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Spring 1971 Brigham Young University

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VOLUME XI

SPRING 1971

NUMBER 3

The 1968 Presidential Decline of George Romney: Mormonism or Politics?	Dennis L. Lythgoe	219
Emerson's Relevance Today	Ray S. Williams	241
CHRIST AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES, A Sculpting	Dallas Anderson	249
A Note on "Christ and the Twelve Apostles"	Dallas Anderson	250
The Bernhisel Manuscript Copy of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible	Robert J. Matthews	253
Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti-Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri	Warren A. Jennings, <i>Ed.</i>	275
Academic Responsibility	Robert K. Thomas	293
The Historians Corner	James B. Allen, <i>Ed.</i>	304
Editor	Charles D. Tate, Jr.	
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Brigham Young University Studies is published quarterly by Brigham Young University. Send manuscripts to Editor, *Brigham Young University Studies*, A-283 JKB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84601. Enclose self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Subscription is \$7.00 for four numbers; \$12.00 for eight numbers; and \$16.00 for twelve numbers. Single copies are \$2.00 each. The rate to bona fide students is \$5.60 for four issues. All subscriptions begin with the Autumn issue and run through an entire volume year. Subscriptions received after one or two issues of that volume have been published will include those issues and they will be mailed with the receipt for the subscription. Subsequent issues for that volume will be mailed upon publication. Send subscriptions to Publication Sales Department, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84601.

The 1968 Presidential Decline of George Romney: Mormonism or Politics?

DENNIS L. LYTHGOE*

Beginning with the early nineteenth century, there were prominent fears expressed in the press that Mormons were determined to dominate the country, and even to put one of their own in the White House, where he would institute a national Mormon church-state.¹ It is a little ironic, therefore, that with the dawn of the 1960s, there should actually be a Mormon prominent enough in public life to be seriously considered for the presidency. Yet Romney had been preceded by the first Mormon prophet and founder, Joseph Smith, whose presidential campaign in 1844 was cut short by assassination.²

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¹This, together with polygamy, was the basis of persecution and political fears about Mormons in Utah throughout the nineteenth century. Political leaders skeptically viewed Mormons as a religious body with political motivations, and hence statehood was denied Utah until 1896, even though it was originally settled in 1847 and grew rapidly. The seat of the problem lay in the fact that the religious leaders in fact governed Utah in the early days under a church-state system. An old Mormon joke suggests that Brigham Young as President of the Church and Governor of the territory, conducted Church business on one side of his desk in the morning, and civil business on the other side in the afternoon. For an excellent treatment of the problem, see J.D. Williams, "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 1 (Summer 1966), 30-54, and the author's "The Changing Image of Mormonism in Periodical Literature," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1969), 78-135.

²Smith's political platform advocated, among other things, the abolition of slavery, banking and tariff reform, reduction in the size of Congress, annexation of Texas and Oregon, prison reform, and increase in presidential power to deal with mobs. See Joseph Smith, *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Printed by John Taylor, 1844), 1-8, and Richard Poll and Martin Hickman, "Joseph Smith's Presidential Platform," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 3 (Autumn 1968), 17-36.

Since Smith's brief campaign was conducted outside the purview of the two-party system and not taken seriously on the national scene, it cannot be judged in the same league as Romney's very plausible attempt to win the Republican nomination. Though there have been outstanding Mormon political personalities through the years,³ George Romney was the first since Smith to seriously seek the presidency. With his avowed candidacy in 1968, Romney became indisputably the most prominent Mormon in public life.

While he was initially considered the front runner for the nomination, he withdrew from the race early in the campaign when political polls showed him lagging badly behind Richard Nixon. Many analysts, including Romney himself, have blamed his political decline on his famous "brainwashing" statement made after a tour of Viet Nam in 1968.⁴ Actually, a close examination of the popular periodical press during the years of Romney prominence disclose a profound relationship between his religion and his political decline. For that reason, it is valuable to analyze those periodical accounts as they relate to Romney the candidate and Romney the Mormon. Significantly, most of the articles in the popular magazines dealing with Romney treat him with religious implications; admittedly, those are the only ones cited in this study.⁵ Although the press un-

³The most colorful Mormons in political life were Republican Reed Smoot, an apostle of the Church, who served for thirty years in the U.S. Senate from Utah and became highly influential in national matters; and Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture under Eisenhower, who has become prominent for his right wing political philosophy and connections with the John Birch Society. Deserving of mention are Elbert Thomas, liberal Democratic Senator from Utah and prominent in the New Deal years, and more recently, Wallace Bennett (R-Utah), and Frank Moss (D-Utah). Since Benson, Cabinet members of Mormon background have become common: Democrat Stewart Udall, the liberal Secretary of the Interior under Kennedy and Johnson; and Nixon's two appointees, conservative David Kennedy, Secretary of the Treasury, and of course, Romney as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

⁴Though some have attributed it to a slip of the tongue, Romney suggested upon deplaning that the military and others had given him and other governors a "brainwashing" on an earlier tour of Viet Nam. The controversial phrase was used extensively by the press and other politicians in both attacking and defending Romney's position. Though under heavy pressure, Romney refused to apologize for the term, believing it to be accurate—even given its prisoner of war connotation. While appearing on the University of Utah campus in 1969 as Secretary of HUD, Romney pointedly blamed the press for distorting his political views during the campaign and causing him to appear ridiculous. He particularly emphasized the brainwashing incident.

⁵There are, of course, a few accounts in the magazines completely devoid of the religious connotation. These, however, are usually very brief reports of an event with little interpretation. The "brainwashing" incident is included in this category.

doubtedly displays bias when covering any political candidate, the sampling presented here would hope to be diversified enough to supply valid reasons for Romney's failure. For while the press may markedly influence public opinion, there is ample indication that it reflects it as well.⁶ In a very real sense, the periodicals mirror contemporary opinion about important people and events.

THE RISE OF ROMNEY'S NATIONAL IMAGE

Romney's national image skyrocketed from 1958 until 1969 in the national periodicals; *Newsweek* was the first to treat him in an analysis of Romney the car salesman. Romney had just been elevated to the presidency of American Motors and faced the task of keeping his cars in competition with the larger companies. Noting his success in promoting compact cars and increasing sales, *Newsweek* claimed he needed two things in great amounts: "hot missionary zeal and vast physical stamina." To illustrate the missionary spirit, they recalled his days as a young missionary in Britain for the Mormon Church, and noted his more recent position as president of the Detroit Stake of the Church, "a position roughly equivalent to bishop in some churches." Romney was characterized as a "devout churchgoer" and as a result he "seizes new projects with fierce dedication and sells the idea with the artistry of a consummate evangelizer."⁷

A similar picture was presented by *Time* in 1959, when it called him a "Bible-quoting broth of a man who burns brightly with the fire of missionary zeal." His speech was said to be couched in "evangelical, organ-like tones" which had helped him immensely in the business world. As he had predicted in 1955, the compact car hit the top of the market through his zeal and salesmanship. *Time* noted that Romney had been a missionary of one kind or another most of his life; his grandfather was a Mormon who had thirty children by four wives, his father a monogamous Mormon who took the family to

⁶Such a conclusion is supported by James Playsted Wood, in his *Magazines in the United States* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1949), and Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964). See also Richard Watson Gilder, "The Newspaper, the Magazine, and the Public," *Outlook*, Vol. 61 (Feb. 4, 1899), 320, and Frederick Lewis Allen, "The American Magazine Grows up," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 153 (Nov. 1947), 77-81.

⁷"Detroit 'Missionary' At Large. . . ." *Newsweek*, Feb. 24, 1958, 84, 85.

Mexico to escape persecution. In kindergarten in Los Angeles, children reportedly assailed him with the sneering cry of "Mexican!" One day George replied, "Look, if a kitten was born in a garage, would that make it an automobile?" Through such early logic and salesmanship, Romney apparently won the day, and the children stopped bothering him. His first act as President of American Motors was to give the problems "thoughtful and prayerful consideration." His Sundays were said to be exclusively reserved for Church activities, and he said, "My religion is my most precious possession. Except for it, I could easily have become excessively occupied with industry. Sharing responsibilities for church work has been a vital counterbalance in my life."⁸ Very early, Romney's success was connected closely with his religious devotion.

Romney then dropped from the periodical scene until February, 1962, when his name was mentioned as a prominent contender for the governorship of Michigan. Lauding his "effective" speaking technique, the *Nation* claimed it to be a result of Mormon missionary experience of speaking on soapboxes. Further, his Mormon membership was an "asset," contributing to his "attractive public image."⁹ Also making reference to Romney's candidacy, *Time* called him "a ruggedly handsome man" who neither smokes, drinks (not even tea or coffee) nor swears, and "who gives 10 percent of his annual income (which amounted to \$250,000 last year) to his church." Before Romney reached his decision to run, he "fasted for 24 hours in prayerful consideration."¹⁰ While watching Romney campaign, *Business Week* wondered if the presidency would be next; a blonde junior college sophomore allegedly "gazed dreamily" at him as he spoke, and a veteran Republican politician remarked: "That's the way the girls were looking at Jack Kennedy in 1960."¹¹

RELIGION AND THE NEGRO QUESTION

Newsweek speculated a good deal into his presidential chances while recalling the "dramatic" 24 hour fast during which he prayed for "guidance beyond that of man," enabling

⁸"The Dinosaur Hunter," *Time*, Vol. 73 (April 6, 1959), 85-89.

⁹B. J. Widick, "Romney: New Hope for the G.O.P.?" *Nation*, Vol. 196 (Feb. 3, 1962), 96, 97.

¹⁰"Fresh Face in an Open Field," *Time*, Vol. 79 (Feb. 16, 1962), 22.

¹¹"His Hat's in the Ring Now," *Business Week*, Feb. 17, 1962, 53-56.

him to decide to run for governor. One close friend was quoted as saying, "George's greatest liability is that he's almost too good to be true." With his cuss words limited to "hell" or "damn," the journal concluded that religious dedication came as naturally to Romney as "selling Ramblers." Nevertheless, one of Romney's big problems in the campaign was predicted to be his church's Negro position, interpreted as giving Negroes "second-class citizenship" in the Mormon Church by precluding them from the priesthood. Since Michigan contained some 700,000 Negroes, the issue was thought capable of developing into a heated one. Romney said, "I am against discrimination of any kind, and my record proves it." *Newsweek* saw one other religious question—that of the possible compromise of the separation of church and state, should the president of a Mormon stake be elected to the governorship, but Romney denied such a problem existed.¹²

Suggesting that Romney's fast called attention to his Mormon faith, *Time* claimed it had never been a political liability. In Utah such membership was said to be virtually a requirement for political success, and no one expected it to give Romney trouble in Michigan. However, on the national scene, where he was being discussed as a presidential contender, such membership could conceivably hurt him, said *Time*, just as John Kennedy's Catholicism stirred controversy in 1960. "Around Michigan last week the word was being spread that the Mormon Church looks on Negroes as an inferior race, cursed by God." Over the years Mormons had allegedly proselytized all races except Negroes; yet there were said to be some active Negro Mormons, and "all Mormons" supposedly believed that Negroes would be able to eventually shake the curse and attain equal status with other Latter-day Saints.¹³

The religious issue was reported to be playing its part in the campaign, although the discussion in Michigan centered "irrelevantly around the tenets of the Mormon Church and not on George Romney's own personal feelings about racial minorities." Actually, Romney's record was considered admirable: he had been active in opposition to segregation and prejudice in Detroit, a promoter of civil rights "in every public controversy from race riots to desegregation of the city's industries and

¹²"Dark Horse—Off and Running," *Newsweek*, Vol. 59 (Feb. 19, 1962), 15-18.

¹³"The Mormon Issue," *Time*, Vol. 79 (March 2, 1962), 21.

public housing." Said Romney: "I believe that the real issue—if there is to be an issue—is what George Romney feels about bias and discrimination against the Negro. No one can point to any word, act or attitude on my part that involved discrimination or discriminatory feelings."¹⁴

Observing the same controversy, the *Christian Century* noted that the "Mormon past includes a number of historical and dogmatic positions not generally accepted by the middle-class American mainstream." Romney allegedly "demythologized" the Negro position in the Mormon Church by pointing to the *Book of Mormon* which took a more "tolerant" view. But such a stand was thought to be weakened by Romney's reference to his own strong record on civil rights and his declaration that no dogma of his church would interfere with his political responsibilities. The author predicted more about the issue were Romney to become the Republican presidential nominee in 1964, just as Kennedy pledged that his religious affiliation would not effect his political decisions—"in the face of the Synod of Rome's contention that papal competency in faith and morals has political implications." Nixon had supposedly made a similar declaration about Quakers and pacifism. The author bemoaned this kind of assertion, asking if candidates for high office must be "secularists" or deny some of their church's teachings. Perhaps, he stated, the matter would go unnoticed if it were not for the usual exploitation emanating from both sides at the mention of religion.¹⁵

In a tongue-in-cheek reference to Romney's religious beliefs, *Time* covered the Michigan Republican convention's hectic activities. "In deference to teetotaling Mormon George Romney, his aides stuck strictly to sherbet punch" during the affair, but by the end they could probably have used a "real drink."¹⁶ The same magazine commented on the significance of Romney's election as governor, saying he won because he gave the appearance of a prophet at a time when Michigan needed one. Using charisma, and "spiritual magnetism that defies pat explanations" he was said to have demonstrated his Mormon belief that individual responsibility and dedication to public service were important qualities. Thus his Mormonism had

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵"Book of Mormon Enters Politics," *Christian Century*, Vol. 79 (March 28, 1962), 382.

¹⁶"Painful Outburst," *Time*, Vol. 80 (Sept. 7, 1962), 17.

much to do with the victory, Romney being an "untraditional sort of politician, with a deep sense of divinely guided destiny."¹⁷

Interpreting Romney's philosophy of life as a "rigid" one, *Business Week* claimed it was inherited from his Mormon parentage, making it probable that he would not be "at the mercy of every idea that comes along."¹⁸ The following year, 1963, *Time* claimed Romney already had some presidential support in states where Mormon membership was sizeable—Utah, Idaho, California, and "curiously, Hawaii." But Mormonism could also be a "political hobble"—in view of the Church's refusal to admit Negroes to its hierarchy."¹⁹

ROMNEY'S "POUNDING EVANGELISM"

In 1965 the *New York Times Magazine* made an attempt to analyze Romney in depth and noted his charisma and forceful personality, handsome appearance, impeccable habits (no smoking or drinking, early riser), devotion to family, and "profoundly religious" nature. Yet Romney was said to be "controversial and enigmatic" to professional politicians around the country, many of whom claimed that under the gilt edges he was really "a sanctimonious, intractable, egotistical tyrant." Much of this controversy was attributed to his membership in the Mormon Church, from which much of his philosophy came. Said one friend, "To understand George, you must first of all understand that he is a Mormon. He is a deeply religious person who has a great belief in the individual and the family. For him, each person is a distinct personality and child of God."²⁰

Mormons were said to consider theirs "a practical religion" teaching that the highest happiness could be achieved through the fullest use of "earthly opportunity." Mormons supposedly emphasized self-reliance, individual responsibility and a "gospel of action." As a result, Romney was thought to be a person who could label things as right or wrong more easily than most people. He once explained how he reached a decision:

¹⁷"The Citizen's Candidate," *Time*, Vol. 80 (Nov. 16, 1962), 21, 22.

¹⁸"Romney: Man to Watch for '64," *Business Week*, Nov. 17, 1962, 92-100.

¹⁹"This President Thing," *Time*, Vol. 81 (June 14, 1963), 27.

²⁰David R. Jones, "This Republican for 1968?" *New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 28, 1965, 28.

"Once you have searched out the facts and have prayed and have reached a point where you think you have an answer to the question you are undertaking to resolve, then the third step is to be believing. That means to believe that the decision you have made is the right one, and to put everything you've got into carrying it out." Romney reportedly believed the "Lord meant him to be a leader" and his was a sacred obligation to carry it out. Nevertheless, critics described his approach to politics as sanctimonious; a typical joke during the 1964 campaign told of the governor and an aide emerging from a hotel. "Beautiful day, Governor," remarked the aide. "Thank you," the governor replied. Suggested one of his Democratic opponents, "He actually believes that what he does is not only moral, but divinely ordained. He believes that anyone who criticizes him after he has reached a conclusion is a disciple of the devil." In reference to the presidency, a friend said Romney had not yet decided to run. "I don't want to be sacrilegious, but I don't think that at this point God has yet said to him: 'George, get going boy!'"²¹

Later in the year, *Time* noted that even Romney's worst critics would admit that he had a "way with words." His list of "disturbing national problems" allegedly included "the decline in religious conviction, moral character and wholesome family life. This threatens us most."²² Clearly, Romney was speaking from his Mormon philosophy of life and readily applying it to politics.

The journals became more critical of Romney in 1966, as *Time*, for instance, evaluated one of his speeches as a "blend of old-fashioned Midwestern isolationism and the liberal's equally irrelevant preoccupation with world opinion." Even on Viet Nam, Romney had trouble offering specific solutions. He was considered more convincing when he utilized his Mormon background and "moralized" about what he believed to be the nation's most pressing problem, "the disintegration of the American family." In Cleveland he told his fellow governors that "there has been a decline in the faith, belief and principles on which America was built." The solution he saw was "personal responsibility, family responsibility, and private institutional responsibility—and the place to start is in the home."

²¹Ibid., 29, 73-76.

²²"A way with Words," *Time*, Vol. 85 (April 30, 1965), 34.

Romney was heard to stress that he was "as conservative as the Constitution, as progressive as Teddy Roosevelt, and as liberal as Mr. Lincoln." But, said the author, he still needed to demonstrate "unequivocally which Romney is for real."²³

Again characterizing Romney as an evangelist, *Newsweek* said he regularly involved audiences with "fervent appeals to the American conscience."²⁴ And the *National Review*, the conservative journal, called him "long on energy" but "short on logic" as he continued to appear as a "crusader" not sure where his "mission" to lead his fellow citizens really lay.²⁵ George Romney was what Richard Nixon had tried unsuccessfully to be—the "all-American boy," said the *Atlantic*. Romney's "pounding evangelism" and honesty supposedly made Americans think he represented what they wanted—a politician who was "above politics." His Mormon religion was characterized as "not universally popular," with the Church's "conservative stand on the racial issue" being potentially dangerous.²⁶

U.S. News and World Report traced Romney's Mormon activity as a stake president, his abstinence from tea, coffee, alcohol, and cigarettes, his tithes to the Church, and his avoidance of political activity on Sunday. He was pictured as a "family man" who believed deeply in the value of prayer for solving problems. This seemingly indicated, as Romney himself affirmed, that he was "completely the product of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Noting the "theological doctrine" in Mormonism on the Negro, the author suggested its connection to Romney's political beliefs. Though Romney reportedly said he did not subscribe to the doctrine,²⁷ his subsequent comments indicate an interpretation of that doctrine, rather than a disavowal. "My Church teaches me the Negro is my brother, and that the Negro can attain the celestial kingdom, just as I can," he said. At a news conference, Romney continued, "All of us are equal as children of God, and equal citizens, and I accept this without reservation."²⁸

²³"Conservative-Progressive-Liberal," *Time*, Vol. 88 (July 1, 1966), 17.

²⁴"Lonesome George," *Newsweek*, Vol. 65 (July 4, 1966), 21.

²⁵Editorial, "Back for a Check-up," *National Review*, Vol. 18 (July 26, 1966), 716.

²⁶Editorial, "All-American boy," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 217 (April 1966), 78.

²⁷"Romney—Republican Hope for '68?" *U.S. News and World Report*, Vol. 61 (Sept. 5, 1966), 54-61.

²⁸*Ibid.*

Carefully examining Romney's devotion to his church, the *Ladies Home Journal* concluded that it was very important in his political development. Though most did not suspect, it suggested, Romney was formerly "painfully shy," and hung his head in public even as student body president of his high school. But after spending two years as a missionary for the Mormon Church in Britain, where he rang doorbells and held street meetings for converts, he allegedly developed a strong sense of self-confidence. Often when signing autographs he would leave an "inspirational message" such as "Search diligently, be believing and all things will work together for your good," or "Pursuit of the difficult makes men strong." The author wondered if Romney was a "leader in tune with some kind of new spirit of the troubled '60s—or is he just old fashioned?" When Mrs. Romney was asked if this was corny, she responded pleasantly, "I think it's kind of cute."²⁹

The *Saturday Evening Post* featured a descriptive article by Stewart Alsop in October:

People who dislike Lyndon B. Johnson say that he "looks like a Mississippi riverboat gambler." People who dislike Richard M. Nixon ask "Would you buy a used car from this man?" These two scurrilous political clichés are a measure of the importance of personal appearance in the television age. They also suggest an important reason why George Romney, Governor of Michigan, has an excellent chance of being the Republican presidential candidate in 1968. No one has ever said that Romney looks like a riverboat gambler—he looks more like a well-preserved Horatio Alger hero. And you would buy a secondhand car from Romney with happy confidence. . . . The appearance of the man, the impression he gives, the earnestness, sincerity and just plain goodness which Romney fairly exudes, are vital assets.³⁰

The author also noted that because of Mormonism, Romney believed that his body was "the temple of the Spirit," explaining why his "spiritual temple is remarkably well-maintained." He was said to neither smoke nor drink, exercised regularly, usually in the early morning hours on the golf course, and looked five years younger than President Johnson, although a year older. "George Romney is also an intensely

²⁹Ernest Havemann, "The George Romney Family: All Abroad for the White House!" *Ladies Home Journal*, Vol. 83 (Oct. 1966), 182, 183.

