

BYU studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars
Winter 1972 Brigham Young University



COVER: "Fort Utah on the Timpanogos — Valley of the Great Salt Lake," by artist A. Fay. This pen and ink drawing appears as the frontispiece to the book *Exploration Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, by Howard Stansbury, and was made by a member of the expedition. It shows the "6 pounder" mounted on the "bastion," which was responsible for the untimely separation of George Bean from his left arm.

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George W. Bean, Early Mormon Explorer

HARRY C. DEES*

Among the notable and great men who explored and colonized the Great Basin, the imposing figure of George W. Bean stands as a sometimes-forgotten pioneer. Although he served with well-known army explorers—Stansbury, Steptoe, Simpson, and Wheeler—no true historical study has been made of this large, restless, one-armed traveler.¹ Most of the material written by him was done in his later years and at a time when there was little interest in Utah pioneers; nevertheless, he recorded an extremely valuable account of exploration in early Utah. The following material, taken primarily from original writings, shows George W. Bean as a pioneer and explorer. No attempt has been made to include his life as a businessman, judge, politician, or Church leader.

George Bean came to Utah in 1847 at the age of sixteen, driving a wagon carrying his eighteen-year-old sister and her baby. Doing a man's work, he had brought his sister across the prairies and mountains in order that she might be with her husband, William Casper, who had enlisted in the Mormon Battalion.

George had been carrying a man's responsibility for several years. He had served in the "posse" of Captain Stephen Markham when the latter had cleared the Nauvoo region of "mobocrats"; he had also served on the police force of Hosea Stout, patrolling the streets of Nauvoo at night. Early in the spring of 1846, he had been sent with an advance group as a "pioneer" when the Church leaders began the move across the Mississippi. Later, when it was decided to send the daughter who had married William Casper along with the first groups to leave for the

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¹Pension records say that George W. Bean was 6 feet 4 inches tall.

Rocky Mountains, George was chosen to drive the wagon. Prior to this, at age fourteen, he had been ordained to the office of seventy.

Two weeks after George and his sister arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, William Casper rode in from California, bringing with him Ephraim K. Hanks. With the two extra mouths to feed, the supplies sent west with George did not last the winter, and by spring they "were reduced to cooking thistle roots and Segos for food." The winter had been mild, and they had planted an acre of wheat on 1 January 1848. Near the end of March, they moved out to Mill Creek and built a willow shanty and lived on "thickened milk for weeks."²

George then recorded: "After getting our crop in, and ditches made, I volunteered to take a team and wagon [one of some sixty in the party] and go back east to meet the emigrating Saints with Prests Young and Kimball including my parents. . . . Started May 23, crossed the big mountain over snow 10 or 12 ft. deep, swam several crossings of East Canon Creek, rafted over Weber River, double team in crossing Bear River, swam Blacks Fork, rafted across Harms Fork and Green River, which took us three days at the latter stream. I had left Salt Lake Valley with only 20 lb. of ground wheat and a few pounds of pork and beef and we were 4 weeks getting to the head of Sweetwater River and my provisions were gone."

At the Sweetwater, Bean traded his knife for a "large bunch of dried meat" from some Snake Indians. This food lasted until the Platte River, where he earned one bushel of sour corn meal, helping emigrants cross the river. This food served until the party met the first group of Mormon emigrants fifteen miles below Chimney Rock on the Platte River. George turned over his team and returned to Salt Lake Valley with his parents. In the valley "we located near a spring at the side of the road between Mill Creek and Big Cottonwood about 7 miles south of Salt Lake City."

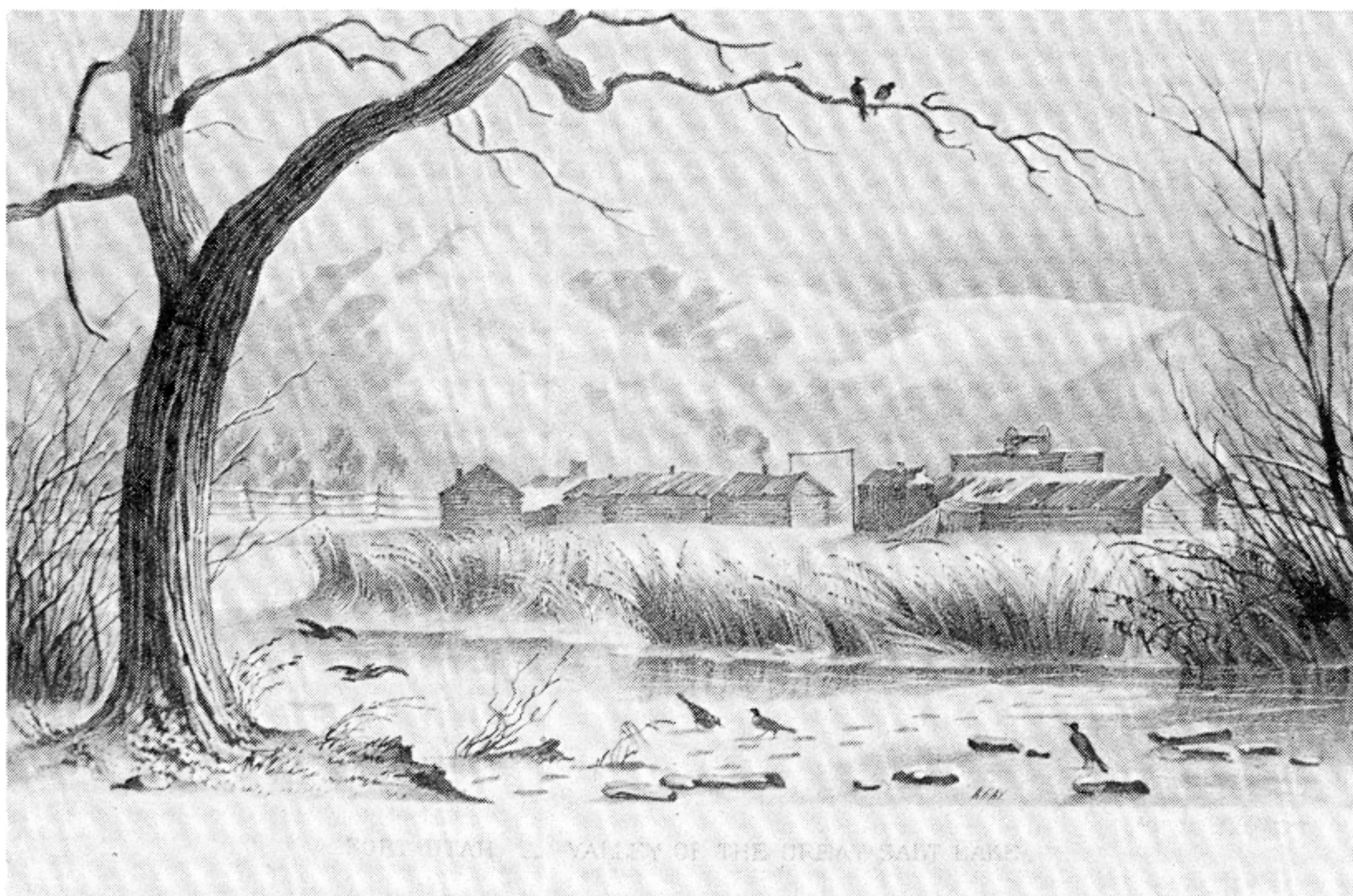
The winter of 1848-1849 was enlivened by a "winter's hunt by rival parties of one hundred men each" which "destroyed about 700 wolves and foxes, 2 wolverines, 20 minx and polecats, 500 hawks, owls and magpies and 1000 ravens."³

²Unless otherwise cited, the material was taken from the original writings of George W. Bean. These journals are in the library at Brigham Young University.

³*The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool), 1 August 1849, Vol. XI, pp. 228-32.

THE SETTLEMENT OF PROVO

There was still a food shortage in the spring of 1849; so a group of men were sent to the Utah Valley about "sixty" miles south to establish a small colony for agricultural purposes and fishing, hoping thereby to lessen the call for beef, "which at the present time is rather scarce, at an average of seven and eight cents per pound."⁴



George recorded the move in his records, saying: "In the early spring of this year [1849] a call was made for a colony of settlers to locate at Provo and father with about 20 others started in the last days of March with our ox teams and boys. There were no families on this first trip. John S. and Isaac Higbee and Dimick B. Huntington were at the lead of the Company. On March 31, we camped 10 miles this side or north of Provo, I had the good luck to shoot a fat crane with father's old rifle. We then moved on to within 2 miles of the river" where the settlers were stopped by a Ute Indian called An-Kata. After some discussion in which Dimick Huntington told the brave that they wanted to be "Too-ege tik-a-boo" or good friends, the wagons moved on to be stopped again by a large party of Indians but were allowed to camp on the north bank of the Provo. "Many of the company had suckers [fish] for

⁴*Ibid.*

dinner but father and I had stewed Crane. And this was my 18th birthday by which I well remember the other particulars."

The first settlement was begun a few days later on the south bank of the river, and a fort was constructed with a "bastion" thirty feet square on strong posts in the center. A "6 pounder" cannon was afterward mounted on top to guard against "trouble from a distance."

"There were many hundreds of Indians camped nearby, all very friendly generally and our people did a great deal of trading with them giving guns and ammunition, clothing for skins of various kinds, ponies, etc. . . . Sometimes little troubles arose and finally a great one occurred about the first of August." This trouble was caused by the killing of "old bishop," an Indian, by Doc Stoddard and Jerome Zabriskie during a dispute over a shirt. The two men hid the Indian's body in the Provo River but the Indians soon discovered it and demanded "satisfaction which was not granted." The slayers of the Indian were never exposed and the settlement had to shoulder the blame. The men of the settlement were organized into a militia company, with Peter Conover as captain, and thereafter sent armed herdsmen with the cattle and stood watch at night.

By September, companies of California emigrants were gathering at Provo, where Captain Jefferson Hunt would guide them on to California. The Mormon settlers obtained powder from one of the trains to practice with their six-pounder and to "wake the natives round about." George Bean and his father were coming in from the fields when Lieutenant William Dayton called to George to help fire the cannon. They fired the piece once and reloaded, neglecting to swab the barrel. On the next discharge, the cannon exploded killing Dayton and tearing off George W. Bean's left arm.

Captain Howard Stansbury of the U. S. Topographical Engineers had just arrived in Salt Lake bringing with him an army doctor by the name of Blake.⁵ A fast ride to Salt Lake and a hasty return brought Dr. Blake to Provo where he removed some 200 splinters and dressed George's arm. While the youth was recovering, the Indians spent many hours with him, and, during this time, he learned the native language.

⁵In 1849, Captain Howard Stansbury was placed in command of an army exploring and survey expedition to the Great Salt Lake region. He and his command of 18 men remained in the Great Basin for a year, returning to the East in the fall of 1850.

Although it had been a terrible accident, George W. Bean's journals are almost free of any later complaint regarding the loss of his arm.

There is one entry in which he relates an occasion when he was kicked by a mule and mentions that it had been difficult for him to harness and drive a four-mule team with only one arm. The loss of his arm affected the ways available to him for making a living, and he used his knowledge of the Indian language to find a position as guide, interpreter, or Indian agent whenever he could.

George Bean was often chosen as a guide because of his close relationship with the Indians which had begun following the accident. He had the confidence of the Indians to the extent that one Indian attempted to kill him so that George could accompany a deceased favorite squaw to the hereafter and take care of her. Bean narrowly escaped death on this occasion, and the Indian later explained that he had wanted the very best man he could find to accompany the squaw—and this man, in his eyes, had been George W. Bean.

Generally, relationships with the Indians continued to deteriorate for the new settlement on the Provo, until it was necessary to bring a company of about 100 men from Salt Lake City. At this time, aided by the officers of the Stansbury expedition, the Mormons managed to drive off the Indians. "About 40 Timpanodes were stopped from further depredations," wrote George, but he "missed most of the fun" by having the measles at his sister's house on Mill Creek.

TO SOUTHERN UTAH WITH BRIGHAM YOUNG

In 1850 the Utah Valley settlers moved to the present site of Provo, and George W. Bean served as "assistant superintendent of meteorological observations at Fort Utah under Captain Stansbury." A "good log school" was erected, and George helped teach school in the winter. He had learned a little Spanish from the Indians; so early in 1851 Parley P. Pratt called on him and requested that he go with him to California and South America on a mission, but the trustees of the school would not give him their release.

"About the same time," George wrote, "Prest Young & company called me to accompany his party on a trip to Southern Utah. . . . Arriving at Salt Creek [Nephi] I was detailed

to join a small party of emigrants for Iron County. We were to assist them across the Sevier River & then come up said River. Join the Prests party after he came out of San Pete. Four of us with horses and pack animals made the trip successfully. . . the river being high we blocked up the wagonbeds of the Emigrants, fastened ropes to their wagon tongues and by the horn of our saddles pulled them through safely. Then going up the river 30-40 miles to intersection of trails we found that the Prests party had not arrived & we turned north and found them still at Manti. Here let me remark that I listened to a sermon from Elder O. Pratt which truly converted me to faith in Plural Marriage or Polygamy, commonly called.

"About May 1st, we started on up Sevier River passing over the Cedar divide via Marysvale, Circleville then leaving river bore westerly over rocky ridges and across Prairie Dog Valley . . . got into a great snow storm May 9th & finally reached Buckhorn Springs & camped at Bear Valley where we found ourselves buried under about 1 foot of snow on the morning of May 10th. Moving on we soon began to meet the pioneers of Parowan mostly mounted and a hardy looking lot of fellows they were. We staid several days in this vicinity visited the Iron and Coal deposits, the famed hieroglyphic cliff NW of Parowan and then returning by Beaver, & Parowan Vallies, Round valley and old crossing of Sevier— home.⁶

"In October, 1851, was again called, this time to accompany Gov B. Young and party of territorial officials to make a location of the Capital of Terry [Territory]. Decided on the site for Chalk Creek and the Capital to be named Fillmore and the County to be Millard—in honor of the President of the U. S. who made the official appointments. Secretary Babbitt, Judge Snow, Marshal Heywood, Ind Agt Rose besides several others. . . . We made a treaty with Pahvant Chief Kanosh . . . then on returning we kept on South side of Sevier river 15 miles then crossed at a quicksandy ford, where a good many got wet. Had a lively time at night with brandy punch, speeches & songs, Apostles, prophets, high civil officials, & teamsters all jollified together. . . .

On the return trip the explorers went by way of "San Pete Valley" and crossed the Sevier higher up, "went by way of

⁶George W. Bean seemed to have kept many of his trips recorded in a pocket journal and in 1860 put them all together in a biography. This is taken from that biography. He also wrote another biography in 1890.

Warm Creek [Fayette], Gunnison and present Manti." New Mexican traders were encountered at Manti. They said that they had a license from "Gov Calhoun" and wanted Indian prisoners for slaves. Brigham Young told them that they would not be allowed to traffic in such trade, but later information indicated that they had continued in the practice in spite of President Young's order. A writ was issued and George W. Bean accompanied Marshal Joseph L. Heywood and arrested the traders. After forty-one days the traders were released—on the grounds that there was no law on the subject in Utah.

In February of 1852, George W. Bean in the capacity of interpreter for Indian Agent Rose went to the Uintah Valley with him. They made their way via Spanish Fork Canyon to Chief Tabby's camp west of Duchesne Fork. Tabby furnished guides who took them to the north fork of the Uintah River where Louis Roubidoux had formerly established a trading post "which was a rendezvous for the mountaineers for twenty-five years." Finding neither white man nor Indian there, they returned on 8 March 1852, traveling via Soldier Summit.

During that spring and summer, George explored Provo Canyon and the mountains east of the city. He also assisted William H. Dame when the latter "surveyed out Provo City and the farming land surrounding it."

In April 1853, Brigham Young started south with a party intending to extend settlement beyond Parowan; but when President Young arrived at Provo, he was confronted by a mountaineer named Bowman who claimed that he had been hired to assassinate him. Bowman hinted that he had plenty of help not far away; so President Young cancelled his trip to the south, going only as far as "San Pete." William M. Wall and thirty men, including George Bean, were ordered out of Provo to tour the southern part of the territory to "ascertain if any strange party or proceedings could be found." The group rode for nineteen days through southern Utah, but there was no trace of "enemies in our borders."

THE WALKER WAR

By 1853, the Indians' campgrounds and fishing spots were being taken over by the white settlers and a result was that the emigrants on their way to California were plagued with thieving and pilfering by the Indians. Sometimes the retaliation by

the California-bound trains was severe, and the desire for peaceful relations suffered.

In July 1853, according to Bean, an Indian was beaten almost to death with his own gun by a white man over a dispute as to how the Indian should treat his squaw. The Indians demanded compensation for the beating, but the white man refused. Later in July, the ill feeling resulted in the Indians' killing Alexander Keele at Payson.

The morning following Keele's death, Colonel Peter Conover's company of militia was called out from Provo to "quell any further disturbances." The militia found the Indians stationed in the canyons, preparing to withdraw to Sanpete Valley. It was decided to send Colonel Conover with about forty of the best horsemen to Nephi to warn the people and to aid them if necessary. George Bean was sent from Payson to Provo with information and found that due to false rumors of a massacre at Pondtown (Salem) the authorities were getting ready to send more troops to Payson. A dispatch had been sent to Salt Lake asking for aid; so it was decided that George should take a fresh horse and ride to Brigham Young with the correct information. He arrived just in time to stop the first group of mounted troops from leaving Salt Lake City.

This difficulty, called the Walker War, after Chief Walker, led to many problems in southern Utah. George Bean spent much of his time traveling to the various chiefs with messages from Brigham Young. "Towards winter Walker moved south carrying with him much stock from Mormon settlements."

The Mormons began to fortify their town with mud walls; but, when Walker appeared in Parowan in the spring, he seemed friendly; so Brigham Young sent Bean, Porter Rockwell, and John R. Murdock with a message of peace. As George put it, "O. P. Rockwell, Amos Neff and myself were called by Prest Young to take Walker in hand & keep him peaceable if possible." During this time, Bean had many stormy experiences while keeping Walker and other Indians from again disturbing the settlements. On one occasion, George had to hide under some grain and another time had to retreat to Salt Lake until the Indians "cooled off." Walker was eventually appeased by the Mormons' sending beef, flour, and Indian goods. Rockwell and Bean were told to keep the Indians peaceful, even if it cost the Church \$10,000 a year!

When Colonel E. J. Steptoe of the U. S. Army arrived in Salt Lake in 1854, determined to punish the Indians for the slaying of a Lieutenant Gunnison and seven others, Bean and Rockwell were employed to treat with the Pahvants for the surrender of the "Gunnison murderers."⁷

It required many trips, but finally eight Indians were surrendered in January of 1855. George Bean accompanied Major John L. Reynolds to Fillmore to receive and convey the prisoners to Salt Lake City. Bean at this time was a deputy U. S. Marshal.

George reported: "But such a turn-out of murderers was never before seen: one squaw, for the Mormon killed; one old blind fellow; one foolish chap; one outsider that had no friends; another old sick fellow and three little boys." The army people were disgusted, but Chief Kanosh said he could do no better; so the eight Indians were taken and tried. The squaw was used as a witness; so only seven went to trial. Of the seven, three were convicted of manslaughter and sent to prison for three years.

