

Brigham Young University STUDIES

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars



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Changes in the Book of Moses and Their Implications upon a Concept of Revelation

JAMES R. HARRIS*

Changes have been made in the wording of every book that is included among the standard works of the Church, but misunderstandings regarding the *nature, origin, and method* of change have disturbed some members of the Church in every generation since the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Responsible and valid explanations have been given for such changes, but it seems that they must be given afresh to each generation and expanded to include the additional information made available by more recent research. Unfortunately there has also been some clouding of the issue by those who have flatly denied that there have been changes or those who have not made it clear as to what they mean by “no changes.”

This article will join the procession of articles dealing with the problem of scriptural change and its impact upon LDS theology. There will be concern to explain the nature of the material undergoing change, the historical situations in which these changes occurred, and the impact of these facts upon a concept of revelation. As it is in the Book of Moses that the most important changes have occurred, an explanation of how and why these changes were made in this text should satisfy the reader.

REVISING AND RESTORING THE SCRIPTURES

Upon receiving the call to revise and restore the scriptures, in June 1830, Joseph Smith began a project that was to occupy much of his time, study, and prayerful thought during many years to come—an “inspired revision” of the Bible. And this inspired revision and restoration of the Bible was both a revision of what was in the current Bible and a restoration of material that through the years had been deleted. The Book

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of Moses is an extract from that revision. In the eight chapters of our Book of Moses, we have large sections that are complete restorations of material previously lost. The so-called "Extract" from the "Prophecy of Enoch" contains the largest restoration of material in the Book of Moses. Just preceding his journal record of this revelation, the Prophet made the following comments:

It may be well to observe here, that the Lord greatly encouraged and strengthened the faith of His little flock, which had embraced the fulness of the everlasting Gospel, as revealed to them in the Book of Mormon, by giving some more extended information upon the Scriptures, *a translation of which had already commenced*. Much conjecture and conversation frequently occurred among the Saints, concerning the books mentioned, and referred to, in various places in the Old and New Testaments which were now nowhere to be found. The common remark was, "They are lost books"; but it seems the Apostolic Church has some of these writings, as Jude mentions or quotes the Prophecy of Enoch, the seventh from Adam. To the joy of the little flock, which in all, from Colesville to Canadaigua, New York, numbered about seventy members, did the Lord reveal the following doings of olden times, from the prophecy of Enoch.¹

The Prophecy of Enoch, though known to the Apostolic Church, was lost to modern Christendom until it was restored, at least in part, in December of 1830. The prophecy provided information that would enable the Church to build up Zion *after the pattern of the Zion of Enoch*. Also, we have no difficulty in identifying the extract as a part of the "extended information upon the Scriptures, a translation of which had already commenced."

THE QUALITY OF THE MATERIAL IN MOSES

Since the Book of Moses is a part of the Inspired Revision of the Bible,² the same qualifications and limitations that apply to the Inspired Revision would in *some respects* also apply to the Book of Moses. The sentiments of President Joseph F.

¹Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1946), Vol. 1, pp. 132-133 [commonly called *Documentary History of the Church*; hereafter referred to as *DHC*].

²The term "Inspired Revision" is used to emphasize that this revision was not based upon biblical and linguistic scholarship but upon authorization and inspiration of God.

Smith, Sidney Sperry, M. V. Van Wagoner, and others were summarized by Calvin Bartholomew as follows:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints accepts changes which the Prophet made in the Bible as improvements over the authorized Version but it maintains that the Prophet did not completely correct the entire Bible.³

This statement indicates that there are materials in the revision that remain unchanged from the King James Version. ly changed, when more extensive changes may have been in order. And there would be areas of the text where a complete revision was accomplished or where there was an extensive restoration of material. Although the Book of Moses is comparatively small, it is relatively easy to identify all three kinds of materials in it; for example, *Chapter 1* of the Book of Moses can be regarded as *an extensive restoration of material* that can be accepted *without* qualification. Chapters 2 and 3 contain very *modest corrections*, and it is obvious that a more *extensive change should have been made*. A comparison of Moses 2 with Abraham 4 and the Masoretic (Hebrew) text of Genesis will help justify and illustrate this point:

Abraham 4:2 reads:

And the earth, after it was formed, was empty and desolate, because they had not formed anything but the earth . . .

Moses 2:2 reads:

and the earth was *without form* and *void* . . .

The Hebrew reads:

והארץ היתה
תהו ובהו

Rendered: and the earth it was empty and desolate . . .

The earth, after it was formed, was empty; consequently, it was void of life; but it certainly was *not* without form. Another verse in Chapter 2 further illustrates the point:

Abraham 4:6

And the Gods also said: Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters . . .

Moses 2:6

And again, I, God, said: Let there be a *firmament* in the midst of the water . . .

Hebrew Text

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים
יְהִי רָקִיעַ
בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם

Rendered: And God said: Let there be an expansion in the midst of the waters . . .

³Calvin Bartholomew, "A Comparison of the Authorized Version and the Inspired Revision of Genesis," Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949, p. 158.

Quotes from two standard sources suggest the origin of the word *firmament* in the creation story. From *Webster's New International Dictionary* comes the following:

The word came into English as a translation of the Latin word Firmamentum of the Vulgate, meaning, lit., "A support; prop; strengthening . . ."

The earth was regarded (by the ancient Hebrews) as a flat surface, bounded upon all sides by the watery deep. Above, the heavens formed a hollow vault. This vault was thought to be solid, and was spoken of as a firmament.⁴

J. R. Dummelow wrote:

The [firmament] the sky, heavens. The word means something solid or beaten out, like a sheet of metal. The ancients supposed that the sky was a solid, vaulted dome stretched over the earth, its ends rested on the mountains, and the heavenly bodies fastened to its inner surface.⁵

An appropriate correction of the above, justified by the restoration of knowledge possessed by the ancient prophets, would lead us to qualify these quotations with the statement that it was not the ancient prophets who held such views but the ancient apostates down to and including Saint Jerome who translated the Hebrew רקיע (raqiya), *firmamentum*.

President Joseph Fielding Smith expressed the same sentiment in the following statement:

Firmament. As used in the scriptures, firmament means expanse, [i.e., it has come to mean this through usage]. The firmament of heaven is the expanse of heaven; it refers depending upon the context, to either the atmospheric or the sidereal heavens. (Gen. 1; Moses 2; Abra. 4.) It is not true, as has been falsely supposed, that the ancient prophets believed that the firmament was a solid arch between the lower and upper waters in which the stars were set as so many stones in gold or silver. Such was rather the apostate view of the apostate Church in the dark ages.⁶

A firmament, then, is a solid dome; an expanse is simply a space; these two things are obviously not the same. The one

⁴*Webster's New International Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1928), p. 820.

⁵Rev. J. R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), p. 4.

⁶Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), pp. 260-261.

idea reflects an apostate theology; the other, the true condition of the waters in the sidereal heavens. Thus we see that Moses 2 is one place that additional changes should have been made. Therefore, it may be said of Moses 2 that "we believe it as far as it has been translated correctly."

The preceding comparison of texts may help the reader appreciate why the Prophet desired to make another revision of his revision of the Bible. It is by no means improbable that Joseph's translation of the Book of Abraham, done between 1835-1842, may have given him additional understanding which indicated the need to make additional changes in the text of Moses. The Prophet's studies of the Hebrew language may also have encouraged and confirmed the need for change as the above comparison would suggest.

HOW MANY REVISIONS OF THE MATERIALS IN THE BOOK OF MOSES WERE MADE?

A comparison of some of the pre-1867 publications of the Book of Moses with post-1867 publications reveals rather extensive change and expansion of the text (see Figure I, pp. 366-367). Jerald and Sandra Tanner, Salt Lake City, claim that the fact that there were extensive changes casts suspicion on the text of Moses. They have published the 1851 edition of the Book of Moses, representing it as *the basic text* containing changes made by Joseph Smith, and have interpolated changes observed in the 1878 edition. They imply that these changes were made by Orson Pratt, or someone else, since the changes were published long after the death of Joseph Smith.⁷ However, the Tanners successfully ignore the fact that Pratt's publication was based on a more complete revision of the Book of Moses made by the Prophet during his lifetime.

The existence of manuscripts representing different stages of completion of the revision of the scriptures was suggested by this writer ten years ago.⁸ This conclusion was based upon a textual comparison of published material which, in general, exhibited a progressive refinement and clarification of the

⁷Jerald and Sandra Tanner, "Introduction," *Changes in the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Microfilm Corp., n.d.), pp. 6-7.

⁸James R. Harris, "A Study of the Changes in the Contents of the Book of Moses from the Earliest Available Sources to the Current Edition," Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958.

Figure I. A Comparative Table of Early Published Materials
Showing Probable Relationships to Original Manuscripts (*Italics Mine*)

Source Manuscript	Genesis	King James Version	Old Testament Manuscript #1 (Least complete)	Old Testament Manuscript #2 (More complete)	Old Testament Manuscript #3 (Most complete)
Publication based on source			<i>Lectures on Faith</i> as published in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.	<i>The Millennial Star</i> publications of "Extracts from Moses," Vol. 13: 90-93, 1851. Also: The Liverpool edition of the Pearl of Great Price published in 1851.	The Holy Scriptures: An Inspired Revision of the Bible—1867. Also, 1878 edition of the Book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price.
Examples of Text Moses 2:26	And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. Gen. 1:26		And <i>the Lord</i> God said <i>unto the Only Begotten who</i> was with <i>him</i> from the beginning, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and it was <i>done</i> . p. 13, verse 6	And <i>I, God</i> , said unto <i>mine Only Begotten, which</i> was with <i>me</i> from the beginning, let us make man in <i>our own image</i> , after our likeness; and it was <i>so</i> .	And <i>I, God</i> , said unto <i>mine Only Begotten, which</i> was with <i>me</i> from the beginning, let us make man <i>in our image</i> , after our likeness; and it was <i>so</i> .
Moses 3:17	But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die. Gen. 2:17		... but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil <i>you shall</i> not eat of it; nevertheless, <i>you may</i> choose for <i>yourself</i> , for it is given unto <i>you</i> ; but remember that <i>I forbid it</i> ; for in the day that <i>you eat</i> thereof <i>you</i> shall surely die. p. 13, verse 10	... but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, <i>thou shalt</i> not eat of it; nevertheless thou mayest choose for thyself, for it is given unto thee; but, remember that <i>I forbid it</i> , for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.	... but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; nevertheless thou mayest choose for thyself, for it is given unto thee; but, remember that <i>I forbid it</i> , for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

Moses 4:14	And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord . . . Gen. 3:8	And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord . . .	And Adam and his wife <i>went to hide themselves</i> from the presence of the Lord.
Moses 4:15	And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, <i>Where art thou?</i> Gen. 3:9	And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, <i>Where are you going?</i>	And I, the Lord God, called unto Adam, and said unto him, <i>Where goest thou?</i>
Moses 5:1-5	No Text	<p>After Adam had been driven out of the garden he began to till the earth, . . .</p> <p>And Eve also, his wife, did labor with him, and he knew her, and she bare unto him sons and daughters, and they began to multiply and to replenish the earth. And from that time forth, the sons and daughters of Adam began to divide two and two in the land, and to till the land, and to tend flocks, and they also begot sons and daughters. And Adam called upon the name of the Lord, and Eve also, his wife, and they heard the voice of the Lord from the way toward the garden of Eden . . .</p>	<p>And it came to pass that after I, the Lord God, had driven them out, that Adam began to till the earth, . . .</p> <p>And Eve also, his wife, did labor with him. And Adam knew his wife, and she bore unto him sons and daughters, and they began to multiply and to replenish the earth. And from that time forth, the sons and daughters of Adam began to divide two and two in the land, and to till the land, and to tend flocks, and they also begot sons and daughters. And Adam called upon the name of the Lord, and Eve also, his wife, and they heard the voice of the Lord from the way toward the garden of Eden . . .</p>

text. The same conclusion can now be further justified by additional information on the manuscripts. During the author's earlier research in this area, he constructed a chart showing possible relationships between the then theoretical manuscripts and the various published materials.⁹ With very slight modifications in the original chart, the ideas represented seem to be remarkably consistent with our new knowledge on the subject.¹⁰ Frequent reference to the revised chart should be helpful as the reader continues through the remainder of this article (see Figure II, pp. 370-371).

THE LEAST COMPLETE REVISION

"Old Testament, Manuscript #1," was the earliest and least complete manuscript of the revision. It was described by Richard P. Howard, historian for the Reorganized Church, as follows:

Old Testament Manuscript No. 1 (fragment) 15 $\frac{2}{3}$ pages comprising Section 22 (Doctrine and Covenants) and Genesis, chapters 1 through 7. Handwriting: John Whitmer. Very fragile and deteriorated. Will not photograph adequately. The text is written out in full. This manuscript was not available in the production of the First Edition of the "Inspired Version" in 1867. It came to the church in 1903 through the Whitmer heirs.¹¹

It is possible that quotations from this manuscript were published in the 1835 edition of the *Lectures on Faith*. The rendering of these verses from Genesis seems to be less polished and somewhat less complete than any of the journal publications (see Figure I, pp. 366-367). This manuscript, or a copy of it, was taken from New York to Ohio by John Whitmer and, as indicated above, became the property of the Whitmer heirs.¹² The major difference between these early texts and the post-1851 journal texts is that the early texts used the third person pronoun which was later changed to the first person. Reed C. Durham regarded this change as evidence that the Reorganized Church had tampered with the original manuscript. He came to this conclusion after making a comparison between the

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

¹⁰See Illustration, Figure V, p. 24.

¹¹Richard P. Howard, "Question Time," *The Saints Herald*, Vol. 113 (May 1, 1966), p. 27.

¹²James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), p. 17.

Lectures version and the 1867 Reorganized Church publication.¹³ Obviously, he did not consult the 1851 *Millennial Star* publication of the same material, edited by Franklin D. Richards, which also portrays the creation story in the first person. With these facts in mind, can we charge the Reorganized Church with originating these changes, or were the changes additional evidence of the existence of an earlier, less complete revision manuscript, such as Old Testament Manuscript #1?

THE MORE COMPLETE REVISION

In that portion of the text now identified as Moses 5:1-4, Old Testament Manuscript # 1 omits verses 2 and 3 completely. These verses seem to have first been included in Old Testament Manuscript #2; at any rate, they are part of the text in the 1851 *Millennial Star* printing (see Figure I, pp. 366-367). Howard described Old Testament Manuscript #2 as follows:

Old Testament Manuscript No. 2 (fragment) 61 pages comprising Section 22 and Genesis, chapter 1-24:42a. Handwriting: John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, Emma Smith, Sidney Rigdon. *This represents a revision* of the text of Old Testament Manuscript No. 1, plus new material, extending to Chapter 24:42a of Genesis. Three dates are inscribed in this manuscript:

- a. Page 10, line 6: October 21, 1830.
- b. Page 10, line 24: November 30, 1830.
- c. Page 61, end of text: "April 5th, 1831 transcribed thus far."

This manuscript, also written out in full, is in very fragile condition; several pages will not photograph.¹⁴ (*Italics mine*)

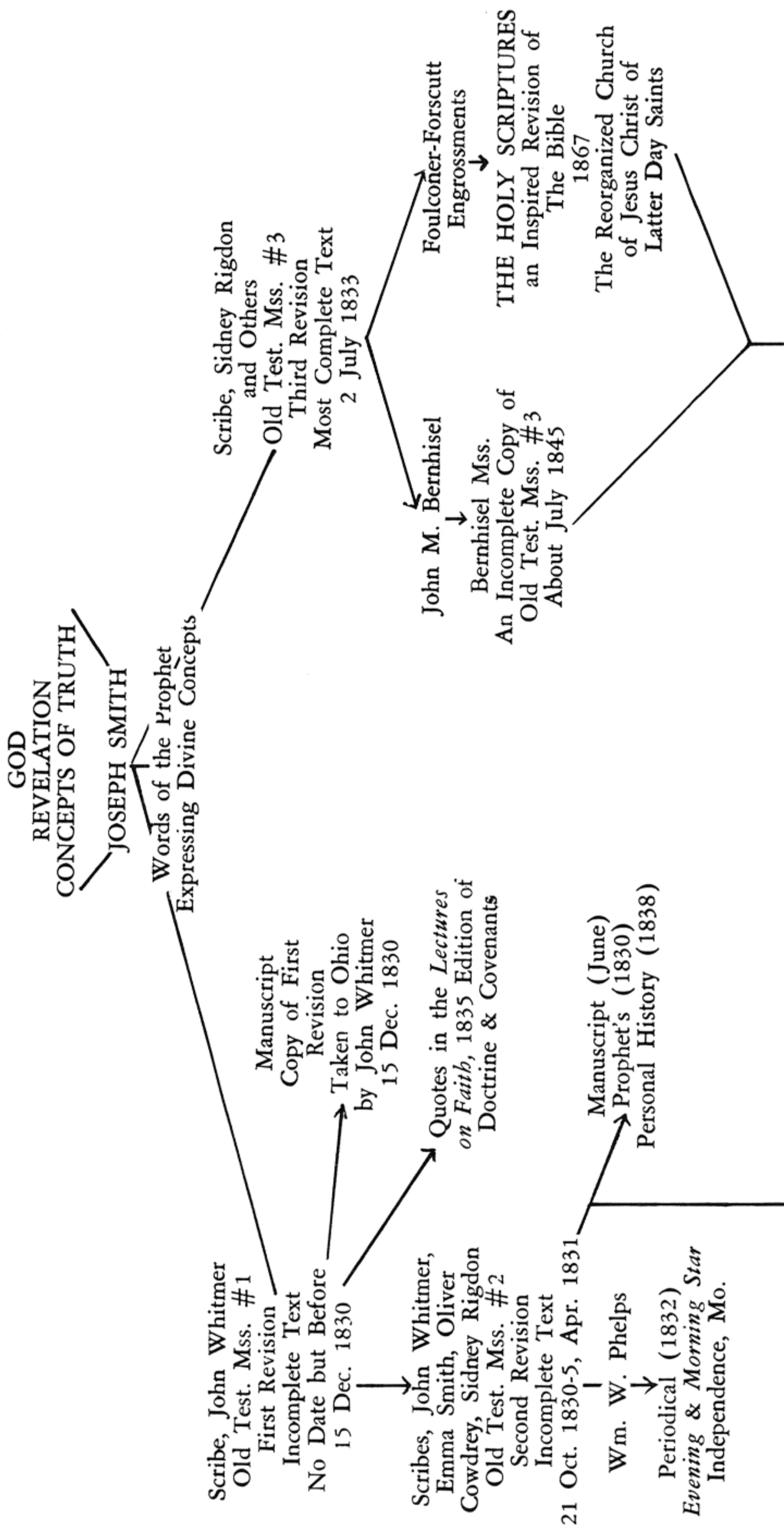
This manuscript was simply described as a more complete revision and extension of the text of Genesis. As such it is the most probable source manuscript for the following publications prior to the 1867 Inspired Revision publication by the Reorganized Church:

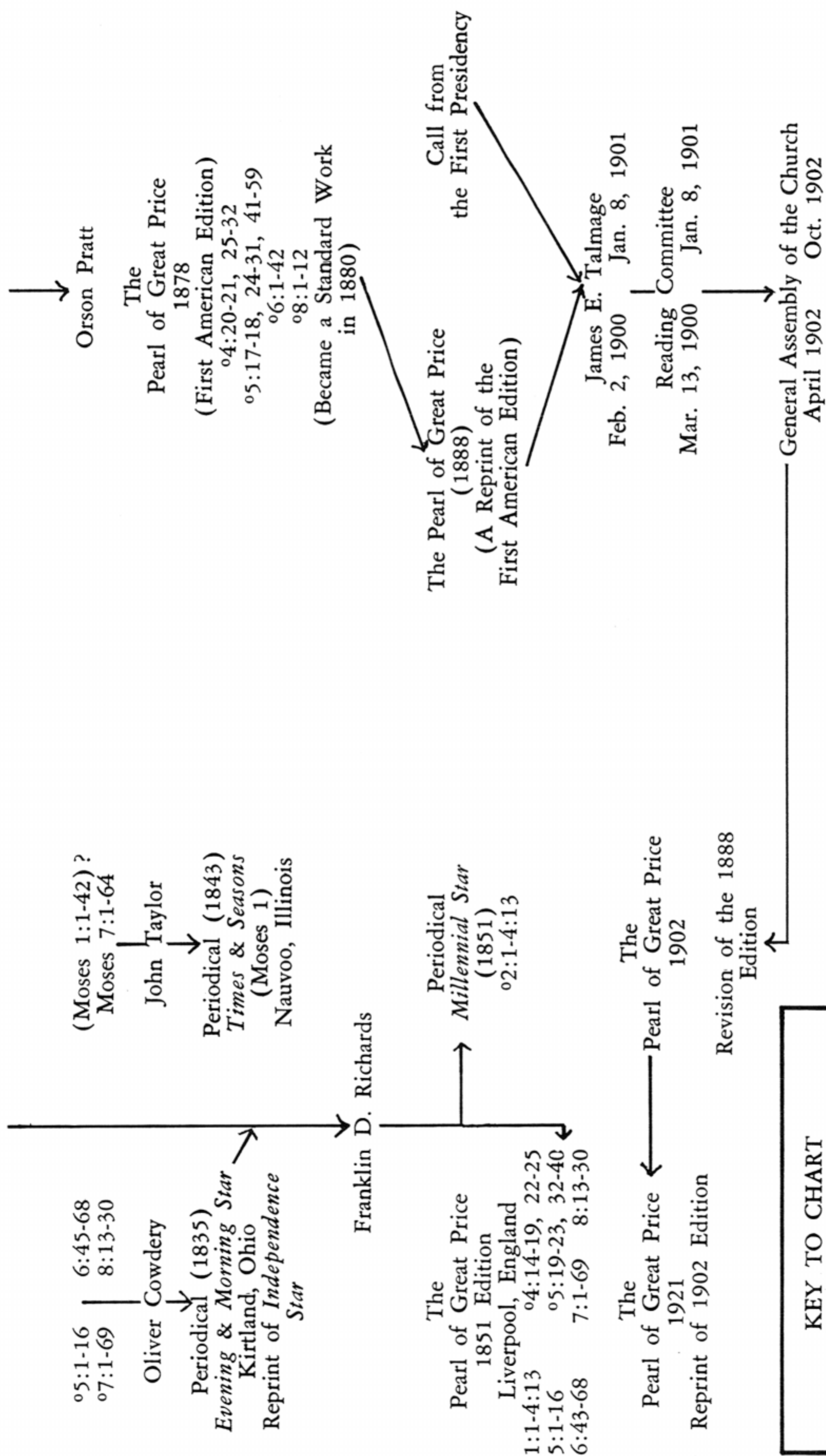
<i>Evening and Morning Star</i>	1833	Independence, Mo.
W. W. Phelps (Ed.)		
<i>Evening and Morning Star</i>	1835	Kirtland, Ohio
Oliver Cowdery (Ed.)		

¹³Reed C. Durham, "A History of Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1965, pp. 199-200.

¹⁴Howard, "Question Time," p. 27.

Figure II
Changes, Relationships, and Editorial Responsibility
for Manuscripts and Publications of the Contents of
Our Book of Moses





<i>Times and Seasons</i> John Taylor (Ed.)	1843	Nauvoo, Ill.
<i>Millennial Star</i> F. D. Richards (Ed.)	1851	Liverpool, Eng.
First Edition, Pearl of Great Price F. D. Richards (Ed.)	1851	Liverpool, Eng.

These publications of the Book of Moses material show a great affinity, supporting the claim that they had a common origin.¹⁵

THE MOST COMPLETE REVISION

Old Testament Manuscript #3 was the *most complete* revision of the material in Moses and was, indirectly, the principal source (not the exclusive source) for the material found in the 1878 edition of the Book of Moses. A description of this manuscript follows:

Old Testament Manuscript No. 3 comprises three folios or sections of paper and totals 119 pages in all, the last 23 being unnumbered.

a. Folio 1:48 pages, number 1-48, comprising Section 22 (Reorganite edition of the D&C) and chapters 1-19:26z of Genesis, written out completely.

b. Folio 2:48 pages, numbered 49-96, comprising Genesis 19:26b through Psalm 150.

Pages 49-59a are word-for-word transcriptions (full Biblical text), being Genesis 19-26 b-24:73 (end of Chapter 24).

Pages 59 b96 comprise notations only, indicating those verses of the King James Version revised by Joseph Smith, Jr.

c. Folio 3:23 pages, unnumbered, comprising Proverbs-Malachi. Brief, concise notations indicating points of revision.

Handwriting of Old Testament Manuscript No. 3 is *largely* that of Sidney Rigdon, *although several other handwritings*, not fully identified, appear. This manuscript, a further revision of Old Testament Manuscripts No. 1 and No. 2, plus added material beyond Genesis 24, 42a, is itself in many places revised; a fact indicated by marginal interpolations in different colors of ink. Interpolations too extensive for recording in the manuscript were written out on separate scraps of paper and pinned to the manuscript. Date on page 119: "Finished on the 2nd day of July 1833."¹⁶ (Italics mine)

¹⁵Harris, "A Study of Changes," pp. 5-204.

¹⁶Howard, "Question Time," p. 27.