³⁰Stewart Alsop, "It's Like Running Against God," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 239 (Oct. 22, 1966), 20.

moral man." Talking of his religious commitment, a past opponent for the governor's chair, Zoltan Ferency opined, "It's like running against God." When Romney was elevated to the presidency of American Motors, one of the more practical executives purportedly asked him what would save the company. Without hesitation, Romney replied, "God—God always helps decent people who are trying to do the right thing."³¹ Obviously, Romney's religion consistently applied directly to all aspects of his life. *Business Week* expressed the opinion that Romney's "dedication to morality—a strength—could turn out to be a weakness in some quarters. Some think he preaches too much, that the open display of piety could have adverse effects."³²

The editors of the *New Republic* made the following pointed comments:

We watched George Romney interviewed on TV the other day; a fine looking, square jawed man who is handsomer than Ronald Reagan. We have always liked Romney and had doubts about him. Some Washington writers have all but given him the G.O.P. presidential nomination already. Well, we shall wait. A dose of wineless, tobacco-less Puritanism in the White House would certainly be a novelty—a Sabbatarian who prays, and fasts, with a hot line to Heaven as well as Moscow, a kind of political Billy Graham. One of the many jobs of a President is to be a Ceremonial High Priest, and Governor Romney could perform this function admirably.³³

ROMNEY ACCUSED OF A VAGUE STAND ON POLITICAL ISSUES

Romney was further observed as a man sincere in his piety, yet moving "in an aura of evangelical vagueness." Supposedly, he took a firm stand favoring open housing for Negroes, and added that each person was "a child of God." As Woodrow Wilson indicated while president, piety could be associated with inflexibility. The editors wondered if Romney had those qualities rather than those of the politician—which were said to include the ability to compromise and "achieve the possible."³⁴

³¹Ibid.

³²"Romney Victory Gilds His Chances for '68," *Business Week*, Nov. 12, 1966, 45.

³³"Holy George," *New Republic*, Vol. 155 (Dec. 3, 1966), 4.

³⁴Ibid.

Describing a conference between Nelson Rockefeller and Romney in Puerto Rico, *Newsweek* noted that Romney's performance suggested he still had much to learn about politics. The magazine reported an "internal dispute raging over his image." William Scranton and other moderates allegedly thought Romney should "soft-pedal his piety and concentrate on honing his positions." One observer said, "He's been told to cut down the spiritual bit. He can't get away with stuffing his holier-than-thou attitude down the throats of the voters. They'll gag on it by '68." But Romney and his associates reportedly disagreed and felt he had to appear as what he was: "a spiritually oriented, decent businessman who has spent his life as a family man and one who can exert a moral force because it is not feigned but comes from inside."³⁵

The *National Review* blasted Romney about his letter of explanation for not supporting Barry Goldwater for the presidency in 1964, calling it a "blend of sanctimony, social history, and analysis, all of it self-serving." Romney allegedly claimed Goldwater appealed to segregationists because of an emphasis on states' rights. It would also be possible, suggested the author, to reason that to favor Mormonism was to favor "the congenital and perpetual inferiority of the black race, a little dogmatic problem within Governor Romney's church which he is overdue in reconciling with his political faith."³⁶ It could be readily seen that the Mormon Negro position was one which continually confronted Romney's political hopes, regardless of his response. Finally, in 1966, *Newsweek* described the "evangelical" Romney's campaign style: "outspoken and opaque, impressively self-assured and relentlessly self-righteous, an activist but also a sermonizer." He was seen selling his brand of politics with the same "shoot from the heart fervor" that won him success in the compact car market, but he still looked "less than presidential."³⁷

In 1967, *Harper's* characterized Romney as a family man and "tireless champion of moral uplift," and the "closest thing" to an Eisenhower to yet appear on the American political scene. "If Romney sounds increasingly like the peace-unity-and-moral-purity candidate that Eisenhower was in 1952, why, so much the better." Romney was thought "merchandisable" as a can-

³⁵"The Dorado Summit," *Newsweek*, Vol. 68 (Dec. 5, 1966), 31.

³⁶"Romney's Letter," *National Review*, Vol. 18 (Dec. 13, 1966), 1257, 1258.

³⁷"Romney on the Road," *Newsweek*, Vol. 68 (Dec. 19, 1966), 22, 23.

didate, and was reported to believe unhesitatingly in prayer. His standard speech to women, in which he talked about the "gravest threats to the future of our country—the decline in religious conviction, moral character, and family life—and, yes, the derogation of virginity in the future mothers of America," always thrilled them, asserted the author. The "simple goodness" of "this latter-day Puritan" were considered perfect for his candidacy. "The religious missionary and the successful salesman are essentially mirror images; each has something to sell and . . . its superior merits are never in doubt."³⁸

If Romney had reached the White House, he may well have been the first president to have delivered a soapbox speech in Hyde Park, suggested the author. He further believed that the Mormon Negro position would give Romney little trouble in a national campaign, because his own advanced position on civil rights would insulate him against attack. Moreover, most Americans were thought less familiar with Mormonism than with John Kennedy's Catholicism. As a side issue, cynics in Salt Lake suggested that Romney's candidacy could spur "Divine revelation" to end the Negro doctrine in the Mormon Church. Romney reportedly had a "Messiah complex" to contend with, readily associating his own purposes with those of God and regarding any opposition as unreasonable. Because of his self-discipline, he was said to sometimes find release in a "temper with a very short fuse." Some Michigan Democrats called it a "nearer-my-God-to-Thee complex" and one even said, "It's all right for George to want to be president, but I object to his using the White House as a stepping stone."

Does the nation want as chief executive a super-salesman in a white Rambler with the predestinarian faith of John Foster Dulles, a man whose favorite song is Sigmund Romberg's "Stouthearted Men," and whose credo is—we can because we believe? If America is yearning once again for that old-time religion, George W. Romney is ready and has the faith.³⁹

Pertaining to Mrs. Romney and the Mormon Negro position, *The Christian Century* rendered an outspoken editorial. It was clear, they said, that the problem illustrated discrimination

³⁸William V. Shannon, "George Romney: Holy and Hopeful," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 234 (Feb. 1967), 55-62.

³⁹*Ibid.*

imputing inferiority to Negroes.⁴⁰ *Newsweek* noted Romney's "quick if not direct" response to the Salt Lake Ministerial Association's request that he disclaim his church's stand on the Negro. He refused to "inject the Church into public affairs" and pointed to his own enviable record in civil rights, but his interrogator was not impressed.⁴¹ In contrast to his vague position on Viet Nam, *Life* reported Romney open and frank with the Ministerial Association. "If my church prevented me as a public official from doing those things for social justice that I thought right, I would quit the church. But it does not." Purportedly, thirty-five percent of Michigan's Negro voters supported his re-election to the governorship in the last campaign.⁴² *Newsweek* thought less of the same confrontation, claiming Romney handled the issue less adroitly than did John Kennedy his own problem regarding Catholicism in 1960.⁴³

The *Reporter* observed that Romney was in search of another speech writer to put more "zip and substance" into his remarks which were suffering from "an excess of righteous generalities and appeals to higher morality."⁴⁴ *Time* pressed Romney to prove his religious beliefs would not influence his political decisions. In spite of a progressive civil rights record, he still supposedly had to demonstrate to most Negroes that he did not share his church's traditional belief that Negroes were cursed.⁴⁵

Running a feature story on Romney in May of 1967, *Life* included many facets of the man and his religion. A young Romney aide frankly admitted being converted to Romney's religion "mainly because he outran me." Richard Headlee was walking along a corridor in Detroit's auditorium one day, feeling twenty-five years younger than the governor, but "ended up in near geriatric collapse." "There was this Polish band there. He grabbed my wife, Mary, and started polka-ing with her. Then he shook hands with all the kids. And then he went out and delivered a speech. I was still sitting there panting. I figured I had to do something." Purportedly, Headlee was

⁴⁰"Mrs. Romney's Quandry," *Christian Century*, Vol. 84 (Feb. 8, 1967), 165.

⁴¹"Mormons and the Negro," *Newsweek*, Vol. 69 (March 6, 1967), 80.

⁴²"Romney Rubs Noses with Voters," *Life*, Vol. 62 (March 3, 1967), 70-74.

⁴³"Romantic Interlude," *Newsweek*, Vol. 69 (March 6, 1967), 34.

⁴⁴Jules Witcover, "George Romney's Road-Show Hamlet," *The Reporter*, Vol. 36, (March 23, 1967), 37.

⁴⁵"The Long, Hot Century?" *Time*, Vol. 89 (April 28, 1967), 21.

visited by two Mormon missionaries who offered to pray with him to help him give up smoking; he eventually joined the Church and was still "flabbergasted" by Romney's stamina.⁴⁶

Romney allegedly delivered a sermon in a Mormon meeting, with "evangelical fervor," making it clear where the seat of his belief lay. His missionary experience was said to have given him confidence and taught him to handle hecklers, which he still did well, "suddenly flaring out as if he were back on the streetcorner." Still considered by Mormons to be one of the great missionaries of the Church, Romney reportedly rated high achievement as Detroit stake president. The present stake president, Edwin Jones, ascribed "somewhat awesome powers" to the man: "Miraculous things happen to him. We believe that we have the right to place our hands upon the heads of those who are sick, and anoint them with oil. One boy in particular, who had Polio, made a very startling recovery after George participated in the blessing."⁴⁷

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

Accused of claiming a "direct pipeline to God" because of his habit of praying about major decisions, Romney replied it was something "any human being can follow," related the author. Romney further referred to the Constitution as "divinely inspired," suggesting the Mormon belief that America was singled out by God for special blessings. His "religious fundamentalism touches day-to-day American democracy" and the two would seem not to conflict since he saw his religion and his country as a "single mythic heritage." Though Romney allegedly believed in separation of church and state and agreed with the Supreme Court decision against "state-prepared prayer," he nevertheless was said to believe strongly in spontaneous prayer. His mind, then, was supposedly not captive, but devout. Although he considered himself a servant of God, noted the author, he would never be an instrument of the Mormon Church, for he believed himself a free agent—another belief compatible with Mormonism. He reportedly made his disagreements pointedly with ultra-conservatives Ezra Taft Benson and his son, Reed, a John Birch Society representative.

⁴⁶Brock Brown, "Puzzling Front Runner," *Life*, Vol. 62 (May 5, 1967), 85-87.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 88, 89.

And though accepting his Church's theological position on the Negro, he was believed to have done more perhaps than any other Republican to further civil rights.⁴⁸

The *New York Times Magazine* described a Romney appearance at Dartmouth College, where he was greeted by heckling placards saying "God is alive and thinks He's George Romney," and "George is the Biggest Thing Since the Edsel," "He Stands for (1) Motherhood, (2) America, and (3) A Hot Lunch for Orphans." The Dartmouth Five had greeted him playing the predictable "When the Saints Come Marching In." Allegedly, some of the most poorly educated Negroes had indicated their awareness of the Mormon practice. For instance, a Negro "teenybopper" in San Francisco said to her boyfriend: "That Romney, he's a pretty cool Governor." The answer was, "He belongs to a church where YOU ain't got no soul."⁴⁹

In Atlanta, a Negro woman asked Romney how he could feel comfortable in the Mormon Church, but he reportedly had no real answer. His church may have been troublesome in the racial areas, claimed the author, but it was very helpful in the "long, tough political haul." "The impromptu speech in which Romney is most completely at ease is the inspirational appeal, with its stress on the divinely inspired nature of American government and the sure ability of every individual to achieve happiness and success through faith and good works." Mrs. Romney was thought very protective of the governor, and supposedly criticized the press when they ran what she felt were prejudicial stories on him; and once at a cocktail party she "deftly swept Romney's glass out of his hand at the approach of a photographer, despite the fact that it contained a good Mormon drink, ginger ale."⁵⁰

Covering the formal announcement by Romney of his candidacy for the presidential nomination, *Newsweek* called it a "preachy ten-minute statement," in which he talked against big government, unfulfilled promises to the poor, a war with no visible end, and the "growing aimlessness and flabbiness" of the American nation. What Americans needed, he said, was "leadership worthy of God's blessing."⁵¹ Even his formal an-

⁴⁸Ibid., 89-92.

⁴⁹Warren Weaver, Jr., "Romney Sounds An Uncertain Trumpet," *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 19, 1967, 45, 46.

⁵⁰Ibid., 138.

⁵¹"It's Official," *Newsweek*, Vol. 70 (Nov. 27, 1967), 29.

nouncement was tinged with his religious devotion. *Christianity Today* commented on the announcement favorably, saying it coincided with his known religious views, including the separation of church and state. However, concluded the author, it was "sad that most Americans are eager to minimize the religious issue in public life precisely at a time when our national history most clearly bears the marks of a great religious crisis."⁵²

The conservative *National Review* stressed the importance of Mormonism as a pervasive part of Romney's life. Should he be the Republican nominee, he would be the "most avowedly religious candidate since the fundamentalist Bryan last ran in 1908." Romney had said strongly, noted the author, that no training, college or otherwise, would substitute for his religious training. He was said to regard marriage as sacred; thus, when Nelson Rockefeller's marriage ended in divorce, relations between the two men threatened to cool. Gus Scholle, President of the Michigan AFL-CIO, allegedly thought the fasting and prayer to decide whether to run for governor was a "phony stunt," since son Mitt had reportedly told the *Detroit News* that his dad had decided to run at dinner before the fast began. This story supposedly dashed the "apocalyptic effect" of God telling him to run. In spite of his church's Negro stand, Romney seemed to have a good appeal from Negroes and a healthy record in civil rights. However, his grasp of major issues was felt to be decidedly weak; "the fundamentalist aspects of his religion may have rubbed off on a fundamentalist view of political philosophy." One man probed at the governor's complexities, claiming Romney's biggest weakness was that he had no vices.⁵³

For a nation wedded to the consumer economy, to planned obsolescence, and to the salesmanship of Alexander Botts, Romney's evangelical aggressiveness may hit the people right in their revival tents . . . If his pitch catches on, he might make it yet; and the country could anticipate the January day when all Texans leave the White House, and the Saints come marching in.⁵⁴

Romney received a cool treatment from the press on his

⁵²Editorial, "Romney on Religion," *Christianity Today*, Dec. 8, 1967, 30.

⁵³James Jackson Kilpatrick, "Romney: Salesman on the Move," *National Review*, Vol. 19 (Dec. 12, 1967), 1373-1383.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 1400.

Viet Nam trip; *Time* observed his tendency to "lecture the troops" wherever he went, "even to preach." Speaking of the divinity of Christ to both Christians and non-Christians, he appealed for "stoical acceptance of death on the battlefield." At Christmas dinner at Cu Chi he reportedly made a "sermonette" saying, "We have to lose ourselves for others. Some have to lose lives young and some when we are older." After hearing him speak, one Negro marine asked dryly: "Is the Governor letting Negroes into his church yet?"⁵⁵ The same magazine evaluated his progress in the campaign in New Hampshire by quoting one slogan:

The wind atop Mount Washington is singing "Romney's right!"

The waves that wash New Hampshire's shores are roaring "Romney's right!"

George Romney's right for our country now, we need a man today

Who's tough enough to do what's right, and man enough to pray.⁵⁶

But "pray as he might," Romney was far behind Richard Nixon in the polls, as the "need to do right" became as urgent as this campaign anthem. Nevertheless, Romney supposedly ordered only 1,000 bumper stickers, and a few hundred "psychedelic posters" that pictured him "glowing with an inner purple light."⁵⁷

On the stump, said *Time*, Romney continued his "perfervid moralizing" by emphasizing the importance of discipline to children and holding families together.⁵⁸ People were reportedly listening to him preach against "godlessness, immorality, sloth, and the decline of the family."⁵⁹ In some speeches he apparently listed what he termed the nation's six "declines: religious conviction, moral character, quality of family life, the principle of individual responsibility, patriotism, and respect for law."⁶⁰

When Romney withdrew from the race because of Nixon's commanding lead, the *New Republic* had some observations.

⁵⁵"Romney Goes to the War," *Time*, Vol. 91 (Jan. 5, 1968), 25.

⁵⁶"Man Enough to Pray," *Time*, Vol. 91 (Jan. 19, 1968), 13.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸"Romney Redivines," *Time*, Vol. 91 (Jan. 26, 1968), 15, 16.

⁵⁹"Mining the Mother Lode," *Time*, Vol. 91 (Feb. 2, 1968), 20.

⁶⁰"Stately Pace vs. Aggressive Courtship," *Time*, Vol. 91 (Mar. 1, 1968), 14, 15.

Said the editors, "We have never found his evangelical righteousness easy to take but have always liked the man." They noticed that there was an amazing contrast between Romney's withdrawal and the November day in 1962 when Richard Nixon announced "in an embarrassing, whining denunciation of the press" that it would be his "last press conference . . . you won't have Nixon to kick around any more." After his announcement, Romney took questions and made his first reply with a chuckle, "No, this will not be my last press conference."⁶¹

In a sentimental final tribute to Romney, *The Saturday Review* characterized him as "an also-ran" who had "guilelessly" admitted being brainwashed in Viet Nam, his difficulties mounting with the Detroit riots. Perhaps even his church "led inevitably to the moment of truth when in a lonely motel room he decided to withdraw his candidacy." He reportedly believed in being "our brother's keepers—his ideas and way are derived from his religious faith." His Mormonism was further assessed as a personal thing helping to nurture his belief in a "do-it-yourself" organization concept. Romney apparently had deep concern for the Negro, seeing him as "the last pioneer battling a closed frontier." "In all this Romney has shown courage . . . one hopes that conscience and talents and dedication of this man may yet be utilized by his party and his country."⁶²

CONCLUSION

Significantly, the literature indicated no panic at the prospect of a Mormon in the White House, as there would have been at the turn of the century; nor was the matter of the separation of church and state a discernible problem. There were, however, three serious roadblocks to the Romney candidacy: (1) his vagueness on the issues, (2) the Negro doctrine of the Mormon Church, and (3) his piety. In a greater part of the literature, he was chided for failure to meet issues squarely, or to suggest specific solutions to major national problems. Particularly was this observed with respect to Viet Nam, about which Romney changed his position periodically. Reporters came to believe that he did not have deep enough knowledge of the national scene, especially foreign affairs, to handle him-

⁶¹"From George to Nelson," *New Republic*, Vol. 157 (March 9, 1968), 4.

⁶²Margaret L. Coit, "The Dream Nobody Wanted to Hear," *Saturday Review of Literature*, Vol. 61 (April 6, 1968), 37, 38.

self effectively on the political stump. "Brainwashing" was of course the classic example. Increasingly, he appeared to the press as a bumbling candidate clearly unprepared for a job as massive as the presidency.

His church affiliation was unquestionably detrimental since the Negro doctrine⁶³ made him appear less credible in matters of race. Because of the Mormon position, some listeners remained unconvinced by his expressions of concern for complete racial equality. Others were happy to accept this reasoning at face value and judge him only on his record. Nevertheless, in an era when civil rights was one of the major political and social issues, the Mormon position was a huge handicap. It created conflict throughout the campaign, because even people who tended to believe him on this issue wondered about his competency in others. They were disturbed that he would espouse a seemingly discriminatory church, when he himself was a progressive. It made them question the strength of his character and potential performance in tight situations. Surprisingly enough, the Negro issue did not reach the proportions many had predicted, but it undoubtedly would have been more serious had Romney won the nomination.

Romney's principle problem seemed to be his piety, the somewhat abstract concept that he was "too good to be true." Though he and many of his associates thought his wholesome, spiritual image an asset in the early days of the campaign, it began to give him serious trouble as the critical test drew near. The issue perhaps even hastened the end. His habit of appearing as a "preachy" candidate with a definite "Messiah complex" began to damage him badly. Even though politicians like Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were battle-scarred, people were nevertheless uneasy about electing a man as religious as Romney. They worried that his principles and idealism would prevent compromise, in the inflexible Woodrow Wilson tradition.

Moreover, since the Mormon Church operates principally with a lay clergy, Romney closely resembled a professional minister seeking the presidency. Even the idealistic Wilson and the evangelistic William Jennings Bryan were not as committed or involved in a church as was Romney. In Romney's

⁶³For a more complete treatment of this doctrine, see the author's "Negro Slavery and Mormon doctrine," *Western Humanities Review*, Vol. 21 (Autumn 1967), 327-338.

position as stake president,⁶⁴ he was a spiritual leader and preached sermons from the pulpit to his Mormon congregation. Since he operated in a dual capacity—church leader and businessman—for many years, it was not surprising that he would develop an evangelistic quality of speaking. Beyond that, the Mormon Church involves its members in numerous activities and meetings through the week, besides the regular Sunday meetings. As a result, Mormons are more deeply involved in their church than people of many other denominations and often exude a certain religious commitment. Additionally, the Church's practice of sending young men to serve two years as missionaries in various parts of the globe usually increases their religious devotion as well as their ability to express it. Having shared in that experience, Romney's demonstration of piety is not unusual.

Though he initially projected a clean, attractive image, Romney seemed not to represent the average American voter. Through his religious devotion, he began to appear too formidable for identification with the masses. While Johnson and Nixon had faults, as did most Americans, Romney appeared disconcertingly flawless. The fear that he believed himself to be divine and therefore incapable of error produced new frustration in the voters. The public failed to appreciate piety, and the more Romney moralized, the more distant the audiences grew. As the press astutely observed, he was much more convincing when discussing family life and morals than when he turned to Viet Nam. With Romney resembling an evangelizer of the Billy Graham variety more than a down-to-earth, believable presidential candidate, Richard Nixon's image correspondingly improved. In contrast to Romney, even Nixon's loser reputation seemed welcome.

The campaign did demonstrate that a Mormon could be seriously considered for national office without a specter of fanaticism. Yet Romney's religion proved to be a handicap and had a profound effect on the campaign's outcome. It indicated

⁶⁴Romney was stake president until elected to the governorship of Michigan, at which time he resigned as stake president, and moved from Detroit to the state house in Lansing. A stake president directs the affairs of approximately 3,000 to 5,000 Mormons. Serving under him are bishops of several wards, with 300 to 600 members in each. The Church has approximately three million members throughout the world and is directed centrally by the General Authorities, comprising the Prophet, his counselors, 12 apostles and several other officers headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah.

a Mormon vulnerability in national politics—that of civil rights. But the peculiarly Mormon problem of Negroes and the priesthood was not nearly as important as sheer piety. For the reaction of the public clearly suggested that any candidate relying heavily on piety, be it Mormon or any other faith, could have serious credibility problems. Perhaps Romney's major liability was not necessarily Mormonism, but rather religious dedication. Conceivably, a candidate of another faith could be faced with a similar problem; or a Mormon better able to compartmentalize his faith and his politics might erase that problem. But George Romney's politics and his piety were inseparable, and the damage was more than his presidential aspirations could withstand.

