. The Perpetual Emigration Fund, founded in 1851 and later termed "the only successful privately organized emigration system of the period," succeeded because the main motive for emigration was spiritual.

A brief survey of the most common midcentury British objections to Mormonism reveals the attitudes that Dickens at first shared. As did the Americans, most British critics centered their attacks on the practice of polygamy. Both fascinated and repulsed by the idea of polygamy, the English exaggerated its extent, but critics comforted themselves with the theory

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10Evans, *Great Britain*, p. 245.
that by inbreeding the Mormons were hastening their own end. Polygamy was not the only grounds for the English attacks, however. A March, 1854, London Quarterly Review article expressed many of the typical Victorian objections. The anonymous critic believed that Mormons possess a profane notion of faith, permit the "personal profligacy of the Prophet and his coadjutors," and practice a religion of "sensuality and blasphemy." He went on to demand, "And is it into a system like this that our English matrons and virgins are to be enticed?"  

Concern for matrons and virgins seems secondary, however, to the critic's fear of Mormons as avowed materialists "who utterly ridicule the notion of a spiritual as distinct from a material existence."  

Here he revealed, in a larger than merely religious context, a dominant attitude of the age. A property-conscious England, officially unwilling to admit the successful existence of sects much nearer its religious hierarchy than the Mormons, naturally eyed Mormon materialistic progress with suspicion. Specifically, the English questioned the practicality and diligence with which the Mormons had built a modern city in the deserts of Utah, for no other religious order of the time and none of the earlier Utopian visionaries had prospered so efficiently. Also, the critics must have envied the Mormons' effective tithing system. To see a new religious order thriving in practical matters of emigration, city building, and of trade in the deserts of America naturally made the Englishman self-conscious of his established church, which was struggling both with internal division and with Nonconformist and Catholic demands. Because of mid-Victorian defensive pride in religious and social orthodoxy, it is not surprising that in much of the anti-Mormon writing, materialism was nearly as inflammatory a subject as polygamy. Dickens too, as we shall later see, was interested in the Mormons' material progress, but unlike the majority of his contemporaries he praised Mormon practicality and industry, separating this praise from his criticism of Mormon religious practices. 

By 1861, the year Sir Richard Burton published The City of the Saints, a record of his trip to Salt Lake City the year before, he could cite thirty-three book-length discussions of

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13Ibid., p. 115.
Mormonism, but he yet found "a prodigious general ignorance of the 'Mormon Rule'; the mass of the public has heard of the Saints, but even well educated men hold theirs to be a kind of socialistic or communist concern."

The occasional articles concerning Mormons that had been published in Dickens' *Household Words* during the 1850's substantiate Burton's observation, but, differing from most of their contemporaries, Dickens' contributors were consistently complimentary toward the Mormons' practical accomplishments.

As an editor who exercised strict control over the articles in his journals, Dickens certainly would not have permitted the appearance of any anti-Mormon propaganda with which he did not personally agree. Thus, although there is no mention of the Mormons in Dickens' own writing between *American Notes* and *The Uncommercial Traveller*, the articles in *Household Words* and in the early volumes of *All the Year Round* may be accepted as reflecting his views. For the first of the articles, "In the Name of the Prophet—Smith!" appearing in *Household Words* in 1851, we know from Dickens' letters that he suggested the title and directed changes in content. The author, James Hannay, attacked Mormon "fanaticism—singing hymns to nigger tunes," and this attitude certainly must have pleased Dickens, who, as shown by his numerous attacks on Dissenters, distrusted fanaticism in any form. Also, Dickens approved as Hannay charged the Mormons with "the absurdity of seeing visions in the age of railways." Praising their "work; hard, useful, wealth-creating labour," Hannay separated praise for practical achievement from condemnation of religious belief; he defined Mormonism as a combination of two of Joseph Smith's personal qualities—"immense practical industry, and pitiable superstitious delusion." It is here, and in Hannay's remark, "What the Mormons do, seems to be excellent; what they say is mostly nonsense," that Dickens had his most direct editorial influence. In the letter concerning this article he admonished his sub-editor to have Hannay delete "anything about such a man [as Smith] believing in himself—which he has no right to do and which would by inference justi-

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fy about anything."18 Obviously Dickens was wary of permitting the slightest suggestion that there was any spiritual truth in the Mormon religion, a faith about which neither he nor the majority of his readers were well informed. What is remarkable about this 1851 article is its endorsement of Mormon practicality. It was this aspect of the Latter-day Saints which Dickens himself praised when twelve years later he overcame his prejudice.