Though Durham emphatically declares that "all of the original manuscript is in his [Sidney Rigdon's] handwriting, any earlier scribal work or preliminary revising was *redone* by Sidney Rigdon,"¹⁷ or that "Sidney Rigdon was the major scribe because the manuscript completed on 2 July, 1833, . . . *is entirely* in his handwriting,"¹⁸ deeper investigation shows that there were several "other handwritings, not fully identified," on the manuscript.¹⁹

THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT

There now rests in the Church Historian's Office a copy of Old Testament Manuscript #3 by the hand of Dr. John M. Bernhisel. (There is also a Church Historian's copy of that manuscript.) Though the Reorganite group questioned its existence and Durham disparaged its value, the Bernhisel manuscript is a very significant copy of the Book of Moses materials, as will be shown. Since the published Inspired Revision of the Bible by the Reorganite Church is an engrossment based on Old Testament Manuscript #3, *but not exclusively on #3*, and since the engrossments were corrected to harmonize *as much as possible* with Old Testament Manuscript #2, one would not expect the published revision to read exactly as the Bernhisel Manuscript.²⁰ But Howard stated that "the Faulconer-Forscutt engrossments were based upon Old Testament Manuscript #3."²¹ The published revision therefore should show considerable unity of thought, if not word, with the Bernhisel manuscript. A comparison was made of the first chapter of the Book of Moses in the 1867 and 1878 editions with the Bernhisel manuscript, and of the Bernhisel with other published versions with the following results:

1. There were 14 points of agreement between the 1867 and 1878 editions and the Bernhisel manuscript representing changes from earlier publications.

2. There were 17 points upon which the Bernhisel manuscript was unique in wording; only two of the 17 points represent uniqueness in thought.

3. There were 3 points upon which the Bernhisel manu-

¹⁷Durham, "A History of Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible," p. 40.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁹Howard, "Question Time," p. 27.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

script disagreed with the 1878 and 1867 editions but agreed with earlier renditions.

4. There were only 3 points of agreement between the *Times & Seasons* publication and the Bernhisel manuscript that were unique to these two renditions.

This preliminary analysis of the texts would indicate that the Bernhisel manuscript has a greater affinity to the Old Testament Manuscript #3 than to any earlier manuscripts, and that there is *no indication of any significant disunity in thought* between these two renditions. This unity in thought may be the basis upon which President Joseph Fielding Smith assured the author that the Bernhisel manuscript was essentially the same as the Inspired Revision rendition of the Moses material.²² It is not suggested that there are *no* differences in thought between these versions, but that the differences are very rare exceptions to the rule. It is this writer's opinion that Durham has made too much of these exceptions.

DID ORSON PRATT USE THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT IN PREPARING THE TEXT OF THE 1878 BOOK OF MOSES?

It is possible that Orson Pratt had enough confidence in the Reorganite publication of the Inspired Revision that he accepted that rendition without making any effort to check it against the primary sources available to him. However, in view of the suspicion cast upon the Reorganite text by President Brigham Young, whose views were clearly communicated to Orson Pratt, it would seem unlikely that Orson Pratt would publish the Book of Moses without taking every possible precaution to check the text with primary sources that were available to him in Salt Lake City.²³ Possession of the Bernhisel manuscript by Brigham Young, or even more so, by John Taylor between 1876-1878 would not have rendered it inaccessible to Elder Pratt. Durham identified John Taylor as one who was greatly influenced by the Inspired Revision.²⁴ His leadership in 1877

²²Personal conversation in 1958, also: Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), p. 10.

²³The minutes of the School of the Prophets indicate that President Brigham Young regarded the Revision "spurious" and that he brought Elder Pratt to *some* level of agreement with his position. "Minutes," *Journal History*, Saturday, June 6, 13, 20, 1868.

²⁴Durham, "A History of Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible," p. 265.

may have encouraged Pratt to revise the Book of Moses and to use the Inspired Revision publication, checking its accuracy with the Bernhisel manuscript.

Elder Pratt's text is almost identical to that of the published Inspired Revision, but one significant variation suggests that Pratt had independent access to a primary manuscript. Moses 1:19 of all texts previous to Pratt's 1878 edition, including the 1867 Inspired Revision, read: "Satan cried with a loud voice and *went* upon the earth, and commanded, saying: I am the Only Begotten, worship me." But Pratt's 1878 reading shows a bold change: "Satan cried with a loud voice and *rent* upon the earth." Such a bold, independent move by Orson Pratt, unique in his edition, would suggest that there must have been an authoritative source used other than the published Inspired Revision. It is significant to note that our present text utilizes Pratt's change.

WHY DID ORSON PRATT CHANGE THIS READING?

A careful examination of the Bernhisel manuscript version of Moses 1:19 reveals a very significant point missed by Durham in his study of this material. The Bernhisel manuscript reads "*wrent* upon the earth" (see Figure III, p. 376). This point of agreement between the Bernhisel manuscript and Pratt's 1878 edition represents a departure from the Inspired Revision rendition, and is a strong indication that Pratt used the Bernhisel or possibly some other unknown manuscript of equal authority. In the absence of any knowledge of such a manuscript, the Bernhisel should stand out as the most probable source for this change.

An important confirmation of this reading in the Bernhisel manuscript can be seen in the Church Historian's copy of the Bernhisel manuscript. Written in a beautifully clear handwriting, there can be no mistaking the word "*wrent*."

The superiority of the "*rent*" or "*wrent*" rendition over the "*went*" rendition is made clear by a careful reading of the text. After stating that Satan "*went* upon the earth" the text indicates that he didn't go anywhere but remained in the presence of Moses and declared, "I am the Only Begotten, worship me." In other words, the "*went*" rendition seems to be a contradiction in thought. On the other hand, the state-

FIGURE III

Bottom of Page 137 of the Bernhisel Manuscript

10 And he gave also unto me commandment when he called
 unto me out of the burning bush saying call upon God in
 the name of mine only begotten and worship me.
 11 And again Moses said I will not cease to call upon God
 I have other things to enquire of him for his glory has been upon
 me and it is glory unto me wherefore I can judge between
 him and thee depart hence Satan.
 12 And now when Moses had said these words Satan cried with
 a loud voice and went upon the earth and commanded
 saying I am the only begotten worship me And it came to pass

Verse 12 reads: "And now when Moses had said these words Satan cried with a loud voice and went upon the earth and commanded saying I am the only begotten worship me. And it came to pass . . ." (By courtesy of the Church Historian's Office.)

ment that Satan "rent upon the earth," i.e., made a concerted effort to impress Moses with his power, is consistent with the description of what follows. Satan having demonstrated his power by creating a fissure in the earth, thus inferred that his power is an evidence of his divinity, and he declared "I am the Only Begotten, worship me." It is also apparent that Satan was almost successful because, "Moses began to tremble."

Consequently, there is reason to believe that Durham may have been a little premature in stating that Orson Pratt did not use the Bernhisel manuscript as a source for the 1878 edition of the Book of Moses. Certainly this issue is still unsettled.²⁵

It may be said with certainty that Orson Pratt was not the author of any of the changes in the 1878 edition of the Book of Moses. He was the means of providing a more extensive rendition for the Church, but the source for the changes he published seems to have been the Prophet Joseph Smith's Old Testament Manuscript #3, via the published Inspired Revision of 1867 and the Bernhisel manuscript, or some other primary manuscript of equal authority like the Church Historian's copy of the Bernhisel.

THE TALMAGE EDITION OR THE CURRENT RENDITION OF MOSES

There was no indication from a limited textual analysis comparing the Bernhisel manuscript rendition with Moses 1 in the 1902 Talmage edition that Talmage used the Bernhisel manuscript.²⁶ At several points in the textual comparison the Talmage edition shows a preference for the earlier *Times and Seasons* (1843) or Liverpool (1851) renditions. There are no points that indicate he followed the Bernhisel manuscript rendition. There were only three points at which independent word changes occur, and only two of those could possibly be construed as representing a thought change. And even in these cases it would be debatable whether they are genuine thought changes. It would seem, however, that James E. Talmage displayed more independent action with the text than did Orson Pratt, who took no independent action whatsoever. This is not difficult to understand when one considers that Orson Pratt

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 171-176.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

had not been officially called (as far as we know) to prepare the text of the Book of Moses for publication in 1878. It was not a standard work at the time he published it, and its stature among the saints seemed to have been somewhat below the appeal of Eliza R. Snow's poems.²⁷

Talmage, on the other hand, had been called by the First Presidency of the Church and given the following instructions:

Elder James E. Talmage called at the President's office and had a talk with the Presidency regarding the edition of the Pearl of Great Price which he is to publish with footnote references. President Cannon suggested that it would be perfectly proper to make references to chapters and verses, but nothing should be done in the way of footnotes in this edition in the way of explaining the meaning of any passages as this light might lead to difficulty.²⁸

The authority of the commission could have given Elder Talmage a little more freedom than Brother Pratt was willing to assume.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE CHANGES UPON A CONCEPT OF REVELATION

Many Latter-day Saints have accepted the scriptures of the standard works in their present form without giving much thought to the process by which they were revealed. It would be presumptuous on the part of man to attempt to limit the scope and variety of God's power to communicate with him. God can communicate any way that man can communicate, and he is not limited to the relatively feeble instruments of communication utilized by man. At this moment the writer is trying to communicate ideas or concepts. If he chooses his words wisely, and carefully places those words in logical patterns, someone may arrive at the same concepts that the writer intended to convey. However, such a result cannot be guaranteed. The words selected by the writer are not the concept, but are symbols by which he is trying to communicate that concept. Obviously,

²⁷Sister Snow's poems received front page publicity but Pratt's revision was advertised without heading on the bottom of page 3 of the *Deseret News*, June 24, 1878, p. 3. See also, James R. Harris, "A Study of the Changes," pp. 221-223.

²⁸"Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," February 2, 1900, p. 1.

there is a tremendous risk in the process of transmitting concepts through word symbols. Consequentially, God does not, as a general rule, use this indirect method of communication. Preferably, he communicates concepts directly to the souls of men. When this method is used there is no possibility of misunderstanding or misinterpretation. If the divine communication is to be transmitted to others, the prophet must represent the concepts given him in the thought symbols at his command. The concepts are divine, but the language is still human.

Orson Pratt had much to say on this subject:

The Book of Mormon tells us, that the angels speak by the power of the Holy Ghost, and man when under the influence of it, speaks the language of angels. Why does he speak in this language? Because the Holy Ghost suggests the idea which he speaks; and it gives him utterance to convey them to the people. Suppose the Holy Ghost should suggest to the mind of an individual a vast multitude of truths, I mean when in the spiritual state, and he wishes to convey that intelligence and knowledge to his fellow spirit; suppose instead of having arbitrary sounds, such as we have here, to communicate these ideas, that the Holy Ghost itself, through a certain process and power, should enable him to unfold that knowledge to another spirit, all in an instant, without this long tedious process of artificial and arbitrary sounds, and written words. . . . How does God perceive the thoughts of our hearts? Is there not here a language by which He can discover and discern the thoughts and intents of the heart? Are we not told in many of the revelations how that God can perceive the thoughts of man, and that for every idle thought we are to be brought into judgment? Yes, He discerns the thoughts and intentions of the hearts of the children of men. Supposing we had some of that power resting upon us, would not that be a different kind of a language from sound, or from a written language? It would. If spirits could commune with spirits, and one higher intelligence commune with another by the some principle through which God sees the thoughts and intents of the heart, it would be nothing more than what has already existed here in this world, according to that which is revealed.²⁹

President Joseph F. Smith identified some basic principles of revelation in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections in connection with the Reed Smoot

²⁹Orson Pratt, "Language and the Medium of Communication in the Future State," *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 3, pp. 101-102.

seating hearing. During the course of the Smoot Case³⁰ changes made in the grammatical structure of the Manifesto were considered. The dialogue went as follows:

Senator - "I understand this Manifesto was inspired."

Elder - "Yes."

Senator - "That is your understanding of it?"

Elder - "My answer was that it was inspired."

Senator - "And when it was handed to you it was an inspiration, as you understand it, from on high, was it not?"

Elder - "Yes."

Senator - "What business had you to change it?"

Elder - "We did not change the meaning."

Senator - "You have just stated you changed it."

Elder - "Not the sense, sir. I did not say we changed the sense."

Senator - "But you changed the phraseology?"

Elder - "We simply put it in shape for publication, corrected possibly the grammar, and wrote it so that . . ."

Senator - "You mean to say that in an inspired communication from the Almighty the grammar was bad was it? You corrected the grammar of the Almighty did you?"³¹

Some of the saints in 1907 picked up the phrase, "correcting the Lord's grammar," and were no doubt shaken in their faith. B. H. Roberts gave an explanation to these troubled souls by identifying the human elements in the language of the revelations:

In defining what I understand revelation to be, and the manner in which it may be communicated, I have already stated that when we have a communication made directly from the Lord Himself there is no imperfection whatever in that revelation. But when the Almighty uses a man as an instrument through whom to communicate divine wisdom, the manner in which the revelation is imparted to men may receive a certain human coloring from the prophet through whom it came. We know this to be true, because we have the words of different prophets before us by which we may test the matter. We know for instance, that the message delivered to Israel through the Prophet Isaiah possessed dif-

³⁰At the turn of the century (1903-1907) the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections met to determine if Senator Reed Smoot was qualified to be seated since he belonged to a church that practiced plural marriage, etc. See Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1930), Vol. VI, pp. 393-399.

³¹Brigham H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1907), Vol. I, p. 504.

ferent characteristics from the message delivered through Jeremiah, or through Ezekiel, or through Amos. It seems that the inspiration of the Lord need not necessarily destroy the personal characteristics of the man making the communication to his fellowmen.

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So in this Manifesto issued by President Woodruff. What if there were imperfect, or ungrammatical sentences in it? What does the world care about that in the last analysis of it? The great thing in the instrument was, and the great truth that the Lord made known to the soul of Wilford Woodruff was, that it was necessary for the preservation of the Church, and the uninterrupted progress of her work that plural marriages should be discontinued. Now, any expression containing that truth was all that was necessary. And so there is nothing of weight in the phrase "Correcting the grammar of the Almighty." We do not correct His grammar. Perhaps the brethren made slight corrections in the grammar of Wilford Woodruff. The grammar may be the prophet's, the idea, the truth, is God's.³²

The Lord's chastisement of Oliver Cowdery for attempting to translate without "studying it out in the mind"³³ is well known throughout the Church. This studying-out process within the mind of the translator involved the selection and use of words to build a concept or give it a rational structure. This process is described by Elder Roberts as follows:

But since the translation is thought out in the mind of the seer, it must be thought out in such thought-signs as he is master of, for man thinks and can only think coherently, in language; and, necessarily, in such language as he knows. If this knowledge of the language in which he thinks and speaks is imperfect, his diction and grammar will be defective.³⁴

On rare occasions God may dictate a communication, or his conversation may be recorded as remembered by the prophet. But it seems that God usually communicates in concepts. Unfortunately, the principle of revelation discussed above is best understood when experienced, but difficult to understand without experience. To insure accurate reception, God communicates his will *directly to the souls of men by flooding their*

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 517-521.

³³Doctrine and Covenants 9:8.

³⁴Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, p. 280.

understandings with concepts that cannot be misunderstood. If the divine message is to be communicated to others, a prophet must then select the words that will enable his disciples to perceive the God-given concepts.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concepts given to a prophet were and are divine; the words with which he transmitted them are and were human. Latter-day Saints should be able to accept new revelation as it flows from the living prophet, and to accept clarifications of past revelation as they come through the proper channels of authority.

The program of the Church is constantly changing to meet new needs and to bring to full maturation promises and objectives that were declared from the beginning of the Restoration. If the saints are to realize their destiny as a Zion people, they must change; and, no doubt, a program will continue to unfold under the direction of the living prophets to encourage, motivate, and command a level of performance that will release the necessary spiritual endowments of power to enable the members of the Church to become a Zion people. Such a program cannot succeed unless the members sense that their primary and continuous commitment is to the living prophets whom God places over them.

Those, in past generations, who were disgruntled over changes that were made in the earliest renditions of the Book of Moses or in any other scripture were worshipping *dead things*. Their ears were not inclined toward the living God who speaks to his Church through his living prophets. In a generation of *change toward fulfillment*, whose voice will be heard?

And the arm of the Lord shall be revealed; and the day cometh that they who will not hear the voice of the Lord, neither the voice of his servants, neither give heed to the words of the prophets and apostles, shall be cut off from among the people.³⁵

A tolerance for change has never been more vital. The time grows short and the necessary preparations to meet the coming Lord demand *change toward fulfillment* through the channels of priesthood authority.

³⁵Doctrine and Covenants 1:14.

Satan on the Hearth

CARLTON CULMSEE*

Feeling chilly whenever cozy old myths are stripped off, we knit new ones. Even in this age of science when we often fancy that now, forever, we will scorn the fabrication of myths as childish, we have an even keener need for myths than before, especially for self-flattery we may gain from a warm delusion that salves our pride. The new myths, like the old ones, are partly efforts to explain the inexplicable, partly metaphors for misty insights, but mostly they are escape devices.

TODAY'S MYTH-MAKER

One of the first tasks for today's myth-maker is to give man back some sort of dignity. He lost much when 19th-century science shattered him, mixed him up with the other talus fragments, and subjected him to the physical laws assumed to regulate the mechanisms of nature. Determinism—which is both thralldom and relief from individual responsibility—has been called the common element in the three revolutionary isms (Marxism, Darwinism, and Freudism) we inherit from the 19th century. Under the total impact man dropped from a little lower than the angels to a little lower than the dogs, in the estimation of some. One American Nobel prize winner in literature urged man to emulate the dog, for, he said, the dog is more honest and clean; and he declared bulls to be braver, generally nobler beasts than man. This viewpoint was a negative boost for an older belief that we can place our trust in a deep, natural source of strength and virtue if we keep the spring unpolluted. This faith in natural goodness certainly has much to commend it. But we went to a desperate extreme in our reaction against what we took to be oversublimated concepts of man based on the theology of special creation and the possession of a soul.

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Therefore, it seemed necessary to pull the Promethean myth down from the shelf and dust it off to help once more to restore man's self-esteem. In the new version he did not merely defy the gods by introducing fire upon earth: he was himself a reluctant ambassador sent by a superior race to challenge the imbecilic brute forces that rule this globe. He became Heroic Man, model umpty-seven. Unfortunately he could not do much more than struggle to the summit where the path ended, bare his breast, hurl imprecations in the teeth of the storm—and await the inevitable bolt, or pneumonia. This was the escape into immedicable despair. It gave man a forlorn dignity; it also excused him of responsibility for constructive effort and for failure: the odds were impossible.

SLAVISH DETERMINISM

This was a flight from evolutionary science, in the circumscribed definition that spelled slavish determinism with the only upward path by way of merciless death to the unfit, into which class the materialists seemed to throw all artists, poets, the sensitive and imaginative. This has been termed a revolt against depersonalization. When everything seemed trending toward a cold analytical world in which all that man had thought was proud, noble, subtle, and strange about himself was being dispersed among the chemical elements and elsewhere, the individual rose in rebellion. The Age of Natural Science became also the Age of Psychology and Psychoanalysis—a most lyrical and introspective age, the age of such men as Proust and Joyce. It became an Age of Music, an Age of Emotional Transports as well as of Science. It became the Age of Existentialism, of Heidegger and Sartre. With the stimuli of scientific boldness and experimental methods, some peered within as never before, and were appalled by what they glimpsed; they were appalled and fascinated.

This was not entirely new. Theology and law had, of course, been concerned with our propensities for evil and with punishments here and hereafter intended to deter wrong-doing. However, if Hawthorne brooded over the bottomless pits of wickedness in humankind, what could Faulkner's generation of moralists think?—but for accidents of birth and propaganda, you and I might have been Nazi executioners converting thou-

sands of fellow-beings into fertilizer and lampshades. The Grendel-hungers of Hitler and his henchmen have unfolded for us as new information has come to light. Documents indicate that Auschwitz and Maidenek were only pilot plants in the master plan, that after the Jews other religious and racial minorities were listed for extermination, then the German officer class, and later, British males (British girls were worth saving) and populations of small subject countries. Furthermore, massacres of millions in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the Communist bloc are coming to be regarded even by "retarded liberals" less as necessary steps toward a humane future than as revelations of man's abysmal brutality.

The foregoing illustrates a significant change in our national mood from exuberance to doubt or even dread. Some have thought our 19th-century optimism grew out of that youthful phase of history when we gorged at the "Big Barbecue" of free natural resources. Then when frontier exhilaration trickled away into dry sands of the sub-humid West, America is thought to have emerged into disillusionment and pessimism, feelings deemed fitting for adulthood. Apparently, however, inhospitable regions did not force maturity upon America by blighting the frontier dream but only supplied concrete illustrations for a dark view of life which persons in many parts of the Old World and the New were coming to hold. The "Great American Desert" of veritable sand and cactus became less significant than the use of it as a symbol. Browning's "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" was an early word-etching of a world wasteland which T. S. Eliot and others have described more recognizably for us. This is a universal barren where many wander dejectedly, not sure whether to be more affrighted by the rank caverns of animality that lie behind them and within, or the misty gulf of meaninglessness that opens ahead.

20th CENTURY DESERT OF SPIRIT

There are, as we have said, several avenues of escape from this desert of the spirit. But that chosen for this discussion is the titillating one in which the wanderer turns his childhood world of religious orthodoxy inside out and upside down with spectacular effects. Even in this disillusioned time man contrives to resurrect a phoenix from the scientific incinerator in

which he burns creeds he has come to view with skepticism or boredom. One such return from an inert materialism, from ashen meaninglessness to a strange mystique, is the transformation of hostile nature into a malign deity. Thus we finally introduce the bad actor named in the title. In this concept Satan has not finally won the War in Heaven and usurped the throne—he has sat there all the time, asserts the new theology. God's benevolence was a fairy tale we fabricated, so the feeling is, to warm our shivering limbs and hood us from truths we feared to face. The Devil no longer sits by the fireplace in a more or less comfortable family group where he cooperates, if grudgingly, to help realize some far-off divine event. He has, in the opinion of some, evolved from an avuncular black sheep to a rapacious father. In audaciously bitter cases, authors have flouted tradition to "show" mothers as she-devils, Venus flytraps, monsters devouring their young. Writers different as Vardis Fisher and Tennessee Williams have contributed to this black current. Although diabolism is an intoxicating escape from meaninglessness, it is itself a religion of despair.

TWO TYPES OF DESPAIR

At this juncture let's discriminate between two kinds of despair, shallow and profound. Because all of us possess a full complement of human traits and susceptibilities, all of us probably feel both types. We can agree with Bernard G. Murchland that "Despair has become . . . *the* human condition," and that "It would be hard to find a major author of our century unaffected by despair." He mentions Kafka, Gide, Mann, Moravia, St. Exupéry, Roger Martin du Gard, Malraux, Camus, Joyce, Lawrence, Hemingway, Orwell, Faulkner, and Huxley among others. Despair is the logical next step after a pollyannaism, a reaction of the wise against such optimism. Winthrop S. Hudson points out that "the burst of technological and industrial expansion which followed the Civil War had created an unbridled cheerfulness, confidence, and complacency among the American people. It was the Horatio Alger era of seemingly unlimited opportunity. . . . This temper was reflected and further fortified among Protestants by a growing conviction that the mission of Christianity had been fulfilled in church-going America." Because, he ventured, "the current ideas and

ideals seemed to be blessed by the tangible benefits of an astonishing material prosperity, they concluded that the laissez-faire code of the developing industrial society actually represented God's way of doing things. . . ." This type of good-feeling, supported by no intellectual or theological content worth mentioning but founded largely on the sand of material prosperity, could lead only to a treacherously shallow pessimism. For the masses, disillusionment came any time they lost their hope of becoming millionaires or lost their health; for the wealthy, despair came any time that, fascination with material goods and power failing them, they felt the emptiness of soul which power and possessions could not fill.

This is different from the insight of the tough-fibered philosopher, saint, or other person who sees despair as a condition of existence, then goes on from there, accepting life yet seeking to transcend mortality in some way, endeavoring to do what Samuel Miller said a clergyman must do: "by an alchemy of his own he must make sense of things, or be honest and humble in knowing he can do no more than to face them wisely and bravely." Bertrand Russell wrote that we must descend to the bedrock of ultimate despair, then build toward hope. The serious writer who has vision and conscience struggles to prepare what Albert Camus termed "a renaissance beyond the limits of nihilism." But there are writers and writers, thinkers and thinkers; the difference is where the dominant emphasis is placed, what is sought. Out of a shallow despair the confirmed satanist attempts to invert the ethical structure, to make white black and black white, sin virtue and virtue sin.

SUSPICIONS OF AN ANGRY GOD

Suspicion that man may be at the mercy of powers antagonistic to him and too powerful to challenge successfully is, of course, not new. Thinkers have long brooded over the possibility, and writers from ancient times have created masterful characters to make them victims of unfathomable Fate. But monotheism and science, old and modern pantheism have teamed to this extent, that we commonly postulate unity at the core of all. There is now, as previously suggested, no household of deities good, bad, both. For many there is neither a neutral Divine Ground nor a reservoir of energy which is

potentiality to man's hand; there is a malevolent mind or tendency dominant in the universe, "evil enthroned"; there is no God but God and He an evil one. Sadly, the revival of Melville meant, for many, only that he had been ahead of his time in illustrating this assumed malevolence in God or nature; and most interpreters missed the novelist's intimations of something transcending the inimical.

Steps toward a "religion" of ultimate despair have been taken by many and worship of a kind has commenced. Reference is not to such phenomena as the medieval Witches' Sabbaths, which were probably survivals of ancient fertility rites, and other pagan ceremonies among peoples who still regarded Christianity as an alien creed. True, there are said to have been voices of utter hopelessness at these observances, but there is reason to believe that they were raised in protest at oppressions by feudal and clerical authority. The targets of wrath were corruptions of originally acceptable functions, so that the irreverence could have been aimed obliquely at restoring what the people viewed as mercy and justice.