Emerson's Relevance Today

RAY S. WILLIAMS*

It is now a commonplace to question the relevance of much of what we have called American ideals and values. A vocal if not representative segment of the younger generation has had enough impact upon social and political theorists to stir them to a reevaluation of policies which affect the welfare of us all. American literature has not been immune to the charge of irrelevance, as James E. Miller, Jr., Professor of English at the University of Chicago and current President of the National Council of Teachers of English, has pointed out. Every sensitive teacher, he comments, must recognize that there are issues today which are not merely pressing but "pursuing and demanding," "ambushing and assaulting." Teachers might differ about the significant issues, he adds, but "we might all well agree that we are living in a time of crisis in which we must lay aside the old ways that have not worked and find new ways that do work, the new visions that speak to our anguish."¹

And what are the issues? Miller lists white racism, problems stemming from urban and suburban sprawl, the population explosion and general dehumanization of life, the problems of human relations created by technology, and the daily violence which one way or another touches us all.² It wouldn't be difficult for a teacher of English to make a list of issues from the examination textbooks he receives for possible use in writing courses. The titles indicate the content, the significant issues: *The Radical Vision*; *The Rebel: His Moment and His Motives*; *Alienation*; *Relevants*; *Controversy*—the list could

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¹"The 'Classic' American Writers and the Radicalized Curriculum," *College English*, Vol. 31, No. 6 (March, 1970), pp. 565-66.

²*Ibid.*, p. 566.

be extended, it seems, indefinitely. But the point is clear enough. Students are interested in current problems and a growing number of them simply do not identify with or accept without questioning "traditional values," and if the teacher wishes to communicate with them, he must recognize this fact.

Leslie A. Fiedler has called extremists among these students "The New Mutants." We may say, he notes, "that the 'mutants' in our midst are nonparticipants in the past (though our wisdom assures us this is impossible), drop-outs from history," who are protesting "the very notion of man which the universities sought to impose upon them: That bourgeois-Protestant version of Humanism, with its view of man as justified by rationality, work, duty, vocation, maturity, success; and its concomitant understanding of childhood and adolescence as a temporarily privileged time of preparation for assuming those burdens."³ Impulse, emotion, and nonrestriction are preferred to self-discipline, order, and a rational approach to the solution of problems. And the widespread use of drugs among this group "is not merely a matter of changing taste in stimulants," but a "programmatically espousal of an antipuritanical mode of existence—hedonistic and detached—one more strategy in the war on time and work."⁴

Nor is it puritanical notions of work and duty alone that are being challenged, Marcia Cavell points out. Traditional belief in the superintending providence of God and standards (at least in theory) of morality, specifically those relating to sex and the family, she says, can no longer be assumed to be viable, and an ideal society as it is conceived by some students would be guilt-free.⁵

So what is the teacher of American literature to do? If we take these realities to heart, Miller believes, "there is much that we have taught that we might now cease to teach, and there is much that we have not taught that we should now teach." Modern stuff can fend for itself—writers like Jean Toomer and Ralph Ellison and works such as *Catch-22* and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. But which of the established writers do we leave out? Apparently no curriculum would

³"The New Mutants," in *The Radical Vision: Essays for the Seventies*, ed. Leo Hamalian and F. R. Karl (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), pp. 487-89.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 501.

⁵"Visions of a New Religion," *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 19, 1970, pp. 12-14, 43-44.

satisfy those who reject, totally, the past; but for those who demand that the curriculum be relevant, there are, Miller thinks, classic writers who speak to current issues. These are the eight listed in the Modern Languages Association's publication *Eight American Authors*: Poe, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whitman, Thoreau, Melville, Twain, and James, to which Miller would add Emily Dickinson.

This is not to say that these nine are without fault, for a case can be made out against all, who are "in some measure, in some crucial spot, critically, even grossly, defective." Furthermore, the teacher would revise his emphasis in teaching any one author, shying away from "their classic faces—their safe and innocuous works." Thus Poe can be made relevant to "the civilization of nightmare." Hawthorne says much about "dream terrors" and "utopia and man's longing for the perfect society." Melville is almost too rich, but he can be mined for ideas of "male chauvinism" and stories of "existential despair," while Emerson would appeal to the militants who believe that "Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members." The relevance of Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" is obvious, and Walt Whitman can be shown to relate to all of the students' "psychedelic experiences" and their interest in the "so-called sexual revolution." There is much "*black* humor" in Twain and "relevant questions about existential being and nothingness" in the writings of James. Emily Dickinson would contribute "to the modern 'God Is Dead' movement."⁶

I confess a certain uneasiness as I consider this proposed program of relevant literature. Not that I am unaware that we often must make an effort to help students appreciate some of the standard authors. As Donald Hall has pointed out, in identifying one problem, "to read Whittier requires an effort of the historical imagination; we must learn to cope with goodness and optimism" for "negativism is the weather of our time."⁷ Longfellow is, admittedly, too gentle, Cooper and Irving are too much concerned with the past and resistance to change, at least radical change, and Howells wrote about too many of the smiling aspects of life for modern tastes. And so the criticism goes.

⁶Miller, pp. 567-69.

⁷Whittier, *The Laurel Poetry Series* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1960), p. 18.

But even if the instructor should decide to restrict his curriculum to only eight or nine authors (which I think would be a mistake), their "classic faces" have a great deal to say about contemporary issues. Hawthorne's main thesis, the evil consequences of isolation from the sympathy achieved through brotherhood with mankind, is certainly relevant to the problem of dehumanization today, and even more relevant, perhaps, is his intuitive awareness that the problems of the spirit will admit of spiritual cures only (I am thinking of "Rappaccini's Daughter"). In a society dominated by technology, as valuable as technology may be, we will ignore Hawthorne's insight at our own peril. Twain's classic work, *Huckleberry Finn*, can certainly be shown to be a rebuke to white racism, and James's emphasis on the failure to perceive the intentions of people, to accurately determine their motives, cannot be considered irrelevant in any consideration of the problems of human relations.

But perhaps I am most perplexed because I, like Mr. Miller, am "concerned for the fate of mankind" and am at a loss to understand how his proposed program of studies would alleviate our distress. I propose to show that by ignoring Emerson's "classic face," we would emasculate the large body of his works and deprive ourselves of some of the clearest insights available to us to improve the fate of mankind. I would begin with his belief that "The whole secret of a teacher's force lies in the conviction that men are convertible They want awakening" (J. IV, 278.)⁸ And I would certainly point out to my students that the notion that Emerson would "remedy the evil of the world by ignoring it"⁹ is inaccurate and misrepresentative of his thinking. The following is more typical:

Each must be armed—not necessarily with musket and pike. Happy, if, seeing these, he can feel that he has better muskets and pikes in his energy and constancy. . . . Let him accuse none, let him injure none. The way to mend the bad world, is to create the right world. ("Worship.")

Further, Emerson knew that values are often perverted, thus losing any redemptive value they may have:

⁸Citations from Emerson's journals in my paper are to *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. William H. Gilman et. al. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960-).

⁹Miller admits this is a general criticism of Emerson.

The consolation and happy moment of life, atoning for all short-comings, is sentiment; a flame of affection or delight in the heart, burning up suddenly for its object;. . . no matter what the object is, so it be good, this flame of desire makes life sweet and tolerable. It reinforces the heart that feels it, makes all its acts and words gracious and interesting. Now society and towns is [sic] infested by persons who, seeing that the sentiments please, counterfeit the expression of them. These we call sentimentalists,—talkers who mistake the description for the thing, saying for having. . . . Yes, they adopt whatever merit is in good repute, and almost make it hateful with their praise. . . . A little experience acquaints us with the unconvertability of the sentimentalist, the soul that is lost by mimicking the soul. . . . Was ever one converted? The innocence and ignorance of the patient is the first difficulty; he believes his disease is blooming health. ("Social Aims.")

In short, the mark of an educated man is his ability to recognize a good man.

Emerson's radicalism, his doctrine of self-reliance, has immediate appeal to students who believe institutions are oppressive, as Miller observed. But it is easy to misread Emerson if his statements are taken out of context, a risk, it seems to me, inherent in the haste to make him relevant. It is true that Emerson often commented about the stultifying effect of conformity on the development of individual potential, especially in the earlier essays. But the reason conformity is deadly is always clear. In order for men to lead satisfying and productive lives, they must be receptive to the intuitions of the soul, a point which is clearly established in the widely acclaimed essay "Self-Reliance." Whether he could prove his theory of intuition (inspiration) or not, "this theory of 'ultimate perception' of right or wrong," as Bliss Perry has noted, "became Emerson's lifelong creed."¹⁰ But, Perry continues, "How many young persons who have been thrilled by the pages of 'Self-Reliance' have been able to perceive, simply by the evidence offered in that essay, that Emerson always had the higher self in mind, and that, in his son's words,—he really meant 'God-Reliance' when he said 'Self-Reliance'?"¹¹ Society wars against the individual because society—at least in a direct way—cannot offer the individual what Emerson believed was crucial to his welfare.

¹⁰*Emerson Today* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931), p. 20.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 26.

But that is not to say that society should be destroyed. Emerson didn't go so far as Lowell in his criticism of Thoreau's isolationism, but it is clear that he disapproved of it. Instead of "engineering for all America," Emerson commented, Thoreau became "captain of a huckleberry party." And Emerson's whole theory of the uses of great men, the idea he developed as an introduction to the work, *Representative Men*, was just that they could be useful. Men become great by obeying their own intuition, but by so doing, show to others their own potential. "Our chief want in life, is, somebody who shall make us do what we can. This is the service of a friend. . . . There is a sublime attraction in him to whatever virtue is in us." ("Considerations by the Way.")

Emerson further qualified his doctrine of self-reliance by emphasizing the need to be of service:

The secret of culture is to learn, that a few great points steadily reappear, alike in the poverty of the obscurest farm, and in the miscellany of metropolitan life, and that these few alone are to be regarded,—the escape from all false ties; courage to be what we are; and the love of what is simple and beautiful; independence, and cheerful relation, these are the essentials,—these, and the wish to serve,—to add somewhat to the well-being of men. ("Considerations by the Way." See also the volume *Society and Solitude*, in which the relationship of the individual to society is explored at length.)

Negativism is the last thing anyone would associate with Emerson, although he gave doubt its due in the essay "Experience" and heartily admired Montaigne, whom he called "The Skeptic." On the contrary, he was so optimistic his idealism becomes a liability. The problem is whether he was aware enough of the human condition, which is to say, the evil inherent in man's nature so obviously manifested in human behavior. Emerson himself did little to allay suspicion. He once admitted, "My heart did never counsel me to sin." (J. IV, 48.) Robert M. Gay believed that "in all his family unbridled passion and the coarser vices hardly existed. He lived in an ascetic atmosphere, where being good was merely natural."¹² But if Emerson was immune to the "coarser vices," he was not blind to them in others, nor unaware of the limitations that hinder human achievement. He once noted in his journal that

¹²*Emerson: A Study of the Poet as Seer* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), p. 31.

"it takes a great deal of elevation of thought to produce a very little elevation of life," and that "only gradually can we break through the trivial forms of habit," to "bend our living towards our idea." (J. V, 489.) The following comment from "The Conservative" suggests anything but a facile optimism:

. . . yet men are not philosophers, but are rather very foolish children, who by reason of their partiality, see everything in the most absurd manner, and are victims at all times of the nearest object. . . . Our experience, our perception is conditioned by the need to acquire in parts and succession, that is, with every truth a certain falsehood. . . .

Unfortunately, people learn slowly. Their own temperaments, their hereditary dispositions and unfavorable environments, perhaps most of all their illusions, get in the way. All of this Emerson admitted in the essays "Experience," "Fate," and "Illusions."

So what is man to do? The answer Emerson invariably gave entitles him, at least, to a hearing, for he refused to confirm man in his desperation. "A low, hopeless spirit puts out the eyes; skepticism is slow suicide." ("Resources.") All betterment lies in a positive attitude, an affirmative: "A steady mind, a believing mind wins the world," he wrote in his journal (V, 325), and noted in the essay "Courage" that "he has not learned the lesson of life who does not every day surmount a fear." Hence Emerson's great admiration for activity, for getting things done. There are several references to Napoleon in his journals and essays, but they all make the same point: "He belonged to a class, fast growing in the world, who think that what a man can do is his greatest ornament, and that he always consults his dignity by doing it." ("Literary Ethics.") He further noted that Napoleon "went to the edge of his possibility," and that "he felt, with every wise man, that as much life is needed for conservation, as for creation." If the truth were known, Emerson quipped, "We are always in peril, always in a bad plight, just on the edge of destruction, and only to be saved by invention and courage." ("Napoleon.")

Thus his works are full of praise for idealism and hope. "The joy of the spirit indicates its strength. All healthy things are sweet tempered . . . power dwells with cheerfulness; hope puts us in a working mood whilst despair . . . untunes the active powers." ("Considerations by the Way.")

Alienation and estrangement were as foreign to Emerson as anguish. Nowhere was he able to sustain either mood very long for he was convinced that the Universe—what he liked to call the nature of things—was structured to confirm man's desire to believe that his life has meaning. "Spontaneous action is always the best," he reiterated countless times, because it is an act of reception, of receiving impressions from the Oversoul, an act which all may participate in and whose laws of influx all may study. "A healthy soul stands united with the Just and True, as the magnet arranges itself with the pole" he wrote in "Intellect." That a Benevolent Spiritual Power might not exist seems never to have concerned Emerson:

O my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the center of nature and over the will of every man, so that none of us can wrong the universe. ("Spiritual Laws.")

But man can wrong himself. The "Evolution of a highly destined society must be moral," he noted, "it must run in the grooves of the celestial wheels." In order to accomplish anything excellent, man must have catholic aims. All action must lean on principle. "Let us not lie and steal. No god will help Work rather for those interests which the divinities honor and promote,—justice, love, freedom, knowledge, utility." The true test of a civilization, Emerson concluded, "is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops,—no, but the kind of man the country turns out." (Civilization.)

I have attempted to show solely on the grounds of his ideas that Emerson is relevant today. He may also be defended on artistic and aesthetic grounds, as Miller admits.¹³ Thus while I disagree with those who would radically revise the curriculum of American Literature, I believe there is merit in asking ourselves, as critics of the curriculum have asked, whether our emphasis is where it should be. Surely there is much to be gained by asking ourselves what accounts for Emerson's optimism, for amid the wail of so much negativism his strong, positive voice is needed to remind us despair is only one mood man is capable of and need not be final. To quote him once more, "I count no man much because he crows or silences me. Any fool can do that. But if his conversation enriches or rejoices me, I must reckon him wise." (J. IV, 268.)

¹³Miller, p. 569.

CHRIST AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES*

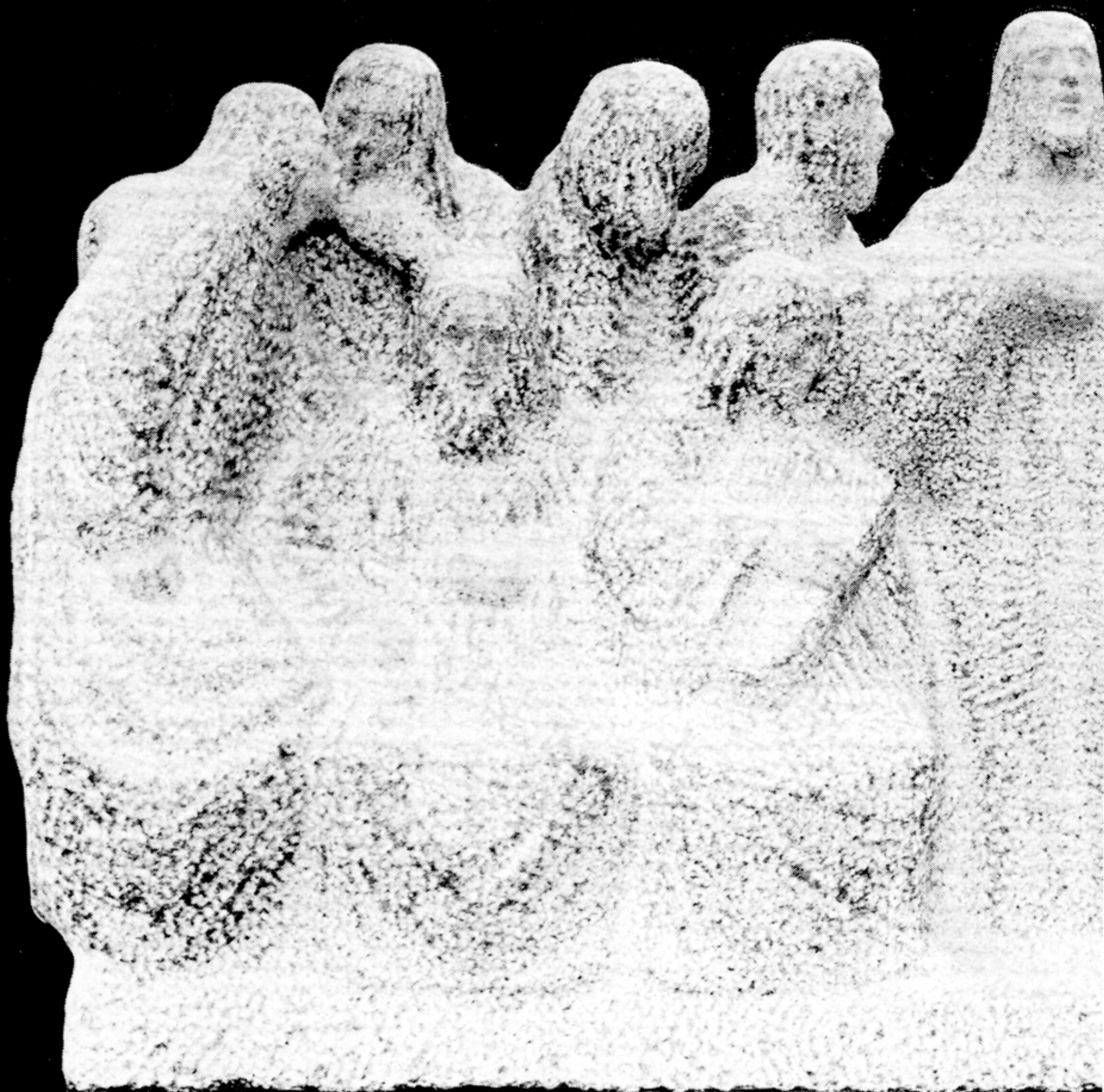
A Sculpting in Granite

by

Dallas Anderson**

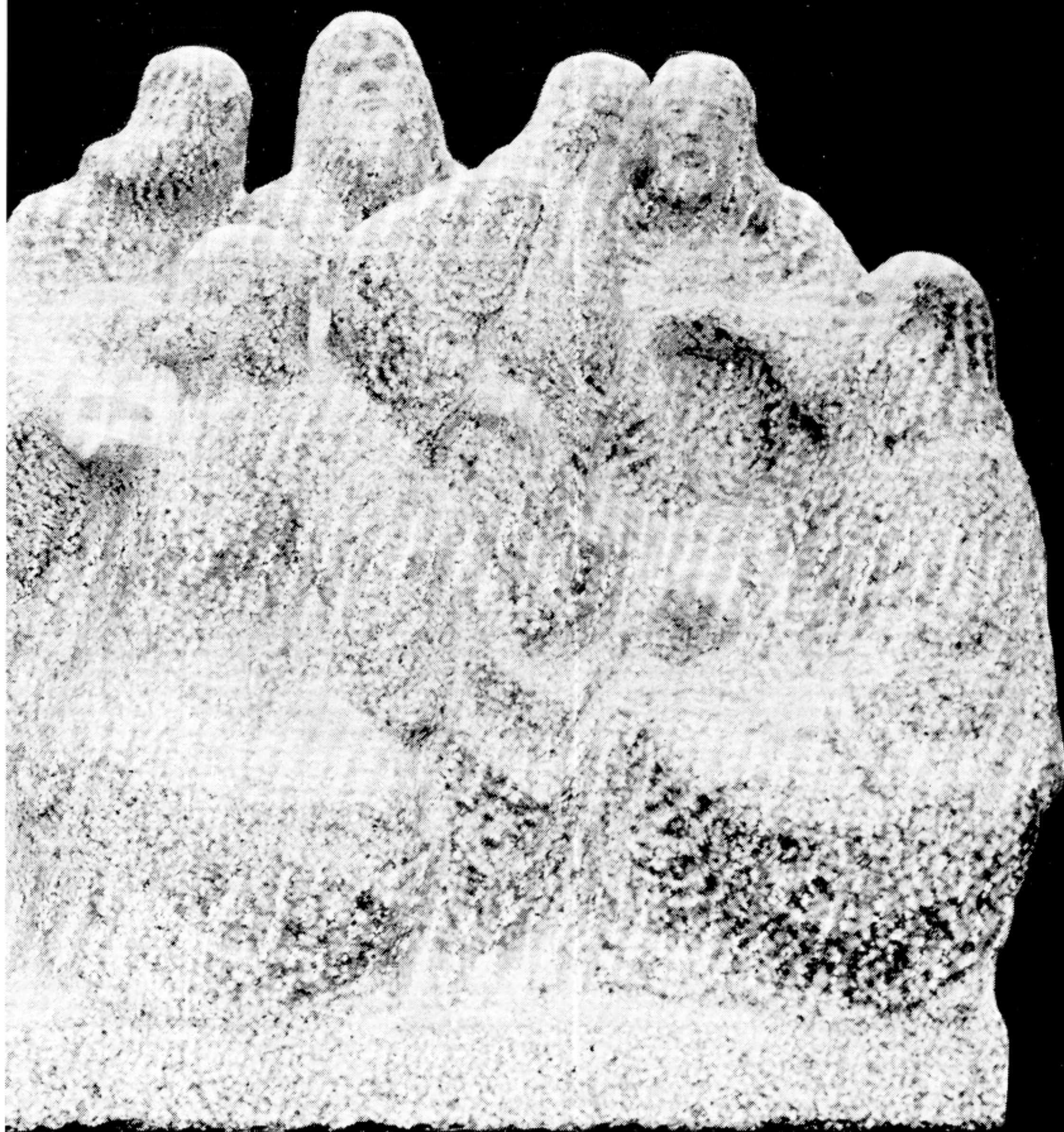
*This sculpting in granite was completed on a \$10,000 grant from the Copenhagen Building Society and now is placed in "Strandmark's Kirke" in Hvidovre, Denmark.