In 1854, *Household Words* contained a short notice of the *Deseret News*, the Salt Lake City paper, and Dickens' journal again praised Mormon industry, this time supporting Burton's later observation that most people viewed the Mormons as communistic. Qualifying praise of their industry with censure of the Mormons' "wild, ignorant, superstition," the article credited them with having conceived "the embryo of a nation founded on industry, and upon a theorem of communism which has occupied the attention of philosophers from Plato downwards."19 Less complimentary, an 1861 *All the Year Round* article concluded that Salt Lake City "stands as a singular monument of the latest brand of religious fanaticism," for "despite the advances of education and science, men remain more inclined to follow impulse than reason, and more willing to accept an absurdity offered than to think for themselves."20 This comment, although not by Dickens himself, may have easily won editorial approval, for throughout his fiction he had portrayed with little sympathy zealots who did not think for themselves. More important than the reaction Dickens may have had to this article is its charge that the Mormons failed to profit from education and science. This implied that, by effectively utilizing education and science, orthodoxy could do much to curb Mormon conversion and emigration. Burton, writing in the same year as an *All the Year Round* contributor, had argued a similar position. He noted that "when Home Missions shall have done their duty in educating and evangelising the unhappy pariahs of town and country, the sons of the land which boasts herself to be the foremost among the nations, will blush no more to hear that the Mormons or Latter-day

Saints are mostly English." 21 Such reasoning inevitably recalls Dickens' own consistent belief that, before turning to "telescopic philanthropy" and foreign missions, the British should begin their efforts at home.

Although popular opinion had a large role in determining Dickens' early attitude toward the Mormons, his personal opinion of other religious minorities must also be considered. His major objections to the Nonconformists focused on his hatred of their narrow and self-absorbed lives, their austere Sabbaths, and their hypocrisy and cant. 22 Possessing a firm belief in Christianity's humanistic application, Dickens in a letter of 1856 described his idea of the "all-sufficiency" of the New Testament; "If I am ever . . . mistaken on this subject, it is because I discountenance all obtrusive professions of and trading in religion, as one of the main causes of why real Christianity has been retarded in this world." 23 Distrust of "obtrusive professions of and trading in religion" provoked many of his attacks on Dissenters. Also, it no doubt colored his early opinions of Mormonism, which, as revealed by the several sources cited, differed very little from his distrust of the Dissenters. Except for the approval of Mormon practicality, Dickens shared his age's prejudices and extended his disgust with Nonconformists to the Mormons. But before 1863 it appears he did not consider the Mormons a subject worthy of personal consideration in either his journals or his fiction. Never did he regard the Latter-day Saints a problem demanding opposition such as the London Quarterly's 1854 plea, "Would to God that our remarks might deter some of our farmers and mechanics from committing themselves and especially their wives and daughters to the 'tender mercies' of this shocking compound of infidelity, heathenism, immorality, and cant!" 24

Against the background of Victorian anti-Mormon prejudice and particularly against the background of Dickens' own prejudice, his "Bound for the Great Salt Lake" reflects remarkable

21Burton, City of the Saints, p. 495. Mill took a different position in On Liberty with the argument that the best course against the Mormons would be for the English to send missionaries to Utah.


24Mormonism and the Mormons, p. 115.
toleration. His changed opinion should be seen in the larger context of his modified attitude toward religious rationalism, Dissenters, and Jews. Just two weeks before visiting the Mormon emigrants, in commenting on Colenso and Jowett, Dickens granted "Nothing is discovered without God's intention and assistance, and I suppose every new knowledge of His works that is conceded to man to be distinctly a revelation by which men are to guide themselves." During the same summer that he visited the Mormons, he admitted that despite his intolerant portrayal of Jews in early novels, particularly in *Oliver Twist*, he retained the highest respect for the Jewish people, and in *Our Mutual Friend*, the book he began the following year, he presented sympathetically both a Nonconformist minister and a Jewish businessman. In the case of the Mormons, Dickens' personal encounter with them in June, 1863, coinciding with his increased toleration toward Jews and Nonconformists, was influential in changing his opinion.

His choice of a Mormon emigrant ship as a subject for an *Uncommercial Traveller* essay in the summer of 1863 could hardly have been accidental. Not only must he have been curious about the Mormons, but also the *Amazon's* sailing must have been an event of at least minor public interest. The *Amazon* was the first Mormon ship ever to depart from London; the majority of previous emigrants had embarked from Liverpool. The *Millennial Star* for June 20, 1863, provided an account of the sailing that corresponds almost exactly with Dickens' article, which appeared two weeks later in *All the Year Round*. According to the *Star*:

> The splendid packet ship *Amazon*, Captain H. K. Hovey, also sailed from London on the 4th instant, with a company of 895 souls of the Saints on board. . . . The company passed the Government Emigration Officers on the third [the day of Dickens' visit], who eulogized their order, harmony and general appearance, after which President Cannon . . . held a meeting, organized the Company and gave appropriate instructions.

There is no evidence that Dickens saw the article in the *Millennial Star*, but Dickens described the ship's loading, the gov-

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ernment inspection, the organization of the company, and a religious service. He repeatedly praised the Mormons' conduct, orderliness, good appearance, and, particularly, their "aptitude for organisation." He but briefly mentioned the polygamy issue by noting that despite the presence of some single women "obviously going out in quest of husbands" he firmly believed none of them had "any distinct notions of a plurality of husbands" (p. 224). Similarly, when interviewing a Wiltshire emigrant, he avoided direct criticism of Mormon religious practices. Not so hasty to condemn Joseph Smith as he had been in his 1851 letter, Dickens "(delicately approaching [the question of] Joe Smith)" asked, " 'You are of the Mormon religion, of course?' " Receiving a straightforward, " 'I'm a Mormon,' " he concluded the interview and did not again even delicately approach questions of Mormon belief (p. 221). Instead, he focused his praise on the practical nature of the emigrants' preparations, and the tone of his reaction corresponds exactly with what the Millennial Star reported about visitors to the Amazon:

The interest manifested by strangers and the officials whose duty called them to be contiguous to the ship, evinced how much excitement the novelty of a ship-load of Saints, leaving London produced. During the meeting which accompanied the organization, the officers of the ship, the cabin passengers, and the visitors on board listened with marked attention; while the unanimity of feeling manifested by the Saints . . . evidently made a deep impression on them, displaying as it did, a something so different from all their conceptions of us as a people.28

Dickens admitted that his own favorable opinion was contrary to all his expectations and in a footnote to collected editions of The Uncommercial Traveller indicated that he was not alone in his opinion, for nine years earlier a committee of the House of Commons had approved the Mormon agents' administration of their ships "with every provision for comfort, decorum, and internal peace." (p. 226).

Another interesting, and certainly coincidental, resemblance between Dickens' article and the Star arose when a month after the publication of "Bound for the Great Salt Lake" the Star printed a letter from the leaders of the Amazon company.

28Ibid.
Near the end of his article Dickens remarked that he had learned of a dispatch received from the Captain, "highly praising the behaviour of these Emigrants, and the perfect order and propriety of all their social arrangements" (p. 225). In their letter, the Amazon emigrants complimented the Captain who, obviously because he was pleased with his passengers, had "made every requisite exertion to ensure the health, comfort, and safety of the Company." 20

The year before Dickens encountered the Mormons, Milnes had written of the difficulty "for an Englishman to approach any American institutions without some disturbing associations and instinctive prejudices." 21 A tint of this prejudice colors the last paragraph of "Bound for the Great Salt Lake," for Dickens stated, "What is in store for the poor people on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, what happy delusions they are labouring under now, or what miserable blindness their eyes may be opened them, I do not pretend to say." But following this comment he immediately admitted and largely overcame his prejudice with the statement that although he boarded the ship specifically "to bear testimony against them if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would; to my great astonishment they did not deserve it. . . . I went over the Amazon's side, feeling it impossible to deny that, so far, some remarkable influence had produced a remarkable result, which better known influences have often missed" (p. 226). This just admission of the "rout and overthrow" of his expectations of the Mormons must be regarded as a milestone in Victorian social and religious toleration. Dickens' was the exceptional view, one for more perceptive than that of the Times, which on June 5, 1863, had briefly noted the Amazon's departure and in the same column commented hostilely on another Mormon sailing from Cardiff earlier in the week. To the Times, "all these were believers in the Mormon imposture, and they are taken out to their adopted El Dorado under the protection and guidance of several of their so-called 'Elders.' " Contrasting this reaction was Dickens' Uncommercial Traveller essay, a document important because it provides further evidence of Dickens' increased toleration and because it represents an atypical Victorian attitude.

20Ibid., p. 541.
Mormon Bibliography: 1966-1967

CHAD J. FLAKE*

The 1966-67 Mormon Bibliography follows the pattern adopted in the previous issues of Brigham Young University Studies. It consists of selected items from the 1966 (v. 7) and 1967 (v. 8) 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.

People interested in securing copies of out-of-print Mormon Americana books will be interested in the publication of a catalog, Utah and the Mormons, by Research Publications Inc. of New Haven, Connecticut. The catalog includes twenty-nine of the most important periodicals of the Church available on microfilm or dupage xerox, several hundred pamphlets available on dupage xerox, or the whole collection available on microfilm. The group of pamphlets was chosen as a representative collection on Mormonism, both critical and friendly. The initial choice was made by Archibald Hanna, Curator of the Yale Collection of Western Americana. The list was then forwarded here, and several items were deleted as well as added. The end result is an impressive collection of early Mormon documents.

In addition to this microfilming-xerox project, another group has just published an offset edition of the Times and Seasons. This group hopes to continue to publish Mormon periodicals. The end result should be a much more readable copy than we have heretofore been able to obtain.

HISTORICAL


Mormon participation in the development of this industry in the intermountain west.


*Mr. Flake is special collections librarian at Brigham Young University.*

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German writers of the nineteenth century on the subject of Mormonism and Utah.


Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University.


A temple booklet in color.


Isaac McCoy's reaction to Mormon settlement in Jackson County, Missouri.


M.A. Thesis, University of Utah.


Condensed from *U.S. News and World Report*.


**DOCTRINAL**


New edition.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Formerly "Problems of the Book of Mormon."


"Washington was an instrument in the hands of God to help make possible the restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ"


The deterioration of America and its prediction.

INSPIRATIONAL


A collection of stories, projects and games.


An adaption of the Book of Mormon.


**LITERATURE AND MUSIC**


A novel of a young man “torn between the Gospel truths and the sophistries of man.”


**BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY**


McIntyre, Myron W. *Christopher Layton*; edited by Myron W. McIntyre and Noel R. Barton. Salt Lake City: Christopher Layton Family Organization, 1966.


Book Reviews


(Reviewed by Reed C. Durham, Jr., associate director of the Salt Lake Institute of Religion. Dr. Durham, a teacher in the Department of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion since 1955, has published in *The Instructor* and *The Improvement Era*.)