The change from a Wordsworthian ecstasy over nature to a morbid view has affected more persons than is generally supposed. This reversal in the romantic outlook did not, of course, await our era of titanic wars; it was anticipated by decadent romantics of the 18th and 19th Centuries. The Marquis de Sade, whose writings depicted a type of sexual perversion so vividly that they put the word "sadism" into the dictionary, declaimed in the late 18th Century: "Nature averse to crime? I tell you, nature lives and breathes by it; hungers at all her pores for bloodshed, asks in all her nerves for the help of sin. . . . Good friend, it is by criminal things and deeds unnatural that nature works and moves and has her being. . . ." A century later the English poet Swinburne, a disciple of de Sade's, averred that cruelty and crime are universal laws of nature, that God is the "supreme evil." The sin presented by Swinburne, however, is often identified as such by the poet. Indeed, he sometimes ranged it in dismal contrast with virtue. In our century the Italian poet, novelist, and dramatist, Gabriele D'Annunzio, ventured beyond most Satanics by cloaking evil in mystical heroism and beauty. He further confused the issue by personally assuming the character of a dashing warrior who could inflame the imagination of the young with patriotic deeds

as well as words. Perhaps he converted few to his inverted faith; but the uncritical acceptance of such figures presumably for technical virtuosity, among certain literary leaders is little aid to persons seeking to set up viable scales of values.

CONFUSION OF BLURRED THINKING

The confusion of many seekers after culture would be ludicrous if it were not evidence of dangerously blurred thinking. Many admirers of Byron, for example, lump his Satanism and his other work together indiscriminately. Another Satanist was, as I suggested, Swinburne. Quiller-Couch tells us of the exhilaration that swept Oxford at the appearance of Swinburne's first successful book, the groups of students ecstatically chanting stanzas from the poems. The enthusiasm had to cool, of course, and, when later fruits of his "baneful fluency" added little beyond accentuation of obtrusive mannerisms, Swinburne began to take the rank his gifts merited. But significantly, it was his excessive alliteration, wearisome repetitiveness, and prolixity that drew the critics' disapproval. Probably still prejudiced in favor of anyone who thumbed his nose at hypocritical Victorianism, they rarely touched upon his diseased parts. To many otherwise apparently healthy minds, he was in his senility revered as "a giant asleep under the pines."

Surely the literary league ladies must have felt uneasy when they assumed reverent postures before certain British or French poets and novelists who derided ideals which these matrons expected their husbands and sons to observe strictly! Even better than American critics whom I have read, Aldous Huxley suggested our confusion of mind. In his essay attacking Wordsworth's nature-worship, Huxley termed nature "always alien and inhuman, and occasionally diabolic." There and elsewhere he repeatedly emphasized treacherous traits of nature. He did not propose that man, a stranger in a strange world, should adapt by becoming as strange as that world, should regard his emergent human qualities and culture as themselves alien or false. But the ordinarily sound Huxley did assert that the poet, the artist, must be "of the devil's party" and must "champion the devil."

Diabolism, it can be seen, enjoys considerable respectability. It has previously been entertained at the extremes, among bored

sophisticates and irresponsible have-nots. Going about the world, you detect evidences of old and new belief in it from the Kurdish Yazidis' devil worship to modern voodoo rites. It fumes up naturally as an effort to interpret inexplicable evil in man or nature, and to propitiate a deity who may be omnipotent or alert for the decisive moment to strike.

DIABOLISM WIDESPREAD

Diabolism is not confined to neo-primitive decadents and beatniks and literary irresponsibles, however. The doctrine that ends justify means—when the means are inhuman—is akin to diabolism. Fanatical communists, fascists, and race supremacy bigots can thus regress into species of Satanism at the moment they feel most righteous.

We must acknowledge, however, that there probably have always been liberals who recognized that the Man of Reason (reason in the narrow, flat sense) tends to condemn persons who explore unknown areas in unconventional ways. These liberals are eager to be open-minded about new adventures in learning or feeling. Certainly the more earnest rebels are likely to break the bonds of mere habit and stir a fresh awareness, even if they do not arrive at epochal discoveries. Also our wisdom has never been sufficient to resolve the ambiguities and conflicts in nature, or between man and nature. It is obvious to thoughtful persons that the struggle is not between outright good and evil but between different orders of potentiality and creativity. Today the low-level scientism that finds its certainties only in empirically established data can, when it rules a limited mind, be an enemy of truth on higher planes. So the tolerant and intuitive strive to keep open-minded for areas unexplored or cancelled out, so that they may break crusts of prejudice and thrust up through overheads of vested ignorance. There are always necessities and opportunities for adding to understanding, and these do not daunt the enterprising.

The novel, it can be said in this connection, is *novel* for two reasons. (It should never be tedious because routine life is tedious, as the science-intimidated Veritists held.) One is that people are entitled to legitimate extensions of knowledge and experience. The other is that novelty of raw experience and acquisition of new knowledge can mean what is more important

than either—awakening in the better Buddhist tradition. "Enlightenment" in the centuries-old Occidental definition is usually substitution of fact for illusion; but more significant is the awakening, the rebirth of deep, vivid awareness on imaginative and intuitive levels.

Therefore the wise, with prudent reserve, refuse to reject the Satanists out of hand. They are wrong or right—wrong when, defending the rebels, they find themselves victimized by charlatans or degenerates; right when the apparent Satanists turn out to be pioneers who force their way into a productive new tract.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CRITIC

The problem for the conscientious critic is complicated by the fact that every human being is equipped with a full inventory of human qualities. Where the dominant emphasis falls is decisive. The final impact of a work must be appraised in determining what an ostensible Satanist's influence may be. If we must choose between Swinburne and D'Annunzio, for example, we should take the former; for usually he placed health in distinguishable contrast with disease. On the other hand, D'Annunzio attempted to make vice appear virtue, diabolism a godlike attribute, and thus essayed to confuse or divert the impulse toward wholesome on-going life.

Sometimes diabolism goes from confusion into conviction. There is an illustration in the decadent poet Sebastian, a brooding presence who never makes his entrance on stage in Tennessee Williams' play *Suddenly Last Summer*. In this drama a mother's over-possessiveness frustrates life. She is identified with the Venus flytrap, engulfer of unwary fragiles. To her son she becomes proof that nature is a monster destroying her offspring. When he sees predatory birds darken the sky of the Encantadas and swoop down to kill millions of newly hatched turtles in lustful carnage, he declares that he "has seen God." Appearing evil, God seems to "Saint" Sebastian to demand an inverted morality and worship in shrines at which, as Swinburne wrote, "a sin is a prayer." His final act is to immolate himself for cannibalistic young degenerates, who combine the febrile decadence of urban slums, the alpha and omega of despair that is loathing, not the longing that seeks hope. This development

is the logical culmination of steps from a suspicion of hostile nature to abject subservience before a deity who disdains life. But one must concede that Williams obviously viewed these perversions of mother and son with abhorrence.

Probably no literary leader of our time would admit to being a "card-carrying member" of the cult of diabolical despair. He would, as a matter of fact, insist that he glorifies man's spirit in the tragic sense, and his followers might term him a moralist who does not flinch from the most repellent facts. These authors can be termed moralists in that they reveal man's weaknesses and evil with terrifying vividness. But their feeling is not, I believe, comparable to the righteous wrath which some sociological novelists between the wars leveled at social abuses. It offers us little or no hope. In judging the ostensible Satanist, one should ask whether, for reasons of despair or irresponsible salesmanship, he tends to loosen man's grip on fundamental life forces, or whether he is seriously pioneering neglected or new areas which promise fruit in future.

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

Perhaps the fundamental question still is this: How can a monster of perversion such as the Marquis de Sade—at least as he portrays himself—win the half-gleeful acceptance which he has gained from many readers?

That he did exist, that he offers a subject for scientific analysis, is true; but this fact does not supply a satisfying answer. Those most engrossed in him do not appear to be equipped to investigate him scientifically. As a matter of fact, there may be no one thus equipped because science as we know it does not take cognizance of the very essence of de Sade or of any human being.

Yet the answer to the question may not, after all, be difficult. Man thinking encounters many of the same adverse forces in every age: the gross obvious fact that man must survive as a physical organism confers meretricious priority upon the sub-human factors involved in the perpetuation of his mere physical existence. Distinctively human traits and potentialities—Aldous Huxley summarized them as intelligence, friendliness, and creativity—and their fulfillment may be the only real excuse for the whole clanking, grinding, shuddering

juggernaut of our machine culture. Yet try to find anything like unashamed acknowledgment of their importance even among the educated! The goal becomes consumption, minimal or conspicuously wasteful; the means become ends; and the reason for the entire structure becomes buried under an avalanche of expediency which misses its own goal.

The protests of those penetrating enough to assess the damage being done will range from mild criticism to the perversities of a fallen angel such as some critics see in de Sade. The degree of preposterous fallacy occurring in the latter type of protest will be proportional to the amount of smug, obtuse error against which the protest is aimed.

SADISM TRUE FREEDOM?

But if the mad zeal of such protests can become thus comprehensible, if it can be seen as a heroically dangerous dose of literary strychnine to the diseased society, what of the sober half-acceptance by the presumably responsible and respectable? A *Saturday Review* reviewer of the book, *The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade*, asserts that true sadism "is a plea for absolute freedom, a total revolt against all law, whether divine, social, or natural, in the name of nature itself." We may be victims of the purblindness of which I spoke when we express surprise that such defiance can do more than catch a momentary startled glance. Scientific curiosity must be largely discounted as a reason for the current revival of interest in the iconoclastic Marquis for, as previously commented, persons interested enough to read de Sade and ponder him are not equipped (if anyone is) to deal with his central premise, which seems to deny science, natural law, the hypothetical consistency of the universe.

Anyone, of course, can be bewildered at the obtrusion of the demonic, the malign, into movements that promised only benevolence. There is, for example, our science-technology alliance: although it is truly a horn of plenty, some influences seem determined to pervert it to harmful ends. The "nuclear club" (there may be a dozen member nations by 1975) presents shocking pictures of large and smaller nations straining their resources, neglecting their dire needs in education, food and health to gain power for destruction beyond our imagining.

Small wonder a devil seems to leer from the mushroom cloud! Along the domestic horizon, other ogres loom. People feel a dread of inexplicable evil when they read increasing numbers of news stories about incredible vandalism, thrill burglaries, thrill "muggings," thrill murders. Psychology does not fully explain why many thousands of young people riot in resort towns with utter callousness to the rights and feelings of others. There appears to be more in this than the instinctive aggressiveness Freud feared might disrupt society; it is more than animal spirits and postponement of adult responsibility. In the worst cases it reflects a virulence actively destructive of human welfare, even of the wrong-doers. Refusing to blame Lucifer, any twentieth-century man still can wonder and dread.

But the more imaginative and philosophical, if they approve de Sade, probably do so for this reason: his assertion of human freedom is the most extreme position possible. It sounds bugle notes to hearts repelled by the prospect of being masticated in the maw of the machine, whether the dominant force be corporate gigantism or monstrous statism, hearts which are revolted by maceration in the machine in any of its forms and washed down into a vat where their tissues are transformed into crude by-products without regard to the most valuable element of all, the essence of humanity, the priceless emergent of biological and social and spiritual evolution.

Sometimes I pass an animal by-products plant. Drove of gaunt, broken-down horses wait beside it. They horrify me. What if I saw clean-limbed, spirited young thoroughbreds confined in the corral around that ghastly gray building waiting, not to fulfill their destiny of running beyond the wind, but to be knocked in the head and made into glue and horsehide, and meat for ranch minks? You too would feel inexpressible outrage and terror.

So the sensitive and responsible in our age will identify de Sade's as the extremest of protests against brute, callous blindness to the faculties which make the human being worth bothering about. That is why the diabolic current in our literature can become transmuted into something that seems, in a devious way, a courageous and necessary expression. Admittedly, diabolists are not always sincere; they may sometimes be as exploitive and unscrupulous as "pushers" of narcotics to teenagers. But when their "controlling interest" is serious, they

are, in a sense, created by the bleak flatness of our culture, by its fixation on a low plane of thought. They are truly fallen angels, descended into the abyss where most of us, as perverse as they but in an opposite mode, flounder in default of a clearer light.

In the psychic as in the physical world, action and reaction tend to be equal. Thus we absorb that toxic by-product of a generally wholesome tendency, the fact that well-meaning seekers longing for *certainly* have unintentionally dehumanized science and hence all life to some degree, for everyone is more or less a creature of his age. At least by depreciating the very qualities which make human beings capable of being true seers and scientists, we have driven many imaginative souls into expressing revulsion in opposite error. This is not intended to vindicate diabolists. Whatever explanation we make of them, we cannot explain away the fundamental error: "To make God the author of evil would be to contradict the idea of God. . . ." ¹ Evil is potency misapplied, out of control. To make a deity of it is to "return to religion" with a vengeance—against humanity.

¹S. Radhakrishnan. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (New York, 1959), p. 203.

The Struggle for Peace*

CHARLES MALIK**

This is a moment of great anxiety in the history of the world. Just for this reason and because God exists and oversees the whole thing, this is a moment of great hope. Ours is an age of the possibility of great heroism, if only we attend to the problems and throw ourselves on the great possibilities. Never before was the opportunity open for so many men and women to rise to the highest pitch of heroism in every walk of life as it is today. Whether it be in science or industry, whether it be in politics or international relations, in literature or in the realms of the spirit, this is the moment to create and be. It all depends on whether you appraise the problems precisely and profoundly and whether you have it in you, constitutionally and morally, to grasp the possibilities and throw yourself wholeheartedly upon them. It all depends, in brief, on whether you are called to the heroic stature of the moment.

ANXIETY OF VIETNAM

We are all anxious about the war in Vietnam. Is it a hopeless struggle? Is it a meaningless one? Do the objectives justify the sacrifices incurred? When will it come to an end? How will it come to an end? May it lead to the Third World War? Such being the decisive place of America in the world today, these questions are asked at the deepest level of human conscience, not only by you, but throughout the world. Whatever vitally affects America vitally affects the world.

We are all anxious about the situation in the Middle East. Has the war of last June [1967] brought us closer to, or has it taken us farther away from, real peace and real stability in that vital region of the globe? What are the conditions for peace and stability? Can the Arabs and the Israelis agree on them? Can the interests of the great powers in this region be

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so reconciled as to enable them to help in promoting a just and lasting settlement? These are some of the questions that arise. And whoever is able to penetrate into the depths and to have something to share and above all to do about them will be one of the heroes of this age.

We are all anxious about the United Nations, and whether it has lived up to the expectations originally placed upon it. So much happens in the world without the United Nations doing anything about it that one is forced to ask, "Has the United Nations failed?" "Why is it so impotent?" What indeed has it done? Have we outgrown it altogether? And, can anything be done to lift it out of its paralysis and helplessness?

We are all anxious about China. At the present rate of growth the population of China at the end of this century, namely in only thirty years, will be one and a half billion human beings. It will have an advanced industrial technology. It will possess the most devastating weapons and the most modern systems of weapon delivery. And if the present mentality continues to prevail, China will be harboring radical suspicion, hatred, and aggressive design toward the rest of the world. China is the world's greatest long-range problem, and we are all in the same boat with respect to China—Americans, Russians, Indians, Europeans, Asians, Africans. The Russians have very painfully discovered this fact, so indeed have the Indians. And so no question is deeper than the question, "What must be done about China?"

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

We are all anxious about the state of Soviet-American relations. On the one hand there has been a real amelioration of these relations; on the other hand there appears to be a real roadblock in developing them further by reason of Vietnam. On the one hand we read of stories of the free spirit in Russian thought and life; on the other hand we hear of continued religious persecution and further clamping down upon free expression. The brute fact is that the peace of the world and the whole tenor and spirit of international conduct depend on the degree of confidence and agreement and cooperation that is obtained between the super states, namely the Soviet Union and the United States.

Similarly, we are all anxious about the future of Asia and Africa and about the problem of war. The public, happily, knows very little about the new weapons of mass destruction except that they are horrible beyond imagination. And so we are all deeply involved in the question of how to avoid war. Can mankind stand this balance of terror indefinitely? What if these weapons in five, in ten, in twenty years proliferate all over the world, as proliferate indeed they will? Is this the best outlook we can bequeath to our children and grandchildren? Must we not all do the impossible to bring about genuine honest, verifiable disarmament?

We are all anxious about the American racial situation. It cannot be repeated too often that America's position in the world today is so outstanding that whatever vitally affects America vitally affects the rest of the world. And so this problem is watched with the greatest anxiety all over the world.

We are all anxious about life in the urban society with all the problems of slums, and anonymities and the breakdown on community life, and the breakdown of morals that that kind of existence entails.

REBELLION OF YOUTH

We are all anxious about the ideas in motivation of youth, because there is a real rebellion all over the world, not only in this country. There is a kind of cult of cruelty and violence, of uncouthness and sheer dirt. There is worship of sheer vulgarity. The "kick" is the thing these days. What lures people is the strange, the different, the abnormal, the exotic, and the more different and exotic the better. And there is a host of other sources of anxiety: Whether Europe is eclipsed for good or whether it can reassert its balancing, mediating position; whether western civilization can recollect itself into some effective unity in the face of the wholesale assault upon its fundamental values from all directions, from within and from without—the population explosion, the so-called sexual revolution, the rise of atheism and materialism, the trend of the spirit in the classic and performing arts; whether the technical and scientific have overwhelmed for good the liberal, the free, the human and humane, the spiritual in universities and colleges and other institutions of intellectual culture; the problem of leisure, when men need not work at all and there is absolutely

nothing to do, as is going to be the case in only thirty years in this country as the result of automation and many other devices; and, finally, the problem of anxiety itself. There are so many sorts of anxiety and fear today that men are simply anxious all over.

This is an age of problems and challenges on every side and from every direction. To live in an age, my friends, is to live its fundamental problems. If these things to which I have referred leave us unmoved and unconcerned, then we are not living in this age; and a man who is not living in his age is obviously dead. You can be a creative hero in any one of these fields depending on your calling and your opportunity. To be man is at the moment you face a problem immediately to start searching for a way out. The more fundamental the problem is, the more it is a challenge—an opportunity. Problems are never dead ends. You can always do something about a problem; at least you can understand it. And if you are in a position of responsibility and competence you can at once move to finding new ways and means for grappling with it.

People differ, I assure you, not so much according to their ability to sense problems—we are all alike there—but according to their hidden moral resources on which they can pin their hopes. Before the demanding and dangerous, nothing is more unworthy than simply to analyze and stop there. The pure analysts who analyze and stop are the plague of this age. I believe in a living God, and he is my secret ground of hope in every instance. This is his world. He knows exactly what is going on, and he has a way out for every impass, for every situation, even for that “limiting” situation. In God, problems always point to possibilities.

In committing myself before you today during the few minutes left me on some of these issues—on very few of them—I represent no government and no agents; I speak only for myself. Most certainly I do not claim that I know the mind of God for every situation; but equally, most certainly I affirm that God, being who he is and what he is, has a definite mind for every situation; and it is my bounden duty to seek that mind. And when I express a view it is always my honest, best view; although having regard to the enormous limitations of my knowledge and considering that I am certainly mortal and certainly fallible and liable to corruption that view may be

wholly wrong. Thus I often cry with St. Paul, "Let God be true, and every man alive." But it is always my faith in God as having a mind for every situation that steadies my purpose and sustains my zest and thrills me with the deepest and most arising hope, even in the darkest moments of my life and despite all my limitations.

THE CHALLENGE OF VIETNAM

On Vietnam I will make only four short remarks. Considering the magnitude of the war effort, I find it remarkable that the United States appears to be taking the whole thing in its stride. Of course people debate the war and are worried about it, and Washington has the war uppermost on its mind. But on the whole, the American people appear to be relaxed about it, certainly far more relaxed than other peoples would be if they were making a comparable effort. Secondly, one wonders whether the United States, so preoccupied in Southeast Asia, can still attend with equal efficacy to its far flung world responsibilities elsewhere. Thirdly, one hopes that after the recent elections in Vietnam an honorable settlement can be arranged. And finally, if such a settlement is arrived at, it would be tragic indeed if in three or five years the developments which the United States has been fighting to prevent from occurring in Southeast Asia should, nevertheless, actually occur. In that event the settlement would certainly not have been an honorable one.

On the Middle East I wish to say virtually nothing, not because I am not interested nor because you are not interested nor because I know little about it (I assure you I know quite a lot), but because the situation there could not be more delicate or more fluid, and because it is now in the decisive hands of the policy-makers concerned. And when this is the case, talking much about it in public does not help, especially by one who does not bear public responsibility as present. I would only add that, because the situation is exceedingly great, historic opportunities offer themselves now for the most creative statesmanship.

On the United Nations I will say very little. The United Nations should not be blamed; it is an instrument, and those who should be blamed are its managers who do not put it to

adequate and greater use. And the United Nations has done wonderful work in a score of important treaties.

I shall treat the Soviet and Chinese problems together. Three things, two negative and one positive, have brought about a relatively relaxed atmosphere between Russia and America in recent years: the common peril from China, the mutual deterrence of the atom, and increased economic, political, social and cultural contacts between the two systems.

EAST AND WEST

I regard the Chinese problem, as I said before, as the most formidable long-range problem facing the entire world. Vietnam cannot be understood except against the background of China. Russia has been for a decade far more concerned with its relations to China than about its relations either to Europe or to America. When Russia thinks ahead ten or twenty years from now, it is China that moves before it as a principal danger. Despite the official Marxist ideology, Russia is essentially European and Western—intellectually, culturally, spiritually, historically. On the other hand, despite its Marxism, China is neither European nor Western. De Gaulle is quite right in stressing the over-arching cultural unity of Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic. There is nothing Chinese, nothing, that speaks to your soul and to mine as do Pushkin and Dostoevsky, and Tschaikovsky, and Gogol, and Tolstoy, and Chekhov, and Pasternak. And Russian spirituality, despite the official atheism, is presently Orthodox Christian. I have no doubt this underlying spirituality will reassert itself one day even in official circles, purified and enriched by the Marxist experience. I wholly agree with Berdyeav that atheism and materialism are a passing episode in Russian history.

People speak of great changes having occurred in the Soviet Union in recent years; this is quite true. But religion is not granted in actual right to present and propagate itself, and there is an audible murmuring by the intellectuals that they do not enjoy the responsible freedom necessary for them to create. Not until there is real freedom of religions, thought, expression, and discussion will the Soviet Union really feel secure herself, and will the Western world feel confident and relaxed in its relations to it. Thus everything must be done to increase

the scientific and cultural contexts, and the competition under the stalemate of the nuclear umbrella is going to be subtle and intense. He is likely to win in this fateful competition in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Latin America, and in his own homeland who never lets his God down; who outsmarts the other fellow in the manipulation of the free rules of the game; who pushes his material and political advantages to the utmost; who keeps on enlarging the areal corporation on a sound basis; who knows how to draw out from the other fellow what both have in common; who believes more firmly in his fundamental values; who develops a greater capacity for patience and love; and who holds out more against all that softens and corrupts.

Russia and America are the daughters of Europe, and Europe, having been the center of things for more than 2,000 years, is finding it difficult to adjust to the fact that its two daughters are now overshadowing it. Europe, recognizing the immense political and material assets that its two daughters enjoy over it, nevertheless believes that she still leads in matters pertaining to gracious living, to refinement of taste, depth of thought and feeling, spiritual creativity (especially in philosophy, theology, and the arts), peace of soul, and continuity with the past, for man is not man without these things. In such matters the Europeans do not believe that either Russia or America has much to teach them.

What is happening today is that there is a change in the relationship between the Atlantic community and Russia. The old formula was the Atlantic community versus Russia. The emerging picture is Europe between Russia and America. The predicament of Britain is pretty deep. Dean Acheson was quite correct in saying that Britain lost an empire and has not found a new role. Life in Britain is stricken at every level—politically, internally and externally, economically, and above all, morally and intellectually. The kind of philosophy which Oxford and Cambridge are turning out at present is simply unworthy of a great people and a great nation.

YOUTH WANT SPIRITUAL FOOD

We should never judge youth; we should love them and understand their rebellion. They want more spiritual food than the meager fare they have been served. It may be we would do

exactly what they are doing if we were in their place. It may be it is we who have failed them. I find them most sincere, most stimulating, most challenging, most promising, but on many matters, quite off. Again and again I am amazed, and I praise God for how much wisdom, patience, and love eventually pays. They do snap out of their dreams under the steady influence of love. And they become great leaders—chastened, profound, and humble. A searching youth, even a lost youth, is worth ten of the blasé middle-aged.

Today the exotic provides the "kick." Wait until the pendulum has swung back in ten years, then the natural and normal will have become so strange and rare and abnormal that it will provide the "kick." There is no danger that nature can be violated and sinned against indefinitely. Whoever attempts this trick will be avenged by nature herself; she will simply see to it that he leaves no trace behind. This applies to cultures and schools of thought no less than to individuals.

Youth are dying to give their lives to great and true causes. Who can provide them with these gripping lures? In the end, only the high political leadership, the spiritual leadership of the church, the intellectual leadership of the universities, and the creative leadership of art and literature. Youth today are at the mercy of these four agents. The real, the true, and the existing must constantly be held up before them. Above all, the living part of repentance and forgiveness must always be kept open in absolute understanding and compassion and love. You will recall that when the returning son was yet a great way off, his father saw him, had compassion, ran and fell on his neck and kissed him, and killed the fatted calf in celebration. And how many times must I forgive my offending brother or sister, or both of them, or family? Seventy times seven times! And I am assured that unless first I forgive my brother his trespasses God will not forgive mine.

My friends, you can patch up things here and there in all these things I've talked about, and you can improve them a little here and there. Your enthusiasm and your efficacy may last a year, a decade, a generation, a lifetime. And the enthusiasm and efficacy of your culture or your nation may last a century or five, but things will always slip back under your fingers; and they will always come back sooner or later to problems, perplexities, trials, sufferings. The world by itself cannot mend

its ways, and you by yourself cannot mend it either. The world lives under a sort of curse. This is what the exuberant humanism of this age cannot see.

Now, my friends, all this, believe me, is the truth, and any sentimental rosiness, any shallow optimism is but illusion and deceit. You will get over it one day; if not you, then certainly your children or grandchildren. I assure you this is the most honest realism you will ever come across, even were you to live a thousand years, and even were you to learn a thousand philosophies. Hence, there is a need for an honest hope from outside ourselves and outside the world, a hope that we do not wishfully invent because we happen to need it, but a hope that we desperately need and seek because it is given, because it is there, because it is real and genuine, and that completely and independently from us and from our need. And because it is real and given, it exerts on us a wistful lure, albeit strange and distant.