**Professor Anderson has a BA in art from St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minnesota; and he has studied sculpting at the State Academy in Oslo, Norway; and The Danish Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, Denmark, where he received the terminal degree. He is assistant professor of art at Brigham Young University.



During the Romanesque and Byzantine periods of Christian art the primitive concept of the betrayal of Christ at the Last Supper depicts Judas Iscariot in the conspicuous position—usually seated alone on the opposite side of the table—as the betrayer. Centuries later Leonardo Da Vinci places Judas within the group. This interestingly enough creates a psychological effect upon the observer which tentatively unifies the Twelve as he senses the immediate impact of the group, but it is not difficult to sort Judas out.

In visualizing the circumstances around this event, I perceived that the most significant moment, as it relates to the Latter-day Saint, was just before it became apparent to anyone who was to betray our



Lord (except for Christ himself). By provoking the observer instead of making a decision for him, I believe his experience of deciding where the guilt lies is internalized, which makes him a participant with the Twelve in their relationship with Christ at this crucial moment.

Furthermore, I wanted a certain ambiguity in my statement so that it might be analogous of something else, e.g., the radical nature of eternal truth. The dispensation ushered in by Christ himself at the Meridian of Time contained many truths which were apparently in strong contrast to the traditions of His time. So it is in our day—the conflict between truth and tradition.

The Bernhisel Manuscript Copy of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible*

ROBERT J. MATTHEWS**

The Bernhisel Manuscript is so named because it is a hand-written copy made by Dr. John M. Bernhisel¹ from the original manuscripts of Joseph Smith's "New Translation"² of the Bible. In order to correctly assess and analyze the Bernhisel

*This article was made possible by the cooperation of three agencies: First, the Historian's Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which made available a Xerox copy of the Bernhisel Manuscript for the study. Second, the Reorganized Church (RLDS) with headquarters at Independence, Missouri, which granted permission for research to be done with the original manuscript of the Inspired Version. Third, the Department of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion which financed the project and granted the writer time to make the study. The research was done in Independence in September 1969 and in February 1970.

**Dr. Matthews is Director of Academic Research for the Department of Seminaries and Institutes. He is author of *A Look at the Inspired Translation* (1963), *An Appreciation of Isaiah* (1965), and *Miracles of Jesus* (1968), as well as the compiler of *Index and Concordance to the Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1966), and *Who's Who in the Book of Mormon* (1966).

¹John Milton Bernhisel was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on June 23, 1799. He was baptized a member of the Church in New York at an early date and later became a bishop. He received the degree of doctor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in 1827 and came to Nauvoo in April 1843, where he became a friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith. In Salt Lake City he was a close neighbor and friend of Orson Pratt, residing on the corner of North Temple and West Temple Streets. He was an active physician in Salt Lake City, was Utah's first delegate to Congress, and is perhaps best known in the Church for his political activities. He died on September 18, 1881, in Salt Lake City.

²The Prophet Joseph Smith consistently referred to his revision of the Bible as a "translation." In almost every reference to it in the *History of the Church* and in the Doctrine and Covenants, the word "translation" is used. The work came to be known as the "New Translation" of the Bible, and it is so identified on the manuscripts of the revision, in certain letters of the Prophet, and in the *Lectures on Faith*. The cover sheet of the Bernhisel copy also calls it the "New Translation." Early leaders of the Church referred to the work as the "new translation," but in later years it has come to be known as the "Inspired Version" and as the "Inspired Revision." In this article the term "Inspired Version" is used.

copy, it is first necessary to survey the original documents from which it was copied.

THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE INSPIRED VERSION: AN OVERVIEW

The original manuscripts of the Inspired Version were prepared by the Prophet Joseph Smith and his scribes and consist of three manuscripts for the Old Testament and two for the New Testament. The Old Testament shows two initial manuscripts of parts of Genesis and a third manuscript extending from Genesis 1:1 through the entire Old Testament to Malachi. Each of these is also prefaced by an account of a vision once given to Moses. These three manuscripts have been conveniently catalogued by the Reorganized LDS Church as Old Testament Manuscript #1, Old Testament Manuscript #2, and Old Testament Manuscript #3, going from earliest to latest, with each succeeding manuscript containing additional revisions over the earlier. There are in all 191 pages of Old Testament manuscript, each page measuring $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches x 14 inches.

For the New Testament there is an initial manuscript of Matthew from 1:1 through 26:71, catalogued for convenience as New Testament Manuscript #1. A second manuscript consisting of four folios repeats and additionally revises the New Testament Manuscript #1 and continues on through the entire New Testament. This later manuscript is catalogued as New Testament Manuscript #2. There are in all 266 pages of New Testament manuscript, each page measuring $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches x 14 inches.

The manuscript texts of the Bible are written in full for Genesis chapters 1-24 and also for the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the first five chapters of John. In these books even the passages that are not revised are included and written in full. However, for the remainder of the Bible a shorter method is used in which only the verses to be revised are written in the manuscripts and in many instances only the actual words of the revision are written, rather than the entire verse or phrase. In the shorter method the revisions are identified by chapter and verse citations, whereas in the chapters written in full, often only the chapter is identified, with no verse designations.

In addition to the manuscript sheets, the Prophet used a large family-style edition of the King James Version of the Bible printed in Cooperstown, New York in 1828. In this Bible the Prophet placed many markings, and crossed out many words, mostly italicized words. The markings consist exclusively of check marks indicating passages to be revised. Contrary to popular opinion the words of the revision are not written in the margin or between the lines in the Prophet's Bible. The marked Bible and the manuscript sheets are held today by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and are housed in Independence, Missouri.

DR. BERNHISEL'S MANUSCRIPT NOTES AND MARKED BIBLE

Brother Bernhisel explained that he made his copy of the New Translation of the Bible in 1845 while living in Nauvoo, Illinois. The story as told by Bernhisel and recorded by L. John Nuttall,³ on Wednesday, September 10, 1879, is as follows:

Elder John M. Bernhisel called at the request of Pres. Taylor and explained concerning his manuscript copy of the New Translation of the Bible as taken from the Manuscript of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Bro. Bernhisel stated: "I had great desires to see the New Translation, but did not like to ask for it; but one evening, being at Bro. Joseph's house about a year after his death, Sister Emma to my surprise asked me if I would not like to see it. I answered, yes. She handed it to me the next day, and I kept it in my custody about three months. She told me it was not prepared for the press, as Joseph had designed to go through it again. I did not copy all that was translated leaving some few additions and changes that were made in some of the books. But so far as I did copy, I did so as correctly as I could do. The markings in my Bible correspond precisely with the markings in the Prophet Joseph's Bible, so that all the books corrected in his Bible so far as I now know are marked in my Bible: but as I stated, the additions are not all made in my Manuscript of those books that I did not copy."⁴

Dr. Bernhisel arrived in Salt Lake Valley on Sunday, September 24, 1848, as a member of the Heber C. Kimball Company, and it is assumed that he brought his manuscript and

³Leonard John Nuttall (1834 - 1905) was private secretary to President John Taylor and later to President Wilford Woodruff.

⁴L. John Nuttall, "Diary," Vol. 1 (Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah), entry for September 10, 1879.

marked Bible with him at that time.⁵ President Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, and others knew of the Bernhisel copy and it became the subject of a conversation in the School of the Prophets, in Salt Lake City, Saturday, June 20, 1868, the report of which states:

The School of the Prophets met at 1 P.M. President Young spoke of the new translation of the Bible and said it was not complete. Dr. Bernhisel testified that the Prophet told him he wished to revise it. Emma Smith let Dr. Bernhisel have the new translation to peruse it for three months; during this time the Doctor copied much of it.

Orson Pratt compared many of the sayings in the new and old translations [evidently referring to the "new" translation by Joseph Smith as compared to the "old" King James Version].

George A. Smith testified that he had heard Joseph say before his death that the new translation was not complete, that he had not been able to prepare it, and that it was probably providentially so.⁶

In addition to making a handwritten manuscript, Dr. Bernhisel said that he copied the markings from the Prophet's Bible into his own Bible. All that the writer has been able to learn of the Bernhisel copy of the marked Bible is that there was such a Bible. We may confidently conclude that it was a King James Version, but the printing date, physical description, and its

⁵It is erroneously reported by Andrew Jensen, *LDS Bibliographical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, 1901), p. 723-24, that Bernhisel did not arrive in the Salt Lake Valley until July 18, 1851. However, this was the date of a second visit to the Valley. That Bernhisel arrived on September 24, 1848, and stayed until May 6, 1849, is documented by many sources which tell of the arrival of the Kimball Company, list Bernhisel as a member of that company and tell of his activities not only during the journey but also in the Salt Lake Valley during the winter of 1848-49. See B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, Vol. 3 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), p. 319; Juanita Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1964), p. 311, entry for Monday, May 15, 1848; Ross G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, Vol. 1 (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), pp. 31-40.

⁶"Journal History of the Church," April-June, 1868, Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, entry for June 20, 1868, p. 1. The above reference to the statements of President Young and George A. Smith are in agreement with a similar comment by George Q. Cannon wherein he wrote, "We have heard President Brigham Young state that the Prophet, before his death, had spoken to him about going through the translation of the Scriptures again and perfecting it upon points of doctrine which the Lord had restrained him from giving in plainness and fulness at the time of which we write [February 2, 1833]."—*Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), p. 148n.

present location are unknown at this time. The writer contacted several of Dr. Bernhisel's living descendents, but was unable to learn anything further concerning it.⁷ The Bernhisel copy of the manuscript, however, is currently in the possession of the Church in Salt Lake City, Utah.

According to Bernhisel's testimony he made the manuscript copy in 1845, about a year after the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and explained that it was the Prophet's widow, Emma, who let him take the Bible and the manuscript sheets for three months in order to do the work. There seems to be no direct evidence that Dr. Bernhisel had ever spoken to the Prophet Joseph Smith about making a copy of the "New Translation." It should be noted, therefore, that the Bernhisel copy was a private endeavor and there is no clear historical evidence that he made the copy for or at the request of the Church.

Bernhisel's handwriting is legible, easily read, and typical of the time, with flourishes, embellishments, antiquated abbreviations, an unusual style of double "s," and very little punctuation. There are three dates on the Bernhisel copy (all of them in the Old Testament portion) indicating when he was engaged in the work. These are May 20, 1845, May 27, 1845, and June 5, 1845. Although the original manuscripts of the New Translation contain several dates, both in the Old and New Testament portions, Bernhisel copied only one, that of July 2, 1833, which is at the conclusion of the Old Testament.

THE TEXT OF THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT

The writer carefully compared the Bernhisel Manuscript with the original manuscripts from which it had been copied and observed that:

1. The Bernhisel copy consists of excerpts from Old Testament Manuscript #3 (with a few verses from Old Testament Manuscript #2) and New Testament Manuscript #2.
2. Bernhisel generally copied correctly and accurately, but made some errors of the hand and eye, such as omitting some words, writing some words twice, mis-

⁷The writer had the privilege of examining the Prophet's marked Bible (the same Bible referred to by Bernhisel) and copied the markings into his own edition of the King James Version. The huge number of markings can be illustrated by the fact that to copy them required a total of 17 hours.

spelling some, and leaving other evidences of human fallibility. However, when viewed as a whole, the Bernhisel copy as far as it goes, accurately represents the sense of the originals, but has the major defect of being grossly incomplete.

- 3. Dr. Bernhisel did not make a simple transcription of the originals, but did some adapting, interpreting, judging, and thinking for himself. He also made some explanatory comments beyond the content of the original documents he was copying.

BERNHISEL’S PROCEDURE

Comparison with the original manuscripts reveals much concerning Dr. Bernhisel’s procedure in making his copy. In some respects it could be said that he made an “interpretive” or “adapted” copy. There is evidence that he was working co-operatively with both an open King James Version of the Bible and the handwritten manuscript sheets.

a. *Adding verse numbers*

In many places the original manuscripts contain little versification even for entries corresponding to the King James Version of the Bible. However, in the Bernhisel copy these passages are often numbered, as the following example shows:

1 Kings 3:1-8

Inspired Version Manuscript (OT #3, p. 75)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 36)
1 And the Lord was not pleased with Solomon for he made affinity with Pharoah king of Egypt and took Pharoahs daughter to wife and brought her into the house of David until he had made an end of building his own house and the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem round about. And the Lord blessed Solomon for the peoples sake only and the people sacrificed in high places because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord until those days and because the Lord blessed Solomon as he was walking in the statutes of David his father he began to love the Lord and he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places and he called on the name of the Lord.	1 And the Lord was not pleased with Solomon for he made affinity with Pharoah king of Egypt, and took Pharoah’s daught to wife and brought her into the house of David etc----
	2. And the Lord blessed Solomon for the peoples sake only and the people sacrificed etc----
	3 And because the Lord blessed Solomon as he was walking in the statutes of David his father he began to love the Lord and he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places and called on the name of the Lord

The above passage continues through verse eight, with the original manuscript presenting the entire text, but showing no verse numbering or divisions except verse one, whereas the Bernhisel copy numbers the verses from one to eight according to the King James Version. It should be noted also that the Bernhisel copy contains only portions of each verse, but the original contains the whole of each verse.

The foregoing example demonstrates that Dr. Bernhisel had a King James Version of the Bible open at the time he copied from the manuscript sheets, and used it to obtain numbers for the verses that were not numbered on the original manuscript.

b. Copying only part of a passage

Of far greater importance than adding verse numbers are the instances of interpretation and/or adaptation of the text. As observed above, Dr. Bernhisel sometimes copied only part of a verse, even though the original manuscript with which he was working contained the entire verse. In such instances the Bernhisel copy generally offers only the words of the revision plus a word or two before and/or afterward. The example of item "a" above demonstrates this situation quite well, as do also the following (the revised portion is italicized for easy identification):

2 Peter 1:20

Inspired Version Manuscript
(NT #2, p. 145)

20 Knowing this first that no proph-
ecy of the scriptures is *given* of any
private *will of man*.

Bernhisel Copy
(p. 108)

20 --scriptures is given of any pri-
vate will of man.

And also:

1 John 2:16

Inspired Version Manuscript
(NT #2, p. 147)

16 For all in the world *that is of*
the lusts of the flesh and the lust of
the eyes and the pride of life is not
of the Father but is of the world.

Bernhisel Copy
(p. 110)

16 --that is of the lust--

Although this method by Bernhisel saved space and physical effort, it involved judgment-making on his part, and was a procedure that increased the possibility for error. Even if no

error were made, the procedure at least caused the Bernhisel copy to differ from the original.

c. Copying only a portion of a revision

There is another factor which also caused the Bernhisel copy to vary from the original. It is similar and related to that described in part "b" and occurred because Dr. Bernhisel frequently recorded only the particular part of the verse in which he *saw* a significant variation from the King James Version. This sometimes meant that a verse having two or more revised parts would be only partially recorded by Bernhisel with one or more of the revised parts being omitted. Observe, for example, the following items. The points of revision are italicized to aid the comparison.

Matthew 2:4

Inspired Version Manuscript
(NT #2, p. 1)

4 And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together he demanded of them *saying where is the place that is written of by the prophets in which* Christ should be born *for he greatly feared yet he believed not the prophets.*

Bernhisel Copy
(p. 68)

4 saying where is the place that is written of by the prophets in which Christ --

And also:

Isaiah 65:20

Inspired Version Manuscript
(OT #3, p. 111)

20 *In those days* there shall be no more thence an infant of days nor an old man that hath not filled his days for the child shall *not die but shall live to be* an hundred years old but the sinner *living to be* an hundred years old shall be accursed.

Bernhisel Copy
(p. 62)

20 In those days there shall be no more thence an infant of days -- living to be

It seems that either Dr. Bernhisel failed to see all the facts of the revision or that he judged parts of the revision not important enough for him to record. Such omissions would not likely have occurred if he had simply copied the entire text of the original manuscript.

d. Adding to the words of the original manuscript

Items "b" and "c" above deal with circumstances in which Dr. Bernhisel failed to copy an entire entry. Sometimes just

the opposite was the case, wherein he recorded *more* than is in the original manuscript.

It is evident, in such instances, that Dr. Bernhisel had an open Bible before him, and in recording the revision he sometimes copied a few words from the corresponding verse in the Bible and then inserted the manuscript portion into the verse. There is no reason to believe that he erred in doing so, but the fact is that Bernhisel went beyond the words of the original manuscripts and did some thinking on his own. For example:

Leviticus 21:1, 11		
King James Version	Insp. Ver. Manuscript (OT #3, p. 71)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 31)
1 . . . defiled for the dead . . .	1 with	1 Defiled with the dead
11 Neither shall he go in to any dead body	11 touch	11 Go in to touch any dead body
Judges 2:18		
King James Version	Insp. Ver. Manuscript (OT #3, p. 73)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 33)
18 . . . for it repented the Lord because of their groanings.	18 For the Lord harkened	18 For the Lord hearkened because of their groanings
1 Samuel 16:16		
King James Version	Insp. Ver. Manuscript (OT #3, p. 73)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 34)
16 . . . when the evil spirit from God is upon thee	16 which is not of	16 --evil spirit which is not of God--

e. Judging a passage to be unrevised

Another example of Dr. Bernhisel's making a judgment is seen in situations wherein the original manuscripts contain an entry of several verses in length, only some of which differ from the King James Version. In some instances Dr. Bernhisel apparently scanned the entry, recorded all or portions of each of the revised verses, and simply wrote "correct" for what he thought were unrevised verses. Close examination reveals that sometimes Dr. Bernhisel was mistaken in his appraisal of a verse, and judged a verse to be the same as the King James Version when in reality it contained a variant reading which

he apparently failed to observe. Two such examples are given below. Variants are italicized when necessary to aid comparison.

Jeremiah 17:5		
King James Version	Insp. Ver. Manuscript (OT #3, p. 111)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 63)
5 . . . cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord.	5 -- the man--	5 the man correct

The printed Inspired Version publishes this verse as:

5 . . . cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh
flesh his arm, and *the man* whose heart departeth from the
Lord.

This is no doubt the proper rendering of the passage, using the revision found in the original manuscript. It appears that Dr. Bernhisel at first copied the revised portion accurately from the manuscript and then decided against the revision and lined it out. He then wrote the word "correct" to indicate that the verse was correct as it stood in the King James Version.⁸ It is very evident that Dr. Bernhisel had a King James Version open at this juncture. Since the words "the man" occur in the early part of the passage, he may have felt that the entry in the original manuscript was somehow in error, and that there was no intended revision. He would not have arrived at this conclusion had he been simply copying from the original manuscript, but in trying to understand and interpret the revision and insert it into the Biblical text, he made an error in judgment. It is unlikely that the Doctor wished to challenge the Prophet Joseph's revision of a verse, but it is possible that he would attempt to rectify what he considered an obvious clerical error in the original manuscript. Thus Dr. Bernhisel recorded the words of his own judgment in preference to the words on the manuscript. This he no doubt did with the best of intention and in a spirit to arrive at the truth, but he did it just the same.

⁸The word "correct" is very frequently used in both the original manuscripts and in the Bernhisel copy to signify that a verse, passage, chapter, or entire book is correct as it stands in the King James Version. In so doing Bernhisel was following a procedure already established in the original manuscripts. The question is whether he should exercise the liberty to do this himself.

Another instance in which Dr. Bernhisel judged a passage to be "correct" when the original manuscript does not strictly warrant it is as follows:

Revelation 1:5-6		
King James Version	Insp. Ver. Manuscript (NT #2, p. 149)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 112)
5 And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness and the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood,	<i>Therefore, I John, the faithful witness, bear record of the things which were delivered me of the angel and from Jesus Christ the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the Kings of the earth and unto him who loved us, be glory, who washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings & Priests unto God, his Father. To him be glory and dominion, forever and ever, amen.</i>	5 Therefore I John the faithful witness bear record of the things which were delivered me of the angel and from Jesus Christ--who --be glory, who washed etc
6 And hath made us kings and priests unto God <i>and</i> his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.		6 correct--

It appears in the above entry that Dr. Bernhisel wished to save himself the time, effort, and space of copying an entire verse which he *thought* contained no variation from the King James Version so he simply wrote "correct" for verse six. However, as can be seen by comparison with the original, he made an error of judgment and apparently failed to see that the word "and" was omitted in the Inspired Version original manuscript. It should also be observed that the original manuscript does not number the verses or separate the material into verses but is in a single unit, whereas the Bernhisel copy divides the material into verses.

An important doctrinal concept is involved in this passage. Perhaps no verse in the printed editions of the Inspired Version of the Bible has been so critically examined and has been so much the subject of discussion as Revelation 1:6. The facts of the situation are: (1) the King James Version reads, "... unto God and his Father." (2) The printed Inspired Version reads, "... unto God, his Father" [omitting "and"]. (3) On June 16, 1844, the Prophet Joseph is reported to have said in a

public discourse that the King James Version of Revelation 1:6 is "altogether correct in the translation."⁹

Because the printed Inspired Version as published by the RLDS differs in the text of Revelation 1:6 from what the Prophet said was the correct translation, the RLDS have been accused of deliberately altering the text. On the surface such a conclusion seems warranted for a number of reasons: (1) the Bernhisel copy (which purports to be a copy of the original manuscript prepared by the Prophet) states that the passage is "correct" as it stands in the King James Version. (2) The word "and" suggests a plurality of Gods, whereas omitting "and" reduces the number. (3) Since the RLDS do not accept a doctrine of plurality of Gods, there exists a "motive" for them to alter the text in their favor.

All of the foregoing facets tended to support a conclusion that the RLDS altered the text of Revelation 1:6. There appeared to be both motive and evidence. Since the original manuscripts have not been available for examination, the conclusion has persisted through the years since the first publication of the Inspired Version in 1867. However, at our most recent request, Richard P. Howard, RLDS Church Historian, graciously supplied a photocopy of the manuscript page in question to be published with this article in *BYU Studies*. It is reproduced on the next page along with a photocopy of the corresponding page of the Bernhisel Manuscript. Critical examination of the original manuscript does not give any evidence that it has been altered. The writing is relatively small and the letters are close together and neatly written and any alteration would be immediately obvious. It is this writer's conclusion that the original manuscript does not *and never did* contain the said "and" in this particular phrase of Revelation 1:6 and that the printed editions of the Inspired Version correctly represent the text of the original manuscript.