*Joseph Smith and the Restoration*, by Ivan J. Barrett, was written as a text for undergraduate students taking LDS Church history classes at Brigham Young University. Any student who carefully reads this text will gain dramatic insights into the life of the Prophet Joseph Smith and into the Church and kingdom of God during his lifetime. Professor Barrett has literally filled his chapters with colorful stories and historical tidbits which make his Church history come alive. This text is not a dry or boring history; it is one of the finest texts of its kind to be written in the Church. Its author is to be commended for the years of historical investigation incorporated into the pages of his work.

The quality of his historical research is commendable, having relatively few errors and most of those quite minor. That our genealogy on the paternal side of Joseph Smith goes back before Robert Smith now (p. 15); that Samuel Smith II married two different Priscilla Goulds (p. 16); that it is not definitely known that the Prophet Joseph composed or even gave the so-called Lectures on Faith (p. 151); that the Missouri militia and mob forces totaled in excess of 30,000 (p. 346); that Orson Pratt’s work, *Remarkable Visions*, was originally published in Scotland in 1840 and the first printing in America in 1841 (pp. 31, 36); and the Beardman should be Boardman (p. 306), etc., are all minor items relating to Barrett’s historical research.

Perhaps more serious matters relating to the quality of his research would be: (I) The handling of quotations, (II) the conspicuous lack of credit given to some of the finest sources and works available to date on many of the subjects treated,
and (III) the basic philosophy to the study of LDS Church history—the writer's point of view and objectives.

I. Relating to the handling of quotations, a few examples will suffice:

1. Pages 473, 474, and 481 all quote the title of the Prophet's political work as "Views on the Powers and Policy of National Government." The citation is to the DHC Vol. 6, pp. 197-209. The source cited reads, "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States."

2. In his notes and references for Chapter XXX, note 72 (p. 539), he gives a quotation from The Diary of Hosea Stout, and as reproduced in Barrett's work, this three-line quotation contains nine errors.

3. If one turns to the quotation from Joseph Smith reproduced on page 40, note 9, there is no indication given to the reader that 117 words were deleted from the quote. If a person reads the content of the 117 omitted words, he might gain a clue as to the basic objectives of the writer. (This viewpoint will be discussed at another point in this review.)

II. Some of the finest scholarship in the Church touching most of the areas handled by Professor Barrett were conspicuously overlooked—at least these works are not mentioned. Many of these works had pertinent material and information which could have assisted him. Such works as the following are representative (to name but a few):


5. Lyon, Thomas Edgar. "Orson Pratt—Early Mormon Lead-

III. Probably no other text on Church history accomplishes so completely and effectively its basic stated objectives as does Joseph Smith and the Restoration. This fact alone makes the work exceptionally commendable. In the concluding paragraph of his introduction, Professor Barrett clearly and succinctly expounds the overall purpose and objective of his text:

To appreciate the Church, to love its teachings, to believe its divine origin, we must know its history. From the records of the past we can see our own course more clearly. It is men and women at their best who inspire us. Many a life has been transformed by the careful study and deliberate contemplation of great lives. In building for ourselves a strong and wholesome philosophy of living we need the inspiration of those who have lived gloriously. From out of the pages of Church history come such mighty ones. Let us walk, as it were, into the great portrait gallery of the noble Saints of the latter days—let us gaze into the faces of men and women who endured the contumely of the world to bequeath to us the truth; let us catch the fire and enthusiasm in their eyes; let us note the expression of hope and expectancy and mark the depth of courage and determination engraved upon their countenances. As we vicariously experience their faith, courage, loyalty, and persistence in righteousness we will be strengthened to lay aside every weight and run with majestic valor and sublime patience the race of life before us. (italics mine)

His purpose and objective seem self-explanatory. Professor Barrett has developed a basic philosophy about what historical information should or should not be presented in writing Church history for college youths at Brigham Young University.

From my analysis and appraisal of the text, together with the author’s above stated overall objective, several general
guidelines seem to have been followed in the writing of his text. (1) No inspiration nor profitable learning can come to a student of Church history by seeing men and women at their worst. (2) We should only emphasize the "fire and enthusiasm," the "hopes and expectancies," the "courage and determination," the "faith," the "loyalty," and "persistence in righteousness" of the "great lives," those who "lived gloriously," the "mighty ones," or the "noble Saints of the latter days." (3) Never become iconoclastic, but support and maintain the "tradition" at all times. (4) Do not delve into, analyze, or critically introduce any distasteful, suspicious, or questionable areas of Church history that in any way will hinder the accomplishment of guidelines 1 and 2 above. (5) Always be sure that our Church history be interpreted and presented in the light of our theology. There must always be agreement and consistency with each other. (6) Remember that the Saints are God’s people and are on the side of right. They are the victorious and they are they who will stand blameless at the last day.

Each of these guidelines consistently reveals itself through the pages of the text, and taken together, the guidelines seem to produce a very positive approach to Church history. In fact, a presentation of Church history using the opposite approach to any of these guidelines would be considered by many to be negative.