WORLD UNITY IN CHRIST

This is a meaning of the gospel that there is good news—the news, namely, that God is certainly there, that he supplies the objective help we need, that he has called us and is calling us through Jesus Christ. That is why, my friends, to me the greatest event of this century is what is happening to the churches. Never perhaps in history were the Christians so open to one another and so eager to understand one another as they are today. I believe all human failings stem originally from a failing in the order of the spirit. I also believe that God has made himself and his will quite clear for mankind in and through Jesus Christ. And it is quite clear from the Bible and from the nature of things that Christ meant all those who believe in him to be one. The present ecumenical movement among Protestants in America and elsewhere, among Orthodox all over the Orthodox world, and between Protestants, Orthodox, and Catholics is this generation's mode of responding to the prayer of Jesus Christ that we all be one. The changed atmosphere to which everybody has contributed is amazing. Nobody would have dreamt ten years ago that we would find ourselves where we are today. Nobody is being asked to give up anything he believes in, but everybody's own conscience is facing him with the challenge of Jesus Christ that we be one.

We are all asking ourselves not to be afraid of one another, therefore, to approach one another; to seek to understand to learn from one another; to forgive one another; to love one another despite our differences; to trust one another in Jesus Christ; to find out if we have not been prone to certain prejudices and misunderstandings about one another; to seek, therefore, in trust and in love how far we can agree, and above all how far we can work together in practical matters of common interest.

No harm whatever can come from all this, even to our dearest pursuings. On the contrary, a great deal of good can come from it and indeed has already come. I owe the Protestants more than I can ever dream of paying them back. They made the Bible living to me, and I now live in the Bible. And the Mormon Church, with which I have had very friendly connections for a number of years, has always impressed me as producing characters of the highest order, integrity, depth, concern, and real enthusiasm for the higher values. I have been active within our Orthodox Church, and between it and other churches. I find the Catholic Church the same as the Orthodox Church, only the one was the church first maturing in the West and the other the church first maturing in the East. I was present when the Pope and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople met each other on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem three years ago and in Istanbul last July, and I shall accompany the Patriarch, God willing, when he returns the visit to the Pope later this month [October, 1967] in Rome. I was present in Geneva early in August of 1967 in connection with certain consultations conducted by the World Council of Churches. I have followed much of the ecumenical literature that has come out so far. Therefore, I can tell you, not from theory, not from wishful thinking, but from first-hand knowledge, that we live in a moment in history of the greatest possible spiritual promise. What is happening is nothing short of the mighty explosion of the Holy Ghost. I cannot begin to tell you of the love, the tenderness, the trust, the understanding, the good will, the positive approach, the sincere attitude of "let-by-gones-be-by-gones" that are now exploding from every site and in every heart. There are meetings, discussions, dialogues, joint searches for agreement going on all the time in an atmosphere of genuine Christian good will. Certainly no

such atmosphere has been obtained, either since the Reformation of the fifteenth century or since the split between the East and the West of the eleventh.

My friends, I believe Christ has a mind, the right mind, the perfect mind, the divine mind, the mind that we all dimly seek for every situation. If we remain apart from one another, we are not likely to know that mind as he wants us to know it, especially as part of that mind, and perhaps the most important part thereof is first to be one. He has a mind for all the problems I set forth at the beginning—for Vietnam, for China, for the Middle East, for Soviet-American relations, for the social situation in America, for youth, for the proper relationship between the technical and the liberal, and for man in his total anxiety today. That mind is always the best possibility for that problem and that situation. If the Christians came together in Christ, they could face the future with perfect confidence because the spiritual and material resources they can then pull together will penetrate every problem and overcome every difficulty. They are coming together under God in our day, waiting in patience and confidence until this process has completed itself. It will complete itself in God's own day and in God's own way. You will then see wonders for man and for society of which you cannot now dream. Then shall scripture be fulfilled which affirms that all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him. For the kingdom is the Lord's and he is the governor among the nations.

The Dilemma of a Pernicious Zion

RICHARD G. ELLSWORTH*

Mormon history and letters are replete with accounts of the conversion and immigration of the faithful to Zion and of their lives of hard but repaying labor settling the desert territories under the strong yet benevolent leadership of the Prophet Brigham Young. Difficulties, though sometimes belittled, were more than compensated for by the spiritual satisfaction gained through contributing to the building of Zion in the last days. Such accounts glow with religious joy and testimony, and rightly so; for those saints who actually achieved the latter-day vision and followed it with all their hearts enjoyed a reward greater than any but themselves can know. Theirs was a great joy and belonging.

But what of those among these early immigrants to Zion who did not catch the eternal vision—or, at best, glimpsed it only darkly, losing it swiftly in the dust and death and loneliness of a barren promised land? What of those among these multitudes who were not converted but instead were carried along in the tide of more determined testimonies and others' stronger wills? Some there were who, honest but lost, came reluctantly, caught in forces they couldn't understand, pushed by circumstances beyond their control, feeling driven by an almost vindictive Fate. These were they who were not recipients of the eternal vision; these were they who achieved no great belonging. Yet, humanly, they struggled to live, hoping against hope that in the Mormon "Zion" Fate might also grant them happiness, and that all would be right, finally. And sometimes, if they "adopted" the vision, or, at worst, simply ignored it, things did, in a sense, come somewhat right; but more often they did not. More often, their experience in Zion proved pernicious. Their long, weary, unvisioned immigration and the hard life thereafter ended in hurts, criticisms, disillusionments, lost allegiances, and, almost irrevocably, in a final tearing away from once-loved ones, leaving broken marriages, orphaned

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children, bitterly quarreling families, and sometimes memories of physical violence. For such as these "Zion" brought not peace, but instead, the sword.

Some who suffered the sharp sword edge fought back with harsh anti-Mormon tracts and extravagant anti-Mormon stories which reeked so of personal hurt and the will to hurt that the human story they might have told is utterly obscured. Seldom is found in non-Mormon or anti-Mormon accounts any real revelation of the honest inner man, caught in this emotional, intellectual, and spiritual dilemma. Seldom is heard a voice from the dust relating this reality, a reality which was, and which, far from destroying or disturbing modern testimony, instead strengthens it by making the whole Mormon experience more wonderfully alive and true and human than ever before.

Just such an account is the record of Nels Bourkersson,¹ non-Mormon, of Skane, Sweden, who, just one month short of his thirty-ninth birthday, with his Mormon convert wife and their three children, reluctantly trudged those final emigrant steps across the crowded Malmö docks and up the waiting gangplank, bound for Denmark, Germany, England, and America. His was the emigration forced by Fate, uninspired by vision. And for him, almost vindictively, there resulted no joy, no great belonging and becoming, but only swift destruction of all of his pressured hopes—the loss of all his means and all his property, his own near death and rumored death, the wanton murder by Indians of his only son, the gradual disaffection of his wife and final dissolution of his marriage, and the agonized loss to him of his two remaining daughters in willed rejection by the older child and forced separation from the younger. In just three short years Nils Bourkersson would return again across the docks at Malmö, beaten, alone, dismayed, unconfident, and confused. He would have cause enough, surely, to be bitter. For him the promised Zion proved bafflingly pernicious; it yielded only intellectual frustration and emotional turmoil and horror.

Nels Bourkersson's situation was not exceptional. He traveled back from Salt Lake City to Omaha with a wagon train of over fifteen hundred disillusioned "saints," all sad, all

¹Nels Bourkersson, *Tre År i Mormonlandet. Berättelser efter Egna Iakttagelser* (Malmö, Sweden, 1867). All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from Bourkersson. Translation is mine.

lost, lacking husbands and wives and children. Was this perhaps the price exacted for the lack of the vision?

But where indeed was vision—where was truth? Nels Bourkersson himself is not sure. Perplexedly, he concludes that it has to be with the Swedish Lutheran Church religiously, but that it isn't morally, and perhaps not sociologically. He points out that the Mormon way of life is not completely deception and evil as some would say; much in Mormonism is honorable and good. Yet, for him the Mormon Zion, in spite of what the missionaries preach, certainly is no kingdom of God on earth. How could it be, when the religious doctrine is impossible—the law of tithing, "celestial" marriage, polygamy, absolute obedience to ecclesiastical authority, inspired "calls" to settle new areas, interminable church services and tedious sermons, long family prayers, repetitive blessings on the food, secret temple "endowments," oracular "patriarchal" blessings, and so on. Yet, even so, he notes that the Mormon way of life most often creates morality and, usually, personal goodness. He states that Mormons exert little pressure upon non-Mormons to conform to their Mormon way of life. None was exerted on him during all the time he lived in Utah. He was never asked to pay any tithing, nor to attend any meetings, nor to be anything other than moral, upright, and honest. He feels that Mormon missionaries, however, in their zeal to gain new converts, exaggerate the good in Zion, and ignore the bad. Zion, actually, he says, is a barren desert. Death by starvation or Indians lurks behind every cliff and sandhill. Realistically, one could not even hope to succeed. Yet, he notes that many Mormons do succeed, and seem happy. And honestly so. His experience has taught him, he says, that Mormons are honest to a fault, at least the laity. He feels that the trouble lies with the Mormon leaders, and with the people's foolishness. For Bourkersson, the most terrible temptation in Zion is to be a Mormon leader, for the Mormon priesthood has too much power. Mormons believe anything their leaders tell them. He points out that his own wife had wanted all the blessings the priesthood promised—and he, as a nonbeliever, couldn't get them for her. He didn't believe this Mormon foolishness about "celestial" marriage. Wasn't his own Swedish Lutheran marriage valid? Not according to Mormons. Not according to his Mormon wife. "I don't even belong to you!" she'd snapped at Wyoming

City. And his children—weren't they his? Better had his wife died, or had they all died. Better had they all never left Sweden.

So goes Nels Bourkersson's dilemma, the almost vindictive dilemma of the forgotten man in the Mormon migration, the honest non-Mormon, caught in a web he can't understand, and needing, because of the fate which overtakes him, to make explanation for the sake of his soul. The picture Nels Bourkersson paints shows the progress of the personal dilemma: the gradual emergence of feelings of separateness, irritation, personal defensiveness, criticism, ridicule, opposed by honest recognition of social values and attainments—and all of this resulting in intellectual indecision, emotional frustration, and a final giving up and retreat with loss to the old, safe ways of life. It is a picture worth noting.

I am thankful to God that I have returned with my life and my health to my fatherland; and thankful to all the good people who have been kind to me. . . . I hurry now to assemble the records I made during the three years I spent among the Mormons in the hope that my story may be useful to some of my countrymen. This is all the reward I desire. . . . (p. 1)

There was little other reward, for he was soon forgotten. Yet one wonders how such a person came to be among the Mormons, trudging that long journey without the vision and the hope? What was the pattern to the dilemma and the course of disintegration? Why did they feel "fated," or, as Nels Bourkersson put it, "driven," to that "strange corner of the world"?

Nels Bourkersson was born May 13, 1825, in Marsvinsholm, Skane, Sweden, and was baptized, taught, and confirmed in his country's state church (in his case, the Swedish Lutheran Church), as were most citizens of European countries throughout the Nineteenth Century. Like most young men coming of age in that century, he was taught his father's trades—farming and dairying—as a matter of course; later, in the hope of improving future fortunes, he was apprenticed to learn a more skilled trade, more economically remunerative and more socially approved. But again, as with most young people in all times, young Nels was dissatisfied with this management of his life. "I endured it only so long as I was forced to, that is, the length of the apprenticeship, and then, as soon as I was free, lay the

whole profession aside." (p. 6) Free at last from adult pressure, Nels Bourkersson knocked about a bit, doing "a little of everything," as he says, until finally,

In the middle of my 24th year, I decided it was time for me to take my part in the world. I purchased from my father a piece of property, and, about the same time, became acquainted with a young spirited girl, about eighteen years of age, who was good looking and had a little inheritance. Our feelings being mutual, and her parents approving, we were married. . . . (pp. 6-7)

The fifteen years that followed were spent in the normal pursuit of raising and supporting a growing family—farming, running a bakery business, dairying, and after 1853 or so, listening to the Mormon missionaries' vibrant appeals to "come out of Babylon" and "flee to Zion." During these years, two of Bourkersson's sisters accepted the missionaries' message and joined the Mormon faith, immigrating to Utah. Twice during these years, economic circumstances in Sweden caused business failures for many farmers and small business men, and as the year 1864 dawned, it brought with it the second business disaster for Nels Bourkersson; emigration to "the Mormon Eldorado" began to be something to think about. That spring his dairy business completely failed—and other things, too, were particularly bad. "We were without house, and without occupation, for I had sold that house which I had before owned in the little church village. . . . It seemed now that wherever I sought for a new position I had consistent bad luck." (p. 8) He felt "fated" to failure. The pressures at home were mounting. His "spirited" wife was not happy. "She was not the kind anyway to be what one might call 'a comforter in times of need'; in fact, I must admit that a good deal of the time, she proved quite contrary." (p. 8) Yet, in the midst of all this darkness gleamed the proffered promise of the Mormon Zion, the new land of new hope.

During the last few years, my wife had let me know, time after time, that the Mormons were generally right in their religious views. Add to this situation the further fact that every year for the last ten years I had received glowing letters from my two sisters, who had themselves during that time settled among the Mormons, describing all the advantages and none of the hardships of their life, always going

on to say that I should be most welcome to live in their "paradise" even without my becoming a Mormon— And so it was that my sisters' flowery portrayals of their Mormon "paradise," my own wife's ever increasing interest in "the Saints" and their principles, plus all the aforementioned economic misfortunes became the reasons for our emigration. (p. 9)

Thus, "fate" drove Nels Bourkersson to the final decision. On April 10, 1864, he and his wife, and their three children (ranging in ages from eight to fourteen) stepped aboard the steamer *L. T. Bager* at Malmö and became a part of a large group of emigrating Latter-day Saints. But already he was beginning to feel the dilemma of his differentness. "My wife was already a Mormon and was thus a 'Saint.' I was the only 'gentile' among them all." (p. 9)

His growing feelings of differentness are typical; they loom larger as the journey continues. The Mormons seem glad to be leaving their homeland. He is sad. While the Mormons sing their joy, he goes below decks with two passengers who are not Mormons and drinks away his sorrow. Later, the saints' singing about "coming out of Babylon" embarrasses him. Nor can he comfortably join in the saints' prayers; he doesn't feel the Mormon unity of purpose. When groups of saints from Denmark, England, and Ireland join their group, he can't overcome his national antagonisms. Amalgamation seems unnatural. He doesn't like foreigners. Of the Irish saints he says, "After my judgment they should have been called *beggars*, to avoid saying anything worse."

But the Mormons apparently are satisfied. They sing of their Zion and they pray, and they endure. He can't comprehend their patience, but he himself admires it. Crowded, uncomfortable, taken advantage of by cheating shipping companies, mocked and ridiculed by jeering crowds at Malmö, Lübeck, and Liverpool, these Mormons suffer it all in silence. He is amazed, but somehow resentful. How can this be? At last he concludes that Mormonism takes most of its converts "from the lower classes" and therefore Mormons don't feel the imposition of their situation. On the ship from Hamburg, Germany, to Grimsby, England, his irritation and disdain mount until he angrily scales the high wooden wall erected across the deck to separate the Mormons from the "other passengers." He finds to his chagrin that the forward deck is filled with sheep!

I sat there a moment—and puzzled over it; now, thought I, now am I certainly among the saints, indeed. Surely the familiar Bible saying applies here—for lo, I see that the sheep *are* verily separated from—us. Unavoidably, I perceived to which group I actually belonged! (p. 13)

But he concludes before the journey is over that Mormons are more like sheep than like goats. They're foolish, gullible, easily led. Their immigration to Utah is prime evidence, and their conversion to Mormonism even more prime. The long dusty trail to Utah is no road to celestial glory to him, but actually one long "graveyard" filled, paradoxically, with the bodies of the "simple, innocent Latter-day Saints, giving their lives to establish a thousand year kingdom on earth, and this in order that *they* might *see* the coming of Christ!" (p. 38)

According to pattern, self-defense and irritation move toward criticism and ridicule. He begins to take personal offense from the things that happen during the long journey. In the wagon in which he and his family cross the plains, a young mother of three children sickens and dies. The wagon stops but a few moments while the men bury her near a telegraph pole. Her children are so little "that even the oldest doesn't know enough to cry." The Mormons hardly seem to respect the dead enough to carve the woman's name on a board marker for the grave. Bourkersson misses his lunch to do this and is personally offended thereby. He decides that immigrants' lives are cheap, even in the eyes of the Mormons. Is it possible then that he is being taken advantage of? He wonders about the stories he has heard of Mormons whom some say have become rich by taking advantage of immigrants. Food and lodging on the journey have been poor, and transportation extremely uncomfortable—yet, he hastens to admit in all honesty that *he* has never seen real proof of anyone's being taken advantage of, nor has he ever met any such "rich" Mormons.

But the possibility of it still nags at him. Soon he begins to sense other offenses, and he takes them personally. He feels that the immigrants are not provided with enough food by the Church agents for the eight-day train journey from New York to St. Joseph, Missouri. And after they reach St. Joseph, he is offended that they must camp six weeks at Wyoming City south of the Platte River to await the Mormon wagons which are coming from Utah to carry them to Zion. Many immigrants

sicken and die during the wait. He is further offended at this, wondering if the plan might be to have less people to carry thereby. When the wagons do finally come, there is a charge which he had not figured on—fifty dollars for each adult and twenty-five dollars for each child, plus ten dollars each for provisions, plus a ten-percent interest on the now-necessary loan. He feels deceived:

This was something altogether unexpected. Everyone had trusted in what they'd been told: "The Saints will be met at the Missouri River and transported from there in wagons belonging to the Church." No one had "remembered" to mention to me that there would be a charge. . . . (p. 53)

Besides this, he is told that each immigrant family would be allowed only so much baggage: the great wagons could carry no more. Resentfully, he notes that most of the wagons also carry merchandise labeled "Church Goods," for which he surmises his baggage must be restricted. He feels personally imposed upon. It is not his "Church." Why should he pay to carry its merchandise?

Yet, even so, in the midst of all this impatience and personal imposition, he notes that there are advantages to his being among the Mormons crossing the great American plains. In the great swell of the rolling country beyond Wyoming City, the growing danger of Indian attack makes him grateful for the leaders of the wagon train, the rough Mormon plainsmen for whom at first he had had only disdain and ridicule. The wagons pass a settler's house, still aflame from Indian raid—the settler's wife and children have vanished, but the man himself lies there, dead, his bloody head smashed in. The wagons pass a long commercial wagon train wildly afire, piling great billows of black smoke high in the hot air. Men lie butchered about the burning wagons. Practicality thus overcomes emotional impatience, and Nels Bourkersson is thankful for experienced leaders. The big Mormon plainsmen know what they are doing. They are a wild and hard-looking lot, sun-tanned, longhaired, rough, seemingly uncouth. Some are Scandinavians now much Americanized, speaking better English than they do their mother tongues. Nels Bourkersson admits his respect and awe at the swift, competent way they work together, bringing the great wagon train safely through the Indian danger.

As the long journey continues, the dichotomy of impatience and respect sharpens. Misconceptions result. Major premises of disrespect and respect, though founded in his own observations, are most often conceived in rather trivial incidents which more specifically involve him and his personal patterns of reaction than any large social norms. For instance, he concludes that in spite of his admitted admiration for the Mormon plainsmen, the majority of the Mormons are ridiculously impractical. They have misplaced practicalities. If Mormonism be true, if it is indeed the "original" gospel restored at last with power, why should its adherents have to wade the swollen South Platte River simply because the weary oxen can pull only the baggage and food and supplies through the mud and the current? It seems strangely impractical to him that the Mormon Prophet doesn't use his "restored" priesthood powers to divide this "Red Sea" for his children's convenience! If Moses could do it, why can't Brigham Young? As for himself, even though he has no priesthood, Bourkersson, with practical good sense, arranges with one of the drivers of the commercial wagons to carry him and his family across. While they wait on the east shore for the wagon to come up for them, he ridicules the "silly" Mormon women who mill about on the shore chirping to each other like so many chickens, trying to get up enough courage to wade into the water. He laughs at their impracticality, for when they finally do wade in, most of them are too embarrassed to lift up their skirts and petticoats and hold them high above the water, instead choosing to struggle for "their modesty's sake" against the heavy wet weight of their clothing and the swift pull of the water's current. Some, he says, are nearly "shipwrecked." He finds it an enjoyable show. But when a few hours later thirty pairs of yoked oxen stampede wildly across the trail, wrecking wagons and scattering people and baggage, he becomes violently angry at the same kind of "foolish" Mormon-female reaction. He comes upon a woman weeping over a broken coffee cup, and he vents his anger upon her in violent, impatient language, calling her "a dumb ass, and much more—In fact," he says, "I would have emptied the whole cup of my wrath out upon her . . ." (p. 41) but one of the Mormon plainsmen hears him and tells him to stop. He obeys, respecting the Mormon leader, but he resents the situation. He feels justified in his anger and his language. Some things, he

feels, in practicality, are worth swearing over, yet never so it seems for the Mormons. "There are fewer swearers among the Mormons than any people on earth," he says, and in his resentment he wonders if this is not misplaced humility on their part. He finally decides that only God can be the judge of that.

Misconceptions are increased by lack of the vision. The Mormon "Law of Tithing," for instance, is incomprehensible to him, or at least Mormon obedience to it is. Mormons, he says, will pay tithing when they and their families are starving. They will labor "for the Lord" when their own fields need their labor much more. "I have seen my close friends carrying on in such foolishness so many times that I have wondered if every tithe-payer were not ripe for the insane asylum." (p. 81) And all of this in the face of what seems to him to be obvious fact—that tithing goods and services are being used by the Mormon leaders for their own personal benefit. But he puzzles, even *if* these tithes *are* used as Mormons say they are, that is, to benefit all, why then are not all those benefited logically taxed? In Sweden everyone pays the Lutheran assessments; yet, here in Utah, non-Mormons are not required to pay at all. It seems utterly impractical and foolish to him that as soon as a man "accepts the gospel" he automatically becomes liable to such high taxes, taxes which he could avoid quite easily by simply remaining unbaptized. Obviously, he concludes, it's more sensible in Utah to be a non-Mormon than a Mormon.

It is in such major conflicts as these, that the intellectual dilemma of the honest non-Mormon shows up the strongest. Bourkersson exemplifies this. He broods over his own questions: if tithing be cheat and imposition, why then do his good, respected friends continue to pay it? If the Mormon "call" system—wherein Church members are delegated by the Mormon priesthood to leave their homes and farms and personal accomplishments and migrate to new, desolate, unsettled areas to make new settlements—is merely a social means for maintaining local power by bishops and their counselors, why then do not more Mormons refuse to obey the "calls"? If Mormonism is based on lies and deception, why then are the Mormons so honest in their social dealings? He bears positive witness that Mormons *are* honest, that Mormon postmasters, for instance,

contrary to rumors in Scandinavia, do *not* open the mails; that even money is safe in the Mormon mail. He states that he has seen that property in Zion is very seldom bought or sold by contract. It is transferred instead simply "upon a man's word, with a simple handshake," and it makes no difference whether there be witnesses to the transaction or not—there are few disputes. Yet, even so, Bourkersson is sure that Mormonism breeds deceit, lust, and the hunger for power into its leaders—but why then, he puzzles, why the competence and service of some of them, such as the roughhewn plainsmen, and why the sincere religious attitudes of many of the Mormons he has known, and why is Brigham Young so respected "even by his bitterest enemies"? President Brigham Young is "in all his dealings, in all respects, so honest, so well-bred and refined, that he exemplifies a gentleman of the first rank." (p. 185) But, if all of this be so, how then can polygamy be what it seems obviously to Bourkersson to be—a means to fulfill Mormon leaders' lustful natures, a means to increase their power by increasing the number of their adherents? But further, if taking another wife be a light thing, as it often appears to him to be, why then all the business about a "recommend from the bishop" (especially as "this may be difficult to obtain should the bishop be angry with you")? And why, he questions, does only Brigham Young himself grant approval for polygamous marriages? And if polygamy be wrong, as he concludes it most certainly must be, why is the moral standard so high among the Mormons? Why could he not find evidences of illegitimacy or prostitution in "Zion"? In all the three years he was in Utah, Nils Bourkersson unequivocally states, he saw no "fallen women," nor any women "plying the prostitute's trade." He heard of no young girls "ruined—as in Sweden." Nor any youths "brought forcibly to law for the support of unclaimed offspring." (p. 108) He found instead that children from Mormon polygamous unions were equal with each other. Each child enjoyed his father's "good" name. Each had an equal right of inheritance. And, in spite of many stories he has heard to the contrary, he observed that there *was* peace in most polygamous homes. He states that he has visited many polygamous families—he has many friends who live in polygamy—and never has he seen any physical strife between wives, nor among children.

"Zion" thus, for the honest non-Mormon presents an impossible picture. Laws which seem to him to be unfair and wrong nevertheless yield worthwhile results. A gospel which to him appears to be lies produces high moral character. People who seem foolish and impractical and deceived grow exemplary in patience, peace, and diligence. It is dilemma. And unliveable. Nels Bourkersson's personal family situation at last convinces him of this and pushes him finally to his unwilling antagonism and bitterness.