The trial had assumed aspects of a three-ring circus as Indians and soldiers were present in large numbers. Kanosh was there, "being a Chief at all the scenes." George also mentions that, during the proceedings, "several disgraceful occurrences took place with certain government officials, soldiers and squaws of Chief Ammon's camp."

During the trial, George Bean had been chief interpreter and as U. S. Deputy Marshall delivered the prisoners to the penitentiary.

The results of the trial were not pleasing to Colonel E. J. Steptoe. When he reported the trial in April, he said, "Although as government prosecutor I presented facts to prove all guilty, only three were sent to prison."⁸

GUIDE FOR MILITARY EXPLORERS

Colonel E. J. Steptoe reported in his letters that he would continue on to the West Coast, and that "my intention until recently was to follow Captain Morris' new route until he turned

⁷Colonel E. J. Steptoe was taking troops to the West Coast when rumors were spread that the Mormons were in revolt. He was given a commission as governor of Utah but on his arrival in Utah did not use the commission.

⁸Colonel E. J. Steptoe, letter dated April 1855 to Davis. Microfilmed by the Utah State Historical Society Library.

up to the Humboldt. Instead of following him I determined to find a S. W. course to Carson Valley and save 300 miles. A party sent out a few days since to explore returned and reported that there was not sufficient grass and water for the number of animals with us.”⁹

George Bean, as a member of the party, reported the exploration: “In the latter part of March, myself, O. P. Rockwell, George W. Boyd, and Peter W. Conover were employed by Col. E. J. Steptoe to make an exploration west from Rush Valley for a wagon road to the South side of Salt Lake toward Carson Valley, to save 160 miles of round-about travel to get to California. John Nebeker was one of our party. We fitted up a pack outfit and struck west from Government Station at Rush Lake, went through Johnson’s pass across Skull Valley, by way of Granite Mountain in the middle of the Salt Desert, striking the old Hasting Wagon trail at East edge of the Desert. We found a good spring of fresh water at Granite Mountain, and from there to Redding Springs we crossed an almost continuous sheet of salt water and mud for several miles in face of the most severe sand and windstorm I ever experienced. It was cold and piercing and blew off the packs from the mules’ backs several times, and splashed the salt water over us until the whole outfit was covered with a stiff crust of salt, and very cold.

“We reached Redden’s Springs on the west side of the Desert about 4:30 and took refuge under the lee side of a tule swamp until morning. By morning the fury storm had passed but the night was very disagreeable and we were without wood.

“We must not fail so we followed the edge of the Desert in a southerly and easterly way for two days, then crossed back toward Rush Valley again. . . . We found the Salt marshes impassable this time of year and the miry sloughs further south . . . quite the same and decided a wagon road was now impossible, at least for two months.” The return trip was by way of Lookout Pass to the Government Station of Rush Lake and then to Salt Lake.

On Bean’s return to Salt Lake, he was stunned to discover that his name had been listed in fall conference of the Church and voted on as a missionary. Steptoe had offered to engage him to go west, and also George had received a second attrac-

⁹*Ibid.*

tive offer to act as interpreter at the Spanish Fork Indian agency. Steptoe was offering a generous \$5.00 per day, leaving George in something of a dilemma; so he "sought advice again."

Speaking with President Brigham Young, George found that he "was wanted" to go to the Las Vegas Springs for the Church and form a settlement there.

Although he had a new baby girl and only ten days to answer the call he made his decision and prepared to go to Las Vegas Springs. "Having some money I bought up a bin full of wheat, some land, but this being the great grasshopper year in Utah there was nothing much raised in the fields. We had several cows, etc., and some cash, leaving my wife and child, my most concern, well provided for, so my thoughts were at ease."

As the "missionaries" prepared to leave, Lieutenant S. Moury was sent by Steptoe with excess stock and about fifty soldiers to take the southern route to California while he himself went by way of the Humboldt. Bean was hired to guide Moury to southern Utah, but the arrangement was not satisfactory to either side. Bean reported, "I found the party a hard lot to travel with—not saints by any means." Moury wrote to Washington that the Indians were all being stirred up by the Mormons and that "at Parowan, my two Mormon Guides left me at their own request. It gave me no regret to lose them. . . ." ¹⁰

Bean reported that after reaching Las Vegas Springs he and "our Santa Clara brethren went down to the Colorado River and thence down said river as far as El Dorado Canyon, suffering terribly from the heat."

The journals state that after the fort was built "we also did a great deal of exploring in the mountains and along streams extending from the El Dorado to the Mouth of the Rio Virgin River." The Las Vegas group discovered salt, and opened a lead mine which was mined by N. V. Jones. ¹¹

Bean made a trip to Southern California with cattle and then went back to Las Vegas. Later he went to Salt Lake to

¹⁰Stephen Moury, *Report of Journey from Salt Lake City to California*. . . . Filmed copy in the Utah Historical Society Library. Dated 23 July 1855.

¹¹Although the Las Vegas colony was planned as a mission to the Indians, N. V. Jones was sent to mine lead as Brigham Young was afraid that a supply from the East would be cut off by the U. S. Army. Due to the threat of Johnston's army the lead mine took priority over the Indian mission.

discuss the problems in the mission with Brigham Young. As it was decided to discontinue the mission at Las Vegas in late 1856, Bean returned to Provo.

JOHNSTON'S ARMY

In 1857, as the U. S. Army invaded Utah, Bean was sent to Carson Valley, with Peter Conover and O. B. Huntington, as a guide. "We were to take a direct westerly course across the deserts and make the trip as quickly as possible, reckoned as twelve days." Huntington got "mystified," and they spent 18 days on the trip, living on horsemeat the last three days. They "suffered much for lack of water" but reached the sink of the Carson River and went on to Washoe Valley. The Mormons in the area were told to pack up and return to Utah; and Bean and others went over the mountains with surplus cattle to sell, in order to buy wagons, teams, and supplies. George sold the cattle before reaching California and took a "pencil order" on the bank at Placerville. Taking the mail stage on to Folsom, he then rode the train to Sacramento, "surprised to find everything so comfortable." After only a day in Sacramento, George returned by horseback to Centerville in the company of William R. Smith, who had some \$24,000 on his person in payment for some of the cattle. Others remained in Sacramento and purchased wagons, guns, powder, and other supplies.

The Mormons left Carson Valley in October and arrived in Salt Lake on 1 December 1857. They went by the route of the Humboldt River, Thousand Spring Valley, Goose Creek, and City of Rocks. George arrived home in December and that winter his family again increased with the birth of children to his second and third wives.

In March, George was called by Brigham Young to go into the desert west of Fillmore and Beaver to "find hiding places in case Johnston's Army came in." He and his party started in the middle of March through deep snow "through Juab County to Chicken Creek, to Holden and across the Sevier River where they joined with other men on the same errand." On the top of West Mountain Range on 8 April, "we faced the roughest snow storm that it was ever my lot to meet. We got into any shelter possible and waited all the rest of the day and night—twenty-seven hours of snow without cessation, and heavy wind

most of the time." They lost five horses, had wagon covers torn to bits, and some of the cattle strayed as far as forty miles.

After two or three days the party moved west to White Mountains and located a "resting place" on Snake Creek. Bean and others pushed west "toward the Pahrnegat Valley outside the Great Basin."

They met up with groups from southern Utah and "became well acquainted with Southeast Nevada." They returned to Utah in June to find "all forgiven of rebellion, treason, arson and other crimes we had not committed."

In 1857 George and his brother worked on the wagon road up the Provo Canyon and, in the company of William M. Wall, located a ranch in the "lower part of Provo Valley." There they later doctored "lame cattle" for the government freighters.

EXPLORING WITH SIMPSON

In October of 1858, George W. Bean was engaged by Major J. A. Reynolds to make a trip west to aid the government in opening a new route to Carson Valley.¹² Wrote George: "I engaged at \$5.00 per day and furnished and set out immediately with Captain J. H. Simpson, Chief of Topographical Engineers, as guide and interpreter. . . . I had quite a time with Captain Simpson, who was greatly prejudiced against everything Mormon, and it was several days before he offered to speak to me, except as to the route or distance to camping places." Simpson finally gave up, and he and George had some "spirited arguments on Polygamy and Priestly Authority." Simpson was a very strict religious person who did not travel on Sunday if it could be avoided. Simpson called Brigham Young some "hard names," and George threatened to leave, going as far as getting on his horse before Simpson would apologize.¹³

This expedition was a result of General Albert S. Johnston's desire to open a route to California by way of Carson Valley. The group of about forty men included soldiers, five wagons, a geologist, and George W. Bean. They left 19 Octo-

¹²The Bean papers say the expedition left about November 1858, but the official army records say the expedition left on 19 October 1858.

¹³James Hervey Simpson was a noted army explorer who before and after the Civil War made many surveys looking for better routes in the West. In 1858, he "submitted a report on a new route from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Coast."

ber 1858 with instructions to explore westward as far as the late season would allow.

They moved west through Rush Valley to Johnson's settlement then south through Skull Valley. Through this area, the group crossed "a desert as level as a floor" and "devoid of every vestige of vegetation." They went westward to Short Cut Pass in Thomas Range where they decided to go no farther since water was thirty-five miles away. The group returned on a more southerly route, finding a new pass which would shorten the distance by some twenty miles. Later that year, the route was used to carry the mail to California.¹⁴

Although Simpson's printed report used the wrong first name for Bean, he spoke of him with satisfaction. George says that Simpson offered him \$100 per month for all winter to assist in writing up a history of Utah." As usual, George "sought advice of my wise friend President Young," and he "suggested that I keep a careful distance from their influence."

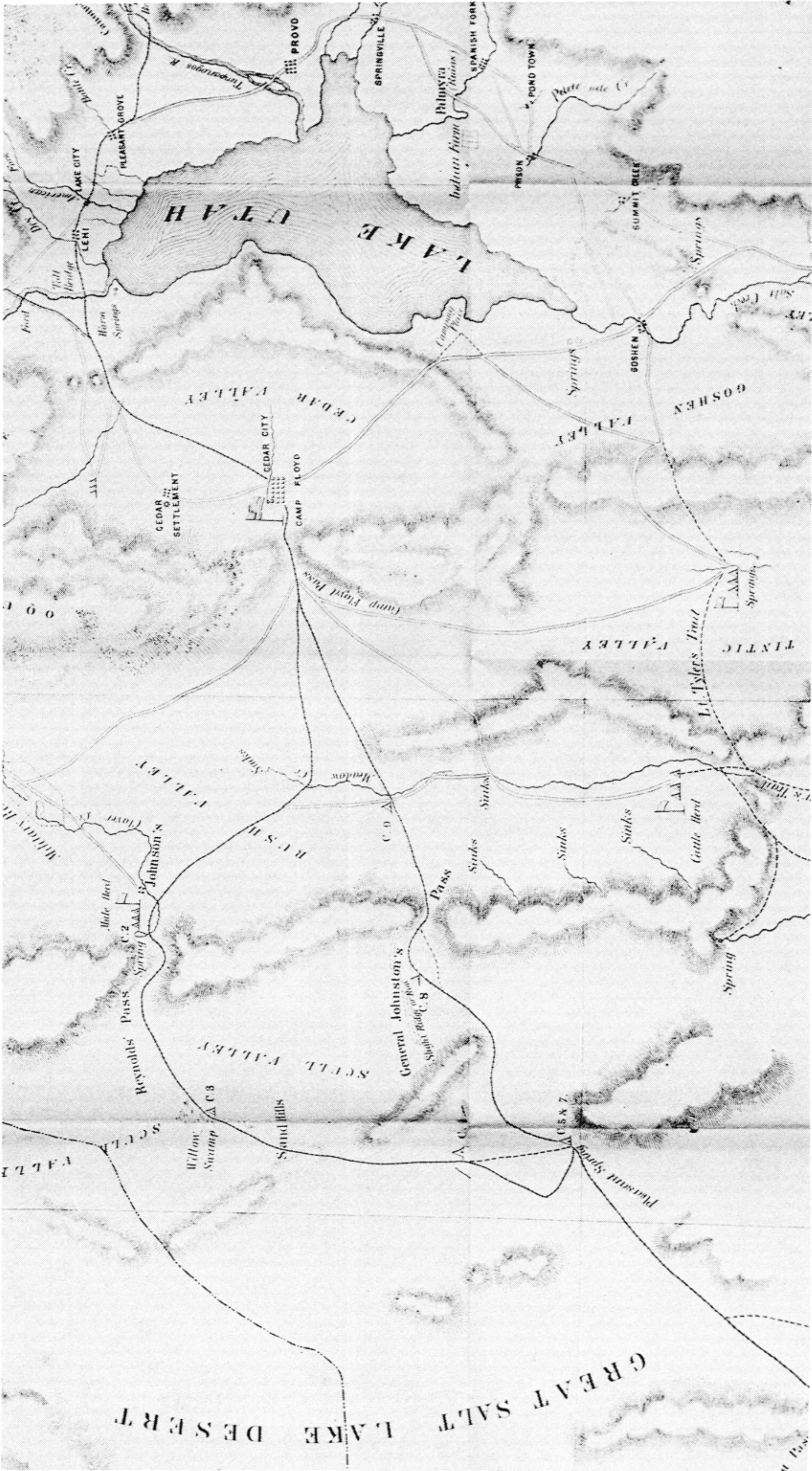
George continued to explore Utah but mostly for the Church; he went to Uintah Valley in 1861 to search out places for settlement, but the basin was made into an Indian reservation.

After serving in the state legislature from Wasatch County, George was called to take a small party on the Sevier River above Gunnison. This proved to be a failure when they encountered Orson H. Hyde who told them that "the settlement of Sevier Valley is in my hands."

In 1872, after public service as judge, tax assessor, and lieutenant colonel in the Black Hawk Indian War, George spent "thirty" days exploring the valleys east of Provo with Lieutenant George M. Wheeler.¹⁵ This expedition was complicated by Indian troubles caused by a rumor among them of a "Voice from the West" who would lead them to victory over the "whites." The "Voice" did not materialize, and George led Wheeler to the "Hot Pots" at Midway, Strawberry Valley, and back down Spanish Fork Canyon. The group went south and climbed all the high mountains "surrounding Utah and San

¹⁴James H. Simpson, *Wagon Routes in Utah Territory*, Senate Executive Document 40 (Serial 984) 35th Congress, 2nd Session. 1858.

¹⁵In 1871, Lieutenant George M. Wheeler was selected to take charge of the survey territories in the U. S. west of the 100th meridian. Unlike previous Army explorers, Wheeler went from North to South and liked to climb and measure tall mountain peaks. His work in the West from 1871-1879 produced a monument of records.



Report of the Secretary of War, communicating. . . , Captain Simpson's Report and Map of Wagon Road Routes in Utah Territory, (Washington 1859).

Pete Counties." Wheeler continued on east and south, but George returned home by way of Thistle on a borrowed army mule.

In October 1872, George went with the Indian agent and a group of Indians to Washington, D. C., where he met President U. S. Grant.

In 1873, George was called to tour the Fish Lake country and meet with the Indians. On his return from this trip Brigham Young called him to settle in the Sevier County area. Although the Richfield area was considered his home until his death, George W. Bean continued to roam. He traveled back east to his birthplace, where he visited relatives for months, toured southern Nevada with the idea of settling there, and prospected for gold in the central mountains of Utah.

The last years of his life were spent in ill health caused by exposure, poor food, and the cannon accident of 1849. George W. Bean died in Richfield 9 December 1897.

Student Impact on the 1970 Utah Nominating Conventions

WAYNE AULT* AND J. KEITH MELVILLE**

Student protest erupted all over America in May 1970 as a result of the United States invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State tragedy. Harsh voices were heard around the land condemning the college youth of America when some protests resulted in violent confrontations with police. Some feared America was on the brink of serious civil strife and demanded hard-line, punitive measures. However, some students sought alternative ways to express the widespread dismay over this new American involvement in Southeast Asia. One such alternative received practical testing at the University of Utah.

After some tension on the University of Utah campus and insistence by a large segment of students that the University be closed, a referendum was held. The students voted to keep the school open and return to class. This did not constitute a vote to do nothing but, for many at least, was a vote against what they perceived to be a destructive and fruitless means of protest. Instead, a responsible political action program was developing at the university.

The seminal idea for this activity had been suggested at a College Republican meeting in 1968, that students be mobilized for the election, but it was discarded as unworkable.

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The idea, however, remained alive in the mind of Vice-chairman Suzanne Dean. She presented a plan to student government officers in the spring of 1970 which would enable the students to work for change through the political party of their choice as an alternative to protest. Miss Dean urged that a telephone survey be conducted to determine political preferences of university students. The interested students would be encouraged to attend their party's neighborhood mass meetings and run for delegate positions. Later, students could group together in caucuses at county and state conventions of both parties and influence candidates and platforms by voting as a bloc.¹

One of the major tasks was to quickly find the politically motivated students out of a 22,000 enrollment and give them specific instructions about their particular voting districts in time for the mass meetings in May. At this point, the work of Dr. William Viavant, a professor of computer science and an expert in using computers to process voting data, became invaluable. During a meeting of the leaders of the College Republicans and the Young Democrats with the Salt Lake County chairmen from both parties, Dr. Viavant explained a computer program which could match the students from Salt Lake County on the registrar's list with their individual voting districts.

The university regents and the local officials of both parties approved the project, the computer printout was obtained, and the real work began. As chairman of Participation '70, Miss Dean, with her staff of four, set up operations in some unused offices on campus donated by the university. A political "boiler room" was organized with student volunteers. Telephone canvassers called students and determined their political preferences. The most politically interested student in each voting district was then sent a letter urging him to run as a delegate at his mass meeting. The letter also contained a list of other students on whom he could call for support. Over 1,000 students attended mass meetings on 18 May, electing approximately 400 students to party offices. More than 200 students won delegate positions.

A joint Republican-Democratic caucus of student delegates preceded the Salt Lake County conventions. Following an

¹Suzanne Dean, private interview held at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1970.

opening session where general goals were considered, the respective party delegates caucused separately and outlined their specific strategies. Resolutions written and sponsored by students were passed at the Republican County Convention calling for (1) increased youth participation in county politics, (2) more responsible environmental policies, and (3) a code of ethics for county officials. There was evidence at the convention that the youth movement did not please all adult politicians. One candidate for the state legislature circulated a handbill among delegates entitled, "Participation '70: Its Real Purpose?" The sheet said:

Is it possible the (University of Utah) Administration has launched a personal vendetta against conservative candidates who have opposed the policies of the Administration? The cat was let out of the bag when it was revealed that prime conservative candidates have been picked as targets by this group (Participation '70), not to be helped in their election campaign, but to be knocked out of the running. . . .²

This fear was unfounded, as there is no evidence that students worked only for liberal and against conservative candidates.

The student delegates to the Democratic County Convention caucused and decided to vote as a bloc for candidates. Although the balloting at the convention is secret, most students made a pledge to vote the decision of the caucus. The pledge apparently held, because in every case the candidate endorsed by the student caucus not only gained a place on the primary ballot but came out first in conventional balloting. The student caucus, holding 100 of the 600 delegate votes, undoubtedly had a deciding impact in six county races. Student resolutions dealing with lowering the voting age, electoral reform, civil rights, and ecology were passed. A platform amendment calling for the involvement of youth in government was adopted.