From my own personal experience in teaching LDS Church history to college students, I have asked myself the question as to whether, in the long-range look, the student should be exposed to both approaches—the stated guidelines and their opposites—but, of course, in an atmosphere of faith. Can there be learning and profit by also seeing men and women at their worst in Church history? Can knowing the despair, the humanness, the "real-down-to-earth-like-me-ness" do anything positive for my students? If they are constantly being exposed to the "problem areas" of Church history "across the way," or by the apostates, etc., can the student and I profit by having an honest, "no holds barred," "we search after the truth" attitude? I seriously wonder which of the two approaches is the more negative or positive in the long run. Time and experience may reveal this to us. Meanwhile, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration* will be appreciated and esteemed for many years to come.

(Reviewed by Edward L. Hart, professor of English at Brigham Young University. Dr. Hart, a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, has published in Beloit Poetry Journal, Western Humanities Review, Shakespeare Quarterly, PMLA and Bucknell Review as well as BYU Studies and The Improvement Era.)

Although it is refreshing to meet with so devout an assertion of faith as is found in Carol Lynn Pearson’s Beginnings, one wishes that the earnestness were matched by an equally viable poetic art. The reviewer, having come to an examination of the work with a predisposition in its favor (in view of its reputed wide sale), found himself, poem after poem, expecting more than was delivered.

The chief cause of disappointment was the failure of most of the poems to be poems. In reading poetry, one expects to find the author putting to good use those devices that yield a high concentration of poetic effect. If rhythm, sound, and tropes are not functioning in a more concentrated and effective way than they do in prose, we must ask: Why is this in the form of poetry instead of prose? When the author, in “Ritual,” says, “All cries out/For form,” we are tempted to respond, “Amen.” Rhythm, sound, and figures, are, of course, more than adjuncts of meaning. They reinforce meaning and, in fact, become meaning. I have failed, in Beginnings, to find any place where it seems to me that the sound and the rhythm of a poem have an organic function, any place where they are more than decorative embellishments.

Most of the poems are in free verse, which is another way of saying that metrical pattern and line length are not established and repeated. This choice of free verse as the predominant pattern seems to me a wise choice on the part of the author because those few poems having meter succeed less well, on the whole, than those in free verse. For the some six or seven poems in conventional verse, the author has employed a ballad meter, quatrains made up of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter lines, as in the following poem, “To a Beloved Skeptic”:

I cannot talk with you of God
Since sober wise you grew;
So my one recourse in charity
Is to talk with God of you.

This comes off pretty well, with the clever reversal in the last line. But the wit is achieved at the expense of tone. I suspect that the "beloved skeptic" will find "charity" extended to him somewhat condescending and that he will likely be offended by the smugness of the familiarity with which the persona cuddles up to God. Aside from this, prosodically, there seems to be no relationship between the form and the meaning. Rhythm, sound, and structure alike seem irrelevant and externally imposed. How, for example, can one justify the inverted word order of the second line, except as an expedient to place the rhyming word at the end of the line?

Other poems employing the ballad stanza fare even less well. The rhythm of "Day-old Child," for example, seems singularly inappropriate because it suggests movement and there is none. It suggests the kind of action found in the ballads: a fast moving, highly concentrated narrative with overtones of the weird and the wild. Actually, the mood of "Day-old Child" is one of quiet contemplation. From this, leaving the conventional verses, we descend to the weakest of all, a poem called "Bound," which moves with the remorseless, inevitably trite beat of a valentine verse.

In her figurative language, the author shows much promise. Perhaps in figures more than in anything else a poet's true capacity for excitement over words and inventiveness becomes apparent. I was struck most, in Beginnings, as far as figurative language is concerned, by the effectiveness of the metaphor in the first stanza of "Guilt" (ballad stanza again):

I have no vulture sins, God,
That overhang my sky,
To climb, grey-feathering the air,
And swoop carnivorously.

This, it seems to me, is well imagined. The imagery is clear, appropriate, and consistently developed. The metaphor makes sharp and immediate the threat to self of great sins. The shadows that are connoted by the "overhang" of the vulture foreshadow the meaningful doom of a person's being consumed in the flesh by his own sins. This is good, and to me this stanza is the poetic highlight of the volume.
The second stanza reads:

It's just the tiny sins, God,
That from memory appear
Like tedious, buzzing flies to dart
Like static through my prayer.

This begins well. The imagery is still appropriate; if the big sins are vultures, the little sins may, consistently, be gnats. Vultures can eat flesh and insects can suck blood. Either way we are consumed (though I could wish the author here again in the second line had not inverted word order, spoiling a colloquial tone for the sake of a rhyme). In the last line, the flies, however (instead of mildly annoying us with stings), are like static; the imagery is shifted, the mood is broken, the natural aptness of the figure is lost, and we are left at the end with the mechanical tinniness of static. Still, this is, I should say, a successful poem.

Part of my annoyance with the last line of "Guilt," I am now aware, stems from my repugnance at the comparison of prayer to a mechanical contraption like a radio—a comparison made in another poem called "Prayer":

This radio set
Called prayer
Is designed
For remarkably
Simple repair,
When the lines fail,
There is no doubt
Which half
Of the set
Is out.