Within a year and a half of his coming among the Mormons, two important personal aspects of the dilemma emerge cold and clear: first, that he cannot, under any circumstances, honestly accept Mormonism; and second, that his wife, who has accepted Mormonism, is determined to have the promised "blessings" of "celestial marriage," so determined, in fact, that she is willing to divorce him to get them. That his readers may understand, Nels Bourkersson explains the Mormon doctrine of "celestial marriage," that celestial marriage is not necessarily polygamous marriage, but simply marriage sealed by the Mormon priesthood according to the "celestial" Mormon ritual. This requires among other things that both participants be baptized believers in the Mormon gospel. Mormons believe that to reach the highest heaven they must be "sealed" in this kind of marriage which lasts into the next life; otherwise, they cannot hope to enjoy the highest proffered blessings of God. His own particular situation thus becomes obvious: "Because I was a 'gentile'; and my wife was a 'saint,' so was it impossible for her to be 'sealed' to me for the next life—and so she must give me up and seek to join herself to a man who was 'worthy'" (p. 29)

So comes the final tearing away, the loss and the bitterness, the sharp edge of the sword. He tries with both argument and tears to convince his wife to stay with him though it be only "for the sake of the children," but she is unwilling. Again, the dilemma—for even though intellectually he understands her position, emotionally, he cannot comprehend it, nor accept. It is intolerable, unbelievable. He is actually being separated, forced out, driven from his own wife and his own children. He feels that because he is not a Mormon, the people in the community are turning against him. He feels trapped. He begins to fear for his life. At last, frustrated, thwarted,

"fated," pushed by circumstances beyond sense to him, he agrees to a divorce.

Now follows the inevitable wrenching of children's allegiances and the final loss of all the old emotional stabilities. His oldest daughter sides with her mother against him. "She was so indoctrinated that it was impossible to convince her of anything." The other two children are "deliberately" sent out of town to Moroni (where their mother intended to reside), the ten-year-old daughter on "a planned visit with friends," and the sixteen-year-old son to work for one of the counselors to the bishop there—"otherwise they never would have been able to wrench these two children away from me." (p. 162)

The horror settles down around him; the inevitable fate is aided, he feels, by the Mormon society to which he had joined himself. It is a destruction from which there seems no escape.

The 24th of March had been chosen, unbeknownst to me, as the fatal day when my household should be plundered and my family taken away. The village was still as the grave, and even though we dwelt at the crossroads, there was not a living soul to be seen. That afternoon, the man Forsgren (of whom I have spoken before²) made his appearance with his wagon. You may judge what my feelings were when I realized what his errand was. I resolved to remain impassive, but I overestimated my ability to control myself, and finally I threw myself down on the sofa in tears. I stayed there throughout the whole plundering, while my misled wife and that wife-robber conducted themselves exactly as they pleased. . . . Then came my wife to say her last farewell. I remember that even her eyes filled with tears when I reached for her hand and pressed it to my breaking heart. (p. 163)

A few days after this divorce is granted, and Nels Bourkersson, now alone, moves in with his sisters and their families.

²Bourkersson blamed Forsgren's wives for teaching his wife, Anna Bourkersson, the doctrines of celestial marriage. Forsgren, Bourkersson said, allowed this and even encouraged it hoping later to marry Anna himself.

Bourkersson's feelings are further evidence of the dilemma and his own extreme emotional situation. In spite of what he knows of Mormon morality, he seems to want to believe the worst. He states that he has heard, and believes, that his wife Anna was sealed to Forsgren immediately after her divorce, even before he (Bourkersson) left Utah in the spring of 1867. Actually, what he chose to believe was not so. Anna Holm Bourkersson did not remarry until a year or more after Nels, to her best knowledge, had died, and even then she was not sealed to Forsgren but to Nels Jacobson, December 1, 1868. [Information obtained from family records in the possession of E. Dixon Larson, Orem, Utah, great-grandson of Nels and Anna Bourkersson.]

But the agony is not over. About Christmas time, his youngest daughter, Mari, runs away from her mother and comes to him. ". . . she hung on my neck and begged me with tears to let her stay with me. Of course she didn't have to ask for that twice. I took her to my sister where she was taken in as one of their own children." But in the spring, Mari is "kidnapped on the streets" and taken back to her mother. Nels Bourkersson is bitter.

I have not seen the girl since, and God knows whether I will ever see her again in this life. . . . Had she been a boy, the whole thing probably never would have happened, but women must be obtained at any price as additions for Mormon harems, and the means by which this is accomplished mattereth not. (p. 167)

His son, Anders, however, at last, does come to him:

My son had been working during the last year for a Danish farmer in Moroni. This farmer had a high position to fill, for he was "counselor to his Holiness the bishop." When the boy made it clear that he could not in any way acknowledge as right the way his mother had acted toward me, and that the principles upon which she had acted were absolutely wrong and unrighteous, and that he wanted to be with his father—yea, even to follow his father to "the damned states," he was fired without warning and paid absolutely nothing for his ten months of labor. And so, at last, I had my son with me, but he was the only one, and the last one, of my family. (p. 167)

Nels Bourkersson, now thoroughly disillusioned, "escapes" Zion with his son in May of 1867, feeling his every move is being watched. He can hardly wait to get beyond Fort Laramie.

Yet, the horror still is not done. "Fate had yet one other bitter cup to offer me—I was forced to drain it empty also." (p. 173) On the 10th of July, at Crow Creek, just beyond Fort Laramie, the tragedy is completed. Bourkersson's son, Anders, had as usual fixed dinner for himself and his father, and they had eaten it together. Nels Bourkersson had afterward enjoyed a quiet smoke on his pipe, and had lain down under the wagon on a buffalo hide to take a nap. He is abruptly awakened by the cry, "Your son has been shot by Indians!"

The boy is conscious, but in severe pain. They carry him into a tent and lay him on a cot. The ball has entered his back, passed

by his heart, and out his breast. There is no doctor and little can be done. "He lay there in his blood, gazing up at me with such a look in his handsome blue eyes as I shall never forget." All night long, Nels Bourkersson sits by his son's bedside—he talks to the boy some, but there is little to say. Around five o'clock in the morning, the boy pulls himself up out of bed, saying that he means to go and fix coffee for his father. Nels Bourkersson replies that he has already had coffee. "Where-with Anders seemed satisfied, lay his head back upon my knee, and slept—slept deep—and never more awakened. This was my only son, my only support, my last hope. . . ." (pp. 173-4)

And so the end is come. Nels Bourkersson had been to the Mormon Zion. He had gone reluctantly, with a kind of hope in hope, but without the vision. And he had reaped the whirlwind.

My wife and my daughters were in a captivity from which I had not the slightest hope to save them. My own daughters were in the power of a man whose wicked hypocrisies had destroyed their mother—and their unhappy fate would be like that of so many others . . . and my only son, who was my last support, and my hope, was lost. . . . (p. 179)

The picture portrayed by Nels Bourkersson is worth noting. Its disillusionments, its confusions and conflicts, its puzzling dichotomies between intellectual assessment and emotional reaction are representative of the honest non-Mormon who "against hope believed in hope,"³ and though lacking the vision, nevertheless left his native land to claim the proffered happiness of Zion, but who, unlike Abraham, was rewarded by losing everything thereby. "Zion," in ancient days according to Mormon scripture, was a place where all were "of one heart and one mind."⁴ Could it be that achieving happiness in the Mormon Zion required also achieving the Mormon vision? Could it be that any attempt to claim happiness there without achieving that vision brought, almost vindictively, or so it seemed, the pernicious destruction of the ill-fated illusion? Of course, none can say. And of those who lived through this dilemma, very few were percipient enough, or articulate enough,

³Spoken of Abraham, who believed the divine promise and was rewarded thereby. Romans 4:18.

⁴Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:18.

to attempt any such conclusions. Nels Bourkersson perhaps best states the most that can be said:

I have now, to the best of my ability, described that mystifying place and people. . . . I've done this according to my experience, and though this has cost me my wealth and my family, yet God knows that I haven't said one word in anger. . . . I've recounted situations only as they are. Every reader is free to judge these things according to his own way of seeing them. (p. 196)

“Baling Hay at Ganado”

An Etching
by
Mahonri Young

A Note on "Baling Hay at Ganado"

DALE T. FLETCHER

"Baling Hay at Ganado" was produced by Mahonri Young in 1934, during one of his many trips to the Southwest. Ganado is in the Navajo Indian Reservation in northeastern Arizona. Young loved to depict the life of the Hopi, Apache, and Navajo, and a large part of his work deals with this subject.

The artist prepared his etching plates in his studio by coating the sheets of copper with a thin "hard ground" of asphaltum. These plates were taken along on the sketching trip and worked on out of doors directly from nature. Besides his etching equipment, Young would surely have taken along some water-colors, several kinds of sketch pads, a box of oil paints with a dozen small wooden panels, and a variety of drawing materials, such as pencils, chalk, crayons, pens, brushes, and ink.

On this day at Ganada he chose to do an etching. We can imagine him holding the copper plate in one hand and drawing with the etching needle, the fine lines being scratched through the asphaltum. Later in the studio the plate would be bathed in acid to etch the lines, then cleaned, inked, wiped, and printed in editions of perhaps twenty-five or fifty. He had an agreement with a dealer in New York who would buy all his etchings.

These sketching trips were a way of life with Mahonri Young and many other artists of his generation. It involved an unquestioned reverence or zestful appetite for reality. The visual world appeared as a field white all ready to be harvested. It was not pretty or entertaining; it was nourishing, healthy. The artists saw with grateful and joyous eyes. B. F. Larsen, who knew Mahonri Young and worked and thought a lot like him, characterized him in these words: "Leaders in every line of endeavor have big concepts of life. They possess a prophetic faith in growth. They think of their work as essential, and not as something apart. . . ." Why did Mahonri go to Ganado? What was he looking for in that remote place?

A contemporary artist, who works inside, recently said, "the dream of art coming from heaven is almost over." We need to return to Ganado and bring home something more essential than copper plates—a conviction of whose handiwork it is, good medicine.



A Survey of LDS Proselyting Efforts to the Jewish People

ARNOLD H. GREEN*

From Thucydides to Carl Becker and from Vico to R. C. Collingwood, historians and philosophers of history have debated the question of teleology, or purpose, in the historical process. The Latter-day Saints approach the issue with a religious *weltanschauung* fairly saturated with prophetic significance. In the tradition of Old Testament Judaism and early Christianity, they admittedly and proudly consider the essence of history to be the unfolding of a divine blueprint for man's ultimate salvation. Indeed, one aspect of the Mormon "gospel plan" charts chronologically and in detail the process of taking God's redeeming word to every nation and people.

This process allegedly began with Father Adam, who first received the divine injunction to teach his offspring the ways of truth. Adam's posterity occasionally became corrupt in the sight of God, however, and the all-important knowledge of salvation was lost, necessitating periodic "restorations" through Abraham, Moses, and other representatives of the "covenant lineage." Following the advent of Jesus, the saving message was deliberately withdrawn from the Israelites, who had since Old Testament times been its sole guardians and beneficiaries, so that the "Gentiles" might have an opportunity to attain salvation. Yet it was predicted that, after a period, the "times of the Gentiles" would be fulfilled and the gospel would be restored to a portion of scattered Israel which would be gathered to a "Zion" in America and then to the Jews who would return to Jerusalem.

Latter-day Saint history has thus unfolded in terms of this chronology. Early converts to Mormonism were designated as "Israelites" of the tribe of Ephraim, and their gathering place near Independence, Missouri, was earmarked as the site for the New Jerusalem. The stream of converts emigrating from Great

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Britain to Missouri, Illinois, and Utah was proof to Mormons that the Lord's timetable for "Ephraim" was on schedule and that the return of "Judah" to Palestine was imminent. Consequently, the Latter-day Saints have developed a twofold Zionism. They have prayed for their own ingathering on the American frontier and, almost as ardently, for the Jews' return to Palestine as prelude to an eventual but certain Jewish acceptance of Jesus and his teachings.

PRAYER FOR JERUSALEM

Thus Joseph Smith, dedicating the Kirtland Temple in 1836, prayed God "to have mercy upon the children of Jacob, that Jerusalem, from this hour, may begin to be redeemed; and the yoke of bondage may begin to be broken off from the house of David, and the children of Judah may begin to return to the lands which Thou didst give to Abraham, their father."¹ In 1840, a Latter-day Saint conference in Nauvoo, Illinois, formally resolved that the time for the Jewish return had arrived. The Church accordingly dispatched a pair of apostles to Palestine, though only one of them, Orson Hyde, completed the journey. From the Mount of Olives, he officially petitioned God to "restore the kingdom of Israel—raise up Jerusalem as its capital and constitute her people as a distinct nation and government."² The following year, another LDS assembly issued a manifesto to the Jews of the world, commanding them to return to Palestine where they should prepare to receive their Messiah.³

From then until now, Mormons have often interpreted events in Jewish history as signals that the "times of the Gentiles" were drawing to a close and that a mass conversion of Jews to Mormonism loomed on the horizon. Official actions of the Church hierarchy, however, have traditionally been limited to offering prayers and dedicating Palestine, suggesting that the formal termination of the period for Gentiles to

¹Doctrine and Covenants 109:60-64.

²Elder Hyde transcribed the prayer, delivered on October 24, 1841, and mailed it to Orson Pratt in Liverpool. The letter is reprinted in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949), Vol. 4, pp. 457-458.

³"Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles," *Millennial Star*, Vol. 6 (October 15, 1845), p. 136. For a more exhaustive survey of LDS Zionism, see Eldin Ricks, "Zionism and the Mormon Church," *Herzl Year Book*, Vol. 5 (1963), pp. 147-174.

hear the "gospel" still remains in the future. Nevertheless, efforts have occasionally been made by individual Church members and leaders to take the message of Mormonism to persons of Jewish heritage. The purpose of this paper is to trace these unofficial proselyting endeavors from 1836 until 1965.

FIRST PREACHING TO A JEW

Perhaps the first attempt to preach Mormonism to a Jew occurred in 1836 when Joseph Smith spoke of his religious experiences to Joshua Seixas, a Hebrew scholar whom the "brethren" had engaged to instruct at their "School of the Prophets" in Kirtland. Seixas listened cordially, but despite the Mormon Prophet's prediction that he would "eventually embrace the new and everlasting covenant,"⁴ the Jewish scholar did not prove to be fertile ground for the restored faith. Nor did the Jewish-Christian minister whom Orson Hyde visited in Trieste while en route to Palestine in 1840. "I called upon him to be baptized for the remission of his sins," wrote the apostle. Yet the experience only convinced Elder Hyde that "there is more hope of those Jews receiving the fullness of the gospel, whose minds have never been poisoned by the bane of modern sectarianism."⁵

After the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, subsequent Mormon leaders during the nineteenth century showed little interest in discussing their religion with Jews. Brigham Young, perhaps as a result of his belief that Jews were suffering under divine justice,⁶ felt that such missionary work would be in vain until the "second coming." On one occasion, he even declared that Alexander Neibaur, Mormonism's first Jewish proselyte,⁷ was not really of Jewish descent because no real Jew could believe in Jesus; the fact that Neibaur accepted Christ was conclusive proof to Brigham that Neibaur was no Jew. This attitude prevailed through John Taylor to Wilford Woodruff; consequently, no overtures were made by Mormons to Jews during the re-

⁴DCH 2:397.

⁵*Ibid.*, 4:497-498.

⁶See *Journal of Discourses*, 2:279.

⁷Despite a popular LDS myth, Orson Hyde was most likely not Jewish. Neibaur (1808-1883), a German-Jew and already a Christian before encountering Mormonism, was baptized in 1838. His daughter, Jessica Neibaur, married Charles W. Nibley. See Susa Young Gates, "Alexander Neibaur," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, Vol. 9 (April, 1914), pp. 53-63.

mainder of the century. In 1872, George A. Smith was sent to rededicate Palestine for the Jewish return; but, like the earlier mission of Orson Hyde, this second journey was concerned with the gathering rather than with the conversion of Judah. Upon his return, moreover, George A. Smith declared that "there is no infidel on the face of the earth who can disbelieve the mission of the Savior more than they do."⁸

UTAH JEWISH COMMUNITIES

It is understandable that the customarily convert-minded Saints failed to proselytize a growing Jewish community in their own back yard. By 1876, there were congregations of Jews in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Corinne, Bingham, Provo, and even Nephi, which were on fairly amiable terms with their Mormon neighbors.⁹ Their Mormon neighbors, however, made no recognizable attempt to proselytize them. Similarly, the LDS "Near Eastern Mission," established in 1884, concentrated primarily on Armenians and Europeans, almost completely ignoring the Palestinian Jewish settlements. "The Jewish and Christian colonies of Palestine," reported European Mission President Joseph M. Tanner in 1886, "with one exception, do not inspire one with much hope of their conversion."¹⁰ One missionary laboring in Haifa, Don C. Musser, did mention in 1892 that he expected to baptize a Jewish convert,¹¹ but the result was never confirmed.

The only event during the first century of Mormonism which can possibly be construed as an indication that the saints might have been preparing to proselytize Jews occurred in 1888. During that year after an intense study of the New Testament, Rabbi Edward Joseph Isaacson accepted Jesus, was expelled from his congregation in Germany, and subsequently became converted to Mormonism. Within a few months, apparently motivated by no more than the zeal of a new convert, he had completely translated the Book of Mormon into Yiddish. Had it been published, the translation might have enabled many European and Palestinian Jews to read the keystone book of

⁸*Journal of Discourses*, 16:96.

⁹In 1865, Utah Jews celebrated Rosh Hashana on Temple Square; the cornerstone for Salt Lake's synagogue was laid in 1903 by Joseph F. Smith; and Utah, in 1917, became the second state of the Union to elect a Jewish governor.

¹⁰*Millennial Star*, Vol. 48 (May 31, 1886), p. 351.

¹¹See the *Deseret Weekly*, January 14, 1893.

Mormonism. In 1890, however, Isaacson left Utah in disrepute, and his handwritten manuscript has remained almost unnoticed in the Church Historian's Office.

In 1902, Palestine was dedicated a third time by Apostle Francis M. Lyman and a fourth time in 1921 by Apostle James E. Talmage. These rededications demonstrate the continuing LDS interest in the Jewish return, while reactions to intermittent world events during that period indicate a modified attitude toward the possibility of Jewish proselyting. In 1917, on the heels of the famous Balfour Declaration, British General Edmund H. Allenby captured Jerusalem for the Allies of World War I. "No people on earth," responded a daughter of Brigham Young, "with the exception of the Jews themselves, have more cause for rejoicing and see more clearly the hand of the Lord in the redemption of Jerusalem from the oppression of the Gentile Turk, than do the Latter-day Saints."¹² Heber J. Grant, well-known for speaking out against anti-Semitism and not so well-known for being a booster of the Jewish National Fund,¹³ acknowledged that "one of the benefits of the great and terrible world war, through which the nations of the earth have recently passed, will be the opportunity for the Jews to return to the land of their fathers."¹⁴ And Joseph F. Smith reacted to Allenby's "redemption of Jerusalem" by writing: "It strikes me that the hour is nigh. I believe that the times of the Gentiles will surely be fulfilled, and the light will break forth among the Jews."¹⁵ The changing times and the new emphasis encouraged a few attempts to take the Mormon gospel to persons of Jewish decent.

BOOK OF MORMON TRANSLATED INTO HEBREW

About 1922, another Jewish convert to Mormonism, Herman Miller, completed a translation of the Book of Mormon into Hebrew. Although evaluated as adequate,¹⁶ the Hebrew translation, like its Yiddish predecessor, was never published and, at present, the manuscript even appears to be lost. Since at that

¹²Susa Young Gates, "The Return of the Jews," *Relief Society Magazine*, Vol. 5 (August, 1918), pp. 469-470.

¹³See *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 23 (September, 1920), p. 1040.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 23 (February, 1920), p. 285.

¹⁵Joseph F. Smith, "Gathering of Latter-day Saints and of Hebrews," *Liabona: The Elders Journal*, Vol. 15 (January, 1918), p. 469.

¹⁶See letter from Josiah Hickman to Joseph F. Smith in Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1947), pp. 33-35.

time no significant body of Jews spoke Hebrew, such a rendition of the Book of Mormon then would have had no practical value anyway, although it could be of infinite worth to contemporary LDS scholars, inasmuch as a Hebrew Book of Mormon may presently be desired.

In May of 1922, Brigham H. Roberts was called to serve as president of the "Eastern States Mission" of the Church with headquarters in New York City. There, the missionary-historian became acquainted with Abraham Silverstein, a Christian Jew who edited a monthly publication entitled *The Redeemed Hebrew*. The November, 1925, edition of the paper included a letter which set forth a Canadian Rabbi's reasons for denying to Jesus the title of the Jewish Messiah. In the same issue, Silverstein editorially invited Christian ministers to refute the Rabbi, who had signed his name "Rasha." B. H. Roberts composed three replies to "Rasha, the Jew" which were published in successive issues of *The Redeemed Hebrew*. Roberts' initial treatise attempts to establish that there exists a plurality of gods and that the New Testament Jesus was an incarnation of the Old Testament Jehovah. His second article reviews Messianic prophecies, while the third introduces "the new testimony for Jesus" contained in the Book of Mormon. In 1932, the three articles were supplemented by additional material and published as a book entitled *Rasha—the Jew*. Under Roberts and his successors, Henry H. Rolapp and James H. Moyle, Eastern States missionaries distributed the three papers as a proselyting tract. But, although a few exciting prospects were reported during the 1926-1935 period, no Jews became Mormons as a result of the literary appeal. The significance of this episode was primarily a historic one: an LDS leader had for the first time undertaken to proselytize a Jewish community by composing an exposition of the Mormon gospel especially for Jews.

In the Near Eastern Mission, post-World War I proselyting also reached a few Jewish settlers. Mrs. Joseph W. Booth, widow of the mission president who died at Haifa in 1929, reported upon her return to Salt Lake City that Jews frequently visited her home and that a few of them had joined the Mormon Church. She qualified, however, that "most of the missionary work was done among the Syrians and Armenians. . . ."¹⁷ In

¹⁷No author listed, "Jews Accepting Christ by Thousands," *Liabona: The Elders Journal*, Vol. 30 (1932), p. 17.

1933, Apostle John A. Widstoe visited the Holy Land where he performed the fifth dedication of Palestine for the return of the Jews, and installed as the local mission president Badwagen Piranian, an Armenian raised in Switzerland. Apostle Widstoe confided his intent to have the Book of Mormon translated into Hebrew¹⁸ and instructed the new mission leader to proselytize the Jewish population. Piranian tried for over two years and, although there are indications that he was initially encouraged in the endeavor,¹⁹ he gradually became convinced that it was impossible to convert Jews. Mission headquarters were subsequently relocated in Beirut and, except for a brief attempt to reach the Lebanese Jewish community by a young Jewish Mormon, Albert Ostraff, no more attempts were made before the mission was disbanded in 1950. Two years before that, however, another portentous event had taken place in the Holy Land, giving rise to the largest LDS proselyting program to the Jews.

ISRAEL BECOMES STATE

In May, 1948, decades of Zionist dreams and effort culminated in the birth of Israel, a modern republic recreated on the soil of an ancient kingdom. Pious Jews everywhere hailed the event as a miracle and quoted passages from their beloved Torah which predicted a homecoming for the dispersed of Judah. No less excited were the Latter-day Saints, many of whom viewed the Jewish state's formation as a key event in God's plan for the latter days. "On May 14, 1948," recalled Joseph Fielding Smith, "England withdrew and the Republic of Israel came into existence. This is a very significant event which we must not forget."²⁰ Ezra Taft Benson testified that "in fulfillment of these ancient prophecies, a great drama is being enacted in Palestine. The Jews are returning as one of the events of the last days."²¹ And Arthur V. Watkins, Mormon senator from Utah, wrote: "Israel, as an independent nation,

¹⁸John A. Widstoe, *In a Sunlit Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), p. 201. This intended translation was most likely never made.

¹⁹In the *Near East Mission History* (Church Historian's Office), under date of July 24, 1933, Piranian recorded in his Swiss dialect that various Jews were showing a genuine interest in Mormonism and were desirous of reading the Book of Mormon: "Die Juden haben tatsaechlich Interesse fur das Volk Ephraim, verschiedene haben das Buch Mormon zum lehsen gewuenscht."

²⁰Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), Vol. 3, p. 261.

²¹Conference Reports: 120a (April 8, 1950), pp. 71-79.

is an established fact and must be accepted. No one believing in the prophecies of God would contend otherwise."²²

It wasn't long before a few eager Saints began to conclude that the day had at last arrived when the process of teaching the gospel should be directed away from the Gentiles back to the lineage of Israel. "It is my sincere prayer," confided BYU instructor Lynn M. Hilton (who had earlier attempted to form an organization to prepare Mormons for Jewish proselyting), "that we will not be as reluctant to take the gospel from the Gentiles and give it to Israel as Peter was reluctant to do the converse in the meridian of time."²³ "It would seem to me," suggested Apostle LeGrand Richards in 1954, "that the 'times of the Gentiles' are now fulfilled to the point where we should carry the message to this chosen branch of the House of Israel."²⁴ Later, in a general conference, Elder Richards encouraged: "I have in my heart a feeling that it will not be long until the Presidency of the Church will feel to open up missionary work among these people."²⁵

Perhaps in anticipation of such proselyting, Elder Richards had compiled some information on both Jewry and Mormonism, arranging it so as to impress the former with the latter's theology. In 1954, he published his compilation as *Israel! Do You Know?*, whose thesis suggests that the Ephraimite-Saints currently administer the redeeming knowledge possessed anciently by their Jewish cousins. "The Gospel was restored in these latter days to the seed of Joseph," he explained, "and they have the responsibility of carrying it to the Jews."²⁶ Although the other General Authorities were evidently reluctant to call a halt to the times of the Gentiles, they agreed to let Elder Richards set up experimental "Jewish Missions" in a few areas.

JEWISH MISSION IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The largest Jewish Mission by far developed in Southern California where John M. Russon, president of the Los Angeles

²²Arthur V. Watkins, "When Applied Christianity Comes to Palestine," *The Instructor*, Vol. 44 (November, 1959), pp. 358-359.

²³Lynn M. Hilton, *The Jews—A Promised People* (Provo: BYU Extension Publications, 1958), p. 62.

²⁴LeGrand Richards, *The Dawning of Israel's Day* (Provo: BYU Extension Publications, 1954), p. 9.

²⁵LeGrand Richards, "The Word of God Will Stand," *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 57 (June, 1954), p. 405.