Following the county conventions, Participation '70 leaders mobilized student delegate power for the state conventions. Student state delegates were identified, including those from other counties; party caucuses were held; candidates were invited to speak to the students and respond to their questions; and seminars were held for student party officers. Both parties agreed to seat students on their platform com-

²"Participation '70: Its Real Purpose," *Utah Independent*, 11 June 1970.

mittees, and Democratic students were seated also on rules, credentials, and resolutions committees. The Republican students at the state convention agreed in caucus to certain platform changes which the platform committee would not accept without compromise. The changes to which the committee agreed increased the role of youth in the youth and republicanism plank, strengthened the individual rights section on equal opportunities for decent housing and employment, and softened the law and order proposal dealing with student and faculty conduct. The Republican platform with these student modifications was accepted without objection by the convention.

The Democratic students resolved to make several major changes in their party's state platform. The two student delegates on the platform committee chaired the plank on Indo-China and Military Spending, which called for the "immediate withdrawal of all military personnel from Southeast Asia. . . ."³ Student members of the rules committee were able to block the original rules, which would have required that the entire document be presented and debated as a whole, substituting the rule that the platform be considered plank by plank.

The students engineered significant revisions and additions to the platform concerning draft reform, higher education, human rights, basic freedoms, consumer affairs, and drugs. They also proposed six resolutions: (1) On Senator Moss, (2) The Quality of Life, (3) Higher Education, (4) Party Organization, (5) Indo-China War, and (6) Dissent and Freedom of Speech—all of which passed.

One of the most provocative student insertions in the plank on education called on the "Utah Legislature to enact legislation guaranteeing that police, military, or vigilante groups will not be permitted on campuses of higher education unless and until the heads of those institutions specifically recognize in writing the existence of a 'clear and present danger which cannot be remedied by a campus security force.' "⁴ This position was supported with the passage of the resolution on dissent and freedom of speech which condemned "the passage of any legislation which is designed to curtail legitimate dissent," and reaffirmed "the right of an individual freely to

³Preliminary Draft of 1970 Utah Democratic Platform.

⁴1970 *Utah Democratic Platform: Government in a Changing America*.

express his thoughts and convictions, no matter how unacceptable they may be to others in our society. . . .”⁵

A general statement on civil rights was replaced with a series of specific provisions on the needs of Indians, Blacks, and Mexican-Americans, which called for better educational opportunities for minority groups, including bilingual instruction; the end of discrimination in employment and housing; protection of migrant workers; and the extension of civil liberties and citizenship rights to all regardless of race, creed, national origin, or sex.

The plank on drugs, urging that “anti-drug police forces, both federal and state, be strengthened in numbers and training” was completely rewritten by the students so that it included a section indicating that the times demand “new thinking and new approaches to the drug problem. Imaginative educational programs should begin at the grade school level. . . . Treatment and rehabilitation programs need strengthening and diversification. . . . The enforcement of our laws must be strengthened, not by heavier penalties and more laws, but by more realistic and consistent laws.”

Possibly the convention’s most liberal and controversial proposal was the resolution on the quality of life which addressed environmental and population problems:

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE, in order to check the excessive population threat:

1. To promote education about family planning and the problems that are generated by unregulated population growth.
2. To support legislation permitting birth control, abortion, or sterilization, the effect of which would be to allow each family the option to limit the size of the family unit.

The resolution on the Indo-China War supported the plank on immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and further resolved: “That this Party calls upon the Legislature of the State of Utah to enact appropriate legislation to prohibit the federal government from sending abroad a citizen of this state to fight in a foreign war which has not been constitutionally declared by Congress.” The students also inserted

⁵1970 Utah Democratic Party Resolutions.

an original plank urging the adoption of an all-volunteer army before July 1971.

The student amendments caused little reaction by the regular Democratic state delegates at first. All were anxious to get on with the business and move to the voting on primary candidates which was the last order of business. But, with each additional amendment, tension built up until the convention erupted in disorder. Quick tempers and heated debate, however, gave way to a shortage of time when student delegate Ludean Robson moved that the convention shut off debate and vote on all proposed resolutions together. The chair ruled the "ayes" have it; the students carried the day.

The success of the Utah Democratic student delegates was aired nationwide when the Associated Press carried a story about the students and their resolutions. Even the conservative Paul Harvey was impressed when he stated that "young people are asserting themselves politically right now in a manner unprecedented in our country. Last [summer] a bunch of young Democrats in Utah decided to overthrow the establishment in the American way, within the framework of the democratic process."⁶

Significant student influence was evident in both state conventions, although the most volatile action occurred in the Democratic convention. In an attempt to gauge the significance of student participation, questionnaires were sent to (1) student delegates, (2) regular state delegates, and (3) to Congressional and Senatorial candidates and their key campaign workers. The entire group of 245 student delegates was surveyed. Fifty-seven percent (140 students) responded. Of the 33 candidates and campaign workers surveyed, 19, or 58 percent, returned their questionnaires. The candidate survey did not determine political affiliation because of the limited number surveyed. A stratified random sample was used to survey the regular state delegates, proportionate to the number of delegates from each county. It was determined that a sampling of 100 delegates from each party would be representative of the entire group. Sixty-two percent (124 state delegates) responded.

The Democratic students surveyed overwhelmingly believed they made a significant contribution at their state convention.

⁶Paul Harvey, "Young Democrats Set National Pattern," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, October 7, 1970.

While a very large percentage of the Republican students felt they also made a significant contribution, the majority concluded that they contributed as much or slightly more than other delegates. (See Table 1.)

Table 1
*Students' Self-Image at the State Convention
in Relation to Political Affiliation*

Impression	Democrat (Percent) (Number)		Republican (Percent) (Number)	
Made significant contribution	83	68	41	24
Contributed slightly more than other delegates	1	1	5	3
Contributed as much as other delegates	7	5	46	27
Contributed but were disruptive	4.5	4	0	0
Other	4.5	4	8	4
Total:	100	82	100	58

Chi-square: 38.1760 $p < .001$

The majority of the regular Democratic delegates felt the students made a significant contribution at the state convention. In contrast, less than 14 percent of the Republican delegates believed the students made a significant contribution. However 19 percent of the Democratic delegates thought the student contribution was somewhat negative or disruptive. (See Table 2.)

Table 2
*State Delegates' Impression of Students at the State Convention
in Relation to Political Affiliation*

Impression	Democrat (Percent) (Number)		Republican (Percent) (Number)	
Made significant contribution	59	34	13.5	9
Contributed slightly more than other delegates	5	3	6	4
Contributed as much as other delegates	17	10	70	46
Contributions were both good and bad	9	5	1.5	1
Were a disruptive element	10	6	1.5	1
Other	0	0	8.5	5
Total:	100	58	100	66

Chi-square: 48.7454 $p < .001$

Sixty-three percent of the candidates and campaign workers surveyed believed the students made a significant contribution at the conventions, and an additional 26 percent felt they contributed as much as the regular delegates. (See Table 3.)

Table 3
*Candidates and Campaign Managers' Impression of Students
at the State Convention*

Impression	Percent	Number
Made significant contribution	63.1	12
Contributed as much as other delegates	26.3	5
Lacked political experience	5.3	1
No impression	5.3	1
Total:	100	19

The student delegates were probably the most significant bloc in the 1970 conventions. This was especially true of the Democratic Convention. They were able to turn the two parties to a more youthful perspective and address the significant issues facing Utahns as part of the whole American scene.

Confrontation politics of our day is characteristic of political activity in which students lack legitimate channels of communication to authority. Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California at Berkeley, has "observed that political groups turn to activist demonstrations when they find themselves ignored by the adult power structure."⁷ A significant number of Utah students became aware that the legitimate channels of communication to authority were open. A student-initiated project let the students know that there was an alternative to protest through Utah's "mass meeting" system; and for those who were dissatisfied with the policies of government, there were avenues for change more productive than demonstrations.

No one should think that political action is an easy road, but the Utah experience shows it can be done with substantial effect. Students should be encouraged to carefully formulate goals, develop strategies, and apply programs of action to help solve the urgent problems facing America today. And the students themselves will be the most significant beneficiaries as the world they help to build will be theirs tomorrow.

⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective," *Daedalus*, No. 1 (Winter 1968), pp. 15-16.

The Sweet Singer Of Israel:

David Hyrum Smith

PAUL EDWARDS*

*Let me be happy too. Oh! Restless soul,
Fold thy quick limbs and rest from care a while;
Watch the great clouds in fleecy volumes roll;
The lakelet in the sunshine seems to smile;—
Would God my friends were here to share my thought,—
Would I could find the rest I long have sought.*

*Would I could speak the language of the hills
Would their plush velvet grace I could make known;
Could I translate the talking of the rills
That from their crowning dimples wander down,—
I would not sing, and yet I can not cease;
I can not murmur, yet I have no peace.¹*

Thus wrote David Hyrum Smith in December of 1870. It is a song of discontent, and so he labeled it. But perhaps more than that it is the effort of a simple and poetic man to make his voice heard among those who were unaffected by the great truths that nurtured his life.

There is little written and much less said about this young man who was the fifth living son of the martyred prophet, the youngest brother of Joseph Smith III—missionary, counselor, artist, poet—probably because he was, and is, an embarrassment to the Reorganization (RLDS church) and minor in importance to the Latter-day Saints. His contribution is sketchily acknowledged and his illness treated with kind but firm respect.

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¹Smith, David H. and Elbert A. *Hesperis or Poems By Father and Son*. Herald Publishing House, Lamoni, Iowa, 1911, p. 226.

But in a movement with the tendency toward hero worship, there is surprisingly little interest in his life and thought or in his impact on the Reorganization movement, or even an acknowledgment of the fairly safe poetic and musical nature of his character.

This paper was anticipated as an introduction to the poetry, sketches, and paintings of David H. Smith, annotated by some analysis of the character and thinking of the man as indicated from his letters, first to his wife and then to his son. These works of art, letters, journals, as well as some unpublished partial essays, are owned by David's grandson, Lynn E. Smith of Independence, Missouri. This collection includes letters from the period of David's confinement; and, except for one or two prints of his Nauvoo painting, his collected poems, *Hesperis*, and a few scattered articles and sketches in the *Saints' Herald*, the complete primary clues to this man rest in the Lynn E. Smith collection.

Unfortunately, for reasons that can only be known by the family, though suspected by all of us, the final arrangements to use this material resulted in permission being withdrawn. This led this researcher to a vast treasure hunt seeking available information. But, with the exceptions of a brief account of his missionary work—and a statement of his illness—there is almost nothing said about him, anywhere. Inez Smith Davis, for example, does not see fit to mention him except in her listing of the counselors to Joseph III and in a side reference to the Utah trips. His name does not appear in the index, nor are his birth, ordination, or death listed among the chronological events of the Reorganized church.²

Thus, my objective has been to draw together doxographical information to introduce David Smith and some of his poetry to an audience sympathetic to the need for more historical investigation and biographical identification. I have been assured that his sketches, letters, and paintings will be available "in due time."

David Hyrum Smith was born in Nauvoo on 17 November 1844, some five months after the assassination of his father. The impact of this tragedy made its mark on the young man. Opportunities were few and David's education was limited, but he early indicated an almost unlimited interest in his en-

²Davis, Inez Smith. *The Story of the Church*. Herald Publishing House, Indep., Missouri, 1943.

vironment. He was an avid reader and an artistically talented young man. Passionately fond of music, flowers, and people, his education was primarily self-created from these interests. When he was baptized into the Reorganization in October of 1861, the Montrose, Iowa, Branch was informed that David was to be "one of our church pillars, for the Spirit says so."³ John Shippy reported that young David was gaining fast "and will soon astonish the nations" with his music and poetry.

United with his brothers in Nauvoo, he grew in stature and in insight, taking on the physical characteristics of the Smiths and the attitudes of his older brother. His maturing years were spent during the great civil upheaval of our nation, but his participation was prevented by the vision of noninvolvement seen by his brother.⁴ His connection with the Reorganization in these years seems firm if not too well worked out, and he wrote at Nauvoo in 1864 of other pressures.

*Such voices come to all
And whisper softly in our inmost heart;
They bid us nobly stand, or weakly fall,
And ask us to endure, or give up all.
Say, shall we choose the good or evil part?
Answer, ye saints most dear,
And choose the good things of the Lord, our God;
Trusting in him to bring us help and cheer,
Nor let our righteousness forsake us here;
So shall we be with Christ—nor fear the rod.⁵*

He was ordained a priest in March of 1863 and seven months later, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, received ordination as an elder. Following this, he was assigned to work in the Michigan and northern Indiana area, traveling often with either Joseph or Alexander.⁶

The Conference of 1869, meeting at St. Louis, optimistically appointed David and his older brother Alexander to Utah and the Pacific Slope to contact the "scattered saints" there. It was also expected that they would meet and exchange ideas with

³*Saints' Herald*, Volume 2, p. 166.

⁴Anderson, Mary Audentia (ed.) *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration*, Herald House, Independence, Missouri, 1952, p. 196-199.

⁵Smith, David H. *loc cit.*, p. 203.

⁶*The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Volume 3, p. 496. (Hereafter called RLDS History.)

the leaders of the Utah church⁷—"to be conducted, on our part, in a frank and fearless, though kindly manner."⁸ David started west early in the summer of 1869, arriving in Utah by October of that year.⁹ Letters from Utah indicated increasing difficulty in developing meaningful communications with his cousins and with Brigham Young; but they also reported some acceptance of these "sons of the prophet, especially of David." Because Alexander was "otherwise occupied," David authored a series of articles in the *Herald* about his "experiences" at Salt Lake. These letters and accounts are filled with a surprisingly more than ordinary amount of homesickness and with descriptions of the countryside, the wildlife, and occasionally a detailed evaluation of the day. The brothers returned from their not too successful mission in March of 1870—Alexander, because of his wife's illness, and David "on account of being too incapacitated by illness for the field."¹⁰

Yet, in May of 1870, David was strong enough to marry eighteen-year-old Clara Charlotte Hartshorn at the home of her parents at Sandwich, DeKalb, Illinois. A son, Elbert Aorivl, was born at the mansion house in Nauvoo in March of the following year.¹¹ In that year (April 1871) at Plano, Illinois, David was ordained president of the Second Quorum of Elders and in that capacity labored as assistant editor of the *Herald* and in the church in the Fort Madison, Iowa, area.¹²

During the next two years, Alexander and David Smith served in the String Prairie and Nauvoo districts. They had considered another Utah trip at this time, but circumstances had prevented their going. While in Nauvoo, David was chosen president of the Olive Branch and was responsible for its reorganization.¹³ At the annual conference of 1872 at St. Louis, the brothers were asked to make a second journey to Utah.¹⁴ Later, Joseph indicated that this was an unwise decision and that the sensitive young man had taken on too much, and David's son, Elbert, suggested his father had returned to Utah

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 519.

⁸*Saints' Herald*, Volume 15, p. 337.

⁹*RLDS History*, Volume 3, p. 527, 530, 547.

¹⁰*Saints' Herald*, Volume 17, p. 180.

¹¹*Brother Elbert*, Herald House Publishing House, Independence, Missouri, 1959, p. 11-14. (Revised from Smith, Elbert. *On Memory's Beam*, 1929.)

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³*Saints' Herald*, Volume 18, p. 20.

¹⁴*RLDS History*, Volume 3, p. 694.

without fully recovering from his bout with "brain fever." But David agreed to go—spent a month in Omaha on the way—then set out across the prairie, arriving in Utah in mid-July.¹⁵ This second trip was less reported, but the brothers seem to have spent a great deal of their time with scattered groups of saints around Salt Lake, resulting in a variety of responses.

Soon after his return from Utah, David was called to the First Presidency of the Reorganization by a message, 3 March 1873, and was ordained at the conference.¹⁶

It was increasingly evident that David's health had weakened during his second mission to Utah, where he suffered a "severe attack of brain fever." Less than a year after his ordination, the *Herald* reported, "Brother Smith is ill again." Then again in April, "David is at Nauvoo where he will probably remain during the summer and fall . . . he seems to be recuperating."¹⁷

His illness continued to worsen. In July of 1874, Joseph editorialized that David had suffered "a partial relapse 'in his malady.' " He was "much disturbed mentally as well as bodily." David managed a visit to Lamoni in 1875, but his condition was obviously worsening. Later, he was reported taking part in the Rock Creek Branch meetings, but only as a listener, except for the singing which he still enjoyed. He was taken, early in 1876, to Alexander's farm home in Illinois to be allowed to rest. The purpose was partially to get him away from the pressures of church activity but also to put off any decisions until Joseph's return from his own Utah mission.¹⁸

Unfortunately, the illness did not decline during the resting period, and David became more and more of a problem to the community. He had developed the idea somehow that he was the director-owner of a large railroad company and would often slip into town sending numerous telegrams each day to various persons, all in the belief that he was conducting the business of his railroad. In 1876, when Joseph returned and discovered David was no better, he considered the need for permanent institutionalization. The efforts of the local people to secure this aided in the decision.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 702-703.

¹⁶*Brother Elbert*, p. 28. *Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, Herald Publishing House, Independence, Missouri, 1962, Section 117.3. (Hereafter called D&C.)

¹⁷*RLDS History*, Volume 4, p. 460-469.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 120, 71: *RLDS History*, Volume 3, p. 273.

An inquiry was held at Yorkville, and, with little or no hesitation, a commitment order was authorized, and David was committed to the Illinois Hospital for the Insane on 10 January 1877. The period of his commitment was marked by the quiet that usually accompanies those things not understood; yet there were efforts made to determine the nature of his illness and many reasons were offered for his internment.

There had been considerable unrest over the direction of the Reorganization, much of this unrest centering around Joseph and suggesting that perhaps some other person might more aptly carry the mantle of leadership.

In 1869 *The Utah Daily Reporter* published an editorial entitled "The Son of the Prophet" which suggested that while many rejected the claim of "young Joseph" they were seemingly ready to follow David who, perhaps, looked more like one would expect a prophet to look.¹⁹ Words of this kind and the suggestion that David was considered by many to be the obvious choice, had caused the young man to record his sentiments in these not too subtle verses as early as 1863:

*Joseph is the Chose prophet
Well ordained in God's clear sight
Should he lose by his transgression
Alexander has the right.*

*Joseph, Alexander, David
Three remaining pillars still;
Like the three remaining columns
Of the Temple on the hill!*

*Joseph's star is full and shining
Alexander's more than mine;
Mine is just below the mountain
Bide its time and it will shine.*

*Joseph is the Chose prophet
Well ordained in God's clear sight
Should he lose by his transgression
Alexander has the right.*

There seems to be little doubt, from this researcher's point of view, how young David saw himself in relation to his broth-

¹⁹*Autumn Leaves*, Volume 25, p. 507-512.

er Joseph and to the cause which he led. David reaffirmed the support of his brother again in the pages of *The Utah Daily Reporter*, Sunday, 15 August 1869: "My free, willing, independent, unfaltering service, faith, countenance, aid and influence, I give to my brother, Joseph."