Whether or not the original manuscript is accurate at this point is a different question. In the light of the Prophet's June 16, 1844, address, it appears that the manuscript is not accurate. How to account for this discrepancy the writer does not know, but several explanations can be offered. It may be that there occurred an unintentional omission of "and" in the mechanical

⁹Joseph Fielding Smith (comp.), *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938). p. 369.

The Revelation of John Chapter [12]

Verse 1st The revelation of John, a servant of God, which was given unto him of Jesus Christ, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass, that he sent & signified by his Angel unto his servant, John, who bore record of the word of God, & of the testimony of Jesus Christ, of all things that he saw. Blessed are they who read ~~the~~, & they who hear ~~the~~ & understand ~~the~~ the words of this Prophecy, & keep ~~the~~ those things which are written therein for the time of the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. Now this is the testimony of John to the seven servants who are over the seven churches in Asia. Grace unto you, & peace from him who is, & who was, & who is to come, who hath sent forth his Angel from before his throne, to testify unto those who are the seven servants over the seven churches. Therefore, I John, the faithful witness, bear record of the things which were shewed me of the Angel, & from Jesus Christ the first begotten of the dead, & the prince of the Kings of the earth, & unto him who loved us, be glory, who washed us from our sins in his own blood, & hath made us kings & Priests unto God, his Father. To him be glory & dominion, for ever & ever amen. For behold he cometh in the clouds with ten thousands of his saints in the Kingdom, clothed with the glory of his Father, ^{and} every eye shall see him, & they who pierced him, & all kindreds of the earth shall wait because of him, even so, Amen. For he saith, I am Alpha & Omega, the beginning & the ending, the Lord, who is, & who was, & who is to come, the Almighty.

Verse 2nd And I turned to see from whence the voice came which spake to me; & being turned I saw seven golden candlesticks

6th shining
20th this is ~~on~~ the servants -
Chapter [12]

verse 1st servant
8th servant
12th servant
18th servant

The Revelation of John.

Chap. 1. 1. The revelation of John a servant of God which
 was given unto him of Jesus Christ - that -
 3 Blessed are they who read and they who hear & understand
 the words of this prophecy and keep those things which are written
 therein, for the time of the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.
 4 And this is the testimony of John to the seven servants who are
 over the seven churches in Asia, grace unto you, and peace,
 from him who is, and who was, and who is to come, who hath
 sent for the his angel from before his throne to testify unto
 those who are the seven servants over the seven churches.
 5 Therefore I John the faithful witness bear record of the things
 which were delivered me of the angel and from Jesus Christ -
 - who - the glory, who washed us - & convert -
 7 For behold he cometh in the clouds with ten thousands of his
 saints in the Kingdom clothed with the glory of his Father - who -

process as the scribe recorded what the Prophet dictated. It may also be that the scribe recorded what he heard, but that the Prophet did not possess as much knowledge about the plurality of Gods when he dictated the Bible revision in 1833 as he did eleven years later in 1844 when he delivered a special discourse on the subject.

Apparently Dr. Bernhisel either failed to observe the missing "and" in his unique (and almost careless) method of transcription, or he exercised his judgment in the matter and labeled the verse correct by virtue of his acquaintance with the Prophet's June 16, 1844, discourse on the subject, which was only a year before the time in which Dr. Bernhisel was making the copy.

It should be observed that Bernhisel had earlier judged a verse to be "correct" when it was not, as in the example from Jeremiah. It just so happens that Jeremiah 17:5 does not contain an important doctrinal concept such as is found in Revelation 1:6 and so is of much less consequence. However, as a precedent it is extremely impressive.

In the important sermon of June 16, 1844, so oft referred to in this article, the Prophet Joseph explained that he had increased his knowledge of the plurality of Gods while translating the Egyptian papyri of the Book of Abraham.¹⁰ This would have to have been between 1835 and 1842. It may well be that the form of Revelation 1:6 as prepared in 1833 is one of the passages that the Prophet intended later to bring into greater clarity as time progressed; and which in its present form is an example of the unfinished and "restricted" condition referred to by President Brigham Young and George Q. Cannon, as quoted earlier in this article (see footnote 6).

The foregoing examples from Jeremiah and from Revelation are significant for a number of reasons and illustrate several of the situations in which Dr. Bernhisel added verse numbers, copied only part of an entry, and also made judgments concerning the text.

f. Acknowledging a revision, but not recording it

Still another factor of Bernhisel's procedure manifests itself in his frequent acknowledgment that a certain verse is revised in the original manuscript, but he does not record the revision. For example:

¹⁰Ibid., p. 373.

Psalms

Inspired Version Manuscript (OT #3, pp. 83-84)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 43)
[In the original ms. the entire text of Psalms XI, XII, and XIII is written in full]	XI, XII, and XIII chapters not correct.
Psalms XIV [verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 are written in full]	Chapter XIV: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 not correct

Exodus

Inspired Version Manuscript (OT #3, p. 66)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 24)
[Chapter VI, verses 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 are written in full.]	Chapter VI: Correct except 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30.

Although entries such as those in the above example are not very rewarding they contain useable information. For the most part they are harmless and are not nearly as crucial as the entries in which Dr. Bernhisel actually performed interpretive judgments.

The foregoing discussion might lead the reader to conclude that the Bernhisel copy is not a very reliable document. However, a study of the kind presented here tends to emphasize only the problems and it must be remembered that these are matters of detail. There are hundreds of passages in the Bernhisel copy that read exactly as the original manuscripts from which it was copied.

EXPLANATORY COMMENTS BY DR. BERNHISEL

Dr. Bernhisel made several explanatory comments throughout his manuscript. Some of these comments are easily discernible as not part of the original, and are for the purpose of clarifying obscure passages, or otherwise giving aid to a reader. Other insertions, however, are elusive, and can only be identified by comparison with the original manuscript. For example:

Inspired Version Manuscript (OT #3, p. 9) Chapter 2nd	Bernhisel Copy (p. 9) Chapter 2nd
A revelation concerning Adam after he had been driven out of the garden of Eden.	This revelation comes next the 3rd chapter Genesis in the Bible. A Revelation concerning Adam after he had been driven out of the Garden of Eden.

A significant comment by Dr. Bernhisel occurs in relation to Genesis chapter 24 (Bernhisel copy, page 20). At this point the Bernhisel copy contains the remark, "Re-written to the XXIV chapter inclusive, corresponding with the chapters in the Bible." And in another place Bernhisel reports: "The whole rewritten to the 24th chapter inclusive." These remarks have reference to Old Testament Manuscript #2, which contains a revision of Genesis chapters 1-24:42. However, it appears that Dr. Bernhisel judged the document to be a partial "re-writing" of the longer manuscript (OT #3) rather than an earlier writing.

Another comment by Bernhisel is also instructive because it amply demonstrates that he was working with an open Bible as well as with a manuscript, and was attempting to fit the words of the revision into the corresponding verse of the Bible:

1 Corinthians 9:24

Inspired Version Manuscript
(NT #2, p. 128)
Chapter IX

24 all run - only -

Bernhisel Copy
(p. 95)
Chapter IX

24 all run -- only (These words I
do not know where to place.)

INCOMPLETENESS OF THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT

It was noted earlier that the Bernhisel Manuscript is a partial copy of the originals. The writer has discovered that the printed Inspired Version of the Bible has at least 3,400 verses differing from the King James Version. Of these the Bernhisel copy contains at least 1,463 verses. Notable omissions are the 24th chapter of Matthew, and the extensive material about Enoch now published as Moses, chapter 7 in the Pearl of Great Price.

The Bernhisel copy naturally reflects the general form of the originals. That is, the texts for the early chapters of Genesis are written rather fully, while the texts for the prophets and the epistles contain only the chapter and verse citations accompanied by the word or phrase constituting the revision.

In comparison with the original manuscripts the Bernhisel copy is very incomplete. It has some representation for every book of the revision, but lacks many of the longer portions of the revision. It is the most complete for those portions of the

Bible wherein the Prophet made only brief notations of revision, and is the least complete for the books wherein the text was written in full in the original manuscript. It seems to have been a matter of time and labor involved. Since part of the Bernhisel copy consists of loose, unnumbered sheets, it is possible that it was once more extensive than it is at present, and that certain chapters have become separated from the remaining sheets. However, since what is now available is continuous and sequential, it is unlikely that much could have been lost. Bernhisel said that he did not make an entire copy, and the manuscript verifies his statement.¹¹

The rigors of transcribing many pages of manuscript by hand seemed to have led Dr. Bernhisel to copy the shorter revisions with greater frequency and completeness than the longer revisions. We remember also that Bernhisel was engaged in making a personal copy and hence selected passages that appealed the most to him. Had he known in 1845 that the original manuscripts would not remain with the Church when the Church came to the West, and that his copy would reside in the official archives, he might have produced a more extensive work.

THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT NOT A BASIC SOURCE FOR THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

There are two conditions that preclude the Bernhisel copy from being a basic source for the Pearl of Great Price. The first is the incompleteness of the Bernhisel Manuscript. As stated earlier, the Bernhisel Manuscript does not contain the 24th chapter of Matthew nor does it have most of the Enoch material identified today as Moses, chapter 7. If these chapters were ever part of the Bernhisel copy they would have had to exist on separate sheets which have since been removed from the collection. The regular sequence of the Bernhisel copy jumps from what is currently Moses 6:68 to Moses 8:25, within the limits of 1½ pages (pages 13-14), and from Matthew chapter 18 to chapter 27 within the limits of one page (page

¹¹The writer one time made a verse-by-verse comparison showing the relative incompleteness of the Bernhisel copy compared to the published Inspired Version. This is contained in his doctoral dissertation and its extensive length made it impossible to include in this article. See Robert J. Matthews, "A Study of the Text of the Inspired Revision of the Bible" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, BYU, 1968), pp. 133-190.

73). The evidence from the manuscript is that Dr. Bernhisel did not record this information.

Even more convincing is the evidence that the Moses materials in the 1851 edition of the Pearl of Great Price are related genealogically to Old Testament Manuscript #2 and seem to have reached the Pearl of Great Price (1851) through the *Evening and Morning Star* and *Times and Seasons*, whereas the Bernhisel Manuscript is a copy of Old Testament Manuscript #3, which contains extensive revision over and beyond the text of the 1851 edition of the Pearl of Great Price. Some examples follow:

Moses 4:14

Genesis 3:8 KJV	and Adam and his wife hid themselves from
1830 OT Ms. #1:	and Adam and his wife hid themselves from
1830 OT Ms. #2:	and Adam and his wife hid themselves from
1830 OT Ms. #3:	and Adam and his wife ^{went to hide} hid themselves from
1845 Bernhisel	And Adam and his wife went to hide themselves from
1851 P of GP	and Adam and his wife hid themselves from

And also:

Moses 6:52

1830 OT Ms. #1:	children of men and ye shall ask all things in his name and whatsoever ye shall ask it shall be given
1830 OT Ms. #2:	children of men and ye shall ask all things in his name and whatsoever ye shall ask it shall be given
1830 OT Ms. #3:	children of men and ye shall ^{ing} ask all things in his name and whatsoever ye shall ask it shall be given ^{you} ^
1835 <i>E & M Star</i>	children of men. And ye shall ask all things in his name, and whatever ye shall ask, it shall be given.
1845 Bernhisel	children of men and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, asking all <i>this</i> in his name and whatsoever ye shall ask it shall be given you.
1851 P of GP	children of men; ye shall ask all things in His name and whatsoever ye shall ask it shall be given.

It is quickly ascertained from the examples above, that the Bernhisel Manuscript was copied from Old Testament Manuscript #3, whereas the 1851 Pearl of Great Price reflects the text of Old Testament Manuscript #1 or #2, probably through

the immediate use of the *Evening and Morning Star*.¹² The foregoing examples are only two of many similar textual comparisons that could be made attesting to the same conclusion. There is evidence that the Bernhisel copy might have had a slight connection with the 1878 edition of the Pearl of Great Price, but at best it is a slim relationship and the Bernhisel copy cannot be said to have been a basic textual source for the Pearl of Great Price.

VALUE OF THE BERNHISEL MANUSCRIPT

The Bernhisel Manuscript is a valuable document for a number of reasons. First, it attests to the interest and importance placed on the Prophet's work with the Bible. Second, for over one hundred years it has been the only "early" source for the Inspired Version that the Church has had, since the originals were kept by the Prophet's widow and were given by her to the RLDS and have been unavailable for examination. Third, its early date of 1845 is important for the special purpose of verifying the present accuracy of the original manuscripts. For instance, Old Testament Manuscript #3 and New Testament Manuscript #2 have many interlinear revisions. Also, in several instances a few lines have been ruled out and a revised account, written on a scrap of paper has been pinned over the lined-out portions. These various revisions of Old Testament Manuscript #3 and New Testament Manuscript #2 are generally in a different colored ink than the remainder of the manuscript and appear to have been added after the original draft. The exact date when these later revisions were entered on the original manuscripts is not known, but inasmuch as the Bernhisel copy contains these same revisions it is evident that they were there when Dr. Bernhisel used the manuscripts in 1845 and therefore are authentic. Without the evidence of the Bernhisel copy, it might be conjectured that such revisions were added to the original manuscripts by the RLDS. But the Bernhisel copy, being of the 1845 date, attests to the present integrity of the original manuscripts. An example involving a very familiar verse is as follows:

¹²Portions of the Moses material in the 1851 edition of the Pearl of Great Price had not appeared in any of the Church publications prior to 1851. The source for these is not clear, but cannot be traced to the Bernhisel copy because of strong textual differences.

Moses 1:39

1830	OT Ms. #1:	for behold this is my work to my glory to the im- mortality and eternal life of man
1830	OT Ms. #2:	for behold this is my work to my glory to the im- mortality and eternal life of man
1830	OT Ms. #3:	for behold this is my work ^{and} to my glory to ^{bring to pass the} the im- mortality and eternal life of man
1843	T & S	Behold this is my work to my glory to the immortality and eternal life of man.
1845	Bernhisel	for behold this is my work and my glory to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.
1851	P of GP	Behold this is my work to my glory to the immortality and eternal life of man.

It is evident that the *Times and Seasons* and the 1851 Pearl of Great Price descended from Old Testament Manuscript #1 or #2, whereas the Bernhisel came from Old Testament Manuscript #3.

And further:

Moses 6:5

1830	OT Ms. #1:	[Manuscript is torn, this passage missing]
1830	OT Ms. #2:	to write with the finger of inspiration
1830:	OT Ms. #3:	to write with the ^{spirit} finger of inspiration
1845	Bernhisel	to write with the spirit of inspiration

An excerpt in which a pinned-on note is involved is as follows:

Romans 4:16

Inspired Version Manuscript (NT #2, p. 123)	Bernhisel Copy (p. 89)
[1st Revision] 16th And ye are justified them of work them them	
[2nd Revision, pinned over the above entry:] 16 Therefore ye are justified of faith and works through grace to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed not to them only who are of the law but to them also who are of the faith of Abraham who is the father of us all.	16 Therefore ye are justified of faith and works through grace to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed not to them only who are of the law but to them also who are of the faith of Abraham who is the father of us all.

Since the Bernhisel Manuscript has the exact text of the pinned-on note, it is certain that the pinned-on notes, the cross-outs,

and interlinear additions to Old Testament Manuscript #3 and New Testament Manuscript #2, were there in 1845 when Dr. Bernhisel made his copy.

These conditions make the Bernhisel Manuscript important to the RLDS as well as to the LDS Church and establishes it as a valuable historical document pertaining to the divinely inspired mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Comparing the Bernhisel Manuscript with the original manuscripts from which it was copied has resulted in the following observations:

1. Dr. Bernhisel made his copy in the spring of 1845, nearly a year after the death of Joseph Smith. It seems to have been a private endeavor on his part.
2. The Bernhisel Manuscript is a partial copy of Old Testament Manuscript #3 (with scant mention and copy from Old Testament Manuscript #2) and New Testament Manuscript #2.
3. Dr. Bernhisel did not make a simple transcription of the originals but rather made an "interpretive" copy, using a King James Version of the Bible in cooperation with the written manuscripts.
4. The Bernhisel copy, insofar as it goes, is essentially accurate in substance even though it is not an exact reproduction of the original manuscripts. Bernhisel made a few errors and a great many omissions.
5. The Bernhisel copy could not have been the basic source for the Moses and Matthew materials in either the 1851 or the 1878 editions of the Pearl of Great Price.
6. The Bernhisel copy has significant value as a witness to the present integrity of the original manuscripts, and as such is an important historical document of special interest to both RLDS and LDS people.
7. Through this study, hitherto unknown background information has been obtained regarding the Pearl of Great Price and several items relative to Church history, as well as much valuable information about the Inspired Version of the Bible.

Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti-Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri

edited by WARREN A. JENNINGS*

On the evening of May 6, 1842, Lilburn W. Boggs retired to the study of his home in Independence, Missouri. He was engaged once again as a merchant after having served a tempestuous four years as Governor of Missouri (1836-1840). During that term he had incurred the unwavering hostility of the Mormons because of his "exterminating order," an act of extremism which had resulted in their expulsion from the state in the winter of 1838-39. The life of a businessman proving dull, he had decided to seek again the excitement of politics and had spent the day campaigning for a seat in the State Senate. Boggs was engrossed in reading a newspaper when shots rang out. The ex-Governor slumped forward in his chair with blood flowing from wounds in his head and neck. Physicians were summoned but the prognosis was pessimistic; Boggs was not expected to live. For days he faltered between life and death until he rallied and passed the crisis.¹

An immediate search was made for the would-be assassin who had fired through a window and fled. Initially the community was at a loss for a suspect; guilt did "not seem to rest on any person."² As facts began to be collected a search was

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¹Accounts of this incident may be found in Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), pp. 74-76; Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco; n. p., 1881), pp. 380-81; William M. Boggs, "A Short Biographical Sketch of Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review* 4 (January 1910): 107-09; Monte B. McLaws, "The Attempted Assassination of Missouri's Ex-Governor, Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review* 60 (October 1965): 50-54; and *Jeffersonian Republican* (Jefferson City), 14 May 1842.

²Letter from Boggs' brother-in-law, dated May 7, *St. Louis Republican*, 12 May 1842.

made for a man named Tompkins, a silversmith. Tompkins was able to clear himself: a citizens committee designed "to ferret out the assassin," headed by Samuel D. Lucas, "fully acquitted and exculpated [the silversmith] from all suspicion."³ A week after the assassination attempt, the committee wrote the incumbent Governor of Missouri, Thomas Reynolds, that "no suspicion rests upon any one."⁴ However, some were speculating already that a Mormon might be involved.⁵ As time passed the Boggs family and others in the community became convinced—or convinced themselves—that Orrin P. Rockwell, who reportedly had been visiting relatives in western Missouri at the time, had fired the shot and that he was acting under orders from Joseph Smith. For a number of reasons—some public and others private—an effort was made to implicate Smith. Extensive pressure was exerted upon Reynolds to have Smith extradited from Illinois.

Few of Reynolds' papers have survived, but among these is a series of letters from two Iowa postmasters. These give some impression of the influences operating upon Reynolds—and thus some insight into the forces shaping the decision-making process of all public officials. They also disclose some of the personal motives of two prominent anti-Mormon agitators. One should be reluctant to accept as fact all statements within these letters. Obviously, they contain much that was mere rumor. They do indicate something of the extent of malevolence and prejudice that the Mormons faced in the areas surrounding Nauvoo. The letters are in the Missouri Archives, Manuscript Division, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

LETTER 1

Montrose May 14th 1842

To His Excely
Governor Reynolds

Sir

We have just rec^d via St Louis information the Ex Gov^r Boggs of your State was murdered in his

³*Jeffersonian Republican*, 21 May 1842. This issue also noted that "the assassins are now supposed to be three in number. The attempted murder of Gov. Boggs, has been succeeded by several daring acts of burglary and arson, which has produced great excitement at Independence."

⁴May 13, 1842, "Thomas Reynolds Letters," Missouri Archives, State Historical Society Manuscript Collection, Columbia, Missouri.

⁵*Boon's Lick Times* (Fayette), 14 May 1842.

own house on the 9th [sic] last & that suspicion was [one word illegible] that the awful deed had been committed by a follower of the wretched imposter *Joe* Smith.⁶

If it is true that Gov Boggs has been murdered & that it is not satisfactorily known who committed the murder, then I should not entertain a doubt that it was done by some of Joe's minions at his instigation. He has sworn Vengeance publicly against Gov Boggs ever since he settled in this neighborhood. A friend of mine was present to day when the news was made known to *Joe*—he exclaimed in that [sic] it was to good to be true; but he hoped to God it was so.

Almost every Mormon here rejoices over it & I have heard many of them say that he ought to have been killed long ago; and one leading Mormon remarked that he had no doubt but a Mormon had done it. . . .

Their city Nauvoo is directly opposite this. We look upon them as a *Banditti*; called together by their leaders for the purpose of forming a more perfect organization, to carry out their swindling & treasonable plans.

I have heard the leaders publicly encourage their people to steal from Missourians.

. . . .

D. W. Kilbourne P. M.⁷

. . . .

⁶According to Smith, the first news of the attack upon Boggs reached Nauvoo on May 14. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, by Himself*, ed. Bingham H. Roberts, 5 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960): 8; hereinafter cited as "HJS."

⁷David Wells Kilbourne (1803-1876) had a persistent history as an adversary of the Mormons. Born in Connecticut and a former school teacher, he had become a land speculator affiliated with the New York Land Company which had an interest in the Half-Breed Tract in Iowa—as did the Mormons. Kilbourne had platted the town of Montrose in 1837, ran a general store with his brother Edward in the abandoned fort at that place, and was a Justice of the Peace. He wrote a number of polemics against the Mormons, especially for the *Burlington Hawk-Eye and Patriot*. Some of these were reproduced in John Cook Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), pp. 89-93 and 99-103. Other accounts of encounters between the Mormons and the Kilbournes may be found in *St. Louis New Era*, 2 October 1841; *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo), 2: 562 & 3: 559; and "HJS," 3: 61; 4: 416-17 & 444; and 5: 44 & 61. A lengthy, anti-Mormon exposition of these difficulties can be found in the handwritten biography of D. W. Kilbourne by his son, George E. Kilbourne in "C. F. Davis Collection—Keokuk, Iowa Memoranda," 2: 427ff, Microfilm collection of "Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-1848," Library of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. A biographical sketch is contained in *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd series, 15 (April 1926): 311-13.