Somehow the analogy (aside from the fact that it is a hackneyed comparison) has the effect of cheapening prayer, of pulling it down to the level of gadgetry. This is especially true when, as in this poem, there is a confusion in the imagery. "When the lines fail" is more suggestive of a gadget telephone than of a gadget radio. Even if it were carefully explained that the lines are "lines of communication," we are still balked because this is itself still one more trite, mechanical metaphor.

In still other poems it seems to me that the values of religion are cheapened by weak comparisons. In "Investment,"
for example, we are told concerning the birth of a child that "what is bought/ With coin of pain—/ Is dearly kept." Rather than enhancing the value of the birth, the argot of the market place cheapens it by making it common.

The most pervasive imagery of Beginnings is associated with the physiology of birth or of prebirth, the embryonic; and not being a mother myself, I am overpowered in the fetal presence, not unlike a father in the waiting room, But here it is not so much the words that betray me into uneasiness as it is the pictures. I am not unaware of the intended symbolism, but somehow the adult in the fetal position on the dust jacket (and in the first picture inside the book) puts me off, reminding me of nothing so much as those unfortunates huddled in this position in sad regression on the floors of the state hospital. The author has forgotten that in the beginning was the *word*, not the picture. I know few books of poems whose value has been enhanced by illustration. Unless a person's name is William Blake, he will probably be better off letting his words stand, as they inevitably must anyway, on their own merits. And speaking of words, I should think the author would be well advised to avoid such solecisms as *specked* (p. 7) and *til* (p. 34). *Specked* can hardly be thought to have connotations different from or better than those of the existing word *speckled*; and I see no justification whatever for creating a word to replace the ancient and respectable English word *till*.

In summation, concerning the overall effect of this volume, I am convinced that the author has revealed some budding powers. As they appear in this volume, likewise, I believe them to be predominantly powers of wit rather than of poetry. The individual pieces, at their best, have a Dorothy Parkeresque quality, a cleverness in turn of phrase, as in "To the Mormon now Blessed with Roses instead of Tar and Feathers."

Remember Aesop's
Tale of the
Traveler?
Please note:
The wind failed
To make him
Shed his coat.
It was the sun
That won.
I believe, however, that the author gives hints of qualities that can be developed beyond wit into the genuine poetic. This volume is, after all, as the title says, *Beginnings*; and full-fledged maturity is not to be expected from the start. The author is young, and one hopes and expects that in subsequent volumes she will submit herself more fully to the disciplines of the craft.


(Reviewed by Joseph Bentley, associate professor of educational psychology at University of Utah. Dr. Bentley has published widely and presently has a book at the press.)

It may be that the most important aspect of the training project reported in this book is that it actually happened! By this I mean to say that an administrative training program for Church leaders was organized, designed, and carried out. The fact that it was planned and executed by competent and trained professionals and that it carried the implicit, if not explicit, support of the church hierarchy (Howard W. Hunter attended the first session in Los Angeles and spoke informally) makes this training program a significant event.

The issue of training programs for LDS Church leaders is one that has not been fully explored. The relationship between a formal educational or training program and reliance upon the powers of inspiration and revelation is not clear. For example, for generations we in the Church have taken pride in the fact that our leaders are not "learned" men in the sense that they have attended schools designed to prepare them for religious work. Indeed, I have heard some sneer at the Protestant clergy and its heavy emphasis upon academic and intellectual preparation. Yet at the same time, training programs in the LDS Church are extensive and seem to be expanding rapidly: seminary has been with us for many years; institutes of religion are proliferating; teachers in the Church school system are encouraged to take advanced degrees (not in religion, however, unless at BYU) and are returned every other summer or so to a campus experience; some missionaries are given language
training, and so forth. Yet beyond the statement that "the Lord expects you to learn all you can and then he will inspire you," the difference between a trained and educated leader and one who is not in meriting inspiration and divine guidance is simply not clear. Does the educated and trained leader have more call upon such help? Does the level of faith possessed by a leader that God will guide and direct make a difference? In recent years there seems to be a tendency to rely more heavily upon formal programs of leadership training. The program carried out by the authors of this book is the first one, to my knowledge, which was planned and carried through outside of the formal Church system.

The Executive Leadership Seminar began on Friday evening, February 11, 1966, continued on Saturday the 12th of February, then was extended for three more full-day sessions—February 26, March 12 and March 26—and ended with a half-day session on April 30, 1966. Sixteen stake presidents, the President of the California Mission, Howard W. Hunter from Salt Lake, and the staff members were present for the first session. The authors do not report the attrition, if any, among the stake presidents except to say that, at the beginning of the third session, "several (were) excused because of conflicting stake conference assignments and four others from San Diego and other outlying regions had withdrawn because of the driving distance to Los Angeles." It was not clear whether all participants continued throughout the seminar. For example, in discussing the final session, they state, "stake presidents from throughout the Los Angeles area are gathered for the concluding session..." Did this mean all stake presidents? And had they attended the previous sessions? These questions seemed to me to be important in evaluating the data which were reported.