However, more than one person within the Reorganization and many without, accused Joseph of "having his brother put away" for reasons that ranged from silencing his disloyalty to his trying to take over the church. Joseph made reference on his trying to take over the Church. Joseph made reference on several occasions to this feeling and assured the Reorganization that all possible was being done for his younger brother. The Mormon missionary, Edward Stevenson, visited David in September of 1895 and reported his visit to the *Deseret News*. He stated that David was well in body and went on to express a firm denial that the man was imprisoned because he favored Utah. The two men had gone for a brief walk together and managed rational and congenial conversation. Smith, he reported, had grown much heavier and grey but still carried himself well.

Writing in 1893, Joseph again spoke concerning his brother and appealed to the saints to heed his comments. "All that was in our power to do was done; he was frequently prayed for, and many of the eldership were asked to, and did, administer to him as required in the law; all of which did not prevent the mental disturbance from culminating in losing the balance of a well-poised mind; the causes of which are to be conjectured only."²⁰

Another theory was that David was poisoned while in Salt Lake City. Joseph, answering a letter to this effect in December of 1877, indicated that David was away from his regular boarding place in Salt Lake when his first attack occurred. Yet Joseph went on to report he did not wish to believe rumors of a poisoning, or of anything of that sort, and that no one knew anything about it.

On 4 June 1880, Joseph wrote to Dr. E. A. Kilbourne who was in charge of David's case. He indicated appreciation for the concern of the doctor and continued by expressing his sadness at the tragedy that befalls a man which causes him to become unbalanced. "There must be some subtle relation between the unseen and men, by which such disturbances are governed,

²⁰*Saints' Herald*, Volume 40, p. 52.

produced and removed. O, that it were found. Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, with all their research of the primal man are no nearer this secret source of life. . . ."²¹

A later letter revealed something of the difficulty Joseph had had during those trying years. "I kept him till it was dangerous to *wife* and children, in the face of an antipathy he formed to my wife; and it was only when he interfered with the *Railway employees* and the *Harvester works* here that I was compelled to take him to Elgin."²²

Years later, Joseph was to write in his account of the church that David had become associated with spiritualists in Salt Lake City and later in Malad, Idaho, when in that area in the 1870s. He felt that somehow this was connected with his concern over the manifestations of the spirit, which grew out of hand. "I am convinced," Joseph was to write, "that insidiously there was inculcated into my brother's mind the idea that his father was either a polygamist in practice or that he was the spiritual author of the Utah plural marriage philosophy."²³ Joseph continued to discuss the pressures brought on David, later acknowledging that "from my knowledge of his character I do not believe my brother had the power to resist such insidious teachings. . . ."

At the annual conference of 1885, held in Independence, considerable concern was expressed about David's condition, and interest was indicated about the role he would continue to play in the work of the church. The tenth day of April was set apart as a day of prayer and fasting for the improved condition of their ill counselor. Yet, on the eleventh, hardly allowing time for a cure, the move to sustain members of the quorum resulted in question concerning the continuation of David's position in the Presidency. Joseph was asked if any communication had been received on the subject. President Smith replied that "the Voice of the Spirit is that David H. Smith be released. He is," it continued, "in mine hands."²⁴

There is little evidence of David's condition for the next seven years. On 4 February 1893, Joseph, who was then working at Kingston, Missouri, received a telegram which informed him of David's death. Joseph immediately went to Elgin and

²¹*Joseph Smith III, Letter Book No. 3*, p. 177.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 167-168.

²³*Saints' Herald*, Volume 82 (1935), p. 1361.

²⁴*RLDS History*, Volume 4, p. 479: D&C, Section 121.1b and 122.4b.

discovered that the wire had been sent as a result of mistaken identity. He used the visit, however, as an occasion to report that he found his younger brother safe and comfortable and in good health physically even though the malady of the mind continued to control his behavior. Continued inquiry by the saints into the state of David's condition finally led Joseph to report a communication of patience he had received: "My servant David H. Smith is yet in my hand and I will do my will in the time of its accomplishment. Be not troubled or fearful in this matter for it shall be well for my work in the end."²⁵

At a quarter to four in the afternoon of 29 August 1904, David Hyrum Smith died. The cause of his death was directly related, it was said, to his illness, termed as Melancholia Dementia. Notice of his death was registered in the 31 August *Herald*, and a small close group met at Lamoni on 1 September for the funeral and burial at Rose Hill Cemetery. The announcement of his death to the people among whom he had worked indicated that while many expected interposition of divine providence, the hope was not shared by President Smith, who seemed "to foresee but one ending, the final release of death." While the church must mourn the loss of "so brilliant a man," it said, "it will be with chastened hearts and unshaken faith that we go forward."

The historian wears many hats, some more comfortable than others. At the risk of involving myself in a literary debate, I would like to don one such hat to suggest that poetry is a more primitive and a more natural form than the elaborate prose which is so common. Thus, it is a more natural form for a man who wishes to express emotions or to pronounce insights which are either extremely hard to identify or difficult to communicate. Except for our casual conversation, our prose depends on the fairly sophisticated development of an objective reality which is separated from the *Self*. It was just such a distinction which seems to have troubled David Hyrum Smith. It appears that he was trying to stretch his language to express the feelings that were within him, feelings which were as hard to identify as they were to separate—that is, objectify—to himself. These thoughts, not so well defined, perhaps, were more feelings than definitive statements and thus not to be expressed in the flowing prose of his brothers. Articulation, or more accurately, lack of it, was a factor in his poetry and music as

²⁵*Saints' Herald*, Volume 40, p. 69 and 82.

well as in his art work. In a very real sense, it can be said that for David Smith the medium was a major portion of the message. Thus one must be careful of the criticism, particularly of romanticism, that is levelled against him.

I entered into this study with the skepticism of a historian and with a healthy disrespect for nineteenth-century poetry. Yet, I would suggest that you learn from my experience—that if you have not looked into the distant mind of David Smith or felt the nagging loneliness of imprisoned thoughts searching for expression or the isolation of a separate reality—do not judge this mystical man too quickly.

A poet by nature as well as activity, there was early evidence that this sensitive member of a sensitive family felt the need to express some of the ideas and feelings that were being associated in his mind. Deeply moved by things beautiful, melancholy at times, yet strangely well-tempered and overflowing with humor, love, sympathy, and humility, he felt compelled to speak what was often unspoken.

During his association at Nauvoo, he discovered a place just back of the mansion house by a waterfall which formed a natural amphitheater overlooking the grassy slope and the water. There he would go and read and write and meditate—often spending long hours with his thoughts. This retreat, called "David's Chamber," was probably the inspiration for his best statement of his attachment to nature:

*In every nook some sight of beauty wakes a tender thought;
Some flower blooming by some old gray stone;
Or tiny bird's nest with abundant skill and labor wrought;
Or faithful shadow over shining waters thrown.
The thickets darkly dense and still,
Where scarce the slender vine leaves thrill;—
Unbend, oh brow! and sad heart, take thy fill
Of rest, beside the lonely woodland path.²⁶*

Hesperis was published in 1875 on a small hand press during the period of decline leading to his last and permanent illness. It includes much of his work, mostly pastoral in nature, employing a rather consistent use of the dramatic monologue and a natural interest in strongly accented verse. It is an un-

²⁶Smith, David H., *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

fortunate and perhaps an unfair collection, for much of the young poet's works appear other places—*The Saints' Herald*, primarily—and this collection is not a valid representation. In addition, there is some evidence that David continued to write poetry after his commitment to the hospital for the mentally ill and that this poetry is still in existence. Unfortunately, these materials, as with his letters and paintings, are not available. *Hesperis* did save much of what was available, however; and, while as a whole I would not recommend it for light reading, there are some very interesting moods, ideas, and expressions that are worth noting. Something of his "frame of reference" can be drawn through an appeal to his written work. His deep feeling and involvement with nature served as his constant analogy, sometimes simply descriptive:

*Between the trees, the green sward slopes away,
Barred with the sunshine, with the shadows crossed;
Where leaves, like flitting fingers, deftly play
A melody, when by the breezes tossed.*

San Francisco, 1870²⁷

Sometimes as reflective of his search for an endless life:

*Though the waves of death flow o'er thee,
'Tis the rest that gathers power
For the endless life before thee;
Fear no dying;
Like the resurrection flower,
Death defying.*

Salt Lake City, November 22, 1872²⁸

Sometimes in the desperate urge to give permanence to a mood:

*Now, gentle friend, release thy clinging hold;
The spray beads rest upon thy forehead cold;
The tide is ebbing out, and o'er its swell
I must away across the solemn sea. Farewell.*

July 15, 1867²⁹

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 171.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 110.

While not taking himself all that seriously, he discusses his role as poet:

*Then do not dream he means each line
A revelation of himself;
Sing of himself—conceit sublime!
You'd lay his book upon the shelf.
The preacher preaches righteousness;
The actor seeks to show each light
And shade of feeling, to express
Our thoughts and keep himself from sight.
Think of the Poet least and last,
And take his song for what 'tis worth.
An universal life he leads;
He lives in you, and many more;
From every field a flow'ret steals
And gleans a gem from every shore.³⁰*

Yet, early in 1872, probably in Iowa, he paused to reflect on the cognizance of his own changing character:

*I turn unto my tasks with weary hands,
Grieving with sadness, knowing not the cause
Before my face a desert path expands,
I will not falter in the toil, nor pause;
Okay, my spirit somehow understands,
This mournful truth—I am not what I was.*

Iowa, January, 1872³¹

A significant part of the poetic expression of David Smith was in the field of music, a passion that was noticeable in early youth. He was just eighteen when he attended a prayer service in October of 1863 at Manti, Iowa, with his brother Joseph; following a message from his older brother he rose to sing *The Pebble Has Dropped in the Water*, which went to the tune of *Faded Flowers*. This hymn holds a very traditional role in the Reorganization. A few lines are enough to remind you:

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 99.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 102.

*Let us shake off the coals from our garments
 And arise in the strength of our Lord
 Let us break off the yoke of our bondage
 And be free in the joys of the world.
 For the pebble has dropped in the water
 And the waves circle round with the shock—
 Shall we anchor our barks in the center
 Or drift out and be wrecked on the rocks. (1862)*³²

Known to many as "The Sweet Singer of Israel," David's powerful voice was often raised when other means of expression failed him. He wrote several hymns during his short productive life, hymns which now occupy positions of importance for the contemporary Reorganization despite the fact that some are so traditional as to be meaningless. Among these are several which are in the current *Hymnal*: "A Calm and Gentle Quiet" (66); "Let Us Pray for One Another" (98); "Worldly Cares a Moment Leave Us" (99); and "You May Sing of the Beauty" (280)—the latter being an interesting example of his style:

*You may sing of the beauty of mountain and dale
 Of the silvery streamlet and flowers of the vale
 But the place most delightful this earth can afford
 Is the place of devotion, the house of the Lord.*

There are other hymns which through numerous editions and printings have been excluded; "The Saints Shall Wear Robes as the Lilies," "We Come with Joy the Truth to Teach You," the "Hymn for Confirmation," and the melancholy "The Unknown Grave" which appears in the Mormon publications.

His musical talent was recognized and used by the church on many occasions. He was directly involved in numerous music committees and played an important role in collecting material for the *Saints' Harp* and was indirectly related to the movement which resulted in the 1889 publication of the *Saints' Harmony*.³³

As a painter and artist we can say little, for the one or two works that remain at large are not sufficient to judge. Certainly

³²*Ibid.*, p. 223.

³³Anderson, Mary Audentia (ed.). *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration*, Herald House, Independence, Missouri, 1952, p. 621.

his works have some historical value in terms of restoration projects such as the one being accomplished at Nauvoo. His sketches are fairly common, for he left them with friends throughout the church, and they have been saved. It was true as his mother once remarked, "that he leaves sketches of flowers everywhere he goes."

The role of this young man as poet and artist awaits more formal analysis, as does the history of his life and his contribution. These brief comments are intended only to interest those more qualified to seek some insight into the life and thought of a man, torn by internal conformation, who felt he had a message but who could only write:

*I would not sing, and yet I can not cease
I can not murmur, yet I have no peace.*

The Christian Commitment: C. S. Lewis and the Defense of Doctrine

WM. CLAYTON KIMBALL*

Latter-day Saints are often surprised when they read C. S. Lewis. But it is the shock of delight and the pleasure of recognition which produces the surprise. Here is an Oxford professor who strikes home again and again on matters of doctrine which, in this age of rapid theological retreat, we have come to feel are uniquely "Mormon." But Lewis insisted that he wrote only about those doctrines which were common to *all* Christians—mere Christianity—and sought to defend this common ground against all attack. The results, however, went far beyond defense.

The Lewis who has cleared the ground by his controversial argument admits his readers to a mental world of great richness, great vigour and clarity, and in every corner illuminated by his Christian belief. You cannot read Lewis and tell yourself that Christianity has no important moral bearings, that it gives no coherence to the whole picture of existence, that it offers no criteria for the decision of human choices, that it is no source of strength or delight, no effective object of loyalty.¹

Whether he was writing on the Christian life, dealing with literary scholarship, creating enchantment through children's

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¹Austin Farrer, "The Christian Apologist," in *Light on C. S. Lewis*, ed. by Jocelyn Gibb (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), pp. 26-27. This book contains the most complete bibliography of Lewis's works published. Walter Hooper is responsible for the work and it is found between pp. 120-148. (Hereinafter this book will be referred to as *Light*.)

stories or fascination through adult fiction, Lewis never left the context of Christianity. He felt no need to compromise and always fought and debated on his own ground.² We find, then, what seems almost implausible: an Oxford don who believed in a literal second coming and a literal devil, but, more important still, a man who understood the problems and frustrations that accompany the Christian quest.

Sometimes, Lord, one is tempted to say that if you wanted us to behave like the lilies of the field you might have given us an organization more like theirs. But that, I suppose, is just your grand experiment. Or no: not an experiment, for you have no need to find things out. Rather, your great enterprise. To make an organism which is also a spirit, to make that terrible oxymoron, a "spiritual animal". To take a poor primate, a beast with nerve-endings all over it, a creature with a stomach that wants to be filled, a breeding animal that wants its mate, and say, "Now get on with it. Become a god."³

Lewis was no metaphysician, but he refused to put up with the ontological bullying implicit (and often explicit) in the modern assaults on Christian orthodoxy, whether from within or without. He constantly sought to expose what he called the "chronological snobbery" of our time: "the uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited."⁴ For Lewis, as for G. K. Chesterton, Christianity even when watered down is hot enough to boil all modern society to rags.⁵ But he had no time for a watered-down or "liberal" Christianity.

A "liberal" Christianity which considers itself free to alter the Faith whenever the Faith looks perplexing or repellent *must* be completely stagnant. Progress is made only into a *resisting* material.⁶

Lewis was caught up in the romance of orthodoxy and all of his writings are drenched with the "quality of the real uni-

²Owen Barfield, "Introduction," in *Light*, p. xix.

³C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1961), p. 57.

⁴C. S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), p. 207.

⁵G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1950), p. 218.

⁶C. S. Lewis, *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics*, ed. by Walter Hooper (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970), p. 91. (Hereinafter this book will be referred to simply as *God in the Dock*.)

verse, the divine, magical, terrifying, and ecstatic reality in which we all live." We "feel in our face the sweet air blowing from 'the land of righteousness' " when we enter "the Christian World of C. S. Lewis."⁸

It was one of Lewis's contentions as a literary scholar that, generally speaking, the biographical details of an artist's life were of less importance and less value in understanding his work than the work itself.⁹ And he was very specific about why he had written his own books.

I wrote the books I should have liked to read. That's always been my reason for writing. People won't write the books I want, so I have to do it for myself: no rot about "self-expression".¹⁰

But, since Lewis lived the doctrines as well as he defended them, an acquaintance with some of the significant aspects of his life can deepen our appreciation of his work.

Clive Staples Lewis was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1898. His education was in the classical tradition, and by the time he entered Oxford University he was already at home in several languages. He learned the art of logical argument so thoroughly from the tutor who guided his preparation for an Oxford scholarship that for the rest of his life no one could put him down in debate, even if the stronger argument was not on his side.¹¹ He read so widely and deeply that few, if any, of his professorial peers could match his breadth in knowledge of literature. His acceptance at Oxford came concurrently with his entry into the British army. He took his training at the university (a delightful "boot camp") and soon left for the trenches in France. His military interlude was cut short when he was wounded in action.

Returning to school after the war, Lewis took "firsts" in every area for which he read and, upon finishing his formal studies in 1924, began his academic career teaching philosophy at Oxford. After one year he was selected to a fellowship in

⁷C. S. Lewis, *George Macdonald: An Anthology* (Garden City, N. Y.: Dolphin Books, 1962), p. 27. (Preface by Lewis and 365 brief excerpts from the works of Macdonald.)

⁸This is the title of an introduction to Lewis's religious works by Clyde S. Kilby (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company).

⁹See *The Personal Heresy: A Controversy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939). This is a series of essays by E. M. W. Tillyard and C. S. Lewis.

¹⁰Roger Lancelyn Green, *C. S. Lewis* (London: The Bodley Head, 1963), p. 9.

¹¹*Light*, pp. 26, 71, 72, 76, 84.

English, and this appointment occupied the bulk of his working life for nearly thirty years. He remained at Oxford until 1954 when he moved over to Cambridge University to occupy a new chair in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, which chair he resigned shortly before he died. His death passed nearly unnoticed, occurring as it did on 22 November 1963.

In his early teens Lewis had rejected his inherited Anglican faith and embraced a mild form of atheism; but during his university and early professorial years he came gradually to the conclusion that Christianity was the only viable explanation of the ultimate questions of life. This commitment to the Christian gospel, which began with his intellect, soon spread throughout his life to inform and illuminate his imagination and, indeed, all his behavior. "Lewis struck me as the most thoroughly *converted* man I ever met. Christianity was never for him a separate department of life. . . ."¹²

With the publication of *The Screwtape Letters* in 1942, Lewis gained worldwide attention as an articulate defender of Christian orthodoxy. As he continued to write book after book on Christian subjects he attracted a vast group of admirers, many of whom corresponded with him seeking advice about their personal problems as well as information about things he had written. The following letter is a brief but characteristic example of the latter. It was written to a woman in Salt Lake City shortly after the death of Lewis's wife.¹³

Dear Mrs. Garrett

12 Sept 1960

As you see from the book the whole lesson of my life has been that no "methods of stimulation" are of any lasting use. They are indeed like drugs — a stronger dose is needed each time and soon no possible dose is effective. We must not bother about thrills at all. *Do* the present duty — *bear* the present pain — *enjoy* the present pleasure — and leave emotions and "experiences" to look after themselves. That's the programme, isn't it?

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely
C. S. Lewis

Although letter writing became an unwelcome task of major proportions in his life, Lewis was unfailing in the compas-

¹²*God in the Dock*, p. 12. This is Walter Hooper's observation.

¹³I express deepest thanks to Mrs. Ray Garrett for her kind permission to publish this letter. Mrs. Garrett cannot recall the precise question she asked Lewis, but she wrote to him after reading *Surprised by Joy*.

sion and courtesy which guided his replies. Chad Walsh notes that he was "a genuine pastoral counsellor via the postal system to many fellow pilgrims."¹⁴ The book of his letters which W. H. Lewis, his older brother, collected and published several years ago gives the reader great insight into the man. The final letter in the collection was "very characteristic of his last days" and shows his warmth.