LETTER 2

Keokuk Iowa Tty July 12th 1842

His Excellency Gov Reynolds

Sir

.

Genl Bennet,⁸ late a *Mormon leader*, now a *dissenter* goes to you as he tells me for the purpose of giving information touching the attempted assassination of Ex Gov Boggs—It is not doubted here in the least but that the information which he intends to convey to you is literally correct, /i.e./ that he knows who the person is that shot Boggs, and that he /Bennet/ can prove Smith's agency in the matter sufficiently clear to satisfy any person of his participation in the matter. Bennet accuses a fellow by the name of Rockwood or Rockwell⁹ & from some circumstances I suspected him the very day the news reached & I wrote the Post Master of Independence Missouri for a description of the person, who was seen lurking around there about the time the affair took place.¹⁰ It is certain that immediately preceeding the news reaching here of the attempted assassination, Smith stated that he had it revealed to him of God himself *that Boggs would not die in his bed*. If he had not had some knowledge of the contemplated murder, what grounds would he have had for such remarks—None of us are willing to admit that he holds communion with the Diety, without admitting it we are compelled to believe him to be by, proxy, the author of that most foul deed. Ever since he was compelled to leave your State he has denounced the Citizens with heaviest imprecations. Could Treason be made out of words, in the United States, he has certainly been guilty of treason toward Missouri but such is not the case. Nearly his whole conversation & thoughts are taken up by planning the destruction of Missouri and unless checked, depend upon it, he will some day and that before long give your State more trouble than you are aware of or once think of. If his society was composed of men of moral honesty you would

⁸John C. Bennett had been expelled from the Church on or before June 25. He went to Iowa where he made contact with those hostile to the Mormons.

⁹Albert Perry Rockwood is being confused with Orrin Porter Rockwell, a mistake others were making at the time. See *St. Louis Republican*, 12 July 1842 *Missouri Whig* (Palmyra), 23 July 1842.

¹⁰This description was of Tompkins. *Jeffersonian Republican*, 14 May 1842.

know how to meet them, but a majority of them are renegades. Now, Sir do not think this idle speculation, for if you do you will be deceived, grossly deceived.

I know that the Mormons can never seriously affect this soon but they will one day give her a great deal of trouble. A person unacquainted with them knows nothing of the reverential awe with which they receive and obey Smith's mandates & from the mouths of a majority of them is constantly hearty imprecations against & plans for the destruction of your State.

Smith's word is law & his prophecies, revelation among them and could you attend one of their military parades (and you could not miss one any day in the year [Sundays excepted] for their city is constantly a military encampment) you would be satisfied that my remarks are not groundless.

Now, Sir, it is in your power to break up this horde of villany and murder by removing its head or leader. Is not Smith a refugee from your State? And does not justice to her citizens require you to demand from Illinois his immediate surrender? Rest assured your call would be recd with loudest cheers from this quarter & from the adjoining counties on the opposite side of the Mississippi. You can form no idea of the accession that is daily being made to their numbers by the arrival of Foreigners & other persons from different parts of the United States, all filled with hatred to Missouri. There are some good meaning persons among them, I have no doubt, but a large majority of them are villains of the darkest dyes and are as enthusiastic as they are worthless.

I expect to be a Citizen of Missouri shortly & would be glad to see the vile traducer of your State & black assassin of one of her ex Governors brought to Justice.

You will pardon me from intruding myself on you a second time,¹¹ I take a warmer interest in this matter than I should do, perhaps. . . . *I wish the above to be considered as confidential.*

. . . .

L. B. Fleak P. M.¹²
at Keokuk I. T.

. . . .

¹¹Fleak's first letter was not among the others and is probably no longer extant.

¹²Laban Bramble Fleak (1808-1890) was born in Ohio, taught school, and manned a schooner on Lake Erie in the early 1830's where he possibly first

LETTER 3

Keokuk I. T. Augt 8th 1842

His Excellency Gov Reynolds

Dear Sir

I have just this hour recd intelligence from *Nauvoo* that the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith has this day been arrested on your requisition.¹³ He sent down for one of our attorneys¹⁴ & it was from him that I obtained the above information. The amount of it will be this Smith will be rescued by those devils which surround him & there will be another *war* more bloody than those villians say theirs was in Mo

Nothing can save Smith this time, nine tenths of our Citizens will support the Sheriff although he belongs to another State. The news of his arrest had not been here one hour before every Mormon in Our Town had left for *Nauvoo* I shall be with the Sheriff¹⁵ this evening and on my return again I will write you & from this time until he is safely conveyed into your State you may expect a note from me every Mail.

You could have done nothing else that would have given the people of this Country & of Illinois the satisfaction that this requisition has given them.

. . . .

L. B. Fleak

. . . .

learned of the Mormons. He moved to Keokuk in March 1840 where he initially opened a grocery store. Later he rented a building, the Keokuk Hotel, which he subsequently bought from Isaac Galland. See the 154 page handwritten life (probably autobiographical) of Fleak in "C. F. Davis Collection," 1: 325ff. Fleak was the first postmaster at Keokuk. *Table of Post Offices in the United States, on the Thirty-First of January, 1842* (Washington: n. p., 1842), p. 102. This office would have been a political appointment.

¹³Smith had been arrested on requisition of the Governor of Illinois, Thomas Carlin, who was responding to a request by Reynolds. Reynolds had acted on an affidavit sworn by Boggs on July 20. "HJS," 5: 67 and *Nauvoo Wasp*, 13 August 1842. Fleak later claimed that Boggs sent a personal emissary to him whose name he subsequently forgot. After consultation it was decided that the emissary should go to Nauvoo and pass himself off as a friend of the Mormons. Purportedly he became a member of the Church and was so successful in his deception that he became a trusted friend of the Prophet. "C. F. Davis Collection," 1: 455ff.

¹⁴"Lawyer" Powers. "HJS," 5: 89-95.

¹⁵James M. Pitman, the Deputy Sheriff of Adams County, Illinois.

LETTER 4

[Enclosure]

Montrose Iowa
Aug 12 th 1842

Friend Fleak

It is next to impossible to get correct news from across the river. The Sheriff returned from Quincy yesterday & demanded Joe of the Marshall of Nauvoo into whose hands he had committed him for safe keeping; but he was not forthcoming, the Marshall Saint had let him go.

The fact is the Mormons defy all the force that can be brought against them & swear in their strength that Joe Shall not be taken to Mo. Does not his conduct show the despot guilt [sic]? They are all in a great stew—Every old Rifle, Pistol, Cutlass, Knife etc among them is being put in order.

If Joe does not appear I suppose the next step will be to offer a reward for him as a fugitive from justice—as he has now escaped from an officer of justice.

If that is done I'll be bound justice will overtake him.

Will Mo now give up the chase? Will Gov Boggs be willing to rest & let a man who would murder him any moment go "unwhipped of Justice"?—for the good of the country & the peace of Society I hope not.

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D. W. Kilbourne

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LETTER 5

Keokuk I. T. Augt. 14, 1842

His Excellency Gov Reynolds

Sir

Enclosed you will find a letter from the Post Master at Montrose 12 miles above this place & opposite the Mormon City, it contains all the information that can be had up to that time.

Smith is now shulking around in this Territory and will probably stay here until a requisition on our Gov. drives him somewhere else. He was in our Town at 12 OClock last night

consulting one of our Attorneys¹⁶—The Cause of his being given up to the Marshall of the City of Nauvoo was this, they have an ordinance in their City which prohibits any persons being taken away from theirs without a hearing, & the Sheriff who arrested him having no counsel was obliged to go to Quincy to procure it. In his absence Smith procured an examination, before a *Mormon Mayor* & of course was liberated.

The Mormons say that Smith shall not be taken to Missouri, that they will fight & all this. We had a sample of that in your State.¹⁷ I will write as often as I can obtain any information.

. . . .

L. B. Fleak

. . . .

LETTER 6

Keokuk I. T. Sept 6th 1842

His Excellency Thos Reynolds

Sir

Yours of the 20th ult for Mr Ford¹⁸ came duly to hand—last night, & I am sorry to say that the letter was not handed me until Mr. Ford was on his return to Missouri

However I do not know that I could have been of any material service to him, for those renegades look upon me with suspicion

Nothing short of a *reward* or a regiment of Militia will get him from his hiding place. A reward will, I think make or

¹⁶Smith had not gone into Keokuk. William Walker had crossed to Iowa on Smith's horse, "Joe Duncan," with a message from Emma Smith to Powers. This is the cause for the confusion. "HJS," 5: 91.

¹⁷During the winter of 1836 Fleak had moved to Richmond, Missouri, where he opened a jewelry store. A year later he helped found a town, Buffalo City, on the Crooked River in Ray County where he opened a general store. For a variety of reasons the town never prospered. Fleak later claimed that when word came to him of the Battle of Crooked River, he called out the militia and was elected Captain of the local company. "C. F. Davis Collection," 1: 341ff. The payroll records of those militia units employed against the Mormons at Far West show that Fleak served as a private in Captain David Snowden's company from October 30 to November 8, 1838, for which he received \$9.91 $\frac{2}{3}$. Missouri Archives, State Historical Society Manuscript Collection.

¹⁸On July 22 Reynolds commissioned Sheriff Edward R. Ford to carry writs to Carlin for Smith and Rockwell's extradition and receive the prisoners. On August 20 similar writs were issued to the Territorial Governor on the possibility that Smith might cross into Iowa. "Records of the States of the United States, a Microfilm Record; Missouri, Register of Civil Proceedings," p. 175.

find a "Judas" among them.¹⁹ They laugh at the idea of his being removed by a hundred men, in short they say that "Brother Joseph" shall never be taken to Missouri. Our Sheriff
Smith

is on the alert but I do not think he/will make his appearance, soon, again on our side of the River. He was in our Town about two weeks ago, late at night. I do most sincerely hope that you will be the means of bringing the renegade to justice. I am as well satisfied, as is this whole community, that Rockwell, by the order of Smith, is the person that attempted the assassination of Boggs as I am that there is such a place as Paris.

You have not much to expect from Gov Carlin, he is about half Mormon himself or at least appears so from his sycophancy, when he meets those Smiths.

Should Smith make his appearance again in our Town he will be arrested, as every thing is in readiness to convey him accross the Desmoines River²⁰ & in the mean time should any thing occur that would be important to be known by you I will advise you of it immediately. Be good enough to command me at all times.

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L. B. Fleak

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LETTER 7

Keokuk I. T. Oct 5th 1842

Gov Reynolds

Dr Sir

I am this moment in receipt of your favour of the 23rd Ultimo & mailed on the 26th and also in receipt of the enclosed letter from my half brother who left here this morning.

I hope that my brother has not been misinformed. The Town that he dates his letter at is immediately opposite Nau-

¹⁹Perhaps it was Fleak's suggestion which was responsible for Reynolds' offering a reward of \$600.00 for the apprehension and delivery of Smith and Rockwell to Joseph H. Reynolds, Sheriff of Jackson County. Buel Leopard and Floyd C. Shoemaker, eds., *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, 1 (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1922), 524-25.

²⁰The boundary between northeastern Missouri and southeastern Iowa.

voo—Since writing the above another respectable man has arrived at my house with the same report that my brother sends me—he obtained his information from one of the leaders of the Church. In fact he told me that he had seen a letter from Jo. stating that there would be no chance for him longer to escape, that the officers were there in Nauvoo &c. In this same package I send you another letter that I had written before I was in receipt of either yours or my brothers' letters. It is a fact that Smith ordered the Mormons back to Nauvoo that had started—The person of whom they were purchasing told me not 10 minutes since.²¹ Success to the enterprise.

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L. B. Fleak

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P. S. I will write you again tomorrow night

LETTER 8

[Enclosure]

Keokuk I. T. Oct 5th 1842

His Excellency Thomas Reynolds

Sir

Your reward for Smith & Rockwell is making a great stir among the "brethren" at the "City of Nauvoo" Smith it is said has fortified himself in some sort of a *den*; this I do not vouch for, & Rockwell has left the Country.²² I am informed that the Gov of Illinois has added \$400 more to your reward and I at this time know of no less than three persons that are on the alert determined to arrest him if possible. There will be some *Judas'* among themselves I think.²³ I am in hopes to have it in my power to announce to you the capture of Smith by a week from this evening. Yesterday was a day that was set for about 50 of them to come down to our Town to select lots, but by an order from the *Prophet* they all remaind at home. This information I have from one of the Mormons & I have no doubt but it is correct—

²¹James Remick. See Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 142 and "HJS," 5: 162, 165 & 334.

²²Smith had a variety of hiding places. By this time Rockwell had left for the East. Schindler, *Rockwell*, p. 86.

²³Smith came to fear the possibility. See "HJS," 6: 152.

The intention of the three persons above alluded to, is to seize Smith some night in his own house perhaps, gag him, & carry him on board a small boat and bring him down to my house & keep him securely in a room in the 3rd story until the arrival of our regular St Louis Packets, one of which leaves here every night in the week except Monday night. I am the agent for all those Packets & when once on board there will be no further difficulty. If the enterprise succeeds I am entitled to one fourth of the Reward which I will take pleasure in bestowing on the State of Missouri. One of those three is now in Nauvoo and has been there for 2 days since which time I have heard nothing from him, but I have no doubt but that he is making all the discoveries that can be make, without creating suspicion. They are all careful, resolute fellows & will do nothing without the utmost caution, & if they should, accidentally be detected it will take the half of Nauvoo to arrest them, for all is planned, either for victory or defeat

Thus I have given you the Outlines of the plan & it is needless to say to you that it is in confidence. In the course of two months our Town will be overrun with those cutthroats as one of the principal owners in the Town has sold his interest to them.

I shall leave here with my effects in the Month of March for Missouri or sooner if I can get my business shaped so that I can leave without too great a loss. I am selling goods here & think of locating in some County seat in the South western part of Missouri should I find a location to suit me. I have now on hands about 70 head of Cattle that I shall send off this fall to Van Buren County.

. . . .

L. B. Fleak

. . . .

LETTER 9

[Enclosure]

Montrose Oct 5th 1842

Dr Brother

I have that Jo Smith is taken again. Some say the Mormons have themselves taken him for the purpose of getting the reward but others that the Officers from Quincy have taken him. He has gone to Carthage to day & is to have a trial

tomorrow. The Mormons think the Judge will set him at liberty
I shall go to Carthage this evening if I can get over the River
In haste

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H. B. Whetset [?]

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LETTER 10

Keokuk I. T. Oct 7th 1842

Gov Reynolds

Dear Sir

I hasten to correct the information which I gave your per last nights Boat respecting the supposed arrest of Jo Smith.

Smith is *not* arrested as was reported, this I have from my brother (the same that addressed me the note that I enclosed to you) and I know it can be relied upon. The note before me from him is dated at Nauvoo & was written the morning *after* the other was written. What can be the object of the Mormons in reporting his arrest I cannot conjecture, they must have something in view. I shall be in Nauvoo tomorrow—and should anything transpire worthy of notice I will again write you. In the meantime the plan proposed in my note of the 5th Ins will be vigorously prosecuted

The Reward has had one salutary effect—it has stopped their settling in our Town & those that had come down have returned to Nauvoo

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L. B. Fleak

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LETTER 11

Keokuk I. T. Dec 4/42

Gov Reynolds

Dear Sir

All of our efforts to seize the renegade Smith, have proved fruitless and we have been compelled though with reluctance to abandon the project. He keeps constantly around him as body guard of some 12 to 14 enthusiastic

fanaticks²⁴ which renders a secret approach impossible, and with the River frozen over as it now is,²⁵ even if we were to get him it would be impossible to get away with him, for one halloo from him [sic] call a thousand men to his rescue.

The only possible way to get him is through the newly elected Governor.²⁶ He may do something but Carlin never would if he were to continue Gov 20 years, he is about half Mormon himself—

His house has been Smith's Hotel, when in Quincy for the past two years.

Depend upon it, those fanaticks will one day give your State a great deal of trouble, their whole thought is how they they [sic] shall injure or destroy Missouri & the first thing taught their new members is to despise Missouri. They have now purchased the principal part of Keokuk & are coming into it very fast, which puts a body of them within 3 miles of the Missouri line. I shall leave here in March for Missouri.

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L. B. Fleak

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LETTER 12

Keokuk I. T. March 1/43

Gov Reynolds

Sir

I once more intrude on your patience the perusal of a note. It is currently reported here that another requisition has been sent to Illinois for the delivery of Joe Smith to the authority of your State. The requisition is said to be founded on the indictment of 1838. I hope it is true. I think that requisition will stick if such a one has been issued in spite of the whole fraternity of Mormon Judges Counsellors Sheriffs &c; of Illinois. I know Smith fears it for I am informed that he has ordered the Mormons to leave our County and concentrate at Nauvoo, at any rate they are *all all* [sic] about leaving our Town. I would advise you to keep on your *guard* at all times for they have indirectly threatened your life in case you

²⁴His life guard.

²⁵The Mississippi River froze on November 19 and remained so until after March 1, 1843. "HJS," 5: 292.

²⁶Thomas Ford, who was inaugurated as Governor of Illinois on December 8.

pursue this villain further, you have seen how successful their attempts were on Ex Gov Boggs so I beg of you be on your guard at all times. They are determined to give some of you trouble before long if I may judge by their assertions. They are becoming very numerous, hundreds of new recruits are weekly arriving & this same Temple that they are now building is in my opinion intended for a fortress. The strength of the place is proof of the fact.

I am happy to say that I shall be ready to leave this accursed Mormon Country by the Middle of May or the first of June next and I intend permanently settling myself near the South Western County of your State. I shall take with me from 100 to 120 head of Good Cattle. I am told that the above named section of country is a fine grazing country. I want a situation where I can sell goods. If you can give me any information about that country & have time & inclination to do it I will take it as an especial favour, which shall at some future period be duly reciprocated if an opportunity ever offers.

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L. B. Fleak

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P. S. Rockwell, Smiths tool is in Wisconsin Territory in the pine country near the Falls of St. Croix

LBF

LETTER 13

Keokuk Iowa March 20th

His Excellency Thos Reynolds

1843

Dear Sir

I have just read with pleasure of the arrest of that notorious Rockwell and I will say to you that it has created no small excitement among the Mormons.²⁷ I am now more than ever satisfied of the guilt of Joe & I know he fears that Rockwell will turn traitor. If the right method is pursued I am satisfied that he will do so for we all know that a midnight assassin will stop at nothing in a general way. Those villians at Nauvoo have ascertained by some means

²⁷Rockwell was arrested at the St. Louis steamboat landing on March 4. He spent several months in jail in Jackson County but was finally released when a grand jury refused to indict him, probably for lack of evidence.

that I was watching them closely and they deceived me egregiously in regard to the location of Rockwell. What I wrote you a short time ago respecting his being in the *Pinery* in Wisconsin was told me in a very careless manner by one of the leaders & I supposed it to be true, but I am now convinced that it was done purposely to deceive me. I fear some difficulties with them but my house is pretty fair arsenal and if they interfere with me I shall give them the best show possible. I intend leaving the infernal Mormon region in one month more

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L. B. Fleak

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P. S. You will pardon me for troubling you with so many unasked for notes—whether welcome or not. I am determined to keep you constantly advised of any movement that I see amongst them.

LETTER 14

Keokuk I. T. Augt 3rd 1843

His Excellency Gov Reynolds

Dear Sir, Herewith I send you a copy of an affidavit that is now in my office, although there is nothing definite in it, yet you may rely upon it that if those Mormons do not give you trouble on your Western & northern line this Fall, it will be because they cannot get enough of the Indians to fall in with their diabolical schemes. They have numbers of emissaries among the Indians at this time who represent to the Indians that they are Englishmen. They are also scattering *English Medals* among the Indians, & represent to them that Smith holds a commission under the British government. This may all look like a hoax to you, but the time *will* come when it will not be felt as a *hoax*. Hitchcock²⁸ the deponent has long been acquainted with the Pottawattomies, speaks their tongue as fluently as he does the English language. He is well known here and has been known, always, as a man of undoubted veracity. I myself know that those chiefs (as they calld [sic] themselves) were there at the time he mentions in his affidavit & I also know that they returned at the time that

²⁸Emanuel Hitchcock was a farmer in Lee County according to the *United States Census of 1840*.

he says they told him they would & that they brought their own interpreter with them this last time.²⁹ The following is a true copy of the Affidavit, many of the expressions are awkward but he says it is a literal translation of their conversation so far as it goes.

Territory of Iowa } ss —Personally appeared before the un-
Lee County

dersigned a Justice of the Peace for Lee County, Iowa Territory E Hitchcock who being duly sworn according to Law, deposeth & sayth "That about the first of April last,³⁰ three Pottawattomie chiefs, the oldest was *Waugh-be-ke-she*, the next oldest *Apa-guch-a-ba* & the youngest *Na-am-wat*³¹ came to Montrose and enquired of the deponent for the *British Captain*, that talks with the Great Spirit A Mormon took them across the River to Nauvoo about 10 o-Clock A. M. & about 2 O Clock P. M. Joe Smith (the Prophet so called) sent a request for the deponent to come to Nauvoo which the deponent complied with, when the deponent arrived at Smith's, said Chiefs were before Smith's house surrounded by about one hundred Mormons. After the lapse of some minutes, Smith ordered the deponent & Chiefs to appear before him in his rooms. This was before the deponent began the interpretation. The house of Smith was then cleared and no one allowed to enter the room but *Hiram Smith*, Joe's Brother & three other Mormons. The Chiefs requested the deponent to tell the Brittish Capt (Joe Smith) that many of his men were among them on Kansas River and had told them that that great white streak seen in the West two & a half moons past,³² signified the great white prophet (Brittish Capn Joe Smith,) that talked with the Great Spirit and that *he Smith would tell them how to settle all of their abuses of the whites and how to get redress for their wrongs*. The Chiefs then said that ten tribes had already smoked the pipe of Peace & were then ready to receive & obey his (Smiths') orders. The Chiefs also requested Smith to send

²⁹On July 2, 1843 Smith had held an interview with several *Pottawattamie* Chiefs. "HJS," 5: 479-81.

³⁰The first meeting with the Pottawattamie Chiefs had occurred on April 18, 1843. "HJS," 5: 365.