I stated earlier that in my opinion the Executive Training Seminar, by its very occurrence, was an important event. That said, I now must report that the contents and the procedures of the seminar were, for the most part, disappointing. The authors seemed to go out of their way to point out that their training program was different in significant ways from other programs in other parts of the country. They claimed, for instance, that their objectives differed significantly from those of other programs in that they were interested in change in
"values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and behavior," while other "Human Relations Training" programs were content with "participant satisfaction with program experience and information acquired" as a major objective. This is confusing. I know of no training or educational program which relies upon "participant satisfaction" as a significant objective. On the contrary, programs that I know about and have been involved in have paid little attention to "participant satisfaction" as an objective. They have all been interested in bringing about change in values, attitudes, knowledge, skills and, most importantly, behavior. In emphasizing their attention to behavioral change as an objective and outcome, they (the authors) indict themselves, for there is practically no evidence (other than anecdotal) that behavior change occurred in any significant degree! In fact, only five of the participants returned post-seminar data and these were all of the paper-and-pencil variety. The authors simply did not know if any of the stake presidents changed their administrative behavior in any significant way after the seminar experience! Yet they cite this behavioral approach as a strength of their program.

Related to this, the authors maintained that their evaluation procedures constituted another strong point. Yet I find their evaluation to be inadequate and rather useless. They get caught in the same trap for which they criticize other "Human Relations Training" programs. This is not to say that the staff members purposefully neglected a rigorous evaluation procedure. The problems of evaluating change programs, be they training programs, psychotherapy, counseling, or even the effects of a college education, are staggering. What bothered me was their statement and restatement that behavioral objectives and rigorous evaluation procedures set their program apart from others. I find no evidence of this.

In addition to what has already been mentioned, there were other weak points, most of which are acknowledged by the authors (p. 65). Among them were (1) an attempt to introduce "sensitivity training" as a procedure and then to give over only one hour to it. Anyone who has ever conducted T-groups should know that one hour is not only not productive, but may result in a negative experience for the participants; (2) a tour of the KleinSmid Center for International and Public Affairs at the University of Southern California as part of the fifth
session. I simply could not understand how this fit in with any of the objectives of the program. It seemed to me that the time could be better spent; (3) when reporting results of pre- and post-seminar testing, such statements are made as "this increase (in an independence scale) may reflect either a real impact of the seminar on their basic values or simply their re-definition of the terminology. . . ." As a matter of fact, there was no increase. No significant differences were found in pre- and post-seminar measures with one exception, and this was when religious items were removed from the modified F scale, which measures authoritarian personality patterns.

There were strong points also. The "Operation Empathy," in which stake presidents were dressed in old clothes and roamed the slums of Los Angeles, seems to be patterned after a Peace Corps training method. The bringing in of a Negro minister to discuss involvement in community problems was, in my opinion, an excellent contribution. The descriptive data about the stake presidents were interesting. For example, other than Boy Scouts, a part of the LDS program, the leaders were involved in no community organizations except Chamber of Commerce, Town Hall, and YMCA. They also tended to reflect a traditional conservative view of politics and government and ranked low on independence and high on conformity.

Had this program been conducted among business executives or educators, I doubt whether any staff would have published this book. There are so many more well-designed and executed programs which are not published! Yet because it happened in the LDS Church, it is important. The design, execution and evaluation of the seminar could have been significantly improved. A book more useful to others would have been a result.


(Reviewed by Eldin Ricks, assistant professor of undergraduate religious instruction at Brigham Young University. Mr. Ricks has published Combination Reference as well as articles in The Improvement Era and the Herzl Society Yearbook.)
In an easy descriptive style Robert Matthews, research editor of the Department of Seminaries and Institutes, has written a biographical concordance of the Book of Mormon that is a delight to use. Within the compass of 74 (8½ x 11 mimeographed) pages he has listed the name of every person in the sacred volume and indicated each separate incident of his life with supporting reference citations. That he has gone over each biography with a fine tooth comb is apparent from the comprehensive array of data that he presents. Helaman's son Nephi, for example, has 44 entries, while 84 entries unfold the career of the first Moroni. And in many instances where the author is obliged to interpret events in order to index them lucidly he shows himself quite at home in the role of commentator.

Inevitably, subjecting any volume to the kind of detailed scrutiny to which Matthews has exposed the Book of Mormon means that the investigator forms some kind of value judgment concerning the subject of his inquiry. In this respect Matthews is no exception. In "Some Observations" at the close of his little volume he reflects upon his literary detective work, and declares that "The greatness of the Book of Mormon was again and again impressed upon the writer." Though Matthews' little book does not pretend to compete with Reynold's comprehensive Concordance (852 pp.), it is more useful as a Book of Mormon biographical tool because it cites descriptive references to a particular person not only those in which his name appears.

As a most useful little book, Who's Who in the Book of Mormon provides a compact guide to the lives of Book of Mormon personalities that will prove helpful both to teachers and students of the volume. It will undoubtedly also be welcomed by parents seeking to relate the Book of Mormon narratives to their children.


(Reviewed by Chauncey Riddle, professor of philosophy and chairman of the Department of Graduate Studies in Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University. Dr. Riddle has published frequently in The Instructor.)
In a world threatened with drowning under a flood of printed matter, Professor Madsen’s book shines forth in clear contrast to the usual run-of-the-press. It is terse, laconic—sometimes painfully so; more often it is exciting in bare allusion to profound principle (e.g., p. 26). But its brevity and terseness do not prevent it from containing more ideas in total than most tomes many times it length (80 pages). The real strength of this work, however, lies in the quality of the ideas contained therein.