Thanks for your note. Yes, autumn is really the best of the seasons; and I'm not sure that old age isn't the best part of life. But of course, like autumn, it doesn't *last*.¹⁵

In the letters, Lewis appears even more clearly as a man who was totally committed to Christianity. His excitement with literature, his delight in good friends, and his practice of true charity emerge on every page. One comes to realize the diversity of his interests and, even more, to appreciate the richness of his symbolic universe. The insights which made his books important to the many made each letter important to the recipient. No professional theologian has filled such a calling in our time.

THE PURGATORIAL PERSPECTIVE

Most people come to Lewis through *Screwtape*, and the book's popularity is not without reason. It purports to be a series of letters from a senior devil, Screwtape, to his "nephew" Wormwood, who has just been posted to his first "tempter-ship" on earth. Adopting the purgatorial perspective of *Screwtape* giving devilish advice to Wormwood, Lewis highlights the dilemma and drama of a soul trying to enter into the Christian life.

In the introduction to the 1962 edition of the book, he comments on the public reaction to the work and on his own feeling for it. Of all the questions which have been asked him since its first publication,

The commonest question is whether I really "believe in the Devil." . . . The proper question is whether I believe in devils. I do. That is to say, I believe in angels, and I believe that some of these, by the abuse of their free will, have become enemies to God and, as a corollary, to us. These we may

¹⁴Chad Walsh, "Impact on America," in *Light*, p. 116.

¹⁵C. S. Lewis, *Letters of C. S. Lewis*, ed. with a memoir, by W. H. Lewis (London: Geoffrey Bles Ltd., 1966), p. 308. (Hereinafter referred to as *Letters*.)

call devils. They do not differ in nature from good angels, but their nature is depraved. *Devil* is the opposite of *angel* only as Bad Man is the opposite of Good Man. Satan, the leader or dictator of devils, is the opposite, not of God, but of Michael.¹⁶

Any theologically literate Latter-day Saint will find this statement most remarkable—especially coming from a non-Mormon. Lewis goes on to say,

I believe this not in the sense that it is part of my creed, but in the sense that it is one of my opinions. My religion would not be in ruins if this opinion were shown to be false.¹⁷

After trying to sort out some of the elements in his reading which influenced his use of the device of devilish letters, he comments on the source of his insights into human foibles and weaknesses.

Some have paid me an undeserved compliment by supposing that my *Letters* were the ripe fruit of many years' study in moral and ascetic theology. They forgot that there is an equally reliable, though less creditable, way of learning how temptation works. "My heart" — I need no other's — "showeth me the wickedness of the ungodly."¹⁸

As we shall see, this is a major component in Lewis's religious writing and probably the source of his effectiveness in reaching the hearts as well as the minds of his readers.

Each of the letters concentrates on one aspect of Christian life and points to the difficulties encountered in trying to live the doctrines of Christ. The work is full of epigrammatic gems which concentrate paragraphs of extensive exposition into a few sentences.

He [God — the Enemy] wants men to be concerned with what they do. Our business is to keep them thinking about what will happen to them.

Once you have made the World an end, and faith a means, you have almost won your man, and it makes very little difference what kind of worldly end he is pursuing.

It does not matter how small the sins are, provided that their cumulative effect is to edge the man away from the Light and into the Nothing. Murder is no better than cards if cards

¹⁶C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. vii. (Paperback edition.)

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. xiii.

can do the trick. Indeed, the safest road to Hell is the gradual one — the gentle slope, soft underfoot, without sudden turnings, without milestones, without signposts.

You see, it is so hard for these creatures to persevere. The routine of adversity, the gradual decay of youthful loves and youthful hopes, the quiet despair (hardly felt as pain) of ever overcoming the chronic temptations with which we have again and again defeated them, the drabness which we create in their lives, and the inarticulate resentment with which we teach them to respond to it — all this provides admirable opportunities of wearing out a soul by attrition.

Each reader has his favorite letter, depending upon the problem that troubles him most. *Screwtape* is a book diabolic in form, but celestial in effect. The man who cannot use it as a mirror is a man who has not lifted himself to the level of self-knowledge, a man for whom repentance has no meaning because he has never acknowledged his sins nor correctly named the ills of all men.

THE USES OF ARGUMENT

In most of his other theological books, Lewis usually takes one particular problem or question and develops it at length. Some of his titles indicate the subjects he considers: *The Problem of Pain* (1940), *Miracles* (1947), *Reflections on the Psalms* (1958), *The Four Loves* (1960), *Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer* (1964). Each of these books is rewarding; one seldom will find better books, regardless of the subject. And as aids to the living of the Christian life they are always notable and frequently major classics in religious writing.

Lewis was often at his best in the essay and sermon. Collections of these are published in various books, and there is some duplication between them. The principal books of religious essays include *The Weight of Glory* (1949), *The World's Last Night* (1960), *Christian Reflections* (1967), and *God in the Dock* (1970). Falling more or less in this category is the most comprehensive of Lewis's books, *Mere Christianity* (1952), which is made up of a series of talks he gave over the BBC during the Second World War. The chapters are brief and very basic explanations of the doctrines common to all traditional Christians. About the only place where a Latter-day Saint would depart completely from what Lewis says comes in the final section. Here he tries to explain and defend the traditional doctrine of the Trinity. He makes the best of an

impossible task, and it is doubtful that the trinitarian mystery could ever receive a clearer or more appealing presentation.

There is no way to indicate the richness of all these works. One example must serve, and it must be acknowledged from the start that Lewis, like all good writers, is better than any summary of him.¹⁹ In a sermon entitled "Learning in War-time,"²⁰ Lewis presents an argument which might be of greater interest to readers of this journal than to the typical man on the street. By following the course of his sermon one can get the flavor of Lewis's use of formal argument to present Christian doctrine. The occasion which gave rise to the sermon was the outbreak of war in the autumn of 1939. The immediate audience is made up of scholars and students.

The opening question is fairly simple: "What business do scholars have pursuing their profession in the midst of a great war when their work does not directly aid the war effort?" Is this not a form of fiddling while Rome burns?

. . . to a Christian the true tragedy of Nero must be not that he fiddled while the city was on fire but that he fiddled on the brink of hell. You must forgive me the crude monosyllable. I know that many wiser and better Christians than I in these days do not like to mention heaven and hell even in a pulpit. I know, too, that nearly all the references to this subject in the New Testament come from a single source. But then that source is Our Lord Himself. People will tell you it is St. Paul, but it is untrue. These overwhelming doctrines are dominical. They are not really removable from the teaching of Christ or of his Church. If we do not really believe them, our presence in this church is great tomfoolery. If we do, we must sometime overcome our spiritual prudery and mention them.

The question which a war presents is only a variation of the general question every Christian must ask himself at any time: "How can I spend time on any academic or professional concern when each of us is advancing either to heaven or to hell?" Lewis believes that we must view every calamity that befalls us in the proper perspective.

. . . war creates no absolutely new situation: it simply aggravates the permanent human situation so that we can no longer

¹⁹The best collection of brief passages is *A Mind Awake: An Anthology of C. S. Lewis*, Clyde S. Kilby, ed., (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968).

²⁰C. S. Lewis, "Learning in War-time," in *The Weight of Glory* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 43-54.

ignore it. Human life has always been lived on the edge of a precipice. Human culture has always had to exist under the shadow of something infinitely more important than itself. If men had postponed the search for knowledge and beauty until they were secure, the search would never have begun. We are mistaken when we compare war with "normal life." Life has never been normal.

Plausible reasons have always existed for putting off cultural activities. But men, by nature, seek beauty and knowledge in the face of disaster. So we are still faced by the question: "How can I be so frivolous and selfish as to think about anything but the salvation of human souls?" While Lewis feels that "our whole life can, and indeed must, become religious," it does not become so in the sense implied by this question. We cannot separate our daily activities into sacred and secular categories and then purge the secular areas from our lives. Even if this were desirable, it is not going to happen. If a person seeks to suspend his intellectual and aesthetic activity because of a crisis like a war, the end result would only be to substitute a worse cultural life for a better.

If you don't read good books, you will read bad ones. If you don't go on thinking rationally, you will think irrationally. If you reject aesthetic satisfactions, you will fall into sensual satisfactions.

Neither the claims of war nor the claims of religion will remove from our lives the daily activities which form the basis of our existence. However, the things we might do in our lives—such as learning life-saving—cannot be ends in themselves, but should have another end in sight. That is, they cannot be pursued single-mindedly. "The rescue of drowning men is, then, a duty worth dying for, but not worth living for."

A man may have to die for our country: but no man must, in any exclusive sense, live for his country. He who surrenders himself without reservation to the temporal claims of a nation, or a party, or a class is rendering to Caesar that which, of all things, most emphatically belongs to God: himself.

"Religion" cannot occupy our whole life in the sense of excluding commonplace things, although in another sense it *must* occupy the whole of life. God's claim on us is total and we can only refuse it or begin to try to grant it. There is no middle ground. But the proper living of the gospel does not exclude

normal human activities. They will continue, but with a new end: "Whether ye eat or drink or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

All our merely natural activities will be accepted, if they are offered to God, even the humblest; and all of them, even the noblest, will be sinful if they are not. Christianity does not simply replace our natural life and substitute a new one: it is rather a new organization which exploits, to its own super-natural ends, these natural materials.

We must be careful to avoid the conceit that cultural or intellectual activities are, in and of themselves, meritorius—"as though scholars and poets were intrinsically more pleasing to God than scavengers and bootblacks."

The work of a Beethoven, and the work of a charwoman, become spiritual on precisely the same condition, that of being offered to God, of being done humbly "as to the Lord." This does not, of course, mean that it is for anyone a mere toss-up whether he should sweep rooms or compose symphonies. A mole must dig to the glory of God and a cock must crow . . . [It would seem] that the life which we . . . can best lead to the glory of God at present is the learned life.

The intellectual life is not the only road to God, nor the safest, but we find it to be a road, and it may be the appointed road for us. Of course, it will be so only so long as we keep the impulse pure and disinterested. That is the great difficulty . . . we may come to love knowledge—*our* knowing—more than the thing known: to delight, not in the exercise of our talents but in the fact that they are ours, or even in the reputation they bring us. Every success in the scholar's life increases the danger. If it becomes irresistible, he must give up his scholarly work. The time for plucking out the right eye has arrived.

Cultural life will exist whether good Christians participate in it or not. If we are not prepared to defend our position, if "intellectuals" do not come to the defense of the faith, this betrays the uneducated and lays them open to the attacks of evil men. "Good philosophy must exist, if for no other reason, because bad philosophy needs to be answered." The learned or intellectual life, thus, for some becomes a duty. It becomes our offering to God, and it is our way of serving our brethern.

Returning to the immediate problem which the war has posed, Lewis presents three mental exercises or answers which can be used to overcome the three great enemies of scholars (and all men) in crisis situations.

The first enemy is excitement. We must realize that war has not really raised up a new enemy but only aggravated an old one. There are constantly rivals to one's work, and war deserves no special notice.

If we let ourselves, we shall always be waiting for some distraction or other to end before we can really get down to our work. The only people who achieve much are those who want knowledge so badly that they seek it while the conditions are still unfavourable. Favourable conditions never come.

The second enemy is frustration, the feeling that we will not have time to finish our work. Again, there is a way of dealing with this problem. We should cultivate the attitude of

. . . leaving futurity in God's hands. We may as well, for God will certainly retain it whether we leave it to Him or not. Never, in peace or war, commit your virtue or your happiness to the future It is only our *daily* bread that we are encouraged to ask for. The present is the only time in which any duty can be done or any grace received.

The third enemy is fear. War threatens us with death and pain. But there is no question of death or life for any of us—only a question of this death or that. What does war do to death? It certainly does not make it more frequent: 100 per cent of us die, and the percentage cannot be increased. War *does* force us to remember death. War makes it more real, and that should be regarded as a blessing.

We see unmistakably the sort of universe in which we have all along been living, and must come to terms with it. If we had foolish un-Christian hopes about human culture, they are now shattered. If we thought we were building up a heaven on earth, if we looked for something that would turn the present world from a place of pilgrimage into a permanent city satisfying the soul of man, we are disillusioned, and not a moment too soon. But if we thought that for some souls, and at some times, the life of learning, humbly offered to God, was, in its own small way, one of the appointed approaches to the Divine reality and the Divine beauty which we hope to enjoy hereafter, we can think so still.

With that observation Lewis concludes his argument. One must be impressed by the sheer common sense of his approach to the problems of Christian living. In all of his works you find "a radiant and utterly real quality hard to find in other twentieth-century writings."²¹ No matter what he wrote, Lewis

²¹*Light*, p. 116.

sought to present the truth of the matter as he understood it. Indeed, this was the core of his witness.

The great difficulty is to get modern audiences to realize that you are preaching Christianity solely and simply because you happen to think it *true*; they always suppose you are preaching it because you like it or think it good for society or something of that sort.²²

THE DEFENSE OF DOCTRINE

A comparative question is often raised about Lewis. Why is he so effective in presenting his message when so many Christian writers are so mediocre? His obvious brilliance is not a sufficient answer. Many brilliant men are also very confused. Part of the answer is that Lewis had a clear idea of what he was trying to accomplish as a Christian writer, and he knew the problems facing any defender of the doctrines. However, the apparent ease with which he handles religious problems did not come naturally to him at first.

I don't wonder that you got fogged in *Pilgrim's Regress*. It was my first religious book, and I didn't know then how to make things easy.²³

Despite his intellectual credentials, Lewis considered his greatest task to be reaching the average man, indeed what one of his less charitable colleagues called the "educationally unwashed." During the Second World War he often spoke over the BBC on religious topics, and was a frequent visitor to air bases and army barracks where he conducted many discussions. This experience gave him a fresh insight into the problem of religious language.

When I began, Christianity came before the great mass of my unbelieving fellow-countrymen either in the highly emotional form offered by revivalists or in the unintelligible language of highly cultured clergymen. Most men were reached by neither. My task was therefore simply that of a *translator* — one turning Christian doctrine, or what he believed to be such, into the vernacular, into language that the unscholarly people would attend to and could understand. . . .²⁴

This was the real test:

Any fool can write *learned* language. The vernacular is the

²²*God in the Dock*, pp. 90-91.

²³*Letters*, p. 248.

²⁴*God in the Dock*, p. 183.

real test. If you can't turn your faith into it, then either you don't understand it or you don't believe it.²⁵

By stressing an approach which would appeal to unscholarly people, Lewis did not abandon scholars, nor anyone else for that matter. In one article he made a list of theological terms which he claimed meant a different thing to the average man than to the theologian. He maintained that as long as the theologian persisted in using technical language, the people would not respond.²⁶

One thing at least is sure. If the real theologians had tackled this laborious work of translation about a hundred years ago, when they began to lose touch with the people (for whom Christ died), there would have been no place for me.²⁷

Because of his common touch and seemingly effortless style, some pedants (both theological and literary) criticized Lewis for being "lightweight"—or even frivolous at times. When asked once about this he replied that

Some people write heavily, some write lightly. I prefer the light approach because I believe there is a great deal of false reverence about. There is too much solemnity and intensity in dealing with sacred matters; too much speaking in holy tones There is a difference between a private and devotional life and a corporate one. Solemnity is proper in church, but things that are proper in church are not necessarily proper outside, and vice versa. For example, I can say a prayer while washing my teeth, but that does not mean I should wash my teeth in church.²⁸

Whether you consider his style to be light or magisterial, there is no doubt that Lewis was one of the great stylists of the English language in this century. His colleague and friend, Nevill Coghill, once asked him

whether he had to make ten or twenty drafts (as I have to) of anything he wished to print. No, he said, he just made a rough copy, then corrected it and made a fair copy: and that was it. The gift of phrase was instantaneous in him, and that must partly account for his huge output; but there was a plentitude of mind as well as a swiftness of phrase to help him; he never put a nib wrong.²⁹

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 338.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 89-103.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 183.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 259.

²⁹*Light*, p. 64.

In various places he offers advice on "how to write" which illuminates his own art. Here is a concise example.

The way for a person to develop a style is (a) to know exactly what he wants to say, and (b) to be sure he is saying exactly that. The reader, we must remember, does not start by knowing what we mean. If our words are ambiguous, our meaning will escape him. I sometimes think that writing is like driving sheep down a road. If there is any gate open to the left or the right the readers will most certainly go into it.³⁰

The special affliction of religious writing is that bad writers think that their subject matter guarantees communication with the reader. (They also seldom know they are bad writers.) Lewis touches on this problem as he concludes his enchanting discussion of medieval literature and the conceptual universe which lay behind it. He admits that the most typical vice of the literature of that time is "sheer, unabashed, prolonged dullness."

One sees how the belief in a world of built-in significance encourages this. The writer feels everything to be so interesting in itself that there is no need for him to make it so. The story, however badly told, will still be worth telling; the truths, however badly stated, still worth stating. He expects the subject to do for him nearly everything he ought to do himself. Outside literature we can still see this state of mind at work. On the lowest intellectual level, people who find any one subject entirely engrossing are apt to think that any reference to it, of whatever quality, must have some value. Pious people on that level appear to think that the quotation of any scriptural text, or any line from a hymn, or even any noise made by a harmonium, is an edifying sermon or a cogent apologetic.³¹

Lewis was never guilty of letting the subject do his work for him. He is constantly at the reader's side urging him on. Even in his professional works there is no question that a real person is speaking. What many writers consider to be a proper 'scholarly detachment,' he recognized as being too often a sort of scholarly disinterest—a lack of concern for the reader. Even less impressive for Lewis were writers who sought constantly to be on the crest of the latest wave of fashion, especially of religious fashion.

³⁰*God in the Dock*, p. 259.

³¹C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1964), pp. 204-205.

Our business is to present that which is timeless . . . in the particular language of our own age. The bad preacher does exactly the opposite: he takes the ideas of our own age and tricks them out in the traditional language of Christianity [Y]our teaching must be timeless at its heart and wear a modern dress.³²

As he sought to present the doctrines of traditional Christianity, Lewis brought all of his immense talent as a writer to bear on the problems he discussed. In book after book he sought "to make things easy" for his reader. But this *never* meant compromising the doctrines. They were timeless and unchanging. It meant, rather, presenting the message of the gospel in a way which would slip through the almost unconscious assumptions built up by the secularism of the modern world—the barnacles of disbelief which encrust the mind and mute its sensitivity to spiritual stimulation. He sought to touch the source of belief in each reader.

In the introduction to a book on the state of Christianity in Britain,³³ Lewis noted that the author had established one major reason for the decline of religious belief. It lay in the simple fact that Christianity was not being presented to the youth of the country as a viable alternative. "There is nothing in the nature of the younger generation which incapacitates them for receiving Christianity. If any one is prepared to tell them, they are apparently ready to hear."³⁴

Lewis was doing his best to "tell them." But the greatest obstacle he faced in trying to get people to pay honest attention to the Christian message was that

A sense of sin is almost totally lacking. . . . We address people who have been trained to believe that whatever goes wrong in the world is someone else's fault—the Capitalists', the Governments', the Nazis', the Generals' etc. . . .³⁵

He felt that in order to understand the importance of Christianity each person had to face himself and his own situation in the world. As soon as a man becomes aware of God as God and of himself as self, the primary choice has to be made between God and self. All men are sinners, and each man must acknowledge that fact before Christianity becomes relevant to

³²*God in the Dock*, pp. 93-94.