³¹The identity of these three chiefs is unknown, at least under these names.

³²The great comet of 1843 which was visible from late February to early April. See *American Journal of Sciences and Arts* 44 (April 1843): 412-17; *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1844*, pp. 94-101 and "HJS," 5: 301. The *St. Louis Republican*, 18 March 1843, mentions a "long luminary streak now visible each evening in southwestern sky."

some of his *big* men home with them. They then showed Smith two *Brittish medals* to prove to him that they were true friends as they said. All the reply that Smith made to them, through the deponent was "my hands are tied, by holding a Commission under the United States" but he said to them that he wished the *ten* tribes to stick closely together. Hiram Smith told the deponent to say to them that they should not *send* any one with them but if brother *Dunham*³³ was willing to go with them he *might* go. The next morning about sunrise the Chiefs came back to Montrose, when this deponent asked them when they would return to Nauvoo, they replied when corn comes knee high. The Chiefs earnestly requested this deponent to keep their talk a secret & further the deponent saith not.

Signed Emanuel Hitchcock

Sworn to & subscribed before me on this 27th day of July 1843

Signed J[ames]. A. Clark J. P.

The above is a true copy of the affidavit & with my knowledge of those fanatics together with the fact of the return of those chiefs at the time specified and other circumstances, I do fully believe that there will be an attempt made on the frontiers of Missouri this very Fall. I have read a letter from Capt Allen of Fort Rackoon,³⁴ some 250 miles up the Desmoines River He states that there had been one or two hundred Pottawattomies encamped in that vicinity & that the Sac & Fox Indians had furnished them with some 80 to 100 horses, he says in his letter that he does not apprehend any difficulty, but at the same time he will be on the alert, always in readiness and keep his eye closely on any whites that may be passing. It is not my wish to create any unnecessary alarm, but I do think that the inhabitants on the border of the State should know what facts there are in the case, That the Mormons have a fixed hatred against Missouri you are well aware. One of the principal articles of their creed is the destruction of Missouri. No Mormon has prayed yet I expect without calling for the vengeance of

³³On July 14, 1843 Jonathan Dunham left on an excursion among the Sac and Pottawattamie Indians. "HJS," 5: 541-49.

³⁴Captain James Allen was commander of Company 1, First Dragoons which was stationed at Fort Raccoon. This post was on the site of present day Des Moines, Iowa. Allen was the officer who recruited the "Mormon Battalion" for service during the Mexican War.

Heaven on Missouri. Well I claim to be a Missourian & glory in the name & I hope the Mormons will make their intended invasion, then the extermination of their [sic] would take place beyond a doubt. I said I was a Missourian; I am not by birth, but by adoption. I have resided in the State for several years & intend being there shortly again, as soon at least as I finish closing my business which will be in two or three months.

I am now offering to pay the reward for Smith that you offered, provided he is delivered to me in Clark Co Mo five miles from this place. There is nothing on earth would give me more pleasure than to make my appearance at Jefferson City with Joe in *tow* However I have no hopes of success as he keeps a body guard near him all the while. I send you a paper to day containing Hiram Smiths Testimony as given before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo at Smiths last exparte examination.³⁵

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L. B. Fleak³⁶

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On the morning of February 9, 1844, Governor Reynolds shot himself through the forehead. In a note explaining his motive for committing suicide, he wrote that he had tried to carry out his duties "but this has not protected me for the last twelve months from the slanders and abuse of my enemies, which has rendered my life a burden to me."³⁷ For several months Reynolds "had been in a very bad state of health"³⁸ and in a despondent mood. Some of his contemporaries speculated that an aggravating factor had been the criticism Reynolds had received for not being able to return Smith to Missouri for trial.³⁹ This speculation has continued to the present.⁴⁰

³⁵*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 12 July 1843.

³⁶Fleak never moved to Missouri. He was still at Keokuk and still seeking political preferment in February 1850 when he was appointed by Austin A. King, Governor of Missouri, as a commissioner "to receive oaths and to take dispositions and affidavits to be read in [Missouri]." "Register of Civil Proceedings," p. 524. That same year he moved to a farm near Fairfield, Iowa, where he remained until his death. His obituary noted that "he was an active participant in the movement which resulted in driving the Mormons from Nauvoo." *Fairfield Ledger*, 12 March 1890.

³⁷*Jefferson Inquirer* (Jefferson City), 15 February 1844.

³⁸*Boon's Lick Times*, 17 February 1844.

³⁹*Quincy Whig*, 21 February 1844.

⁴⁰George R. Gayler, "Attempts by the State of Missouri to Extradite Joseph Smith, 1841-1843," *Missouri Historical Review* 58 (October 1963): 36.

Academic Responsibility*

ROBERT K. THOMAS**

At an educational conference a few years ago, a speaker told of sitting in a bus on his way home from work and overhearing a conversation between two laborers who were in the seat in front of him. They were obviously elated at the thought of some overtime work that had been promised them, and they were hard at work in trying to figure out what next week's paycheck would be. One man listed the hourly rate that they were being paid and—to the side—the number of hours of work that had been promised to them.

At this point he turned to his companion and asked, a bit dubiously, if his friend knew how to multiply. After a moment's hesitation, the friend took the paper and pencil, wrote the number of hours beneath the hourly rate, drew a line under both, and placed an x to the side. Then he waited expectantly; they both waited. Nothing happened. Finally, the one who had hoped to set the multiplication in motion by writing an x to the side of his problem crumpled the paper disgustedly and said to his companion, "That's what's wrong with multiplication; you've got to know the answer before you begin the problem."

BEGIN AT THE BEGINNING

We smile sympathetically at such frustration because we share it whenever we fail to begin at the beginning. If we have not learned to add, the relative sophistication of multiplying will escape us. If we neglect faith—the first principle of the

*The Maeser Awards Assembly address which was given at Brigham Young University on April 27, 1971.

**Academic Vice-President and professor of English for Brigham Young University, Dr. Thomas is also co-author of five volumes of *Out of the Best Books*. He is well qualified to speak on his subject.

gospel—true repentance is simply not generated. Those we honor here today are persuasive evidence of what skilled and dedicated Latter-day Saints can do and be. If we would emulate them—their lives and their achievements—we must prepare ourselves to succeed.

We are told, poetically, that “the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.” As good poetry always should, this suggests more than it seems to say. For while it bids us to appreciate the vision of youth, it also hints at a major limitation of the juvenile: his willingness to be satisfied with a single dimension. “Long” thoughts may be profound, but they are often only tenuous. The breadth and depth that make an adult out of an adolescent, that unite vision with judgment, are earned—and learned. There are no short cuts and few substitutions. Apprenticeship precedes mastery, and first steps may not be very sure.

All steps are really first steps if our vision matches our developing ability. It is some comfort to take tentative steps together, and formal schooling provides the security of growing with our peers. In this sense college should be both culmination and promise. We assemble as a community of faculty and students in a university setting, as the Scriptures suggest, “to teach one another.” (See D&C 38:23; 88:77, 118.)

In a truly dynamic learning situation, nothing escapes change. For the instructor, teaching can be a continuing intellectual implosion. The material that is being studied comes to fruition, and the student is released from the bondage of ignorance and superstition. For the moment, however, let me concentrate on what can happen to the student who is “anxiously engaged” in his collegiate education. To begin with, attitude, far more than training, distinguishes the halfhearted pupil from the aspiring scholar.

ORDINARY STUDENT OR SCHOLAR?

The ordinary student finds his relationship with faculty and administration both vague and awkward. He tends to symbolize them: the teacher becomes a grade and the administration, a big stick. At the risk of sounding defensive, I believe that most teachers sincerely regret this and are eager to achieve at least an intellectual rapport with those whom they instruct. But here the teacher’s authority works against him. Since he can command,

his invitation is suspect. Yet, even when a student, on his own volition, meets with his instructor or administrative officer, real communication rarely takes place. For one who comes to such an interview to *learn*, a hundred come to *explain*.

Too many young people today believe the defensive assertions that attempt to justify student dereliction. They have been told so often that they are not responsible causes—they are only unfortunate results—that they believe it. After all, a result does not have a future, only a past. The establishment is to blame, or the Vietnam war, or broken homes, poor teachers, or comic books. Such a list becomes a litany of extenuation.

In a rather moving poem, John Holmes tells of his boyhood experiences with an old, deaf New England shipbuilder who provided him with some of the profoundest "talk" he ever heard—without speaking a word. As young Johnny watched the skilled hands of the old craftsman, it suddenly came to him with the force of a voice shouting in his ear that, no matter how you build it, "your ship has to float: you can't explain to the ocean."

How many students have come to me to "explain to the ocean." Their work will be late; they have not been feeling well lately, or—a reflection of our mind-obsessed times—they have always had a psychological block against spelling or grammar. The ultimate, or perhaps nadir, of all such "explanations" in my experience occurred when a student, a mite plaintively, excused his absence from my daily ten o'clock class by telling me that he needed to have his teeth fixed and that ten o'clock was the only "free period" he had.

How significantly different are the attitudes of the student-scholar. He recognizes in the administration not discipline so much as direction, and his teacher is not an opponent but a component in a dynamic process. The student turned scholar expects, nay insists, on being inspired by his instructor—and is not often disappointed. The material is always ready; the teacher is usually ready. But when the material, student, and teacher are ready, there is fusion, not the amalgamation that we often rather unctuously call education.

In the real learning experience, the teacher is not outside or above or detached; he is an integral part of the reaction and is, himself, never quite the same afterward. How easy it is for the student to settle for something less than scholarship on his own

part and in so doing make it impossible for the teacher to provide more than mechanical direction.

Give your instructor grudging attention, and you will turn him into a policeman; fawn upon him, and you tend to corrupt him. Even the least of you, however, can never completely escape the gnawing realization that dull students are invariably taught by dull teachers, and scholars are taught by scholars. You will never know how much steel there is in your instructor's mind unless your own mind is file hard!

THREE RS FOR OUR DAY

Now, may I shift for a moment to those in the audience who are teachers. Our forefathers fought for the three *Rs* of elementary education. May I today suggest an additional three that have distinguished the best teachers I have known and that seem particularly appropriate for our day. Almost reluctantly I have come to believe a statement that struck me as overstated when I first heard it. That statement was: "It is better to be loved than understood." I am sure that this was meant to shock a little, perhaps even provoke that opposition out of which knowledge can come.

In retrospect, the people who have influenced me most were not those who provided me with the most information. I remember these with gratitude—just as I remember some books with a feeling of obligation. But those who have helped me hear the key in which I was trying to compose the little tune that I would sing throughout my life gave me more than information. Over the years I have tried to decide what they did give me. I am now convinced that it was not so much what they gave—this varied—but that they all shared the memorable quality of *radiance*.

RADIANCE

Radiance is not merely enthusiasm; this is only one of its manifestations. One of its basic meanings is *root*, for radiance is always more than surface sparkle. In a relative world it rests on ultimates. As one grows in experience and through training, he realizes more and more that all problems are finally theological ones, that the unproven premise precedes every rational conclusion. A formal religious commitment provides that premise for most of us. Radiance is also a philological cousin of our

word *twig*—that oft-spoken metaphor of one person's influence upon another. But no connotation that this word carries is so meaningful as its suggestion of *light*.

A few years ago a relatively uneducated contractor, who was installing refineries in India, was having astounding success in training natives to operate high technical equipment. Since his success was not shared by others similarly engaged, he was asked to reveal the tests that he used to discriminate between those who could and could not be trained as technicians. Insisting that he really did not have a formal test, the contractor said that he would be happy to demonstrate his method of selection.

At a central employment center, he simply asked applicants for work to file by him slowly. From time to time he pulled a man out of line. Finally, pointing to those whom he had chosen so informally, the contractor said, "I just look at the eyes. If they shine, that person can be taught anything. If they don't, I can't take a chance on him."

Granting the questionable validity of such subjective evaluation, I yet submit that almost all the eyes shine in kindergarten and in Junior Sunday School. I am sure that many factors combine to dull them, but lackluster teaching would not be far down the list. I insist that large classes and inadequate facilities compromise radiant teaching only slightly. In a telling description, Thoreau talks about what he means to be awake: "To be awake is to be alive. I have never met a man who was quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face?"

He goes on to say that the highest of arts is to affect the quality of each day. Radiant people not only affect the quality of the day, they also change the direction of lives. I am not sure that radiance can be taught, but I believe it can be evoked and nurtured. I submit to you that no teaching function is so critical as inspiring students. A teacher will never inform as successfully as a library. He will always be overmatched at calculation by the computer. But in the blazing radiance of his own conviction, he can kindle fires that will warm and light generations.

RESPECT

My second *R* is *respect*—a word with an old-fashioned ring. Yet, love that is more than infatuation or indulgence must add

respect to affection to achieve wholeness. I cringe a little when I hear that a teacher has established himself as a "pal" to his students. I think it revealing that such a description usually comes from the teacher and not from the students themselves. The generation gap may be receiving faddish attention today, but it can be real.

To begin with, there is a security in respect that counters some of the self consciousness that deters needed growth. Unfortunately, phrases such as "demanding respect" emphasize only coercion. Real respect is never demanded successfully. You can force conformity, but obedience is always given. This is not to imply that conformity is wholly negative. In most situations the Old Testament ideal of conformity to law must precede the New Testament doctrine of obedience to love. Awareness of this may keep the beginning teacher from pleading for cooperation with unruly students who translate their guilt into dislike for the teacher who indulges them.

Fairness is the ethic of the young. Youngsters do not have the thoughtless adult's reverence for consistency. If the phrasing is beyond them, all children get the point of Emerson's dictum that "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." The explanation of many teachers, "If I did it for you, I would have to do it for everyone," strikes most youngsters as being ridiculous, which it is. Such a statement is neat, and it has the aura of fairness; but no child is fooled. The teacher is simply saying, "I don't have enough respect for you to hear your story or to evaluate the special circumstances you would like to plead."

No two cases are the same; rarely are they more than superficially similar. The student instinctively knows this and is resentful at being lumped with others to suit a teacher's convenience. It just will not work to explain that the size of your class precludes your taking time to hear a student out. You must make your decision in the light of fact, instead of expedient similarity, to retain a student's respect. Faced with any other attitude on your part, the student feels driven to fall back on the tactic that he uses so successfully at home—whining. If you think that listening to a student's reasoned plea takes time, just try cutting off a whiner.

Perhaps one of our difficulties is that we lack respect for our own ignorance. Possibly the creeping security of advanced

degrees blunts the sensitivity that keeps us aware of what we really do not know. I suspect that I am as guilty as the next man here, but I would like to cite as an example our willingness to measure students. Dramatic cases of misjudgment are commented upon disapprovingly, and educational journals grow shrill in their defense of individual differences. It is a rare teacher, however, who has such respect for human potential and such an awareness of his own limitations that he remains flexible and alert to budding abilities and groping sensitivities.

RESTRAINT

The final *R* I hope to discuss today is *restraint*. To action-oriented contemporaries, impatient with any system and heady with success as a result of direct involvement, restraint is almost synonymous with cowardice, or a lack of integrity. I feel that I have a special competence to speak about restraint because of my own undergraduate experience. My alma mater, Reed College, underwent twenty-five years ago what many campuses are just coming to.

While I was not really a participant, I was part of a militant student body that not only negotiated in strength with the administration, but they also defied local and federal authorities in a massive demonstration against the draft, war, and any restriction upon personal lives. Most of the students involved were very bright, overwhelmingly articulate, and determined to change the world *now*. As I read the papers today, I often have the eerie sensation of living over my youth. The very slogans are the same—and those intense, imploring faces.

I do not remember those years in disgust; I remember them in sorrow. They were far from useless—the intellectual challenge was immense—but those years were not ones of controlled growth. Students throbbed when they should have meditated. They marched when they might have examined. They learned to live by symbols—and, although they would have denied it then, the simpler the symbol the better. They were skillful scorers and rabid partisans. Their adrenaline ran all the time. Whatever else they were, they were not apathetic. The teachers they usually followed were graying copies of the students they aroused. They were not all that way, however.

The teachers who are now unforgettable, whose features do not blur into the mass and whose words still tingle, never took

the easy, emotional way of mob power. They tried to help me see that uncontrolled effort is essentially wasted. It may seem to solve immediate problems, but, in fact, it sets up antagonisms and solidifies stances until only surface agreements are possible. Alexander took the activist's part in solving the riddle of the Gordian knot when he contemptuously cut it; but it needs to be noted that he ruined the rope.

Now I would not be misunderstood. Restraint is not retreat. Just complaints must be heard, and problems are not solved by ignoring them. If, however, you turn your relations with those that you attempt to instruct into adversary proceedings, you license their rebellion.

Education is always a matter of discrimination, a skillful selection of alternatives. Significant innovation may begin in intuition, but it must be established in order. No one ever learned order in fomenting disorder. A teacher's self-discipline sets the behavioral tone of his classes. A teacher who loses his temper turns respect for authority into a struggle for power.

Yet the most profound results of restraint on the part of the teacher lie not in his keeping control, advancing order. The teacher who embodies and teaches restraint can also inculcate taste—an attribute fast disappearing under the aggressively gross onslaught of mass entertainment. An ancient proverb warns us that tastes are not to be disputed, but we have almost made this point irrelevant in our capitulation to the tasteless.

Yet taste is only an expanded term for that sensitivity that makes civilization possible. Laws cannot be detailed enough to settle every dispute. Technology cannot surround us with riches so great that all will have enough. It is only taste that helps us recognize the unspoken yearning of another's dreams—and leads us to call decent that which builds community and makes love more than lust. A teacher at BYU might well help a student develop what James Russell Lowell has called "that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul."

A TEACHER'S RESPONSIBILITY

The teacher, by training and by opportunity, must help the young person set his knowledge in a moral and social context that cannot always be spelled out. But the restraint that helps him function as a truly human being, capable of a developing

interaction with his peers and a willingness to earn his part in society, must be taught.

It is the enviable opportunity of the teacher to help reveal gradually, but irresistibly, the exciting world that is the province of cultured knowledge. Not all such opportunities are restricted to the classroom. I remember a brief exchange during World War II with a welder on my crew in a shipyard. As our graveyard shift was coming to an end, the dawn broke in a soft flush over the water; I quoted some lines from Homer. My unlettered friend found Homer's phrase "rosy-fingered dawn" interesting but inadequate. Yet it stirred him to his own fresh but somewhat awkward description of the coming day. As we punched out, he casually inquired, "What was the name of that fellow who talked about the dawn's hands?" Homer may not have gained an immediate admirer, but something besides the sun was dawning that morning.

I also remember the young cowboy from Montana who came to BYU some years ago. I was new at the University, and he was in a freshman English class that I was instructing. His lack of preparation for the class was almost outrageously obvious. He had very little concept of coherence and no skill at all in developing an idea. We suffered together. One day, after class, he handed me a much folded piece of paper and confessed that it was a poem that he had written. The thought of this boy subjecting himself to the discipline of poetry was almost beyond belief, but I assured him that I would like to read his poem and that I would be happy to talk with him about it.

I am afraid that the opening lines were about what I had expected. And yet, on down the page, as he tried to tell me what it was like to be in a summer thunder storm out on the ranch of which he was a part, suddenly out of that page came a line of unmistakable poetry. He talked about thunder "rumbling, bumbling, grumbling like a God in disgrace." I envied that line, and it suddenly occurred to me that this boy perhaps only lacked preparation and that I—who manifestly was not a poet—might yet teach one.

IN THE VANGUARD

Finally, may I speak a word for those administrative officers of the University whose duties give them little time to be students or to experience again the exhilaration of teaching. Per-

haps some of you are aware of the investigative teams that descend upon the University and whose often uncivil questions must be answered civilly—and interminably. Some of you may even realize the hours that are spent in adjudicating trivial complaints or just listening to those who would help run the University but who have seldom seen any of the ramifications of their suggestions.

At national conventions, identification as a BYU representative is usually good for an exhortation or two from utter strangers. We are constantly asked to assume roles for which we have neither the inclination nor the authority. BYU cannot speak for the Church—nor do we want to—but in the cross-fires of controversy, the administration is fair game for all sides.

Lest such an assertion claim more sympathy than I intend, let me hasten to add that most of us are here because we think that this is the greatest opportunity in the world to unite professional training and religious commitment. We deeply appreciate the sensitive concern of our Board of Trustees, and we want them to know that we serve gladly. May I lift a brief experience from my own youth to speak for us all.

On the evening of the day that Pearl Harbor was attacked, I sat by a radio in the town where I had spent most of my youth on the coast of southern Oregon. It was the only deep-water port between San Francisco and Portland, and its harbor was well known to hundreds of Japanese seamen who had loaded lumber at its docks. We sat in darkness and heard our local radio station report that a Japanese cruiser had been sighted off northern California headed toward Oregon.

In a thousand homes there was but one thought: we were liable to be under attack before morning. Suddenly, Pearl Harbor seemed very near, and the war was no longer a distant abstraction. The radio announcer, trying to keep his voice calm, suggested that the local sporting goods stores open and distribute what ammunition they had.

I pulled out my hunting rifle, which had never been fired in anger, and then set it down again, remembering the size of the guns on the Japanese cruisers that had often visited us. Through the night I reflected that I was not disposed for battle, but I knew that there was no place in the world that I would rather have been that night than sitting in that room, in that

city, at that time. What was to come would find me willingly in the vanguard.

We share with all of you a love for BYU—that for which it has stood and now stands—and that for which it is destined to be. At this appropriate time, as we honor those who exemplify its finest ideals, we pledge to you the concerted, best efforts of faculty and administration to support the cause in which we all serve, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Historians Corner

(Published in Cooperation with the
Mormon History Association)

JAMES B. ALLEN, *Editor*

A LETTER FROM BRIGHAM YOUNG AND DANIEL H. WELLS, 1857

(Editor's Note: In October 1963 the Western History Association held its annual conference in Salt Lake City. During the conference, a dinner meeting was held on the BYU Campus. In honor of the occasion, the BYU Library staff prepared a special brochure which reproduced a most important letter having to do with the so-called Utah War. For the special interest of readers of *BYU Studies*, we present here the explanation of the letter as prepared by the library staff, as well as the letter itself.)