With the skill that reflects a lifetime of careful thinking and with materials patiently gathered both from the vast literature of the world and from the revelation of the prophets of the latter days, Professor Madsen weaves a fabric that wears well. His pattern is of contrast, highlighting the rich hues of gospel truth in a setting of the somber questions which have pervasively plagued mankind in recorded thought. The form of his cloth is a garment for man, to cover man’s intellectual embarrassment about his own being.

Specifically attentive to the problems of personal identity, the parentage of mankind, the mind-body problem, the challenge of evil, the nature of human freedom, and the knowing of important things, we are treated to the provocative insights of the Prophet Joseph Smith. The dilemmas, paradoxes, and frustrated attempts of such thinkers as Aquinas, Kierkegaard, Marcel, Bultmann, and Tillich are parried deftly with simple and powerful strokes as the restored gospel is displayed as the avenue of truth and happiness for all men.

The reader should not expect in this treatise a systematic work either of philosophy or of theology. The intent of the author seems to be rather to speak to his topics as soul-problems that beset each human being. These problems are met, however, on a high intellectual level and are couched in terminology that makes clear the relationship between the kinds of questions the thinkers of the world are asking and the answers provided by the prophets.

To one not of the same religious persuasion as Professor Madsen, his work offers a clear, incisive examination of the heart of "Mormonism." To such it is a plain challenge to make a choice, seeing here the intellectual strength of the religion of Jesus Christ, but being warned that the intellectual side is neither final nor consummate. But to those of like persuasion,
this work is as a catalogue and reminder of riches possessed, though perhaps neglected; of strengths familiar, but possibly unused. They will likely want to review the writings of Joseph Smith with new thirst, and even to seek after the same source as did the Prophet. Perhaps the creation of such a desire would be the greatest compliment the author of *Eternal Man* could receive.

**Book Notes**


These Brigham Young University colleagues contribute another volume of a series that impressively integrates religious ideals with the themes of world literature, an educative venture which President David O. McKay has most effectively pioneered in his long career of writing and speaking. This volume concentrates on the meaning of happiness, honesty, forbearance, faith, and love, for the lesson work of the Relief Society, in itself a demonstration of the breadth of the LDS program of personal development. The method of presentation is vital, stressing the individual encounter and experience with the literature and gospel themes thus presented. The anthology is selected with relevance and imagination; i.e., the inclusion of Edward L. Hart's artful and touching "To Utah." Concise background notes maintain an excellence in terms of context and the inducement of provocative insight: i.e., the suggestion that the older brother in the Parable of the Prodigal Son is hardly the paragon of virtue that much discussion assumes him to be. Not the least of the beneficiaries of this series might be those who suppose that either the University or the Church of these authors stands for a restrictive religionism.


Three short lectures offer the rare experience of efficiently reading the main conclusions of America's greatest Bible
scholar (judged by the scope of his skills) and certainly one of the few genuine intellectuals (Albright would prefer Christian humanists) produced by our pragmatic culture.

In his forthright and unpretentious manner Albright discusses the impact of archaeology and philology in making more understandable the accurate sequence of Old Testament literature, his own skepticism at canonizing Greek analytical thought without respecting ancient Hebrew skills in thinking and writing history, and the implications of the double discovery of a proto-Christianity in the Dead Sea Scrolls and a perverted Christianity in the Gnostic documents evolving away from second-century orthodoxy. On this last point, Albright is emphatic in his conviction that informed students cannot now date any New Testament book beyond the first century. On these and other issues the person with traditional views of authorship and dating of New Testament literature will find that the current Age of Discovery has been more favorable to his views than to the liberalism that held the field before the Second World War.


Hurd’s guide illustrates the sheer volume of publication on the Bible in recent years, identifying as it does hundreds of books and articles that do nothing but list and evaluate thousands more; and all of this concerns basically the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, with most items listed appearing in the past two decades. Realizing that even scholars today cannot tell the players without a program, Hurd adds a valuable supplement of sixteen pages that itemizes sources of biographical information on major writers. Confrontation with this mass of scholarly production raises the question of its possible use. For one thing, it is vain to look for some professional consensus, which obviously does not exist in the century of overpublish. Perhaps the fact that Hurd features first of all bibliographies of tools of study will underline the point that no one is a Bible scholar who merely reads the opinions of Bible scholars. Only the mastery of languages and historical
data gives anyone the independent judgment to be a significant voice.


In their gratitude for a modern prophet, Latter-day Saints must face the possibility that they might know him rather superficially. Available books collecting key quotations from Joseph Smith are no guarantee that readers are really exposed to the range and depth of principles that he proclaimed and died for. Since Mormon literature is notorious for inadequate indexing, one result could be recurrent discussion of issues that does not utilize available doctrinal resources. Matthews' work is a major step toward correcting such a defect in the use of the Prophet's statements, and no informed Latter-day Saint can afford to be without a simple reference tool of this importance. Matthews deserves more than mere credit for producing it; it should be included in future printings of the *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. 
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