²⁶Richards, *The Dawning of Israel's Day*, p. 6.

Stake, agreed in 1955 to oversee the specialized proselyting effort. Russon delegated the time-consuming aspects of it, however, to J. Leland Anderson, whom he appointed "Coordinator of the Jewish Mission." Anderson's assistant was Jerome Horowitz, a young Jewish-Mormon attorney, who was persuaded to move to Los Angeles from Ogden, Utah. Apostle Richards, anxious for success, suggested to Anderson that "the best missionary with the Jews that I know of in the Church is Rose Marie Reid . . . so I am sure it would be well to call her to assist in this work. . . ." ²⁷

Born into a Canadian Latter-day Saint family, Rose Marie (nee Yancey) Reid accepted her father's prediction that the Jews would return to Jerusalem during her generation. Following the death of her husband, the young designer moved to Los Angeles where the swim suit firm bearing her name became prominent in the Jewish-dominated textile industry. Desirous of teaching her religion to business associates, she outlined a monologue for explaining Mormonism to Jews. When LeGrand Richards became acquainted with Mrs. Reid in 1954, he encouraged her to author a pamphlet as an introduction to his *Israel! Do You Know?* ²⁸ and to write down her "lesson plan" for Jewish investigators of Mormonism. The manuscript of her *Suggested Plan for Teaching the Gospel to the Jewish People* became available to missionaries in March, 1956, but, due to a thorough review by the Church Missionary Committee, was not published until July, 1958. ²⁹ Despite Mrs. Reid's insistence to the contrary, her *Suggested Plan* was never really authorized by the LDS hierarchy. "I doubt if the Church will want to adopt it as a recommended Church program," explained LeGrand Richards in April, 1956. "I think I can get the committee

²⁷Letter from LeGrand Richards to J. Leland Anderson, October 1, 1955, in Los Angeles Stake Center (1209 S. Manhattan Place, Los Angeles, California), file under "Jewish Mission." Subsequent citations from this file will be designated "Los Angeles Stake File."

²⁸The pamphlet, *Attention Israel* (n.p., 1954), is a dialogue between Mrs. Reid and "Eugene," an agnostic Jewish student who "recently graduated from Columbia University." Mrs. Reid leads Eugene and the reader through a discussion of Old Testament history, avoiding the question of Jesus and emphasizing the idea of Jewish-Mormon kinship through the tribes of Israel.

²⁹The published lesson plan, which includes two volumes of visual aids, was printed in Salt Lake City by the Deseret News Press. Mrs. Reid combined the dialogue of her "first lesson" with thirty pages of suggestions for approaching Jews and printed it separately as *Do's and Don't's Before Teaching the Jewish People* (n.p., n.d.). Also, with the help of professional photographer, Robert Perine, some progress was made on a plan to develop filmstrip presentations of each lesson.

to approve of it to be issued under her name and then let it serve as useful a purpose as it can for the missionaries who desire to use it."³⁰ Although the lesson material was hailed by a majority of Mrs. Reid's cohorts as a thorough guide for teaching Mormonism to Jews, a few felt it to be a bit complicated and complained that those lacking Mrs. Reid's dynamic personality would have difficulty using it effectively. The objections of one delegation of missionaries from Inglewood Stake led them to write their own lesson plan³¹ and to form a "Jewish District" within their own stake mission. In the regular interstake Jewish Mission, however, Rose Marie Reid was put in charge of "preliminary training" of missionaries, most of whom had implicit faith in her.

In January, 1956, the Jewish Mission officials met with some delegates from the Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, who were touring the LDS Los Angeles Temple, and presented to them the message of Mormonism. The women were polite, but none of them became serious investigators of the Latter-day Saint Church. Apart from this instance, the Los Angeles Jewish Mission did little real proselyting before 1957. J. Leland Anderson resigned as coordinator in August, 1956, but Apostle Richards had, in the meanwhile, organized Jewish Missions in other areas.

UTAH JEWISH MISSIONS

In Salt Lake City, Wilford Stake President George Z. Aposhian agreed to supervise the Jewish Mission, and High Councilman Sherman Young took charge of proselyting. The group of ten to twelve missionaries used a 1951 "United Jewish Council Jewish Population Census" for Salt Lake in order to discover prospects. "We will contact every Jewish family," promised Sherman Young, "and they will all have an opportunity to hear the gospel or know that we have a friendly interest in them."³² Over a three-year period, the "gospel" was heard

³⁰Letter from LeGrand Richards to John M. Russon, April 20, 1956; Los Angeles Stake File.

³¹This dittoed lesson plan, *A Systematic Program for Teaching the Gospel to the Jewish People*, was written in 1957 by Albert P. Ostraff and Farrel T. Miles, using, according to Miles, "the principle of testimony and simplicity; and no effort was necessarily made to avoid the mention of Christ."

³²Sherman Young, "Memorandum to President Aposhian," January, 1957; contained in file under "Jewish Mission" recently transferred from the Wilford Stake Center to the Church Historian's Office.

by more than three hundred Salt Lake Valley Jews, several of whom attended LDS meetings but none of whom converted to Mormonism. The Salt Lake missionaries, however, spent much of their time with Latter-day Saint groups, explaining the Jewish-Mormon kinship and combatting anti-Semitism among their own people.³³

In Ogden, Utah, missionary work to Jews was made a part of the East Ogden Stake Mission. Stake President Scott B. Price delegated to Bruce Gibb, serving in 1955 as a counselor in the stake mission presidency, the task of supervising the effort. Gibb composed his own set of thirteen lessons for presenting Mormonism to Jews and, with a ten-man missionary force, he set out to contact Ogden's fifty-odd Jewish families. Twenty of these were visited regularly, Gibb approximated, and two Jewish men were converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In San Francisco, former Bishop R. John Cummings and William Fred Grow were the sole participants in the Jewish Mission. They contacted their own business and social acquaintances who were Jewish, telling them that Mormons were fellow Israelites. "Since Jews consider the terms: Jews, Israelites and Hebrews to be synonymous," confided Cummings, "such a statement requires an explanation."³⁴ Fred Grow estimated

³³Primarily because of external influences (e.g., political affiliations or business and social contacts), some Mormons reflect negative secular attitudes toward Jews. However, in a paper presented to the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, August 31, 1967, Dr. Armand L. Mauss of Utah State University explained that inasmuch as they identify themselves with Jews as "Israelites," Mormons are much less apt to exhibit anti-Semitic attitudes or practices than are members of other Christian denominations. Dr. Mauss also found that, unlike other Christians who tend to become more anti-Semitic as they become more orthodox, Mormons tend to be less so, since orthodox Latter-day Saints would be more likely to subscribe to the "doctrine of Semitic identification." And although there is a tendency for Mormons to believe that the historic Jew has been "punished" for backsliding, Dr. Mauss contended that "the Mormon theological outlook is not nearly so much concerned with recriminations for *past misdeeds* as it is with the *future redemption* [underscoring his] of all Israelite peoples and their establishment in historic homelands. If anyone can expect the wrath of God for their wickedness, it is not the Jews, but rather the Gentiles, who have rejected the Jewish scriptures and persecuted the Jews. . . . The official teachings of the Mormon Church not only take a sympathetic theological stance toward Jews, but also imply that anti-Semitic behavior is tantamount to fighting against God." [Dr. Mauss has submitted his paper for publication in an academic journal and is presently awaiting the editorial decision.] Despite this general tendency, however, the little anti-Jewish sentiment that does exist among Mormons continues to be embarrassing for both theological and humanistic reasons.

³⁴Letter from R. John Cummings to author, January 11, 1967.

that thirty Jewish persons were taught the basics of Mormonism by himself and Mr. Cummings, two of whom joined the Latter-day Saint Church.

Portland (Oregon) Stake President C. Carlile Carleson, pursuant to a request by LeGrand Richards, delegated the task of supervising Jewish missionary work to L. A. West, a former member of the stake presidency. West and his seven companions obtained contacts by going from door to door in Jewish neighborhoods and, using Bruce Gibb's "lesson plan," managed to convert a Jewish father and son before President Carleson halted the effort in 1957. "There was a change of attitude on the part of the Stake Presidency," said West, "who thought it best to let the regularly appointed stake missionaries continue the work. As far as I know, no further activity was concentrated on the Jews."³⁵

While Apostle Richards organized his Jewish Missions in the West, the LDS stakes in New York and Washington, D.C., launched similar movements. In New York City, a pair of Jewish Mormons were commissioned by stake authorities to approach the Jewish community. One of these, Dr. Irving H. Cohen, authored an eighty-two page pamphlet entitled *Jews of the Torah* (1957 and 1963), which attempts to demonstrate that modern Jewry has deviated from its Old Testament prototype and that Jesus was indeed the Jewish Messiah. Dr. Cohen and Albert Solomon employed the booklet as their guide for explaining Mormonism to Jews and as the introductory reading material for Jewish investigators. Cohen, whose special mission ended in 1962, has been influential in the conversions of several Jewish persons to Mormonism.

In 1956, LDS authorities in Washington, D.C., assigned two stake missionaries to work exclusively with Jews. Artel Ricks and Alden Evans, after composing their nine-lesson "Washington Stake Plan for Teaching the Gospel to the Jewish People," delivered their message, over a three-year period, to approximately fifty Jewish persons, one of whom became a Mormon. "Most of them wanted to join the Church," said Mr. Ricks, "but were prevented from taking the step because of family pressures."³⁶

³⁵Letter from L. A. West to author, February 5, 1967.

³⁶Letter from Artel Ricks to author, December 4, 1966.

Back in Los Angeles in August, 1956, John Russon appointed former Stake President Leo J. Muir to replace J. Leland Anderson as coordinator of the Jewish Mission. Muir and Jerome Horowitz outlined a program of weekly meetings where more than a hundred missionaries met to study Rose Marie Reid's lesson plan and to learn techniques for proselyting Jews. Some of the most important axioms were avoid mentioning Jesus at the outset; say "Jewish" rather than "Jew"; discourage premature Church attendance by Jewish contacts (lest the congregation sing "Onward Christian Soldiers"!); prevent Jewish investigators from reading the Book of Mormon too soon; emphasize that Mormons are Israelites; and tell Jewish people that Latter-day Saints have always supported Zionist aspirations in Israel. The missionaries were urged to contact Jewish persons through a variety of methods: a roster was compiled of Mormons married to Jews; a list of Jewish visitors to the Mormon temple was obtained; LDS Church members were asked to supply the names and addresses of Jewish acquaintances; and missionaries were instructed to visit synagogues or Jewish service organizations, and to go from door to door in Jewish neighborhoods. During 1957 and 1958, Mormon "missionaries to the Jewish people" in Southern California spent over 10,000 hours proselyting, delivered in Jewish homes over 1,200 lessons, and converted to their faith about thirty Jewish persons.

JEWISH MISSIONS DISBANDED

In March, 1959, the LDS First Presidency directed that henceforth all proselyting efforts to Jews should be channelled through existing stake missionary organizations, thus discontinuing the experimental Jewish Missions. The directive suggested that each stake might assign two missionaries to prepare themselves to teach Jews, should they be "discovered in the normal course of proselyting,"³⁷ but only a couple of stakes did this and these for just a very short time. Then, in order to arrive at a unity of the faith with regard to the numerous "lesson plans" for teaching Mormonism to Jews which had cropped up during the era of the Jewish Missions, the Mission-

³⁷The directive, "RE: Missionary Work Among the Jews," was sent March 2, 1959, "From the Office of the First Presidency to Presidents of Stakes and Stake Mission Presidents." It was reprinted in the *California Intermountain News*, a weekly for Southern California Mormons, on April 2, 1959.

ary Committee selected four members of the Brigham Young University College of Religious Instruction faculty to review the extant literature. Eldin Ricks, Daniel H. Ludlow, Ellis T. Rasmussen and Sidney B. Sperry analyzed the works of Eugene Hilton, Irving H. Cohen, Bruce Gibb, Rose Marie Reid and Artel Ricks; but, rather than merely recommending one of the five, they determined to write their own set of lessons. Although these authors felt handicapped because they lacked direct association with Jewish people, they nevertheless possessed a keen understanding of Hebraic scripture and tradition, and their material will likely serve as the basis for instruction when the Mormons decide to proselytize the Jews in earnest. Although the First Presidency's directive formally ended all Jewish Missions, the Southern California organization, in March, 1959, was something quite different from what it had set out to be in August, 1955.

The Jewish Mission leaders became convinced by mid-1958 that a few of their converts were not being warmly received into Mormon congregations. Jerome Horowitz prepared lectures to inform missionaries about Jewish religious beliefs, and Rose Marie Reid, after proposing that all Jewish Mormons attend the same congregation, authored a *Suggested Handbook for Use by the Integration Committee in the L.D.S. Church*,³⁸ a chapter of which itemized the special problems of Jewish converts to Mormonism. Eventually, however, the search for a method of enabling Mormons to understand and to befriend Jews led to San Bernardino, California, where an LDS civic leader had already developed his answer to the same problem. His answer was a more subtle kind of proselyting which, in many respects, was not proselyting at all.

In 1958, San Bernardino Stake Mission President Ken Dyal³⁹ pondered a request to organize a mission to the Jews. Rather than conduct bona fide missionary work, however, he initiated a course of study to instruct Mormons in the history of ancient and modern Judaism. Aided by his two counselors, Charles Spurrier and George Barnes, Dyal presented his series of nine lessons several times in the San Bernardino area. As part of the

³⁸Los Angeles: printed on the California Intermountain News Press, 1958.

³⁹By 1958, Kenneth W. Dyal had served for several years as manager of San Bernardino's famous "Orange Show." In 1964, he was elected to Congress as a Representative (D) from California's Thirty-third District.

instruction, moreover, his pupils visited Friday evening services in local temples or synagogues, sent greeting cards to Jewish acquaintances on Rosh Hashana, sponsored a troupe of LDS girls who learned and then performed Israeli folk dances, and set up a fund to establish an "Orson Hyde Forest" in the Holy Land. Dyal's goal was to lead Latter-day Saints toward an understanding of Judaism and a genuine friendship for Jewish people, delaying missionary work until there developed "an adequate basis." "One or two Jewish friends who know that a Mormon acquaintance is willing to stand up and reprove the name caller," he contended, "will do more for the eventual willingness of these people to hear our message than a thousand out punching doorbells."⁴⁰

In October, 1958, Charles Spurrier spoke these sentiments to the Los Angeles Jewish Mission and, in December, Ken Dyal communicated them by letter to Ned Redding, by then prominent in the interstake movement. Through these and other contacts, the Los Angeles Jewish Mission in January, 1959, was converted into the "Understanding Israel Program." The re-organized movement was governed by a "Coordinating Council" comprising Jerome Horowitz, Ken Dyal, Rose Marie Reid, Ned Redding, Harry Howard, Albert Ostraff and Janell Warner, and was "advised" by John Russon and Wayne A. Reeves, presidents of the Los Angeles and San Bernardino Stakes, respectively. "This new program," Russon explained, "supercedes all other activity among the Jewish people."⁴¹ The Understanding Israel Program launched an effort to teach Dyal's lessons to representatives of Southern California wards who would, after the end of the course, return and enlighten their own congregations. Then, once the saints were thoroughly indoctrinated, the Jewish Mission could pursue its original goals with greater success. But before the initial phase was even completed, the First Presidency's directive also discontinued this venture in Jewish friendship. The idea of understanding Israel, however, was later revived on a more youthful and grandiose scale.

⁴⁰Letter from Ken Dyal to Ned Redding, December 12, 1958, Los Angeles Stake File.

⁴¹*California Intermountain News*, January 22, 1959.

THE YOVAIL DANCERS

In 1960, Mrs. Mildred Handy was called by her bishop in San Diego, California, to teach a series of lessons for adults in the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA). Recalling her contact with Ken Dyal and using his material, Mrs. Handy outlined a course of study on the "House of Israel." Later, she composed her own set of thirty lessons, which she employed in subsequent "Understanding Israel" classes. Mrs. Handy's contribution to Dyal's idea was an increased association of Jews with Mormons, brought about via programs of drama, dance and cultural exchange. "I wanted to develop a learning program," she later wrote, "that would go beyond mere theoretical study and provide a real understanding through literal experience."⁴² Her main vehicle in accomplishing this was a folk dance group christened "The Yovail Dancers," which was transplanted from San Diego to Los Angeles when Mrs. Handy became "Adult Study Leader" in the Pasadena Stake MIA. Her principal duty was the supervision of Understanding Israel classes in the various wards, but her consuming interest was the Yovail Dancers. The group grew to include over sixty LDS teen-agers who learned, then performed, traditional Jewish and Israeli folk songs and dances. By linking biblical, ghetto, and modern steps with an explanatory narrative, Mrs. Handy told the Jewish story from ancient to contemporary times. She called the presentation "Fire of Israel," and her dancers displayed it before Jewish spectators at the Westside Jewish Community Center, the Shrine Auditorium, the Pasadena Civic Auditorium and, during the summer of 1964, in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Beer Sheba, Zurich and Paris. In Jerusalem, the LDS dancers received the "Pilgrim's Medal" from the Israeli Government; and in Beer Sheba, Clifford I. Cummings of the Pasadena Stake Presidency was invited to explain Mormonism to the audience. Although direct proselyting was not a part of their itinerary, the young dancers conceived of their activity as having missionary value. Mrs. Handy felt that the manifestation of Mormon interest in Jewish culture, along with the mingling of the two peoples, would generate a climate of mutual understanding, a prerequisite for successful missionary work. Following the tour of Israel in 1964, the Yovail Dance group was disbanded by

⁴²Mildred Handy, *The Yovail Story* (Provo: ditto copies, 1965), p. 32.

Pasadena Stake leaders who evidently feared that the mushroom activity might conflict with existing Church programs for youth.

Since 1964, there seems to have been a dearth of attempts organized by Mormons either to convert Jews or to win their friendship, although there have undoubtedly been some which have escaped the author's attention. Likewise, there have likely been other instances prior to 1964 wherein Latter-day Saints, individually or collectively, have tried to get their Jewish cousins to see the light. Those cited above, however, appear to be the major ones, and they serve as an adequate basis for the following conclusion: the Mormon Church has neither officially nor on a large scale undertaken to carry its message to the Jewish people. The sporadic endeavors hitherto attempted have largely been initiated by individual Church members and, while most have been tolerated, none have been encouraged by the Church leaders. For their part, the "Brethren" apparently feel that the "times of the Gentiles" are lingering on, and thus additional time will be required "to turn the hearts of the Jews unto the prophets, and the prophets unto the Jews. . . ."⁴³

⁴³Doctrine and Covenants 98:17.

Saint-Exupéry and "le culte du passe"

BERTRAND LOGAN BALL, JR.*

The civilization that Saint-Exupéry lauds in *Citadelle* is ideal, but it is inspired in part by traditional civilizations with which he was familiar. Having been born in an aristocratic family that could trace its ancestry back to the Crusades, he admired the Christian civilization which flourished in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. At that time religion oriented all human activities and gave coherence to society and human relationships. Man was not conceived as an end in himself, but rather as the image of a principle infinitely more elevated and universal. His character and inner being were developed much more than in the materialistically oriented democracies of the Twentieth Century. Modern mechanized civilization is a disaster because the individual is deprived of the conceptual culture of the past. Machines have changed the individual too fast for him to be able to develop new concepts that harmonize with his new mode of living (*Carnets*, p. 118). Social equality is not found in nature—the strongest and the most intelligent reign among animals and men (*Carnets*, pp. 64-65). A great civilization is built upon what is demanded of men, not what is furnished for them. To serve another, as the medieval servant served his feudal lord, is not humiliating when considered as a normal social process (*Carnets*, p. 67). As they emulate them the common people grow to be like their aristocratic leaders (*Carnets*, pp. 198-199).

AN IDEAL CIVILIZATION

In *Citadelle*, Saint-Exupéry describes an ideal civilization that resembles medieval Christian civilization in certain important aspects. All activity that leads to spiritual growth implies resistance to natural material tendencies. The individual exchanges himself for something greater and rises to a higher spiritual level; he discovers new spiritual relationships between

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disparate objects and facts; he finds a new meaning to life, a "sens des choses." An ideal civilization is composed of individuals who collaborate and sacrifice for permanence and order. In the process of exchanging themselves for higher spiritual values, they "become." Action is of value in becoming; thought alone is not enough.

A "sens des choses" is related to objects which exist contemporaneously, whereas a "sens du temps" connects objects which exist and events which occur in temporal sequence. Customs, traditions, and rituals passed on from one generation to the next produce stability and direction. The leader of a civilization gives arbitrary direction to his subjects by imposing upon them prescribed ways of doing things, called ceremonials. Man has no meaning except in the context of ceremonials; he is but a transitory vehicle in contrast to civilization itself, that which endures through time. The most satisfying life is found in cultivating the soil and adjusting to the four seasons. Social life is fullest when tied to the events of the family—birth, marriage, and death. The family is the fundamental social unit; the father should have authority over his children and be held accountable for their actions. He not only bequeaths material possessions to his sons, but he passes on to them the culture of the past. A mother may also fulfill this role. In *Terre des hommes*, the author recounts visiting a peasant woman on her deathbed surrounded by her three sons. Her face had hard lines but was peaceful; her lips were tightly drawn. Her sons had inherited her physical features; but, more important, they had received from her hands a spiritual heritage that went back many generations: traditions, concepts, and myths. In the same literary work Saint-Exupéry again observed the richness of the past when he visited a dilapidated country house near Concordia, Argentina. The dwelling was thick and massive like a citadel; it offered the peace of a monastery. Its occupants had a respect for the past and would not remodel the building. The attic was undoubtedly rich in old letters, coins, and keys. Two girls with a grave expression met the author at the door. He observed that they lived close to the natural world and reacted with great sensitivity to plants and animals. They reigned over a group of pets, including snakes, with rare intuition. Le petit prince also lived close to nature and understood it intuitively. He communicated with the rose, the fox, and the serpent.

THE OLD LIFE

Bernis, Geneviève, and the narrator of *Corrier Sud* played together as children in an old château whose walls were crumbling, a symbol of the richness of time. Generations had lived the same kind of life in that château; the peasants were still tilling the soil. Life was made up of seasons, vacations, marriages, and deaths. Their traditions protected the people from time, the great enemy; "le culte du passé" was firmly engrained in them. On a moonlit night looking out the window of the château, Geneviève listened intently to the sounds of nature. She communicated with each tree and blade of grass; she made pacts with the trees and the animals. She seemed eternal because she had such a close relationship with the natural world and the four seasons. The old furniture and art objects that surrounded her gave meaning to her existence for they tied her to the past and the family traditions. Without them, her life was empty.

In addition to praising the traditions associated with those who till the soil and live close to nature, Saint-Exupéry also praises the dedicated artist intent upon creating beauty. The skilled craftsman of previous centuries was willing to sacrifice himself to produce a porcelain cup, but the factory worker of today would never become personally involved with what he produces on the assembly line (*Carnets*, p. 43). The artist of today must expend great effort and devote long hours to produce a work of beauty, just as did the artist of the past. The masses will not appreciate his toil; he must rely, as formerly, upon a wealthy patron to support him (*Carnets*, pp. 205-206).

RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITARIANISM BEST

Responsible authoritarianism is the most beneficial form of government. The leader must aspire to the ennoblement of his people and be capable of constraining them. He must possess the qualities of the patriarch of a large family. Men should be organized into a hierarchy with mutual dependence and responsibility; individuals should feel themselves integral parts of the greater whole. All people would be equal since all would have a common measure in God, the ultimate in a scale of values. But all would not be identical. Each one would develop his talents and abilities through differentiated types of

work. The leader would impose constraints upon his subjects by forcing them to do their work in a prescribed manner, a ceremonial. He would be aiding them to progress to higher spiritual levels. The efficacy of the constraints would be measured by how well the individuals were molded. If the leader erred in imposing a ceremonial, this very error would be a condition of growth since it would aid in the synthesis of contradictory elements in a greater whole. The failures of some individuals would be the conditions of success of others, and all would benefit by the success. The will of the people would be identical to that of the leader; all personal interest would blend with the interest of society. In impelling his subjects to action, the leader would appeal to their emotions rather than to reason. Experience and intuition are to be preferred to logic and reason in the process of learning. By imposing a system of constraints upon his people, the leader would be directing them toward God. God is conceived as the highest value in a hierarchy of values, the overall purpose or sense of life, "le noeud essentiel d'actes divers." Love, prayer, silence, meditation, and work are aspects of exchange as the individual develops new relationships and sets of values and rises to higher spiritual levels. There are no real contradictions; they appear as such only at levels at which one has not risen higher in order to absorb them in a larger structure. Modern education relies upon gadgets to teach effortlessly and reduces the child to a machine that absorbs facts and figures. In the past educators strove to inculcate a style and a soul (*Carnets*, p. 119). Without religious training human relationships would be reduced to brute force and blackmail (*Carnets*, pp. 75-76). The greatness and efficacy of religions are to have established a spiritual image to guide men (*Carnets*, p. 53). Modern man's disinterest in religious concepts has left his spiritual world bare (*Carnets*, p. 28). He performs a routine type of work in a respectable but undistinguished fashion. He needs something resembling a Gregorian chant. Just by listening to a village song of the Fifteenth Century, one realizes how much civilization has degenerated. The bonds of love are so lax today that one does not feel absence as in the past. During the Middle Ages, if a man left his place of residence for a long journey, he left behind a vast complex of habits. But today men have no permanent relationships to people or to things. They ex-

change Frigidaires and wives, houses and homes, political parties and religions. They can no longer be unfaithful; they have nothing to which they owe true allegiance (*Lettre au général "X"*).

By turning to the Middle Ages for part of his inspiration, Saint-Exupéry created his ideal civilization. Although he was not an orthodox Catholic, he admired the role that the church had played in giving meaning to human existence. He conceived of God as the highest in a scale of values. Those values that ennobled men were good regardless of their source. To find the values that could save the spiritual life of Twentieth-Century men, he turned to the past. He developed within his characters "le culte du passé."