INTRODUCTION

On July 24, 1857, while the residents of the Territory of Utah gathered in Big Cottonwood Canyon to celebrate the decennial anniversary of the pioneers' entrance into Salt Lake Valley, a runner arrived with the news that an army was approaching Utah to quell what was understood in the East to be an outright rebellion. Brigham Young and his advisers began immediate plans for the defense of the Territory of Utah. Within the next few days men were sent to the more populous

settlements to inform the people of the urgency of the peril facing them. Instructions were sent to the more distant, outlying settlements requesting that these locations be abandoned and that the colonists return to Utah. Two such settlements were San Bernardino, California, and Carson Valley, Nevada.

On September 7 Captain Stewart Van Vleit arrived in Salt Lake to "make necessary arrangements for receiving and provisioning the troops in Utah." Captain Van Vleit was evasive as to the purpose of the troops' being sent to Utah and completely ignored notifying Brigham Young of his release as the Governor of the Territory. After spending a week in the Territory, Captain Van Vleit left on September 14. His visit had done nothing to calm the fears of the Territory concerning the approaching army. On the following day, September 15, Brigham Young declared martial law and prepared to wage a defensive war.

In the letter accompanying the declaration of martial law, Brigham Young outlined the tactics he would employ against the army. His plan of defense was two-fold: first, harassment of the troops during the current year; and second, the establishment of a safe hiding place with impregnable entrances for the 1858 campaign. The first phase of this campaign was begun immediately. During the month of October, Lot Smith was able to hamper the troops sufficiently to force them to winter in Wyoming. This was done by a series of raids in which supplies were burned, cattle and oxen driven off, and the army harassed enough to slow them down without an actual shooting incident. Such strategic places as Ft. Bridger and surrounding areas were burned to hamper the army as much as possible. At the same time, the Nauvoo Legion was mobilized and fortifications were built in Echo Canyon in case of an impending invasion.

The second part of the plan, finding a secure hiding place for the Saints, was never actually completed. Several groups were sent out, such as the one headed by William H. Dame, who explored western Utah and eastern Nevada to find such a location; but no fortifications were built and there was no massive storage of food. However, when the army actually entered Salt Lake Valley, the people in the northern part of the state were evacuated to the south; and the northern area was made ready for immediate destruction. Perhaps the media-

tion accomplished by such men as Thomas L. Kane during the winter of 1857 made this second phase of the campaign unnecessary.

Of particular interest in the letter is the last paragraph which gives definite instructions concerning the treatment of those passing through Utah. Obviously Brigham Young had heard of the problems incurred by the passage of the Francher train through the territory and outlined what must be done to keep any incident from arising between the residents of Utah and the emigrant trains. He was particularly anxious that no word be forwarded from any section which would give credence to the idea that Utah was in a state of revolt. Also recorded in this paragraph was his injunction that friendship with the Indians be maintained so that the people would not have to contend with both any army from the East and an Indian uprising.

Philo Farnsworth, to whom this letter was addressed, was bishop of the Beaver Ward. It is likely that similar letters were sent to other ecclesiastical leaders in the south, outlining the same program. On almost identical letter written to William H. Dame was cited in the trial of John D. Lee and included in the Beaver Court records.

Daniel H. Wells, the second signer of the letter, was General of the Nauvoo Legion, and after the declaration of martial law became the military leader in the defense of Utah.

Great Salt Lake City, Sep. 14, 1857

Brother Philo Farnsworth
Beaver Co.

Herewith you will receive the Governor's Proclamation declaring Martial law. You will probably not be called out this fall, but are required to continue to make ready for a big fight in another year. The plan of operations is supposed to be about these. In case the U.S. Government should send out an overpowering force we intend to desolate the Territory and conceal our families, stock, and all of our effects in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they will be safe, while the men waylay our enemies, attack them from ambush, stampede their animals, take the supply trains, cut off detachments and parties sent to Kanyons for wood, or on other service, to lay waste every thing that will burn—houses, fences,

trees, fields, grass, that they cannot find a particle of anything that will be of use to them, not even sticks to make a fire to cook their suppers, to waste away our enemies and lose none. This will be our mode of warfare. Thus you see the necessity of preparing; find secure places in the mountains where they cannot find us, or if they do where they cannot approach in any force, and there prepare for families by building some cabins, cacheing flour and grain. Flour should be ground in the latter part of winter, or early in the Spring in order to keep. Sow grain in your fields early as possible this fall so that the harvest of another year may come off before they can have time to get here. Conciliate the Indians and make them our fast friends.

In regard to letting people pass or repass or travel through the Territory, this applies to all strangers and suspected persons. Keep things perfectly quiet, and let all things be done peacefully, but with firmness, and let there be no excitement. Let the people be united in their feelings and faith as well as works, and keep alive the spirit of the Reformation, and in regard to saving the grain and provisions we say again let there be no waste. Save life always when it is possible. We do not wish to shed a drop of blood if it can be avoided. This course will give us great influence abroad.

We remain your brethren in the Gospel.

Brigham Young

Daniel H. Wells

THE MORMONS AND THE DONNER PARTY

Eugene E. Campbell

A busload of tourists, enroute from San Francisco to Salt Lake City, had stopped at the large stone monument near Donner Lake that commemorates the tragic experience of the Donner Party a hundred years before. One member of the group, a Latter-day Saint, was astounded to hear the bus driver inform the tourists that this was the place where "the Mormons massacred the Donner Party!"

Realizing that the bus driver had been misinformed and was evidently confusing the Mountain Meadow Massacre with the Donner tragedy, the Mormon corrected him by declaring: "The

Mormons had nothing to do with the Donner Party." Unfortunately, he was almost as mistaken as the bus driver, for although there was no direct connection between the Mormon Church and the Donner Party, it is interesting to note that one of the larger families in the party was Mormon, and that other members of the Church were instrumental in obtaining relief for the stranded group, and participated in the first successful rescue attempt, and that members of the returning Mormon Battalion were the first to reach the scene of the disaster and were instructed by General Kearny to bury the remains. Then, too, it should be mentioned that the Donner Party pioneered the route that the Mormon Pioneers used to enter the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Daniel Tyler, in his *Concise History of the March of the Mormon Battalion* gives an account of his meeting with Mary Murphy Johnson, who was one of the survivors of the Donner Party. Tyler was a member of the returning battalion members who had marched from Los Angeles to Sutter's Fort, where they had seen some of the survivors of the tragic affair, and who were continuing on their way to Salt Lake Valley. About forty miles north of Sutter's Fort, they arrived at Johnson's ranch where the following incident took place as recorded by Tyler:

The company travelled 18 miles today and arrived at Captain Johnson's Mill on Bear Creek. . . . This man Johnson . . . was said to have been one of Captain Fremont's battalion and his young wife was one of the ill-fated party which had been snowed in at the foot of the Sierras. Mrs. Murry [Murphy] who was a Latter-day Saint, was among the number that perished in that horrible scene of death. The circumstances under which she became a member of that company were explained to us by her daughter, Mrs. Johnson. The lady, being a widow with several children dependant on her for support, while residing at Nauvoo, heard of a chance to get employment at Warsaw, an anti-Mormon settlement 30 miles down the river. Thinking to better her condition, she accordingly moved to Warsaw and spent the winter of 1845-46 there. In the spring of the latter year, a party emigrating to Oregon or California offered to furnish passage to her and her children on the condition that she would cook and do the washing for the party. Understanding California to be the final destination of the Saints and thinking this a good opportunity to emigrate without being a burden to the Church, she accepted the proposition, but alas, the example of Sr. Murry [Murphy],

although her motives were good, is an illustration of the truism that "it is better to suffer affliction with the people of God and trust in Him for deliverance than to mingle with the sinful for a season and be lured by human prospects of a better result. . . .

According to B. H. Roberts, Wilford Woodruff said that he had baptized Mrs. Murphy while on his mission in Tennessee, but that "she apostatized and joined the mob." Roberts indicates that by "joined the mob" President Woodruff meant "no more, perhaps than that she lived among those who were mobbing the saints in Illinois." Apparently the Murphys thought of themselves as Mormons, no matter what their official status was at the time.

The Murphy family consisted of the mother, Mrs. Lavina Murphy; four sons, Lemuel B., John L., William G., and Simon P.; three daughters, Mary, Harriet, and Naomi. Harriet was married to William Pike, and had two infant daughters, Naomi and Catherine. Naomi was married to William Foster, and they had an infant son, George. Both of the sons-in-law accompanied the party.

The family endured the hardships of the entry into Salt Lake Valley, and the desert crossing with the rest of the company without unusual incident, but early in October near the present site of Reno, Nevada, tragedy struck. C. T. Stanton, a member of the party who had gone on ahead to secure provisions, had just returned with a pack train furnished by Captain John Sutter, and assured the company that more supplies might be obtained if others went on ahead. According to McGlashan's account, the two Murphy brothers-in-law, Wm. Pike and Wm. Foster, volunteered to go, and began making preparations. Pike was cleaning a pepper box pistol and handed it to Foster, but in the exchange, the pistol exploded, and Pike was fatally wounded. He died within twenty minutes.

After this tragic event, the company pushed on, but found themselves caught in a heavy snowstorm just as they were about to reach the summit above Donner's lake. Sadly they turned back and built the makeshift cabin that was to house the Murphy and Eddy families for so many weeks. The date was November 3.

On November 12, an attempt was made to climb out of the valley, but the snow was deep and soft, and the party returned

to camp. Another attempt was made on November 21; the group included Mrs. Murphy and three of her half-grown children, but this, too, was unsuccessful. An eight-day snowstorm made further attempts impossible.

In desperation, the members of the camp began to manufacture snow shoes, and by the middle of December, sixteen pairs were ready for an attempt. On December 16, seventeen members of the party, the "Forlorn Hope" group began their climb. The Murphys were well represented as Mr. and Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Pike, Lemuel, and William were with the group. The latter two did not have snowshoes, and soon William, a boy of eleven, was forced to turn back. The rest of the group continued on, and the survivors, after thirty-three days of incredible hardship, reached Johnson's Ranch. Lemuel Murphy had died, and Foster had lost his mind temporarily. Eating human flesh had kept them alive, and the Murphy girls witnessed the dismemberment of their brother's body. During this time, John L. Murphy had died at the camp.

The first rescue party did not reach Donner's Lake until February 18, 1847, and they were able to save only those who were strong enough to walk. Two of the seven men who risked their lives to rescue the emigrants were Mormons, John and Daniel Rhoads. The day after they arrived, little Catherine Pike passed away. Mary and William Murphy were chosen to go out with the first rescue party, and finally, John Rhoads agreed to carry the infant Naomi Pike out with him. This left of the Murphy family only Mrs. Murphy, who was now half blind and childish, her son Simon and baby George Foster unrescued. When William Foster made a courageous rescue attempt in the middle of March, he found his baby dead, and his mother-in-law unable to move. He was able to rescue Simon, however. Before another party could make their way in, Mrs. Murphy was dead.

Samuel Brannan, leader of the Mormons in San Francisco, and editor of the local newspaper, played an important part in the raising of funds for the rescue attempts. Then, in April, he decided to ride through the Sierras and meet Brigham Young's company and lead them to California. He saw the emaciated survivors at Sutter's Fort, and a few miles up the trail, came upon the last survivor, Lewis Keesberg, crawling down the trail. He shared his lunch with Keesburg and then continued his journey.

In June, twelve members of the Mormon Battalion, chosen as a bodyguard by General Stephen W. Kearney, who was taking John C. Fremont back to Ft. Leavenworth under arrest, came upon the scene of the Donner tragedy. General Kearney detailed the men to bury the remains and clean up the camp.

Mary Murphy, who was only thirteen years old, was married to William Johnson of Johnson's Ranch in June 1847, a few months after her rescue. In November of the same year she was advertized as having left him, and in 1848 she married to C. Covilland of Nye's Ranch. In 1850, when the city of Marysville, California, was laid out, it was named in honor of Mary Murphy Covilland.

Of the thirteen members of the Murphy family, only seven survived. They were Harriet and Naomi; the baby, Naomi Pike, who was rescued by John Rhoads; Mary and William who hiked out with the first rescue party; and Simon, who was rescued by his brother-in-law, George Foster, who had just barely survived the "Forlorn Hope" experience, but who had recovered and had accompanied the second rescue team. This would be about average for the group as far as loss of life is concerned. Of the eighty members of the Donner Party at Truckee Meadows, forty-four, just over half, survived.

THE BANISHMENT OF THE MORMON PEOPLE

Josiah E. Hickman

(Editor's Note: In the last edition of "The Historians Corner," we published excerpts from the diary of Josiah E. Hickman, who became a prominent LDS educator in the early part of this century. These excerpts told of an impressive oration given by Hickman while he was attending the University of Michigan in 1894. It was felt that readers of *BYU Studies* might be interested in reading the oration. We reproduce it here for that reason, and also as an example of the kind of speech intelligent young Mormons might prepare in the 1890s.

Josiah Hickman's oration was sent to the *Deseret News* and published on April 15, 1895. According to the *News*, he did not expect to win the oratorical contest, but declared

"If I can only get into University Hall with my speech and vindicate my people from the wrongs which have been heaped upon them, I shall be satisfied." It is clear that Hickman had studied all the important writings of Mormon history, and his historical understanding reflects the best information available to him at the time. More significant here, however, is the fact that a young student made this his way of presenting the Mormon story in his academic environment. The pathos and emotion which fills every paragraph undoubtedly reflects quite accurately his deep empathy for his Mormon forebearers. With this emotional involvement in his subject, plus long hours of training and practice in the art of delivery, Josiah Hickman's appearance in University Hall must have been impressive indeed.)

My subject is a most unpopular one. It was chosen not to herald an unpopular faith, but to defend the cause of civil and religious liberty against unwarranted prejudice; not to advocate the tenets of any religion; but defend the cause of virtue and order against the enemies of all divine and human laws. I keenly realize the disadvantage at which I am placed in defending this much misunderstood people. And I am not ignorant of the prejudice existing upon this subject. Therefore, I ask you do not judge until their history is held up to the light of reason.

Though this people originated in New York, I will not speak of their history until we find them in the western part of Missouri, where they had gone and built themselves comfortable homes with the view of worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience. But as their religion was different from the accepted belief of the day, they soon began to be ridiculed, then to be persecuted; finally organized mobs assembled, and burning their homes, tarred, feathered and whipped many of their people. In their extreme suffering, they applied for protection to judge, priest, and governor, but received none. They even petitioned President Van Buren, who replied: "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you." Bancroft, the great American historian, says that banded mobs went from settlement to settlement of the Mormons, burning their homes, killing or driving the unoffending inhabitants into exile. In one place, they murdered every man, woman and child. And among the number killed was an old Revolutionary war veteran, who had fought for our independence. Says the historian: "Never in savage or other warfare was there an act more dastardly or brutal." The Missourians in order that they might have a mantle to cover their cruelty, drew up resolutions. They said that the Mormons

believed in prophets, etc., in revelations, and that they were superstitious; that, being mostly from the New England States, they believed in freeing the slaves; and finally, they were poor.

Poverty, superstition, unpopular doctrines—these were the crimes. For such crimes, fourteen thousand inhabitants were driven from their homes in mid-winter. In the Middle Ages? No; in the nineteenth century. In Russia? No; in America, fourteen thousand inhabitants driven from their homes in the dead of winter! The sick were torn from their beds and thrust out into the midnight air, and compelled to seek safety in some bleak forest. There were shivering little children, there were infants, homeless but for a mother's arms, couchless but for a mother's breast. In such distress, pursued by merciless oppressors, they left the tracks of their bleeding feet upon the snows of their pathway. Homeless, shivering, heartbroken and plundered, they sought shelter in the uninhabited plains of Illinois.

In this bleak wilderness, far from the inhumanity of man, the fugitives did for a time find peace and rest. During the six years which they were permitted to remain in Illinois they built several villages, besides Navoo, a city of twenty thousand inhabitants. They established schools, founded a university and built a magnificent temple. "It must be admitted," says Bancroft, "that the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois were more honest, temperate, hard-working, self-denying and thrifty people than those by whom they were surrounded." Whatever was the cause that led to their expulsion from Illinois, it was not due to any crimes of theirs, unless it was an offense to profess a different creed and worship at a different shrine. But Governor Ford said that all manner of trumped up charges were brought against them; and those charges were without foundation, for the Mormons had committed no such offenses. On a pretended charge Joseph Smith and others were arrested and taken to Carthage under the sworn protection of the Governor. It is said that Joseph Smith had a premonition of his terrible fate and said: "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am as calm as a summer morning. I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it yet will be said of me, 'He was murdered in cold blood.' " The next day after this prediction he and his brother were killed in Carthage Jail. Again mob law reigned and men lost their reason. The Mormons were ordered from the state; their homes were robbed and laid in ashes. The scenes of Missouri were being repeated. Scarce had the lights of their burning homes died out, when with scanty hoard, they crossed the Mississippi. On the first night of their exodus, February 4th, 1844, nine wives became mothers. How those innocent

babes, sick and delicate mothers, were cared for under such conditions is left to the imagination of the sensitive hearer. Was it in Russia, Tartary or Hindoostan that people had to flee for opinion's sake? As those exiles departed, at the top of every hill they could be seen looking back like banished Moors on their abandoned homes, and their distant temple with its glittering spires.

Let me observe here that there were many honest souls in Missouri and Illinois who cried out against such injustices; but, as is too often the case, they were in the minority. After the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, by right and choice of the people, organized and led them into the wilds of America. And while Missouri was dividing the property of fourteen thousand inhabitants whom she had recently expelled, while Illinois was trying to cover up the blood of the murdered Prophets; while all the United States looked on with silent indifference, one of the most persecuted and down-trodden people that history records were marching westward beyond the pale of civilization.

And now comes an episode in the history of the Mormons which I should not dare to relate were it not part of the official records of the government. Otherwise it would be incredible. While in the wilderness on their westward march for the Rocky Mountains, war was declared between our government and Mexico. Strange as it may seem, the President sent a messenger to Brigham Young to ask for five hundred volunteers to enter the army and march against Mexico. Remember that two states of the nation had thrust this people from their borders, had permitted mobs to plunder them, rob them of their homes, murder their prophets, and drive them into exile. Remember that their appeals in their sore afflictions, though made to governors, judges, and to the President, were invariably ignored or denied. Remember finally that they were marching through a country unparalleled for dangers, that they were enduring hardships which, at times, threatened their very existence. Had they not sufficient cause for refusing to listen to the President's appeal? And yet it was their country calling—that country to which their pilgrim ancestors had fled; for which their patriot sires had fought and suffered; whose deeds of heroism were among their highest and noblest traditions. It was enough. Brigham Young said: "Colonel Allen, you shall have your men. If there are not enough young men, I will call upon the old men; and then, if not enough, I will call upon the women." When the call was made those sacrificing pilgrims forgot their wrongs, kissed the rod that smote them, and, with one accord, answered their country's call. Ransack the records of history, ancient and modern, and match if you can, this example of patriotism!

Heroine mothers, while their husbands and sons were at the front, defending the country that had driven them into exile, drove their own teams twelve hundred miles over those trackless plains. Hundreds of them had neither wagons nor teams. Handcarts were made, and in them they placed their scanty hoard. Men and women pulled those carts across the desert wastes of America. Could not this destitute and exiled people receive aid? They were offered peace if they would relinquish their religion and all allegiance to their faith. But to relinquish their religion for peace, to them, it was treason. Such an act would have made a mockery of their high profession, which had been written in blood and tears. During that dreary march, hunger, sickness, and death followed in their wake. Many times death was a welcome visitor to those weary and foot-sore pilgrims. Many, lying down with their burdens for pillows, never woke, and tonight rest in unmarked graves.

From the lips of aged veterans, I have been told that when they were exhausted and could go no farther, bare-headed, bare-footed and in their tattered clothing, they knelt upon those trackless plains and importuned their Father, my God and your God, for strength. Upon arising their weariness was gone. You may not believe in miracles, but it is true that even, as with the ancient Israelites in the wilderness, the quails came by the thousands to feed those starving pilgrims. My own wife's widowed mother, peace be to her memory, walked and carried her babe from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Picture, if you can, that banished people on those plains almost destitute of food and clothing; mothers stripping off their scanty clothing to protect their little ones from the cold winds that swept across the bleak prairies. In their extreme hunger, they were obliged to eat roots and thistles; yea, more, they were forced to cook and eat old raw-hides. The history of the sufferings of that people, though often attempted, is yet unwritten.

As the pioneers reached the heights of the Rockies, for the first time they saw their destined home. And as Moses stood on Pisgah's heights and viewed the promised land, so they, from those silent peaks, viewed their asylum of rest. Around them silence and desolation—a desolation of centuries. Rugged mountains with huge spurs decorated with towers and pinnacles, raising their towering summits into the domain of the clouds, rich with the aspiring forms of Gothic type. Far below they saw the blue waters of the Dead Sea of America, glittering in the summer sun light like a silver shield; and as far as the eye could reach stretched the arid desert, miles on miles of sagebrush and snow-white alkali. Eternal desolation! yet, to them, it was home, and at the sight of it their hearts were glad. They descended into the valley

to pitch their tents and rest in peace. There was now no fear of molestation from vandal hordes. How sweet must have been that sleep as upon the earth, parched and seared through untold centuries, they slumbered beneath the friendly skies amidst eternal solitude! Though that country to which they had gone was then under Mexican rule, they unfurled the stars and stripes on Ensign Peak. And, in solemn assembly, they voted to revere the Constitution and its principles as a divinely inspired document. They also decreed that this land should be a home for the oppressed; they forgave all men that had injured them, and lifted an ensign of peace to every nation under heaven.

My friends, I have couched in simple language the pathetic story of the exodus of this people. I have kept back striking events, pitiable sufferings, and terrible wrongs. The words that I should speak burn within me and tremble on my lips. But I shall not utter them. It is enough. I am willing to leave the judgment to future generations. When the clouds of hatred and mistrust which hang like a pall over the genius of that people are dispelled, the history of their living martyrdom will make the heart of the nation ache with pity and remorse.

Features in the SUMMER 1971 Issue:

The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio
by Richard L. Anderson

Kirtland: A Perspective on Time and Place
by Robert L. Layton

Sources on the History of the Mormons in Ohio: 1830-38
by Stanley B. Kimball

The Historical Setting of the Ohio Revelations
by Earl E. Olson

And many more articles disclosing a year's research on the Church in Ohio.

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