³³B. G. Sandhurst, *How Heathen is Britain?* (London: Collins, 1946).

³⁴*God in the Dock*, p. 115.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 95.

him. The problem is one of having to convince people they are sick before the cure can be preached. While the essential key is the sense of sin, Lewis was less sure of the best way to employ it.

I cannot offer you a water-tight technique for awakening the sense of sin. I can only say that, in my experience, if one begins from the sin that has been one's own chief problem during the past week, one is very often surprised at the way this shaft goes home. But whatever method we use, our continual effort must be to get their mind away from public affairs and "crime" and bring them down to brass tacks — to the whole network of spite, greed, envy, unfairness and conceit in the lives of "ordinary decent people" like themselves (and ourselves).³⁶

It is in this effort that Lewis excels. He was constantly aware that a good preacher will preach out of his own experience: for while each man is unique, each man must overcome very similar obstacles. In his presentation and defense of the doctrines of Christianity, Lewis repeatedly emphasized practical application rather than theoretical justification. Thus, his appeal is not curtailed by doctrinal differences. It was Lewis's contention that a man's theology was less important than the condition of his spirit and his attitude toward God.

THE USES OF IMAGINATION

Austin Farrer has noted that Lewis's great value as a Christian writer was his "many-sidedness."³⁷ Despite the fact that he wrote in many different modes, Lewis maintained that they were all the outcome of a single perception.

The imaginative man in me is older, more continuously operative, and in that sense more basic than either the religious writer or the critic. It was he who made me first attempt (with little success) to be a poet. It was he who, in response to the poetry of others, made me a critic, and, in defense of that response, sometimes a critical controversialist. It was he who . . . led me to embody my religious belief in symbolical or mythopoeic forms, ranging from *Screwtape* to a kind of theologised science-fiction. And it was of course he who has brought me, in the last few years, to write the series of Narnian stories for children; not asking what children want and then endeavouring to adapt myself (this was not needed)

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁷*Light*, pp. 25, 26.

but because the fairy tale was the genre best fitted for what I wanted to say. . . .³⁸

It can be argued that these imaginative works will be the most enduring of all that Lewis wrote. Owen Barfield, Lewis's life-long friend, felt that the novel *Till We Have Faces* was "the most muscular and powerful product of [his] imagination."³⁹ However, the book never has sold well and remains the secret delight of those who happen upon it by chance or design.

In the early 1940s, Lewis published three books—the "theologised science-fiction" to which he refers above—*Out of the Silent Planet*, *Perelandra*, and *That Hideous Strength*. This "space trilogy" was the product of an attempt "to redeem for genuinely imaginative purposes the form popularly known . . . as 'science-fiction'"⁴⁰ In making such an attempt, he also created an ideal for all other writers in this genre. While the three books are loosely connected by plot, they are bound together by the mythopoeic symbols and background they share. Stella Gibbons noted that Lewis, as a writer of imaginative fiction, "had superb authority"—something which is missing in most contemporary fiction.⁴¹ There is little if any "science" in this fiction. He draws, rather, on his knowledge and love of medieval literature for his cosmology, as well as for what can only be a private joke in the second book.

At one point he quotes a reputed authority, one "Natvili-cius," "as a starting point for future investigation" on the subject of his *eldila* (roughly, angels).⁴² There is a curious resemblance between this Latin authority and the pseudonym Lewis often used when he published his poetry: Nat Whilk—Anglo-Saxon for "I know not whom."⁴³ This adds little to the story, but it reveals the enjoyment of the author in creating imaginative worlds.

One reader wrote to Lewis inquiring about some of the symbols used in the trilogy.

The VII Bears and the Atlantean Circle are pure inventions of my own, filling the same purpose in the narrative that

³⁸*Letters*, p. 260.

³⁹*Light*, p. xx.

⁴⁰*Letters*, p. 295.

⁴¹*Light*, p. 89.

⁴²C. S. Lewis, *Perelandra* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 18-19.

⁴³C. S. Lewis, *Poems*, ed. by Walter Hooper (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. vi.

"noises off" wd. in a stage play. Numinor is a mis-spelling of Numenor which, like the "true West" is a fragment from a vast private mythology invented by Professor J. R. R. Tolkien. At the same time we all hoped that a good deal of the mythology would soon become public through a romance which the Professor was then contemplating. Since then the hope has receded. . . .⁴⁴

While this was written in 1952, the time period referred to was about ten years earlier. It was not until 1956 when, due in large part to Lewis's urgings and encouragement, if not downright insistence, Tolkien did publish the "romance," *The Lord of the Rings*. The friendship between these two men was of long standing. Lewis revealed in his autobiography that Tolkien was one of the two men most instrumental in his return to Christianity in the late 1920s.⁴⁵ For many years they met with a few other close friends almost weekly and read to each other from their "works in progress." A constant fixture of these sessions was a chapter or two of Tolkien's "new Hobbit." *Screwtape* is dedicated to Tolkien, and the two scholars once contemplated a book together. However, Lewis correctly predicted the result.

My book with Tolkien—any book in collaboration with that great, but dilatory and unmethodical man—is dated I fear to appear on the Greek Calends.⁴⁶

There is an underlying harmony between *The Lord of the Rings* and the Lewis trilogy. Although on the surface they are very different works, at a deeper level they are based on the same conception of imaginative fiction as well as on what G. K. Chesterton called "the ethics of elfland."⁴⁷ Lewis often recommended Tolkien's work to his correspondents as an excellent "mouthwash for the imagination,"⁴⁸ a delightful way to clear out the bad taste (in both senses) created by so much of contemporary fiction and fantasy. The recommendation is equally valid for Lewis's own works.

Lewis enjoyed playing with language, inventing new words by sound, and all of his fiction bears the imprint of this play.

I am always playing with syllables and fitting them together (purely by ear) to see if I can hatch up new words that

⁴⁴*Letters*, pp. 244-245.

⁴⁵*Surprised by Joy*, p. 216.

⁴⁶*Letters*, p. 222.

⁴⁷*Orthodoxy*, pp. 81-118.

⁴⁸*Letters*, p. 279.

please me. I want them to have an emotional, not intellectual, suggestiveness; the heaviness of *glund* for as huge a planet as Jupiter, the vibrating, tintillating quality of *virtrilbia* for the subtlety of Mercury, the liquidity . . . of Maleldil.⁴⁹

A discussion of Lewis's fiction must concentrate on his craft because there is no way to convey the sheer delight of the books themselves. Whose imagination is not kindled by a chapter about how "They Have Pulled Down Deep Heaven on Their Heads"?⁵⁰ The atmosphere of desperate courage, of wild romance, of great deeds done in the face of hopeless odds infuses all of Lewis's fictional works. These qualities become most poignant and most pronounced in the chronicles of Narnia, the series of seven children's books he wrote in the early 1950s. Here, as was ever the case, he was writing the books he wished he could have read. But this was *why* he wrote his books, not *how*. Lewis's fiction always began when he "saw" pictures.

. . . in a certain sense, I have never exactly "made" a story. With me the process is much more like bird-watching than like either talking or building. I see pictures. Some of these pictures have a common flavour, almost a common smell, which groups them together. Keep quiet and watch and they will begin joining themselves up. If you were very lucky (I have never been as lucky as all that) a whole set might join themselves so consistently that there you had a complete story: without doing anything yourself. But more often (in my experience always) there are gaps. Then at last you have to do some deliberate inventing, have to contrive reasons why these characters should be in these various places doing these various things. I have no idea whether this is the usual way of writing stories, still less whether it is the best. It is the only one I know: images always come first.⁵¹

The reason a story became a children's story and not something else was simply

. . . because a children's story is the best art form for something you have to say; just as a composer might write a Dead March not because there was a public funeral in view but because certain musical ideas that had occurred to him went best into that form.⁵²

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁵⁰C. S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 271.

⁵¹C. S. Lewis, "On Three Ways of Writing for Children," in *Of Other Worlds: Essays and Stories*, ed. by Walter Hooper (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), pp. 32-33.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 23.

Narnia is a "secondary creation,"⁵³ a world which touches our own only through magic. It is not the scene of Christian allegory, although the various books are clearly Christian in substance. It is the working out of a supposition.

What might Christ become like, if there really were a world like Narnia and He chose to be incarnate and die and rise again in *that* world as He actually has done in ours?⁵⁴

In Narnia, the "Christ" is a great Lion—Aslan. At the end of the fourth book, some of the human children who were drawn into Narnia by magic are preparing to leave, and they ask Aslan when they might return.

"Dearest," said Aslan very gently, "you and your brother will never come back to Narnia."

"Oh, Aslan!!" said Edmund and Lucy both together in despairing voices.

"You are too old, children," said Aslan, "and you must begin to come close to your own world now."

"It isn't Narnia, you know," sobbed Lucy. "It's you. We shan't meet you there. And how can we live, never meeting you?"

"But you shall meet me, dear one," said Aslan.

"Are—are you there too, Sir?" said Edmund.

"I am," said Aslan. "But there I have another name. You must learn to know me by that name. This was the very reason why you were brought to Narnia, that by knowing me here for a while, you may know me better there."⁵⁵

Such is the purpose of the entire series of books.

These books, which are now published in paper as well as hardback in the United States, are good beyond hope for the parent who seeks something with which to baptize his child's imagination. They embody the very quality Lewis himself first felt in the writings of his mentor, George Macdonald. "I should have been shocked in my teens if anyone had told me that what I learned to love in *Phantastes* [a fantasy by Macdonald] was goodness."⁵⁶ Lewis repaid his debt to Macdonald many times over with the Narnia tales.

⁵³See J. R. R. Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories," in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, ed. by C. S. Lewis (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), p. 60.

⁵⁴*Letters*, p. 283.

⁵⁵C. S. Lewis, *The Voyage of the "Dawn Treader"* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), p. 209.

⁵⁶*George Macdonald*, p. 27.

LEWIS AND LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Someone like C. S. Lewis does not appear very often either in the world of letters or the world of lay theologians. Anyone sincerely interested in communicating the gospel message effectively can learn much from him. But Lewis was more than a good Christian writer. He was a good Christian. A review of one of Lewis's books in this journal made the point that Latter-day Saints need not to go to him to learn *what* to believe. But we can turn to him to learn how to be better Christians.⁵⁷ A critical reader can find many points of doctrine wherein he differs from us. But we must not hold Lewis guilty for not having the insights that come from modern revelation, and these differences in doctrine do not diminish his power as an articulate ally in the cause of Christian decency. We sometimes forget that there are pearls of great price not produced in our own oyster beds. Despite his reliance on traditional Christian doctrines, Lewis remains an author who is without peer in his effective advocacy of many elements of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

One of the pleasures of reading non-Mormon writers comes from the sense of intimacy which occurs when our theological outlook is confirmed and well expressed. After reading Lewis, most Latter-day Saints can hardly believe he had no contact with the Church, especially with the Book of Mormon. I have been told of at least one person who sent him a Book of Mormon and of another who sent him selected passages from the same scripture. There may have been others. It would be fascinating to learn that he replied to such an approach, but to date I have no knowledge of such a reply.

However, a search through the entire body of Lewis's works for indications of some knowledge of the Church produces some probable references. None of them could be called sympathetic. It may well be that the references are not to the Church, but it is easy to see the possibility. Lewis was almost fanatically private in his personal life. One of his students has written that in the entire experience he had with Lewis as his tutor, Lewis never attempted to "push" his Christianity on his pupil. If there were Christian elements in the literature they were studying, Lewis would explain them and move on.⁵⁸ He

⁵⁷Elouise Bell, "Book Review," [of *Christian Reflections*] *Brigham Young University Studies* IX (Winter 1969), p. 222.

⁵⁸John Lawlor, "The Tutor and the Scholar," in *Light*, p. 72.

likely would not have taken much pleasure in a missionary contact. He felt that " 'Mind one's own business' is a good rule in religion as in other things. . . ." ⁵⁹

The following two passages from the *Letters* indicate that someone who was perhaps in contact with the Church wrote to Lewis and sought his advice. In both cases the answers are inconclusive.

It is right and inevitable that we shd. be much concerned about the salvation of those we love. But we must be careful not to expect or demand that their salvation shd. conform to some ready-made pattern of our own. Some Protestant sects have gone very wrong about this. They have a whole programme of conversion etc. marked out, the same for everyone, and will not believe that anyone can be saved who doesn't go through it "just so". ⁶⁰

(Both letters were written to the same person.)

I am afraid I am not going to be much help about all the religious bodies mentioned in your letter of March 2nd. I have always in my books been concerned simply to put forward "mere" Christianity, and am no guide on these (most regrettable) "interdenominational" questions. I do however strongly object to the tyrannic and unscriptural insolence of anything that calls itself a Church and makes teetotalism a condition of membership. ⁶¹

One need not take that final statement lying down and it is certainly fair to remind Lewis of one of his most important insights.

. . . the doctrines which one finds easy are the doctrines which give Christian sanction to truths you already knew. The new truth which you do not know and which you need must, in the very nature of things, be hidden precisely in the doctrines you least like and least understand. . . . ⁶²

Or, as he put it elsewhere:

If our religion is something objective, then we must never avert our eyes from those elements in it which seem puzzling or repellent; for it will be precisely the puzzling or the repellent which conceals what we do not yet know and need to know. ⁶³

The only explicit reference in his writings comes in an es-

⁵⁹*Letters*, p. 268.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁶²*God in the Dock*, p. 91.

⁶³*The Weight of Glory*, p. 7.

say Lewis wrote concerning the "impact of the Authorized Version" of the Bible on English literature.

The influence may show itself in architectonics. . . . Very few English writers have undergone an influence of that sort from any book of the Bible. Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* and the *Book of Mormon* are perhaps instances.⁶⁴

I have found nothing else in his works which would indicate his contact with the Church was more than casual and unattractive.

Lewis's defense of Christian orthodoxy is naturally attractive to those who hold the same beliefs. And the response generated by his insights into Christian living may be explained in his own words.

That indeed seems to be one of the magical laws of the very creation in which we live; that the thing we know already, the thing we have said to ourselves a hundred times, when said by *someone else* becomes suddenly operative. It is a part of C.[harles] Williams' doctrine, isn't it?—that no one can paddle his own canoe but everyone can paddle someone else's. . . .⁶⁵

Lewis instructs us so well in the behavioral realities of Christian life that rationalization becomes less and less easy. But there is far more than a comfortable confirmation of our own doctrines and more than just another reminder that we do not live as we know we should.

One result of reading Lewis is that he sends his readers constantly back to the Bible. That was the only scripture he recognized, but he was able, because of his classical training, to read it more perceptively than most Christians today. This ability was the source of many of his insights. In a world beset by burgeoning immorality, Lewis's argument for chastity comes directly from the Bible, but comes with the power of a fresh insight others have missed.

Now the second reason [for Chastity] involves the whole Christian view of sex. It is all contained in Christ's saying, that two shall be "one flesh". He says nothing about two who "married for love"; the mere fact of marriage *at all* — however it came about — sets up the "one flesh". There is a terrible comment on this in I. Cor. VI.16: "he that is joined

⁶⁴C. S. Lewis, "The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version," in *Selected Literary Essays* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1969) (ed. by Walter Hooper), p. 136.

⁶⁵*Letters*, p. 236.

to an harlot is one flesh". You see? Apparently if Christianity is true, the mere fact of sexual intercourse sets up between human beings a relation which has, so to speak, transcendental repercussions. . . .⁶⁶

Lewis constantly argues for the acceptance of "the universal laws which underlie our spiritual order," for "a spiritual ecology in which the laws and principles enunciated by Jesus Christ are intertwined."⁶⁷ And he generally does not appeal for long to people who are not also students of the scriptures. Whether scriptural literacy is a precondition or whether he compels scriptural confrontation is not important. The result is.

It is unlikely, therefore, that Lewis could become a "fad" as did Tolkien for a while through the popularity of *The Lord of the Rings*. Lewis demands too much of his reader for casual attention to suffice. In all that he wrote he sought no compromise with reality. He knew that making assertions about the most ultimate facts is a high-risk kind of activity, and yet he believed and affirmed without qualification that the claims of Christianity provide the only true account of the world. Any honest man, he felt, when confronted with them, could only seek to "know the doctrine."⁶⁸ Lewis was able to deal with fundamentals without being fundamentalistic. He sought to revive Christian belief in the minds of men without being revivalistic. In this disposable age of paper plates and paper philosophies which are good for one use only, Lewis insisted that all things had to be tested spiritually, rationally, and experientially before an honest man could give allegiance to them. He believed that Christianity met every test.

Latter-day Saints can affirm that it is a pleasure and a challenge to be instructed by Lewis. All of his works are touched with the light of Christ and infused with his yearning for God. All that he wrote was written to the glory of the Lord, and his position is never in doubt.

I believe in Christianity as I believe that the Sun has risen not only because I see it but because by it I see everything else.⁶⁹

So it was with him, and so it must be with us.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁶⁷Neal A. Maxwell, "For the Power is in Them . . ." (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1970), p. 1.

⁶⁸See the excellent argument in "Man or Rabbit?" in *God in the Dock*, p. 108.

⁶⁹C. S. Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?" in *They Asked for a Paper* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962), p. 165.

Balance in Latter-day Saint Teaching*

Charles R. Hobbs**

Our Lord has spoken clearly in his revelations to the prophets on what is right and what is wrong in our personal conduct and social relations. He has revealed to man the saving ordinances of the priesthood. He has revealed the doctrine of eternal progression which sets forth a profound purpose—potential exaltation with God.

But it is interesting that the Lord has offered little in the scriptures about the specifics of how to teach the gospel. The scriptures do stress that we should teach by example and by the power of the Holy Spirit,¹ and by his own teaching the Lord demonstrated the worth of teaching with parables,² of spontaneity in teaching as he structured lessons out of questions raised,³ and of communicating love while teaching.⁴ But he has said very little on specifically *how* we are to teach the gospel. This he has left largely to us to find out.

Latter-day Saint educators (parents, Church teachers, and officers) have the responsibility of finding and implementing effective ways of teaching the gospel. We all need to find out

*Several of the ideas in this paper were adapted from a doctoral dissertation by the author, "An Investigation of Selected Educational Conditions within the Latter-day Saint Community," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, N. Y., 1970. The problem statement of the dissertation is "By what processes is the new generation inducted into valued doctrines and institutions of the Latter-day Saint community."

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¹See Matt. 5:16, 48; 1 Tim. 4:12; D&C 42:14.

²See Matt. 13 for example.

³Note Matt. 22:15-22, 34-40.

⁴John 13:34-35, 23; 15:8-17.

how we can increase our power to influence others to live the revealed doctrines of Christ. By *power* we mean simply the teacher's ability to produce attitude changes which implement gospel doctrines. Since we influence others in many ways, the ideas discussed here form only one suggested way of increasing the educator's ability to influence others with a desired effect.

BASIC COMPONENTS OF LATTER-DAY SAINT TEACHING AND SOME OF THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS

A common saying in secular educational circles is that the ideal teaching situation consists of Mark Hopkins sitting on one end of a log and a pupil on the other.⁵ What I read into this notion is that the ideal is to get a great teacher in a face-to-face relationship with a student. Together the two can meaningfully share ideas initiated by the teacher, with the intent of certain change being generated in the student. Much can be said for this ideal. But we must first consider its existing rudiments.