Fort Douglas and the Soldiers of the Wasatch: A Final Salute

LYMAN C. PEDERSEN, JR.*

In July, 1967, orders from Secretary of Defence Robert S. McNamara to deactivate Fort Douglas were carried out and an important as well as colorful period of Utah's history came to a close. It had been 105 years earlier, with the Civil War fifteen months old, that Colonel Patrick Edward Connor, a veteran of Buena Vista during the Mexican War, assembled troops of the Second and Third California Volunteers near Stockton, California, and prepared them for a long march across the Nevada desert. The Utah Column finally lumbered forward on July 12, 1862, the day after Henry W. Halleck assumed command as general-in-chief of the United States Army.

NAMED FOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

While eastern soldiers fought for a second time at Bull Run, stubbornly repelled Lee's invasion of Maryland, and suffered staggering losses at Antietam and Sharpsburg, the California Volunteers stubbornly, with many night marches, crossed the parched desert, stopping at Fort Churchill, and spending about a month in the Ruby Valley. On October 18 they crossed the Jordan River with some apprehension, and the California troops proceeded with caution north into the valley of the saints. A suitable location was found on the high benchland east of the city, and on October 26, 1862, Camp Douglas was officially founded, honoring the Illinois senator, Stephen A. Douglas, whose death had occurred in Chicago the year before. The garrison was permanently established and redesignated Fort Douglas in 1878.

Few western military posts have exerted a greater influence upon the society and economy of a sizeable nearby community than has Fort Douglas. The California soldiers arrived in Utah

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at an inauspicious time, with the last campfires of Johnston's army only recently having flickered out. The saints had wanted nothing more than isolation in the fastness of the mountains; yet within fifteen years after their initial arrival in Utah, two invading armies had camped in Deseret, not counting the deluge of fortune hunters plodding the California trail. At least many of the latter left gold with the saints, many of them much more than they ever found in the Bearflag state.

Only the most astute could have guessed that the desert soldiers from California would initiate a transformation in Mormon society and economy, surpassed in the Nineteenth Century only by the coming of the railroad with its swift possibilities in areas like mining and immigration, and perhaps the revolution in communication.

Some Mormon leaders predicted the rapid demise and early departure of the California boys, but in the meantime, Connor prepared for the duration. With months slipping by, and no apparent departure in sight, the saints were not long in perceiving that Uncle Sam's soldiers could contribute in a direct way to the city's economy, particularly when the paymaster made one of his infrequent visits. Newspapers of the time re-



Looking southwest at Old Camp Douglas in 1868. (By courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.)

cord an infinite variety of inducements for the dollar, including some which presumably attracted no large Mormon clientele, like Sunday horse races and the often condemned Valley Tan.

The real problem, of course, was how to separate the soldier from his money without at the same time absorbing any gentile influence. Although the community was enriched by government and individual spending during the Civil War years, and it was only a beginning, the second question, that of finding some compatibility, escaped any real solution until after the war.

The presence of U. S. soldiers only a few miles from the Mormon capital, which during the war years engendered so much hostility, became in succeeding decades a source of security as well as an even greater financial boon. Shocking reports of Mormon girls marrying soldiers in the 1860's became less shocking and hardly newsworthy by the 1880's. This was equally true of the soldier who occasionally became a Mormon convert. The large building programs on the post during the 1870's and 1880's put thousands of dollars into the hands of local contractors and workmen.

INFLUENCE ON COMMUNITY

The influence of Fort Douglas upon the society and community life of Salt Lake City was immensely important. The soldiers, perhaps unconsciously and simply by their presence, provided a means of transition for the Mormon theocracy to move from the suspicious and expatriated decade of the 1860's to the nationally oriented and optimistic decade of the 1890's. By the time of the Spanish American War, Utah had genuinely taken her place among her sister states. That transition was at least made easier by a military garrison which had proved its basic friendliness and gained Mormon confidence. Differences that remained were increasingly considered community problems rather than a conflict between the soldiers and the Mormons. Other factors would of course include the passing of the generation which had suffered persecution in Missouri and Illinois only to be invaded by an army in Utah, and also the increasing importance of the non-Mormon in Utah.

The Twentieth Century, and particularly the World War I and World War II periods, witnessed an even more vast influ-

ence upon Utah's economy, while at the same time, the social influence reached full circle. From the rapprochement of the 1880's and 1890's, Fort Douglas moved to an absolute and sentimental comradery with Salt Lake City by the 1960's. October editions of local newspapers during those years, honoring anniversaries of the founding of the fort, bear ample witness to the place which Fort Douglas had won in the hearts of Utah citizens—one such article appropriately recalling that "Old Soldiers Never Die."

As the history of the State of Wyoming would be incomplete without including Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger, so would a similar study of Utah be incomplete without including Fort Douglas. While Fort Bridger closed its career with the entrance of Wyoming into statehood in 1890, Fort Douglas, having served the Utah frontier for thirty-four years during its territorial existence, continued for seventy-one years after statehood. The old fort, unique in many respects, has remained one of the oldest continuously occupied posts west of the Mississippi River. During its entire existence it remained an integral part of the U. S. military system.

In 1853 the old system of numbering military districts and departments in use since 1813 was replaced by establishing departments with descriptive names. From that year until the outbreak of the Civil War there were no military divisions, and each department reported directly to the headquarters of the army. The Department of Utah was created in January, 1858, though during the Civil War years Camp Douglas fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Pacific. During the summer of 1865 a special district called the District of the Plains was created, containing the old districts of Utah, Colorado and Nebraska, Connor, having been promoted to Brevet Brigadier General, was named commander.

In 1866 a new organizational structure was developed encompassing the continental limits of the United States. Originally it consisted of two divisions, that of the Missouri and that of the Pacific, with subordinate departments under each, and an additional eight independent departments. The latter group controlled most of the United States east of the Mississippi River. With some adjustments this system prevailed until the 1890's. The Division of the Missouri contained the Depart-

ments of Arkansas, the Missouri, the Platte (of which Fort Douglas was a member), and Dakota.

In 1891 the Divisions of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Missouri were discontinued and eight military departments were retained. One of these was the Department of the Platte, which included Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, South Dakota south of the 44th parallel, Wyoming except Fort Yellowstone, Idaho east of a line formed by the extension of the western boundary of Utah to the northeastern boundary of Idaho, and the Utah Territory. Two years later the Department of Colorado was created which included Colorado and the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. Thus in 1893 Fort Douglas' long association with the Department of the Platte was finally terminated.

SOLDIERS ARRIVE IN 1862

Connor's announced purpose for his arrival in Utah in 1862 was to guard the Overland Mail Route, but in addition to this, the government hoped to keep a watchful eye on the Mormons, whose loyalty was under some suspicion. The territory of Utah was in a key position on the Overland Mail Route, and its secession would have meant a dangerous separation between the East and the West, as well as a costly outlay of money and manpower to reroute the telegraph, mail, and stage lines. In view of the recent occupation of and departure from Utah of U.S. troops, and of the possibility of preserving polygamy by uniting with the departed South, it was not beyond comprehension that the Mormons might follow the South out of the Union.¹ Despite Brigham Young's message of loyalty in 1861 upon the completion of the telegraph,² some doubts were entertained about the Mormon leader's intentions.

The Civil War years mark the most bitter period of strained relations between the soldiers on the Wasatch Bench and the Mormon citizens and leaders in Salt Lake City. The situation was explosive and dangerous with both sides guilty of creating misunderstandings. Fortunately both Brigham Young and Patrick Connor, seeing the strength as well as the weakness in each

¹For Southern bids to Utah for support see Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892-94), p. 93.

²Andrew Neff, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 730.

other, usually exercised caution and judgment. Although verbal battles occurred with some regularity, the saints and the soldiers restrained themselves from physical violence; and while the Mormon kingdom remained intact, Camp Douglas also became a permanent part of the Utah frontier.

PUBLISHED CAMP NEWSPAPER

From 1863 to 1867 a camp newspaper, the *Daily Union Vedette*, was published at Camp Douglas. In addition to carrying official military information, the paper acted as the voice of the post. It carried news of the Civil War, announcements of important visitors to the Territory, departures and arrivals of wagon trains, and also reported the progress of mining in the Territory. Articles were often quoted from California, the Midwest and the East. An editorial in the first edition of the paper declared that:

We have no ends to serve, save the public good and our country's welfare; we have no enemies to punish; no prejudices to indulge; no private griefs to ventilate.³

Despite this friendly salutory, the Mormon-Gentile conflict was thoroughly aired in the pages of the *Vedette*. Appropriate portions of General Conference sermons were often included, with editorial comment.

Although the original *Daily Union Vedette* ceased publication in 1867, during three other short periods of the post's history it was revived, the most recent being from October, 1965, to July, 1966. It was terminated on the later date through a lack of funds.

During the early years of Camp Douglas, the Volunteers made the initial discoveries of ore-bearing deposits in Bingham Canyon and in various other places throughout the Territory and were instrumental in the founding of Utah's mining industries. General Connor himself was among the foremost leaders in this enterprise. The mining town of Stockton, Utah, was settled by him, being named for his home in California.

Connor's men explored and surveyed new routes of travel through Southern Utah, especially to the Colorado River, in

³*Union Vedette*. November 20, 1863.

anticipation of an expanding trade with California via that route. This Colorado scheme adds an exciting and imaginative part of the history of Fort Douglas. Connor pleaded its cause, and soldiers of his command marched to carry the plan out. A feasible wagon road from Fort Douglas to the head of navigation on the Colorado River was surveyed by Captain George F. Price in 1864. The enterprise was generally successful, but was doomed to oblivion with the coming of the railroads.

In addition to exploring these southern routes, parties from the post surveyed parts of southern Idaho, eastern Nevada, and also eastern Utah through the Strawberry and Uinta Valleys and on to Denver by way of the Berthoud Pass.

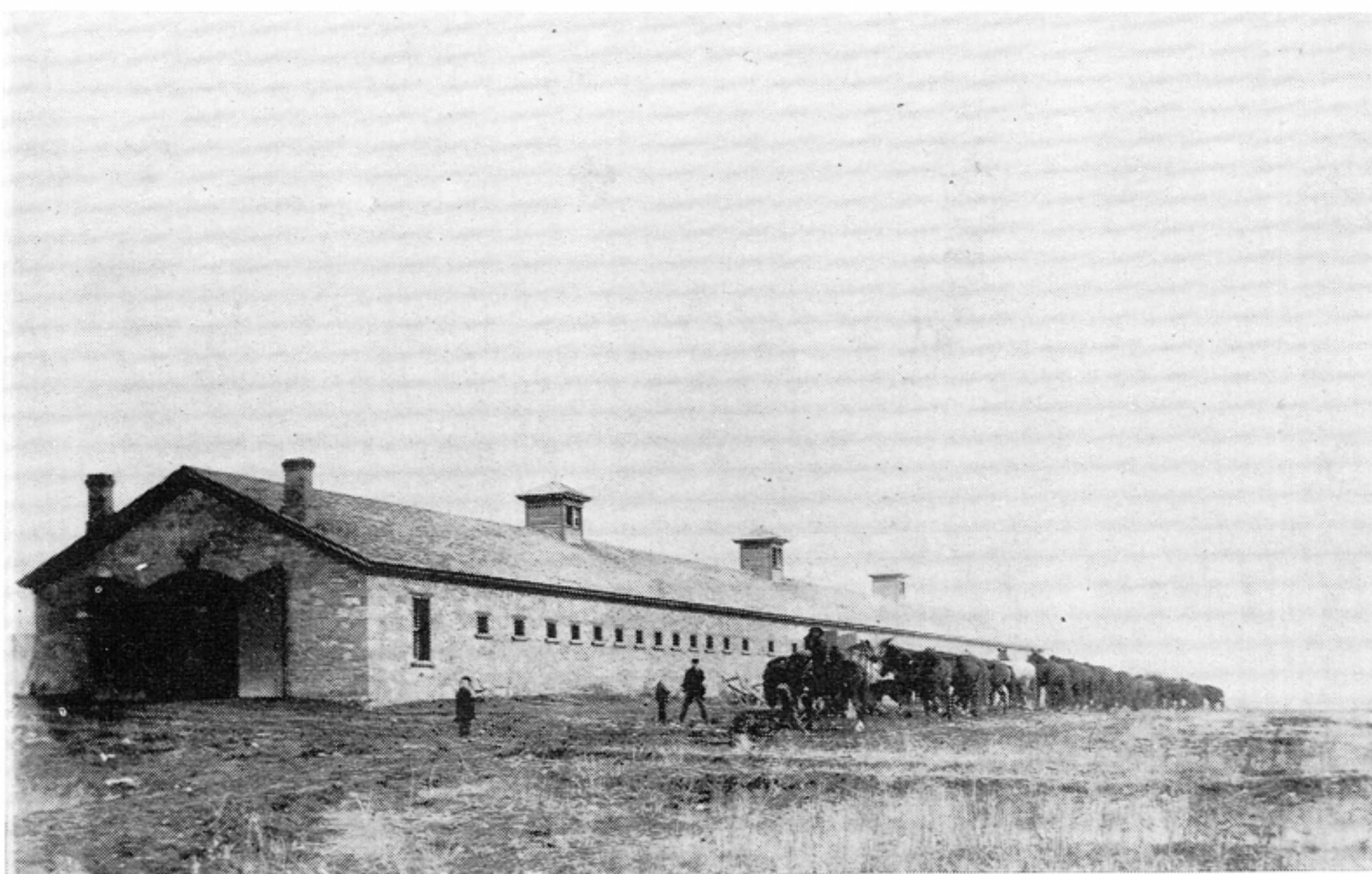
SOLDIERS AND INDIANS

Soldiers from Camp Douglas played a significant role in various Indian campaigns from the 1860's to the 1880's, being either directly or indirectly involved in the Battle of Bear River, the Powder River Campaigns, the Black Hawk War, the Sioux uprising of the 1870's, including the Big Horn Expedition, and many smaller engagements. General John Gibbon, commander of the post in 1869 and 1870 and leader of the famous "Black Hat" Brigade in the Civil War, was later to be one of the main participants in the Nez Perce War of 1877.

In fighting Indians, surveying and exploring, and opening the mining frontier, the men from Camp Douglas established a number of subsidiary posts. These included Camp Connor, near Soda Springs, Idaho; Fort Connor, Wyoming; Camp Conness, in Rush Valley, Utah; Fort Cameron, near Beaver City, Utah; and Fort Rawlins, near Provo, Utah. (Arthur MacArthur, father of General Douglas MacArthur, once served near Fort Rawlins during the Indian Wars.) Fort Douglas also maintained a very close relationship to Forts Thornburgh and Duchesne in northeastern Utah.

CAMP DOUGLAS BECOMES FORT DOUGLAS

The years between 1878, when Camp Douglas became Fort Douglas, and 1900, were transitional years and many changes occurred at the Utah post, as well as other posts of the West. Post improvements included rebuilding almost the entire post



Old Fort Douglas stables about 1885. (By courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.)

during the 1870's. This building program was carried out under the capable leadership of Colonel John E. Smith, who commanded the post as well as the Fourteenth U. S. Infantry. By the end of this period a new spirit of cooperation had developed between the military, the Church, and the citizenry. During the 1890's military education was added to the University of Utah curriculum and officers from Fort Douglas were called upon to guide the program. By the time of the Spanish-American War, Utah National Guardsmen, in contrast to the spirit of the 1860's, were given full use of fort facilities for training camps. By the turn of the century Fort Douglas had in fact become part of Utah's heritage and tradition.

In addition to chasing Indians, riding escort duty, serving in mapping, exploring and survey parties, and repairing wagon roads, Utah troops found garrison duty at the post to include cultivating company gardens, attending classes of instruction with lectures under such titles as "The Monitor and the Merimac," and enduring regular rifle instruction, housekeeping duties, weekly inspections and parades.

Soldiering in the 1880's and 1890's on the Utah frontier left pleasant memories for men like Captain Stephen P. Jocelyn, who was assigned to Fort Douglas from 1888 to 1891 and

recorded with camera and journal the life of a soldier in Utah.⁴ Jocelyn was on hand each year for the annual "practice march" to Strawberry Valley, the largest maneuver of the year. In 1889 Jocelyn and men from Fort Douglas attended a grand review and parade in the vicinity of Fort Robinson on the Niobrara River. Major General George Crook was present to review the troops, and Jocelyn, the man from Fort Douglas, recorded the events of the day, saying:

General Crook is an unpretending person, quite the opposite of General Brooke. He came off from Chicago forgetting to bring his regulation Major General's sash of buff silk and amused us by appearing on parade with a corn colored affair, borrowed from Mrs. Worth. Then his trousers refused to keep company with his shoe tops and his drawer strings broke loose. Altogether he was rather a funny spectacle, galloping down the lines on a strange and not imposing horse at the head of his staff, escort and orderlies, numbering perhaps a hundred. But he's one of the best of men and best of soldiers and universally liked.⁵

In addition to fighting Indian wars, men from Fort Douglas were summoned to the front in the Spanish-American War and during both World War I and World War II. Being a prisoner-of-war barracks and a general hospital were among the important functions of the post during both of the later periods. Such notable units as the Fourteenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth, and Thirty-eighth Infantry Regiments spent extended tours of duty at Fort Douglas. Not only infantry commanders directed the post, but also cavalry, artillery, quartermaster, and coastal artillery officers as well. A Negro regiment, the Twenty-fourth Infantry, was serving at the post when the Spanish-American War broke out. Thousands of Salt Lake citizens lined the street to cheer these departing troops when they left for the war.⁶

Following the Spanish-American War the garrison strength of Fort Douglas was severely reduced and remained so until 1901 when the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment made its appear-

⁴Stephen P. Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 1953). Jocelyn served in the army for 44 years and retired with the rank of Brigadier General. He died in 1920 at the age of 78.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 326-327.

⁶A. Prentiss, *The History of the Utah Volunteers in the Spanish-American War* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Job Printing Co., 1900), pp. 23-24. See also *Journal History*, March 15, 1898, p. 2.

ance. Except for several short periods, the post thereafter and until 1914 housed a strong garrison, some years almost reaching the 1,000 level. In November, 1914, the entire Twelfth Infantry Regiment, which had been on maneuvers in Texas for a full year, was dropped from the official *Post Returns*.

SEVEN THOUSAND SOLDIERS

After the great surge of men in 1917, which reached a high of 7,081 in August of that year, the post settled down to an annual average aggregate for 1921 of 302 men. By June of that year, with the arrival of the famous Thirty-eighth Infantry Regiment, the "Rock of the Marne," the garrison numbered over 800. These infantrymen of World War I fame were to remain at Fort Douglas until 1940, making a lasting impression upon the community with their dress parades, band concerts, and military maneuvers.

For many years an annual Citizen's Military Training Camp was sponsored by the post, giving thousands of young men training in military subjects, leadership, and citizenship. Young men of the 1930's will always carry memories of the Basic, the Red, the White, and the Blue courses of the annual training camps at Fort Douglas.

The 1920's and 1930's were to bring community relations a long way from what they were in the 1860's. Colonel Alfred Hasbrouck, commanding the Twentieth Infantry Regiment and the post in 1918, expressed the feelings of many by saying that:

Fort Douglas is about the most desirable place from a military standpoint at which I have ever been stationed. It is healthful, is surrounded by beautiful scenery, and our relations with the civilian authorities and people of Salt Lake City have been most cordial. Salt Lake will ever have a warm spot in the hearts of both officers and men.⁷

During World War II, Fort Douglas served as headquarters for the Ninth Service Command and as such directed not only coastal operations but activities in all western states from the Rockies to the Pacific. In addition, Fort Douglas directed the repair and salvage of military vehicles and equipment within the entire region. From 1942 to 1946, Fort Douglas was indeed

⁷Quoted by E. L. Merritt, "Fort Douglas, Utah," *The New West Magazine*, IX, No. 6 (June, 1918), 6.

the nerve center of the military in the western part of the United States.

With the coming of the war, the post was expanded to include a reception center, an induction station, a separation center, a hospital, and a prisoner-of-war camp. During the peak year of 1943, the military population of the post reached 1,000, with about 2,000 civilians also being employed. The reception center was organized in December, 1940, in a little tent village which had formerly been used by Civilian Military Training Camp trainees during the summer months. Under the direction of Colonel H. P. Kayser, new frame buildings were erected and the center was expanded. By February, 1941, the center was fully equipped to receive, clothe, classify, and assign new men inducted from a three-state area.

BECOMES INDUCTION STATION

The induction station, originally established at the army recruiting headquarters in downtown Salt Lake City, was moved to Fort Douglas in January, 1944, where it continued to operate. In November of that year the separation center was established and, during the demobilization period that followed the war, it served as the last stopover on the road home for thousands of GI's who received their discharges there. Before the termination of this service, more than 56,000 enlisted men and over 7,000 officers were processed there for release from active duty.

At one time during the war, the post housed 220 WAVES and had a detachment of WACS assigned to it; and in 1942 alone, the Finance Office at the fort made a total distribution of a little less than \$100,000,000.

In 1946 the Ninth Corps Headquarters was returned to the Presidio of San Francisco and the separation center at the fort was ordered to close. But troops from Utah, Nevada, Montana, and Idaho still continued to be inducted through Fort Douglas, and by the end of 1946 the separation center was once again opened.

In 1947, Fort Douglas was declared surplus to the needs of the army, although various agencies continued to operate on the post, and it still remained a military garrison. During the succeeding years, agencies such as the Veterans' Administration,

the Bureau of Mines, the Forest Service, and the United States Geological Survey found housing on the post.

In 1954, the Defense Department returned the Finance Office to Fort Douglas and the post continued to operate as an important agent for army affairs throughout the intermountain area. Throughout the early 1960's the post continued to function as headquarters for reserve and national guard units, and in 1962 the Defense Department established the Deseret Test Center, where representatives of the navy, army, air force, and marine corps, together with officers of the United States Public Health Service, performed tests in conjunction with research work conducted at the Dugway Proving Ground.

In November, 1964, the post commander, Colonel Joe Ahee, announced the decision of the Secretary of Defense to inactivate Fort Douglas, along with a number of other military installations. The expansion of Salt Lake City and the changed needs of the army wrote the final chapter in the history of Fort Douglas. The post was ordered to be completely inactivated as a military garrison by July, 1967.

In accordance with the orders, Utah's governor, Calvin L. Rampton, appointed a special committee to make a study concerning the disposal of fort property. The findings of this committee, headed by David K. Watkiss, have become the official position of the State of Utah. The committee recommended that the best use for the fort would be to maintain it as a military installation. With only a slim chance existing for this alternative, other recommendations were made for various portions of post property according to need, demand, and feasibility of preservation.⁸

HISTORIC BUILDINGS

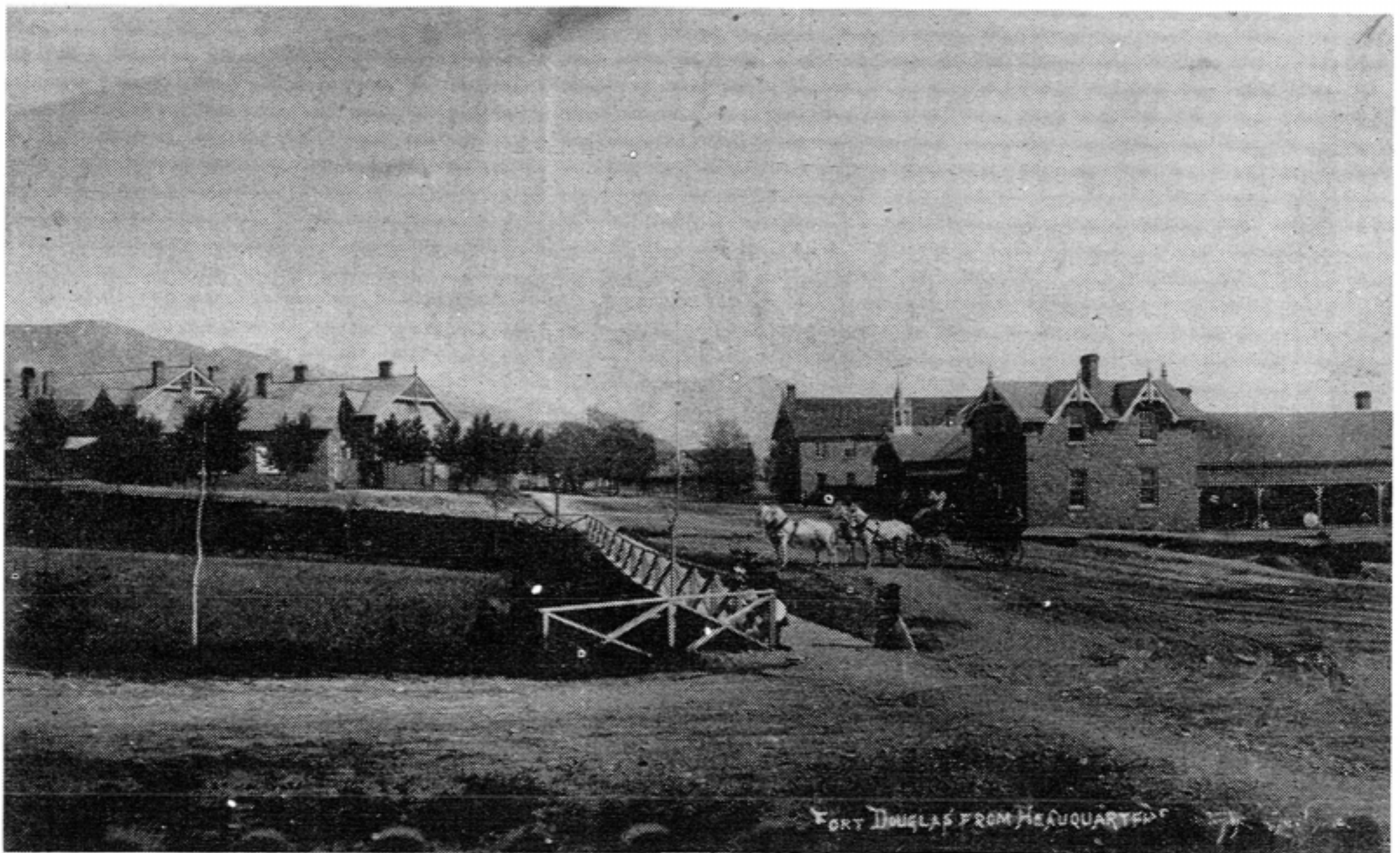
A number of old, historic buildings, including the fine old post chapel, dating from the 1870's and 1880's, as well as from later periods, and of course Stilwell Field, remain in an excellent state of preservation. It is the hope of the Utah State Historical Society that many of these buildings, as well as the old parade ground, be preserved. It appears that these hopes will largely be fulfilled. It also seems likely that the University of Utah will obtain a good portion of Fort Douglas property.