The Mark Hopkins arrangement consists basically of a teacher, a student, an idea, and a log. Fundamentally, these properties exist in all teaching. The teacher is the transmitter⁶ or initiator⁷ of ideas. The student is the receiver. The ideas we will call subject matter or that which is being taught.⁸ The log symbolizes materials or physical resources used to help trans-

⁵This remark originated from a speech delivered to the Williams' College alumni on 28 December 1871 by General, later President, James A. Garfield. Garfield was a student of Mark Hopkins, the latter having served with distinction as professor of philosophy at Williams College for over fifty years, and as college president thirty-six of these years. Garfield has also been quoted by some as saying, "The ideal college is Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other." Possibly a more accurate account by Garfield, however, is the statement: "I am not willing that this discussion should close without mention of the value of a true teacher. Give me a log hut, with only a simple bench, Mark Hopkins at one end and I on the other, and you may have all the buildings, apparatus and libraries without him." See Houston Peterson, *Great Teachers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1946), p. 75. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1960) XI, 738. Dumas Malone, ed. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1964), V, 216.

⁶This idea of transmission is taken from John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 1-4. For a brief discussion on Dewey's transmission and LDS doctrine, see Charles R. Hobbs, "An Investigation of Selected Educational Conditions within the Latter-day Saint Community," Unpublished dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, N. Y., 1970, pp. 15-16.

⁷Peters gives an excellent discussion on "initiation" as an educative process. Drawing from Peters, we might say that the teacher initiates the student into ideas being taught. R. S. Peters, "Education as Initiation," Reginald D. Archambault ed. *Philosophical Analysis and Education* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1965), pp. 87-111.

⁸This definition of subject matter was taken from John Herbert, *A System for Analyzing Lessons* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), p. 17.

mit ideas. Materials consist of all physical properties useful in instruction.

Each of these four components—teacher, student, subject matter, and materials—has relevancy to the others. It is indeed the way in which their constituent parts are organized which largely determines the success or failure of establishing desired changes in the student. As in systems theory, which has made success possible in notable undertakings such as placing man on the moon, effective teaching calls for planning the interrelationship of vital factors which have bearing on hoped for results. Our basic model then would appear as given in figure 1.

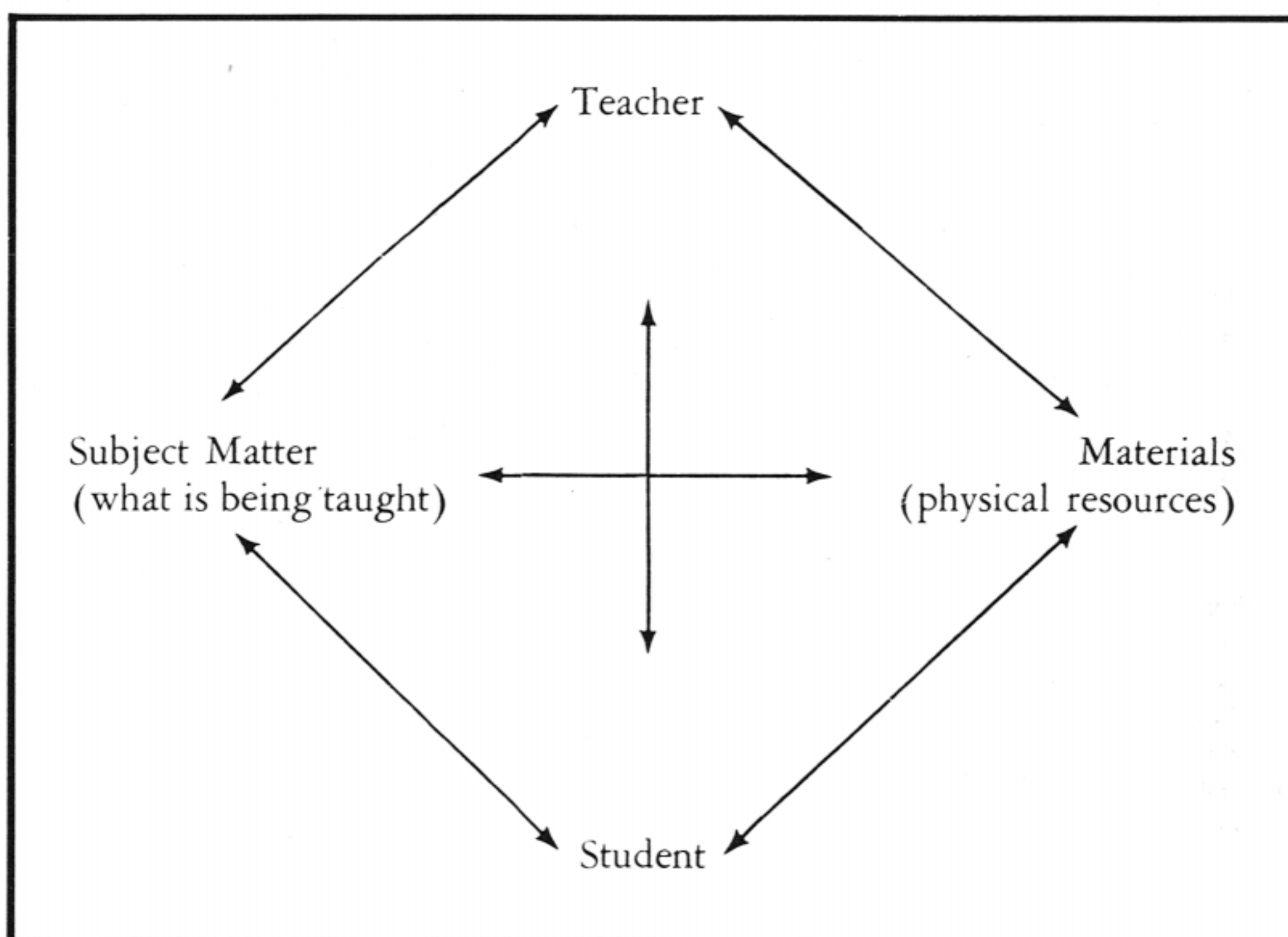


Fig. 1. Basic components of teaching

We usually think of teaching in a formal classroom setting. But in this model, a parent driving his car to grandmother's house could well be the teacher and his child in the passenger seat the student, with the car possibly serving as both subject matter and materials. Teaching takes place in other daily activities such as at the dinner table, on the ski slope, or in the church hallway after a meeting, as well as in a formal priesthood, Sunday School, or seminary class.

Wherever the four teaching components interrelate in process, teaching exists in some form. Conversely, all teaching

situations possess these components. The extent of instructional power is determined by expedient controls brought to bear on the organization of the teaching components.

When the necessary balance is attained, an equilibrium of power exists among the teaching components sufficient to prevent any one component, or its parts, from becoming strong enough to inappropriately exclude another. To say it another way, a consequence of balance is power which is produced by appropriate distribution of focus on the intrinsic qualities of teacher, student, subject matter, and materials. But balance does not necessarily imply equal emphasis to the four components. For example, materials might be deemphasized on some occasions to attain balance. Mark Hopkins's best moment in teaching might have been in the use of only a log for materials. On the other hand, the student might find himself in a well-balanced instructional environment that is almost completely mechanical, such as role playing the Sumarian game with a talking typewriter. Each teaching moment will call for its own unique type of emphasis as expedient measures are considered in instructional planning.

RELATIONSHIP OF SUBJECT MATTER TO TEACHER AND STUDENT

If a teacher focuses on the subject matter to the exclusion of student needs and interests, he will limit the possibilities of changing the student. The teacher must establish relevancy between subject matter and the student's world. By way of illustration, the gospel teacher will share with the football player ideas about the Lord's "game of life." The teen-age girl who is interested in making herself physically attractive will be taught ways of becoming spiritually attractive. The restless child who wants to enjoy physical play will be led by the teacher in an instructional body action song, such as "I Have Two Little Hands," which helps transmit the subject matter.

We have all observed some teachers of the gospel giving overemphasis to subject matter by means of rigid theological exposition. Paying excessive attention to the ideas being taught, the teachers appear stereotyped, setting forth, usually through the lecture method, doctrines of their convictions. They focus, for the most part, on the teacher-subject matter relationship to the considerable exclusion of teacher-student, teacher-materials, subject matter-materials, student-subject matter, and student-

materials relationships. Here, both the effect of a Mark Hopkins and a functional use of the log are missing, and the student is only vaguely in view.

Many progressives in secular education in the 1920s and 30s gave much emphasis to the experience of the student. Out of the progressive movement came such cliches as "I don't teach subject matter, I teach students." It is not uncommon even today to hear Church teachers puppet this progressive idea. Of course, the properly balanced view in discussion of student and subject matter would be "I teach students subject matter."

One of the serious side effects in this deemphasis of subject matter is a consequential deemphasis of academic excellence. Academic excellence connotes intellectual merit and is promoted by giving considerable meaningful focus to subject matter. Teaching students subject matter with effective use of materials gives the fundamentals for balance in attaining academic excellence.

In the history of Latter-day Saint curriculum, many courses of study for priesthood and auxiliary classes have presented only the content of subject matter. They were written as regular historical or doctrinal books presenting only ideas to be taught, with no offering to the many inexperienced teachers in the Church of *how* to organize these ideas for instruction. This neglect has not strengthened teaching in the Church.

RELATIONSHIP OF MATERIALS TO SUBJECT MATTER, TEACHER, AND STUDENT

The teacher must find and develop uses of materials which would best help transmit subject matter to the student. He may find flannel board materials for teaching certain ideas about the plan of salvation to be more effective than a recorded talk on the subject. In another teaching moment, the voice and spirit of the teacher would be the media used to obtain optimal power. There are no "best" materials to use in all teaching situations. What is best can be determined only in terms of each teaching moment in the specific relationship of teacher, student, subject matter, and materials.

While some teachers "teach students" and others teach subject matter, some others ride materials "hobby horses." One teacher will insist on having an overhead projector for every lesson he teaches. Another, in outright laziness or chronic in-

security, will habitually read his lessons from books. Another will use few other materials but pictures.⁹ But the teacher with optimal power, on the other hand, will be both flexible and inventive. He will often try new materials which he will have selected and prepared for their support of what is being taught. And all this he will do in relation to the needs, understandings, and interests of the student.

The instructional media specialist is making an excellent contribution to teaching with his improved and new instructional materials; but, because of his focus on media, he faces the constant hazard of imposing imbalance by overemphasis on the materials. He might thereby sometimes actually limit instructional power. For example, a motivating movie may not in some cases have as much instructional value as a meaningful teacher-student discussion or be as helpful as having a student become directly involved in role playing a personal problem he is attempting to resolve.

Sometimes instructional equipment even distracts from ideas being taught. In one gospel class, I observed a small group of boys so intrigued by the light in a filmstrip projector that they were oblivious to the message on the screen. A projector can have considerable instructional utility, but focus of student attention on the ideas being taught is the commanding aspect of power to influence.

There are many effective materials which enhance instructional power. These materials are particularly useful to the teacher who might lack charisma or the ability to communicate well. An overhead projector or tape recorder can actually serve as a crutch to the less effective teacher. Some people do not believe in crutches, but, if a crutch will help a man get where he wants to go, why not use it? Quality instructional materials used skillfully and in proper balance help poor teachers to do better and help better teachers to excel.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE SPIRIT OF THE HOLY GHOST TO TEACHER AND STUDENT

Spiritual excellence, which should be of particular import to the gospel teacher, is assisted through appropriate balance of the four teaching components. Harmonious arrangements at-

⁹With a child who is yet in the concrete operations stage of learning, the use of many pictures may give appropriate balance.

tained through balance set the stage for spiritual experience shared by teacher and student because of the relevance and compatibility that is engendered. But gospel teaching is distinctive in that, to be most powerful, it must involve a fifth component—the Spirit of the Holy Ghost. The complete model would then appear as follows in figure 2.

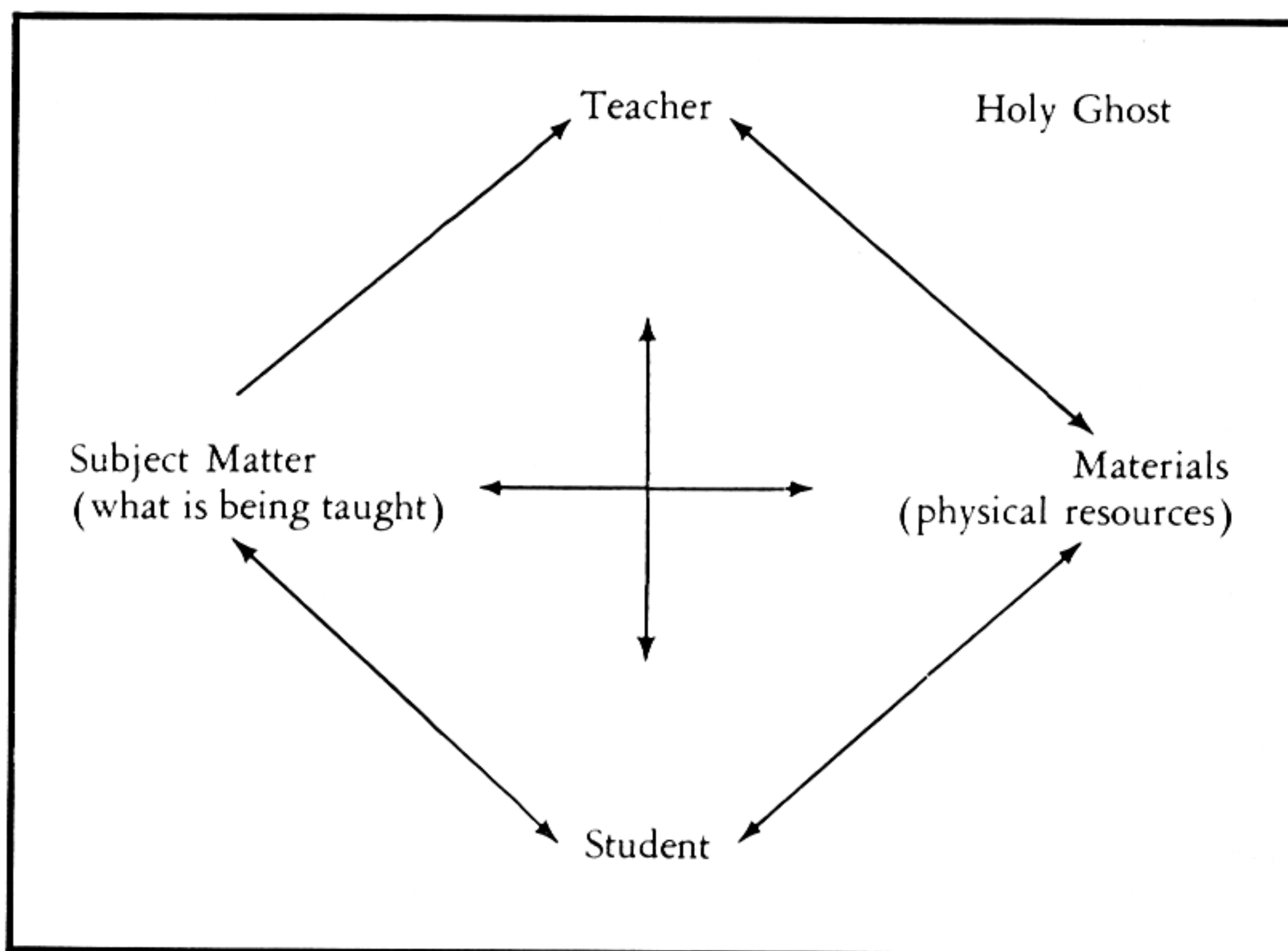


Fig. 2. Basic components of Latter-day Saint teaching

It was mentioned earlier that the scriptures instruct us to teach by the Spirit. The Holy Ghost can become a second teacher, for He testifies and reconfirms to the sincere student the authenticity of truth which is taught by the worthy teacher.¹⁰ Optimal and ultimate power rests with God. The truly significant power is found in the teacher who keeps the commandments of God, loves his students, which I am convinced is the great commandment in teaching, and then teaches by the power and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

As with our earlier model, the teacher who best produces worthy effects maintains a balance by skillfully organizing all five components of teaching. It is not hard to remember individuals of great faith lulling classes and audiences to sleep due

¹⁰Based on John 14:16-17, 26; 15:26; Moroni 10:5; D&C 50:13-14.

to poor organization of the teaching components and ineptness of communicating ideas to other people. Yet, many Latter-day Saint educators often fall short in teaching by the Spirit. Most of us are not as close to the Lord as we ought to be. And because of this, we as well as the students are the losers.

Occasionally, teachers whose spiritual perceptions are skewed appear on the scene. The more radical of them may tend to equate everything by the Spirit, and in some instances go so far as to start spiritualist movements. It has been known to happen. Such individuals depart so far from a balanced perspective that the very component they seek to embrace so tenaciously, the Holy Spirit, eludes their grasp, and they are left holding fast to a spirit that is foreign to God.

A teacher must maintain a proper balance by attending to the realities of the student's life as lessons are presented. Within such context of reality, the teacher should seek to make the Lord his constant companion in his private life and upon appropriate occasions should seek to provide his students with deeply meaningful spiritual experiences.

RELATIONSHIP OF TEACHER AND STUDENT IN MEANINGFUL EXPERIENCE

It would be very difficult for a Church teacher, officer, or parent to have meaningful religious experience with a student without first being an exemplar of Christ's doctrine. For how can one implant in others moral principles that he has not come to understand, appreciate, and live himself? As is taught in the Priesthood Teacher Development Program, "You teach what you are." It is with the educator that the student appropriately identifies. When the parent, officer, or teacher lives Christ's teachings, he becomes in a sense the subject matter and material in action. If he then, with a delicate sensitivity, builds a bridge into his student's world to feel the pulsations of the pupil's heart, and the two openly share feelings of love, they will find themselves in a meaningful relationship. But it takes time, patience, and sacrifice of self-interests to accomplish this end; and this quality of rapport is usually much more difficult to attain in groups than in an ongoing face-to-face relationship with an individual. There is merit in frequently having a log—with only two ends to sit on. This is why the home can be such a powerful school of learning. The relationship of the teacher-

parent and student-child is frequent, continuous, and usually face-to-face. The instruction is individualized.

The meaningful religious relationship is not tempered with compulsion but with persuasion and choice. When the teacher attempts to force, he violates Christ's doctrine of free agency through denial of another's freedom, and thereby a divine educational precept is exploited.

Power to influence the student on the other end of the log is couched in sensitivity and adaptability to the student's feelings. This implies care, respect, trust, and is manifest in an interpersonal fusion of the two individuals.¹¹ Power to influence is particularly manifest in that man or woman who is a living example of the Latter-day Saint doctrine he or she professes. It is much easier for a student to love a teacher and internalize his presentments if the teacher is intrinsically good.

Meaningful experience between teacher and student is of course enhanced through intellectual understanding as well as through effective understanding. For example, as the student comes to comprehend the doctrine of mercy and justice in relation to the atonement of Jesus Christ, the teacher who imparts this knowledge brings his protege into his own world of intellectual understanding. The sharing of knowledge as well as the sharing of feeling has a magnetic fusing effect.