⁸For a discussion of these needs, demands, and recommendations, see Lyman C. Pedersen, Jr., "History of Fort Douglas, Utah." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1967.

The economic impact of Fort Douglas throughout its long history upon the community of Salt Lake City and upon the state as a whole has been one of the most remarkable features of the post's existence. Its passing signals the loss of a valuable asset to the State of Utah.

One hundred and five years have passed since Colonel Connor and his dusty volunteers crossed the Jordan and warily approached the city of the saints. The early years of mistrust, suspicion, and hostility gradually eased into decades of mutual respect and admiration. Over the years citizens of Utah have gained a love for the old fort and consider it an important part of the state's heritage. Although General Connor has been pictured as a Mormon hater and Brigham Young as an implacable foe to soldiers in Utah, neither concept is wholly true. While both were unquestionably suspicious of the motives of the other, the general admired Mormon industry and efficiency and the Church President was impressed with Connor's determination.

Soldiers sent to the Wasatch frontier were no different than those sent on countless Indian trails in the West, to the Philippines, the Argonne Forest, Bastogne, Seoul, or the Mekong Delta. Most of them who came to Utah bore no particular



Fort Douglas from Headquarters about 1885. (By courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.)

grudge against the Mormons either before they came or after they departed from Fort Douglas. Mormon writers have generally overemphasized the corruptive influence of the soldiers and the vindictive pressure of their leaders, while more often than not non-Mormon writers have been overly defensive of the military and have generally failed to understand the causes which forced the Mormon people to seek a remote home in the western mountains.

The history of Fort Douglas has been incompletely and often improperly understood. As late as 1964 an article appeared in a Utah publication stating that Fort Douglas was occupied from 1862 to 1866, "and intermittently until the present."⁹ Rather than intermittently, Fort Douglas operated continuously as a regular western garrison during all of that long period of time, and monthly post returns were forwarded regularly showing garrison strength and activities for each month. This same article stated that no troops were garrisoned at Fort Douglas during 1921; yet the *Post Returns* list the garrison strength for every month of that year.

Old Fort Douglas as a garrisoned post is gone, but from its height on the Wasatch Bench, it still commands a sweeping view of the broad valley of the Great Salt Lake, with the twisting Jordan River flowing from the south to the salty shores of the lake. Red Butte Canyon in its unspoiled beauty still rolls behind the fort, and trees still shade the graves of the fallen heroes of Bear River, including General Connor himself who died in 1891. Although on most days the busy city noises can be heard, in the still of the evening the solitary visitor can still hear a roll of muffled drums, the tramping feet of the California Volunteers, or far away music from an evening concert by the boys of the Thirty-eighth.

In many ways the spirit of old Camp Douglas still lingers on. Among the shadows of Stilwell Field, old soldiers of the past still march in review and then disappear among yesterday's "Boys in Blue." Officers of the last command still render a lingering salute when passing the grave of Patrick Edward Connor, a Volunteer of long ago.

⁹Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "The Utah Military Frontier, 1872-1912," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, No. 4 (Fall, 1964), 330.

Book Reviews

NEAL A. MAXWELL. *A More Excellent Way*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967. 142 pp. \$2.95.

(Reviewed by William G. Dyer, professor of sociology at Brigham Young University. Dr. Dyer, a member of the editorial board of *Brigham Young University Studies*, has published and counseled widely in his field.)

This is a very good little book that is doomed, I fear, to "just miss." Neal Maxwell has written a very sensitive and thoughtful set of essays on the functions of the responsible leader-member in the Church; and, unlike many of the other Church books written about leadership, this has a much stronger anchoring in the stream of modern behavioral science. Maxwell has tried to mix the concepts of the behavioral sciences with the orientations of the Church—all in the language of the essayist—and it is this mixture that will probably cause it to miss all the relevant audiences.

The professionals in the field will find the essays much too Church related to capture their interest, and the book does lack any real reference to the research and contemporary theory in the field. Church members will probably lack the background to really grasp many of the basic ideas he presents. Those who will probably be most enthusiastic about this book will be those Church members with degrees in the social sciences who hold positions in the Church. These are certainly limiting conditions.

This is no how-to-do-it book, and the person who reads this in order to get ten easy rules for running Church meetings will certainly be disappointed. Maxwell himself is an experienced Church and organization administrator with solid experience in current leadership training. He offers no easy solutions to the complex problems of improving the effectiveness of Church leadership, for there are none. This is one of the weaknesses of the essays, for while the author discusses, with insight, some of the dilemmas of the Church leader and some of the hopes for improvement, he offers no real direction. Our current programs of action-learning do tell us some things that we could

begin to do to improve the quality of leadership, but Maxwell stops short of defining any concrete steps that could be taken. He tells us that an effective leader should be more open and candid, gather more accurate data, be more sensitive in rewarding and punishing, plan more effectively for change. With all of this I agree, but what should we do to get started? How can we assess where we are now? One of the great problems is that many of our Church leaders think they are already like this when in fact they may be very closed, rigid, resistant to change, and insensitive. I fear that many a Church leader will read Maxwell's essays and say to himself, "Maxwell is right. He describes what a leader should be, and that is the way I am"—and then will go on to continue in his same inadequate style.

In many of the essays there is a strong emphasis given to the importance of giving and receiving "feedback"—that is, finding out from others our impact on them. But this book does not show or tell us how to begin this process. However, at least this volume recognizes the importance of this process and emphasizes it again and again, and all the research I read on the improvement of behavior clearly states this is a fundamental condition in the process of change. Certainly we need more open and honest communication in the Church. Leaders in the Church need to be more receptive to the feedback of members, to encourage and solicit this information; and people should learn to share information without feeling guilty or that they are "bad" or heretical if they share data in the spirit of trying to help to improve.

There is one part of the section on "problem solving in small groups" where four "exercises" are presented as examples of ways youth workers might begin a dialogue with each other. Just exactly how and when one might use these exercises is not explained, but it is obvious that Maxwell has given some thought about how to implement some of the ideas developed in his essays. It is hoped that he might in the future prepare a manual of action-steps that leaders might follow in carrying out the directives this book develops.

A More Excellent Way calls for a type of leadership behavior that is consistent with current behavioral science findings and the spirit of the gospel, but one that is at variance

with much of the current practice in the Church. Maxwell feels that the leadership pattern in the Church should be a combined participative and directive mode. The effective Church leader would be accepting and trusting of others, allow people to be different and not expect pure conformity, and be open and candid with others and encourage them to be open with him. He would involve people in making decisions and develop commitment out of involved participation rather than by appeals, threats, or commands. All this is exactly on target in terms of current leadership theory and wonderfully consistent with the teachings of the Church. It is hoped that we can truly develop a type of sensitive leadership throughout the Church consistent with these formulations.

The style of these essays is much more literary than scriptural or scientific. One will find as many quotations from C. S. Lewis, G. K. Chesterton, John Gardner, J. R. R. Tolkien, and Abraham Maslow as from the writings of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, or the scriptures. This literary touch was appealing to me, but some may prefer the more objective approach of the social scientist or the scripturally-based approach of the theologian. *A More Excellent Way* presents sensitive and thoughtful essays, and I hope that my prediction that this book will "just miss" proves to be false.

HUGH NIBLEY. *Since Cumorah*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967. 444 pp. \$4.95.

(Reviewed by Alexander T. Stecker who teaches in the Department of Theology at College of The Holy Cross in Worcester, Mass. Mr. Stecker is a doctoral candidate in Old Testament at Brandeis University.)

Writing a review of a book by Hugh Nibley is a difficult task; it would be much simpler to do a review of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Following the pattern of past works, Nibley's newest book is vast in its scope and depth of many disciplines. *Since Cumorah* can and should command a large reading audience, as it has interest for the lay reader as well as for the scholar. It challenges the world of scholars to recognize that the Book of Mormon is not only a book of sacred scripture but also a book of history and should be recognized as such—that as

a book of genuine history it can stand any test when compared with the historic facts that are known.

Since Cumorah begins with the working hypothesis that in leaving Jerusalem, Lehi's colony took more with them than their material items. They also took their culture, their language, and their accomplishments with them. Thus it is only to be expected that when they arrived in the new land they would transplant their culture in the new land. If this hypothesis is correct, then the Book of Mormon is a record of a transplanted culture, and this should be evident in its pages.

Since the publication of the Book of Mormon, scholars of the world have attempted to prove that it was the work of the modern mind of Joseph Smith. Looking, not with great care, for loopholes in the Book of Mormon, they have emphasized the Isaiah passages. With some ridicule they have assumed that these passages were lifted en masse from the King James Version of the Bible. They support their claims by their own speculation on the biblical text. Showing that some of the Book of Mormon Isaiah passages are from the Deutero-Isaiah portions of the Bible, which according to their own hypothesis did not exist at the time that Lehi left Jerusalem, they conclude that the Book of Mormon is false. Yet I think, as Nibley points out, that in order to understand the Isaiah passages of the Book of Mormon we should start with the Bible. The criteria that are used to substantiate the claim that there is a Deutero-Isaiah impress me as false to begin with. Our focus of attention then should not be the Book of Mormon, but the Bible and whether there is such a thing as a Deutero-Isaiah. If there was only one Isaiah and no Deutero-Isaiah, the problem ceases to exist. The answer that Nibley gives deserves to be looked into for perhaps he has found *the* answer.

Nibley spends some time on the problem of "Higher Criticism," and I cannot but agree with his remarks. There is no doubt in my mind as I read the Hebrew or Greek texts of the Bible that there are many problems in the text. Yet I cannot believe that anything is solved by subdividing books and multiplying authors. For as I read the text, I come to the same conclusion as Nibley, that there is a deep unity of the text, a unity that could not be accomplished had there been many authors for each book. W. F. Albright has pointed out that "our Hebrew

text has suffered much more from losses than from glosses" (p. 26). Nibley goes on to show that the "misunderstanding of the scripture is not due to corruptions of the text but rather to serious omissions and deletions" (p. 26). It is not difficult to prove that the Isaiah passages in the Book of Mormon are not lifted en masse from the Bible, and that they do indeed correct many of the mistakes that are found in our present-day Bible. Nibley so well points out, "We have discovered that the Book of Mormon is actually way out in front in proclaiming the unity and explaining the diversity of scripture in general and Isaiah in particular" (p. 152).

I found of particular interest that section of *Since Cumorah* which deals with "Proper Names" (p. 192). The Book of Mormon is a philologist's gold mine due to the number of proper names that are found in the work. Nibley pointed out long ago that the proper names in the Book of Mormon have West Semitic and Egyptian counterparts. In this newest work, Nibley adds to his already long list of names. It is a shame that none of the scholars have approached the Book of Mormon from this point of view, for the evidence that is compiled in *Since Cumorah* is most convincing, and I look for a continuance of this work.

One of the more fascinating sections of the book is a comparison of the religious concepts that are to be found in the Apocrypha with those of the Book of Mormon (p. 174). Such ideas as, "These Arrayed in White," "Thanksgiving Hymns," and "Desert Imagery" are handled. There are many points of reference between the two works, and it seems strange that we had to wait so long for Nibley to bring them forth. His points are generally well given and deserve to be looked into. However, some of his points in this section appear to be overdrawn and grasping at straws in the wind. It is pointed out that "the Book of Mormon reflects the culture of the whole Near East of its day" (p. 55). For this reason it is imperative that we study the Apocrypha and the Dead Sea Scrolls. This point, I think, is the great contribution of *Since Cumorah*.

In yet another section Nibley handles a subject that has been for too long neglected—temple building in the Book of Mormon. This has been an insurmountable problem to many members of the Church as well as the world of scholars, for there has been a widespread conviction that "no real Jew would ever

dream of having a temple anywhere but in Jerusalem" (p. 59). But this we see is not the case, for there were temples built by Jews outside of Jerusalem. Nibley points to the famous Elephantine Papyri to show that there was a Jewish temple in Egypt. There is no longer a need to reject the temple building of the Book of Mormon as being out of place for it appears that the "Covenant People" have always been a temple-building people.

I have found the book to be an excellent introduction to many problems that until now never have been discussed. The introduction to each section is excellent and is handled in the usual excellent style of the author. But I feel that many of the sections that start out well fail to maintain this momentum because many of the points are overdrawn; the reader is often overburdened with irrelevant facts. It is also unacceptable in any scholarly work to omit a bibliography and scriptural index. This in no way detracts from the intrinsic value of the book, but it does make it a less valuable scholarly tool.

It should be stated that *Since Cumorah* is not a problem-answer book. This is not Nibley's method; for he states his hypothesis and then gives supporting evidence, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions from the evidence. In this manner the questions are left open-ended and the author invites further discussion.

In conclusion I must say that I found the book to be generally excellent, stimulating, and very worthwhile. I can only agree with Nibley that the Book of Mormon "enjoys no immunity to the severest tests and asks for none" (p. 44). Truths need no immunity. My only hope is that the scholars who have been so critical in the past will take up the challenge given them by the author to prove or disprove his original hypothesis.

HENRY EYRING. *The Faith of a Scientist*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967. 196 pp. \$3.00.

(Reviewed by John H. Gardner, chairman of the Department of Physics and professor of physics, Brigham Young University. Dr. Gardner is presently president of the Utah Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters and has published widely in his field.)

When one discovers a contradiction between a religious belief and the findings of science, he speaks of a conflict between

science and religion. Actually, there is no conflict between science and religion per se. A belief in a Supreme Being, faith in the efficacy of a moral code, and a belief in a purpose in existence are not precluded by science, though science may question the credibility of a particular religious belief and thus serve as a constraint on religion. But men tend to hold beliefs associated with their religious faith inflexibly, a consequence of their all-too-frequent failure to acknowledge the limited ability of man to receive through revelation a perfect comprehension of truth. This inflexibility puts religion at a disadvantage in the face of advancing scientific knowledge. The history of the past four centuries has been described with some justification by one writer as the history of the retreat of religion before the advance of science.

Science has brought such a flood of knowledge about the nature of the universe and provided answers to so many of the perplexing questions encountered in the course of one's existence that the necessity for the assumption of God as a cause in nature has been removed from immediacy to remoteness. With Simon LaPlace we "have no need for that hypothesis" for the formulation of a world view which generously rewards our intellectual curiosity about natural phenomena. Evidence of the hand of God in all that transpires is no longer so apparent as it was once thought to be.

Thus aware of many of the scientifically untenable appendages of the religion of his fathers and finding no immediate necessity for the belief in a Supreme Being as a causative factor in existence, the sophisticated student of today is often inclined to adopt a position of skepticism or agnosticism.

The response of organized religion to the ever-tightening constraint of science, though varied and often pathetic, has been in its more mature form to emphasize the spiritual content of religion and admit to a "naturalistic" explanation of the historical and philosophical tradition. This process has been painful and often destructive of the faith so necessary to the vitality of religion.

For Mormons, on the other hand, the reach of man's mind toward an ultimate understanding of God's creation is not only expected but demanded, and the foundations for accommodation of new knowledge are inherent in their theology. Man is regarded as an eternal developing being in a particular stage

of his God-assisted progression. To assure his maximum development as a free and independent being during his earthly existence, he is made forgetful of his premortal state and becomes heir to the accumulated wisdom and folly of his fellow creatures. An understanding of his nature and destiny is obtained only through his own struggle for enlightenment. The necessity for him to choose from a vast array of competing philosophies provides the supreme test of the quality of his eternal will or "intelligence," which rules a body suitably endowed physically and intellectually by its Creator.

Eternal progression and its concomitant, continuing revelation (which is a function of both God's will to reveal and man's will), capacity and effort to comprehend are then fundamental in the Mormon outlook: additional knowledge from science or whatever source is welcomed for the rigor it demands of one's thought and the consequent intellectual and spiritual growth it stimulates. This growth is not a simple accretion; it involves also rectifying, refining, and maturing one's beliefs. Doubt and self-criticism play the primary role in this process; yet it is his faith in God and the ultimate worth of the human soul that impells the Mormon to the task. Just as the Latter-day Saint expects spiritual and intellectual growth in the individual, he also expects it in a culture due to the cumulative character of knowledge in human institutions. In this light, to a Latter-day Saint, continuing revelation is a necessity for continuing spiritual growth.

But though the limitations of man's understanding keep him from a grasp of ultimate truth, he is capable of transcendent insight, and the discovery (though God may reveal, each must discover for himself: the Savior taught in parables in which truth is discovered rather than declared) of universals, true for all men of all times is the central objective of religious pursuit. Furthermore, there are invariant components of religion: for example, charity. Though integrity to one's experience may force him to change many of his religious ideas and even his religion, charity only grows or dwindles. This is a matter of attitude and desire more than of rational understanding. "Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; . . . whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." (I Cor. 13:8)

Though science is at first a constraint on religious thought, yet it constrains from error, consequently giving greater power and hence greater freedom. It also reveals man as Godlike in his intellect¹ and hence gives substance to the Christian claim that man is a child of God. Further, science reveals the profound nature of God's creation and makes it evident why God has not revealed through his prophets the means by which things have been brought to pass. The difficulties of the scientist in describing atomic phenomena in terms of a language which has been developed for describing everyday events suggests the difficulties God might encounter in revealing the ultimate truth to us in that language. While the scientist unravels the mysteries of the physical world, he at the same time reveals nature as more profound than had ever been supposed. Hence, the more deeply one penetrates into science, the greater his sense of awe. The scientist often has a humility greater than that of the philosopher or the practical man.

Thus the scientist is perhaps in a unique position to assist the student of today in his struggle for religious faith. Dr. Eyring's book reflects an outlook which in my view is characteristically Mormon and is exemplary for Mormon youth in whose hands lies the future of the Church.

Henry Eyring has ascended to greater scientific eminence than anyone else in the Church. No other Mormon has made scientific contributions of such significance nor has been so prolific in his scientific output. He is an acknowledged world authority in a broad field of physical chemistry and his brilliant mind qualifies him in scientific fields outside of his own, including physics and biology. He is therefore eminently qualified to write a book with the title *The Faith of a Scientist*, and his views are deserving of careful study.

His book is a series of popular essays on science, particularly on topics having a bearing on religion. It is not an orderly book, being a collection of magazine articles written over a period of several years. Neither is it a book written for the specialist: it is addressed to a typical *Instructor* or *Improvement Era* audience. Yet it contains many penetrating insights. It is a book full of the exuberance characteristic of a lively intellect.

¹Albert Einstein has said that the most incomprehensible thing about the universe is that the universe is comprehensible.

But it is deserving of a wide audience primarily because of the philosophical outlook it suggests.

The key to an understanding of Dr. Eyring's philosophy is the recognition of its open-endedness. Open-endedness is in the best spirit of science, but it is also a cornerstone of Joseph Smith's philosophical outlook (continuing revelation; eternal progression; if there is anything praiseworthy or of good report we seek after these things; seek ye knowledge even by study and also by faith; a school of the prophets, etc.). "Our only concern is for the truth" is a phrase that threads throughout the book. We have no need to rationalize or temporize; let the facts be boldly put forth. If they show us to be wrong in some of our views, let us have the humility to revise those views and let us be grateful for the growth made possible by new understanding.

Typical of this outlook is the following exchange as told by Dr. Eyring:

One of the questions was addressed directly to me. A young man said: "In high school (we) are taught such things as pre-Adamic man, and that kind of thing, but we hear another thing in Church. What should I do about it?"

I think I gave the right answer. I said, "In this church, you only have to believe the truth. Find out what the truth is!"

He gave no answer to the problem of pre-Adamic men, but he threw wide the door to discovery. There was no temporizing, no rationalizing, no fear of what knowledge might do to faith, no need to put forth his hand to steady the ark. Scriptural difficulties present no problem to him: "The scriptures record God's dealing with His prophets and they are as accurate as He, in his wisdom, requires."

Yet, though we find in Dr. Eyring a recognition of the fallibility of scripture and the limitations of men to reveal God, we discover in him also an almost childlike faith in the gospel. To some, as noted in the book, this seems to be an inconsistency in his character. He is accused of having a "two-compartment mind." In my view his accusers could hardly be more wrong. He shows no disposition whatever to protect a cherished belief and on the contrary exposes his views to the scrutiny of all comers. His candor is complete. Perhaps the

charge originates from his very lack of dogmatism. Recognizing as he does his own limitations in understanding, he refuses to circumscribe his knowledge by rejecting at the outset all that does not harmonize with some particular world view. A philosophy which is open-ended cannot, after all, be a consistent and harmonious whole. And one who espouses such a philosophy must be prepared to confront questions and difficulties and recognize that these provide the catalyst for growth.

This is one area in which the study of science can be of considerable help to the student in his struggle for faith. In some of his experiments the physicist finds the electron behaves as a particle localized at a point while in others it acts like a wave filling all of space. Yet these two contradictory concepts describing the same thing have led to the powerful theory of quantum mechanics for the description of natural phenomena and this theory can be shown to be completely self-consistent. The paradoxical observation that light has the same speed in all directions relative to the earth, no matter at what point in its orbit about the sun the earth lies at the time the measurement is made, has led to the entirely self-consistent theory of relativity which gives us our most profound view of nature and implies the unexpected equivalence of mass and energy. The scientist is no stranger to paradox, and it is through his struggle to resolve these seeming inconsistencies that he gains his deepest insights. Similarly, it is through the struggle with religious paradox that man is brought in touch with the sublime meaning of life. Consider for example the problem of evil in God's creation, or the Savior's words, "he who would find his life must lose it."

They who read Dr. Eyring's book for scientific evidence in support of their faith will be intrigued, but let them assimilate Dr. Eyring's attitude toward their religion and the reward will transcend their own lives. It will bless their Church and their posterity through generations yet to come.

Book Notes

DONALD R. CUTLER (ed.) *The Religious Situation: 1968*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968. 986 pp. \$15.00.

The first of a proposed annual, international survey of religious trends, this volume covers a host of topics somewhat unified by the themes of sociological investigation or the problems of accommodation of traditional religion to a modern world. Although generalizations on the complex and unmeasurable subject of religion are often less than scientific, this work contains voluminous amounts of such probing, together with fascinating if speculative projections of present trends. For instance, O'Dea's "Catholic Crisis" poses the question of whether the synthesis made by the Second Vatican Council between modernity and Catholicism will bring a relevant reinterpretation rather than a sell-out of Christian faith. In an artful interpretation of American religious statistics, Gaustad shows the trends of increased church affiliation on the part of individuals and increased mergers on the part of churches and indicates that one realistic possibility in a decade is the existence of but three major Protestant divisions—Baptists, Lutherans, and a "United Church." Although the smallest of the "big ten" in America, the LDS Church is given the special attention of a separate article on what the author, David L. Brewer, sees as the encompassing problem of Mormon *aggiornamento*, the practice of withholding priesthood from the Negro. In a brief evaluation of Brewer, Lowell Bennion admits the significance of the problem but disagrees that it is the microcosm of all that is presently happening in Mormonism. In fact, because of Brewer's redundancy and overcertainty in stating his theories, there is more realistic insight in Bennion's eight pages than Brewer's twenty-eight. Brewer and Bennion both leave the erroneous impression that no basis for the Mormon stand on the Negro and the priesthood antedates Brigham Young. Like O'Dea's earlier study of Mormonism, Brewer's Mormon sociology abounds both in insights and errors, most of which arise either from overgeneralizations or lack of depth in LDS history.

With this issue *Brigham Young University Studies* completes its most successful year ever. The editor and editorial board want to thank you our subscribers and writers who have made the new *BYU Studies* possible. We hope that we have honored your trust and given you spiritually and intellectually challenging and stimulating articles. Where we have seen the need to criticize, we have criticized; but we have refused to criticize without offering a constructive alternate. We agree with former President of the United Nations General Assembly, the distinguished Charles Mâlik ("The Struggle for Peace" in this issue), that the scourge of this century and especially this generation is the analyst who analyzes, who dissects and tears apart, and stops there. Critical synthesis still remains the more difficult task to perform, but it makes the more valid contribution.

LOOKING TOWARD NEXT YEAR

As a special art feature, each issue of the 1968-69 volume will have a full-color reproduction of one of the outstanding art works in the BYU permanent art collection.

Following are just some of the articles planned for publication in the 1968-1969 volume of *BYU Studies*:

"The Enigma of Egyptian Religion"	Hugh Nibley
"A New View of the Inspired Revision of the Bible"	Robert J. Matthews
"Reflections on the Nature of Mormon Art"	Merrill Bradshaw
"Mormon Political Involvement in Ohio"	Max H. Parkin
"A New Look at the Alleged 'Little Known Discourse by Joseph Smith'"	Kenneth W. Godfrey
"Iceland, the Land of Song and Saga"	Loftur Bjarnason
"Israel in Conflict"	Daniel Ludlow

EXTRA SPECIAL!

The entire Spring 1969 issue of *BYU Studies* will be devoted to Mormon history in New York, guest edited by the Institute of Mormon Studies, Dr. Truman G. Madsen, director.

The issues planned for the 1968-69 volume of *BYU Studies* promise to be even more challenging and thought-provoking than this year's. WE INVITE YOU TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TODAY. INVITE A FRIEND TO SUBSCRIBE!