Meaningful experience is further enhanced by opportunities being provided for the student to practice Christ's doctrine in social relationships. Much then can be said for the gospel classroom or home with controlled social activity. John Dewey noted that a fundamental criterion in measuring the worth of a form of social life is the extent to which "the interests of a group are shared by all its members." Dewey held that a community which makes provision for "participation in its good of all its members on equal terms" implies a particular social ideal.¹² In my observation, I have found no religious or political organization that so inclusively sweeps the individual into the mainstream of its tenets through social experience as does the Latter-day Saint Church. Church doctrine permeates almost every waking moment of the orthodox Latter-day Saint. Precepts of honesty and other lofty ideals carry into his daily work

¹¹Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), p. 15.

¹²John Dewey, *Democracy in Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 99.

routine, and much of his free time is spent in social relationships in Church activity. But it is up to the parent, Church teacher, and officer to see that the student is meaningfully involved in practicing Christ's doctrine in social exchange with other orthodox Latter-day Saints.

For example, if in a meaningful way a student hears the teacher relate a faith-promoting experience which brings out the value of prayer, then, in the thinking of the student, the doctrine of prayer is justified to be practiced. When the student bears his own testimony of the value of prayer, he is in process of justifying the value of the doctrine of prayer by an expression of having tested it through practice. When Church doctrines and experienced practices are used to justify and reflect each other, their realities are sustained in the thinking of the participants. Relating scriptures to life experiences is another form of this justifying technique. We as Latter-day Saints often use this approach in testimony meetings, talks, and prayers without fully recognizing its significant educational value.

There are yet two matters which pertain to the teacher-student relationship of which the educator should be aware; for these matters have significant bearing on the parent's, Church teacher's, and officer's lack of effectiveness in influencing students to live the revealed doctrines of Christ. First, the educator often falls short in preparing the student to cope with the larger society on academic and moral issues. Second, the Latter-day Saint student suffers from a lack of continuity of religious experience in the Church.

COPING WITH THE LARGER SOCIETY: THE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

Many young people being raised in the Church are brought up under somewhat of a protective canopy from the enticements of the world. Along with parents and siblings, they hold family prayer, attend Church regularly, have weekly home evenings, do not break the Word of Wisdom, pay a full tithing, and generally love their fellowmen. Many of their friends are active Latter-day Saints with similar patterns of conduct. Others in the Church, however, are exposed early in life to "worldly" practices, being raised in less wholesome environments. The principle of accessibility suggests that we tend to internalize

thoughts and practices, whether they are good or bad, which are most available or accessible to us.¹³

Those individuals and stimuli nearest the student in meaningful relationships will therefore tend to have the most significant influence on the student. Continuous accessibility to orthodox Latter-day Saints and Church doctrine and continuous inaccessibility to values incongruent with Church values would then appear to be the ideal environment for educating the student. But the problem remains that sooner or later the student will be exposed to "worldly" ideas. The Latter-day Saint educator must then prepare the student early in life to cope with unorthodox values. In addition to initiating the student into Latter-day Saint teachings and practices, the educator would appropriately expose the student to conflicting ideas, under controlled conditions, in such ways as to justify and entrench the revealed doctrines of Christ in his thinking.

The parent, teacher, and officer would then identify the problems with which the student must one day cope. For example, the wise educator would be aware of the new attitude about sexual freedom and the many ways it is propagandized through the mass and private media. The educator would identify the trend of rebellion against authority; he would be aware of the nihilistic and anarchistic movements. The educator would assess conditions pertaining to drug abuse, alcoholism, and smoking. He would understand the evil implications of certain hard rock music. If he has students in higher education, he would have insights into such theories and philosophies as organic and social evolution, Freudian psychology, and existentialism, which may be claimed to suggest incongruencies with Christ's doctrine. Then with much care the educator would prepare his student, not only dressing the student well in the doctrinal armor of Christ but also assessing with the student the strategy of the evil forces in forthcoming inevitable attack.

To illustrate this method of coping, an alert mother who has a teen-age daughter saw a Hollywood star on TV wearing "hot pants." The mother, suspecting that a new fad for exposing the female body was being introduced, called in her daughter and told her about the new trend that she suspected was

¹³Charles R. Hobbs, "An Investigation of Selected Educational Conditions within the Latter-day Saint Community," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, New York, 1970, p. 106.

starting. They discussed the sacredness of the body in terms of Church teachings, and the daughter formed the opinion that "hot pants" were in poor taste. The daughter influenced her best friend with the same attitude. The two girls then formed an alliance that they would never wear "hot pants." If the mother-educator had waited to cope with the problem of "hot pants" until the daughter was influenced by the mass media and peers to wear them, the story might have ended quite differently. Worldly philosophies and other moral issues can be effectively coped with in this same way by using Christ's doctrine as the framework and criteria for determining truth and right. This, I think, is part of what Christ meant when he said, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God."¹⁴ A student who has not been prepared to meet the forthcoming incongruencies of life has not received a properly balanced Latter-day Saint education.

PROVIDING CONTINUITY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: THE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

There is considerable emphasis in the Church to provide the student with a correlated curriculum. This means that attempts are being made to sequence gospel teachings in courses of study to reduce redundancy and to emphasize what is considered needed by students in various age groups. This approach, of course, has sound educational underpinnings.¹⁵ Where attention is particularly needed, however, is in correlating the experiences of each individual student. In other words, the experiences of the individual student need to be balanced.

Latter-day Saint education is a continuous unfolding from within. For the best effect in this unfolding process, each successive experience of the student should be brought into a continuous order. Each experience should not only meet its immediate purpose but assist experiences which follow for the individual. Each performance of the student should be balanced with those which both precede and come after it so as to achieve order in experience.¹⁶ The educator must then provide a continuity of initiations into Church teachings and practices.

¹⁴Matt. 6:33.

¹⁵Bruner has been among the leaders in proposing a structured sequenced curriculum in public schools. See Jerome Bruner, *Toward A Theory of Instruction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966), pp. 39-42.

¹⁶Adapted from John Dewey, *Democracy in Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 23-25.

Latter-day Saint educators are not yet significantly successful in accomplishing this.

Continuity of experience is made possible particularly through the student's participation with "significant others." I would define significant others as individuals most meaningfully accessible to the student. Parents are, of course, significant others, but Church officers and teachers can also play this role, though to a lesser extent. But the officer or teacher must have frequent, ongoing, meaningful contact with the student. The excessive turnover of officers and teachers, as well as substitutions and absenteeism, gives but limited opportunity to the student to form an identity with his educators.

The Latter-day Saint student has many teachers. For example, a male teen-ager is taught by parents, MIA leaders, a Sunday School teacher, priesthood advisors, and a seminary teacher, in addition to school teachers and others. Each parent, Church officer, and teacher may have little idea what the others have taught. Because of past teachings, the student already knows much of what he is now being taught. Within a week's time a certain teaching might be redundantly repeated again and again to the student. Clearly, each successive religious experience is not building meaningfully on preceding experiences.

What can be done to improve a student's continuity of experience with parents, Church officers, and teachers? Parents should prepare home evening lessons regularly and prepare well with each child's needs in mind. Parents should spend every possible minute with their children in ways that are meaningful to the children. Officers and teachers should be dedicated to those under their care, meet every expected commitment, and go the second mile in visiting with and getting to know the student and the student's parents. A concentrated effort should be made to decrease the frequency of substitution and turnover of officers and teachers. All who are in a present teacher or officer role of influencing an individual student should meet frequently in correlating the experiences of that individual. Such an approach in balancing the religious experience of each individual student will offer more power than a far removed curriculum committee spending untold hours trying to determine whether the atonement should be taught to fifteen or sixteen year olds.

There is significant merit in the frequent, continuous, and meaningful relationship between teacher and student. Plato was

continuously with Socrates for some ten plus years. Aristotle began a long study with Plato about twenty years before Plato's death at age eighty-one. James Mill gave daily intensive instruction to his son John Stuart throughout the boy's childhood and adolescence. Christ spent the better part of three years with his apostles, day after day and often into the night, preparing them in gospel ideals. Instructional power has something to do with making orthodox teachers as well as the subject matter of gospel teachings secure in the pupil's experienced existence.

SUMMARY

We can increase our power to influence others to live the revealed doctrines of Christ by attaining instructional power through appropriate balance of the intrinsic qualities of the teacher, student, subject matter, and materials components. We must also recognize that the spirit of the Holy Ghost is an essential ingredient in effective Latter-day Saint education. When appropriate balance in the use of these five factors is attained in the teaching process, an equilibrium of power exists in changing the lives of students.

Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial:^{*} New Evidence and New Difficulties*

MARVIN S. HILL**

In the late winter of 1826, according to an early account, Peter Bridgeman, a nephew of the wife of Josiah Stowell, presented a written complaint against Joseph Smith at South Bainbridge, New York, which led to his arrest and trial as a "disorderly person." Since the time that Fawn Brodie in her biography of Joseph Smith² accepted as authentic the account of the trial published in the *Schaaf-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1883),³ it has been a source of sharp conflict among the students of early Mormonism.⁴ Perhaps the primary reason for Mormon opposition to the record is the alleged admission it contains made by Joseph Smith that he had been searching for lost treasure by means of a stone.

After Brodie's book was published, other versions of the trial were discovered—one by "A.W.B." [A.W. Benton], published in 1831 in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*,⁵ and another by a prominent physician, W. D. Purple of

*I wish to thank James B. Allen, Richard L. Anderson, Merlin O. Baker, and Dallin H. Oaks for their advice on some technical aspects of this paper.

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¹Cancelled.

²*No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945).

³Vol. II, pp. 1576-77.

⁴Francis W. Kirkham challenged the validity of the record in *New Witness for Christ in America* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1942), pp. 370-94.

⁵Vol. II (9 April 1831).

Chenango County, who wrote in the *Chenango Union* in 1877.⁶ A version very similar but not identical to the *Schaaf-Herzog* was found to have been published earlier in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1873.⁷

These versions of the trial were submitted to some scrutiny by Hugh Nibley in *The Myth Makers* in 1961.⁸ Nibley challenged the validity of the *Schaaf-Herzog* report primarily because the original document has never appeared, although it was said to have been taken to Utah by Emily Pearsall, the niece of Justice Albert Neely who supposedly tried the case. Nibley said we have only the testimony of Miss Pearsall that the record ever existed, and that came through Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle of the Episcopal church in Salt Lake City, who published the *Schaaf-Herzog* report.

By examining the Pearsall, Purple, and Benton accounts, which he noted are contradictory,⁹ Nibley raised the question whether the charge of vagrancy indicated by Purple was plausible when the testimony itself shows that Joseph worked for Josiah Stowell at his request.¹⁰ Nibley also suggested the possibility that there might have been some confusion between a trial which did occur at Bainbridge in 1830 with one in 1826 that perhaps did not. Nibley argued that Benton probably made up the story of the 1826 trial, applying some of the details from the 1830 affair and getting his ideas of Joseph's stone peeping from articles by Obediah Dogberry published in the *Palmyra Reflector* in that year.¹¹

Just recently, however, Reverend Wesley P. Walters of the United Presbyterian church in Marissa, Illinois, discovered some records in the basement of the sheriff's office in Norwich, New York, which he maintains demonstrate the actuality of the 1826 trial and go far to substantiate that Joseph Smith spent part of his early career in southern New York as a money digger and seer of hidden treasures. A periodical in Salt Lake City which heralded Walters's findings said they "undermine Mormonism" and repeated a statement by Hugh Nibley in *The Myth Makers*, "if this court record is authentic

⁶3 May 1877.

⁷New Series (London: February 1873), p. 225.

⁸(Salt Lake City: Bookcraft), p. 143.

⁹Among other things, Nibley observed that Benton and Purple differ as to Joseph's fate after the trial; Benton said he escaped, Purple that he remained in Chenango County a few weeks. See p. 151.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.

it is the most damning evidence in existence against Joseph Smith."¹²

Walters's discovery consisted mainly of two documents. The first was a bill of costs presented to local authorities by Justice Albert Neely in 1826 which identified Joseph Smith as "The Glass Looker" and indicated that he was charged at the trial with a "misdemeanor." Neely's bill reported that his total charges for the case were \$2.68, the precise amount shown in *Fraser's Magazine*.

Walters's second find was a bill by the local constable, Philip DeZeng, dated 1826,¹³ which indicates that not only was a warrant issued for Joseph Smith's arrest but also a mittimus, which Walters believes must have been issued after the trial ordering the sheriff to escort Joseph out of the county. Walters contends that the mittimus thus proves that Joseph Smith was found guilty.¹⁴

A preliminary investigation by the writer at the sheriff's office in Norwich, New York, confirmed that Walters had searched thoroughly the bills of local officials dated in the 1820s, many of which were similar to the two bills in question. The originals, however, were not at the sheriff's office but in Walters's possession. Presumably they will be available for study at a later date. Until then, the final question of their authenticity must remain open. If a study of the handwriting and paper of the originals demonstrates their authenticity, it will confirm that there was a trial in 1826 and that glass looking was an issue at the trial. Despite Nibley's argument to the contrary, this has remained a distinct possibility since Oliver Cowdery acknowledged in the *LDS Messenger and Advocate* in 1835 that, while Joseph Smith was in southern New York,

some very officious person complained of him as a disorderly person and brought him before the authorities of the county; but there being no cause of action he was honorably acquitted.

Cowdery made it clear that this occurred prior to Joseph's re-

¹²*The Salt Lake Messenger*, August 1971. Nibley's statement is found on p. 142 of his work.

¹³Rev. Walters sent this writer a photographic reproduction of DeZeng's bill. It has been published in Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1971), p. 6.

¹⁴See Walters's argument in *Tri-Town News* (Sidney, N. Y.) 25 August 1971.

ceiving the Book of Mormon plates. He said that following the trial Joseph

continued to receive instructions concerning the coming forth of the fulness of the gospel, from the mouth of the heavenly messenger, until he was directed to visit again the place where the records were deposited.¹⁵

But, despite any new evidence, many of the contradictions demonstrated by Nibley cannot be dismissed, and some additional difficulties now appear. Doubt still remains as to the authenticity of the testimonies published in *Fraser's* and by Purple, because the details of these vary. The bills found by Walters clarify some points but add to the confusion on others.

As already indicated, in *Fraser's* Peter Bridgeman is reported to have made the charges against Joseph. No reason is given. Dr. Purple, who claimed Justice Neely asked him to take notes at the trial, recalled in 1877 that it was the sons of Josiah Stowell who brought the allegations because they were afraid that Joseph's encouragement of their father's money digging was "depriving them of their anticipated patrimony." A.W. Benton said that it was "the public" who had Joseph arrested after becoming "wearied with the base imposition he was palming upon the credulity of the ignorant." Oliver Cowdery attributed the charges to an "officious person."

Contradictions on the nature of the charge are also evident. *Fraser's* indicated Joseph was accused of being a "disorderly person and imposter." Purple said Joseph was arrested "as a vagrant, without visible means of support." Benton said Joseph was tried as a "disorderly person," a charge which Oliver Cowdery also repeats.

Walters's discoveries do not help us on this matter. The bill of Justice Neely does not reveal what the charge was, only that Joseph was tried for a "misdemeanor." It is curious that in the other cases included on the bill specific charges such as "assault and battery" and "petit larceny" [*sic*] are given. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that in another document found by Walters, the 1830 bill of Justice of the Peace Joseph Chamberlain, who tried Joseph Smith in the 1830 trial, the charge is specifically stated—"a disorderly person."¹⁶ This fact, along with the vagueness of the charges in Neely's bill,

¹⁵ (October 1835), pp. 201-202.

¹⁶ A photocopy of this bill was also sent to the writer by Rev. Walters.

Chenango County N. York Philip DeZeng
1826 3

To serving Peace Warrant on S. W. Goodrich & Travel
 Keeping him over night
 Subpoening 8 Witnesses
 Notifying two Justices
 Carrying him to Jail
 5 meals & victuals
 Serving Warrant for coroner's inquest of Garret Hicks - \$ 50
 Subpoening 11 Witnesses
 Serving Warrant & travel on Timothy Hodgeman & Travel
 Subpoening 6 Witnesses
 Serving Warrant
 Notifying two Justices
 Serving Warrant & travel on Josiah Evans
 Subpoening 6 Witnesses
 Serving Warrant
 Notifying Justices
 Serving Warrant on Ira Church & Travel
 Subpoening 11 Witnesses
 Notifying Justices
 Serving Warrant on Joseph Smith & Travel
 Subpoening 12 Witnesses & Travel
 Attendance with Prisoner two days & 1 Night
 Notifying two Justices
 10 miles travel with witnesses to take him
 going to Unadilla & Guilford with Bench Warrant
 for Martin Barger
 going from Guilford to Apford & Subpoening
 8 Witnesses People in Hamam
 Serving Warrant on Samuel Slade & Travel
 Subpoening 8 Witnesses
 Notifying 2 Justices
 Attending Trial
 Serving Warrant on John Reed
 Subpoening 8 Witnesses
 Notifying 2 Justices
 Attending Trial

necessitates the question being raised, did *Fraser's*, Benton, and Cowdery confuse the charges in 1826 with those in 1830? We have evidence that Benton and Cowdery were both involved in the 1830 affair,¹⁷ and they possibly could have confused the charges in the two trials. If so, of what was Joseph Smith accused in 1826? A "misdemeanor" might be many things, as the term simply designates a minor offense. Was the charge vagrancy, disorderliness, being an "impostor," or was it deliberately left vague because treasure hunting, as Joseph practiced it with Stowell, did not violate any specific New York law? It is generally known among historians that digging was common in western New York in this period. How many such persons were held accountable, and to what law? These are questions that need answering before any fair assessment of the trial can be made.

There are also discrepancies regarding who testified at the trial. Neither Benton nor Oliver Cowdery provide any trial testimony; so they are not relevant here. *Fraser's*, *Schaaf-Herzog*, and Purple do, with some interesting variations. While *Fraser's* says nothing with regard to Horace Stowell, the *Schaaf-Herzog* account indicates he was the third witness. According to Constable DeZeng's bill, subpoenas were served on twelve witnesses. *Fraser's* gives the testimony of five, Purple four, *Schaaf-Herzog* six. Were there other witnesses? If so, who were they and what did they say? There is no evidence that the testimonies of only unfriendly witnesses were printed, since Josiah Stowell was a friend of Joseph Smith and Thompson also professed to be. Still, we could make a fairer evaluation if we had the full record.

According to both *Fraser's* and Purple, Joseph Smith was the first witness, testifying against himself. There is no mention of any counsel for the defense, although we know such was permissible, since Joseph was allowed counsel in the 1830 trial.¹⁸ *Fraser's* and Purple gave different accounts of Joseph's testimony. *Fraser's* reports that Joseph said he spent most of his time with Stowell farming and going to school, with only a small part of the time devoted to money digging. He admit-

¹⁷Benton, according to Joseph Smith, brought the charges which led to his arrest in 1830. Cowdery was a witness in the 1830 trial. See Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Brigham H. Roberts (ed.) (6 vols.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951), I, 97, and Benton's description of the 1830 trial in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*.

¹⁸See Joseph Smith, *History*, I, 89.

ted that he had a stone which he used to look for treasure and looked for Stowell "several times." He said that formerly he had looked for lost articles with the stone but had lately given this up. He insisted that he did not solicit this kind of work.

In the Purple account, Joseph purportedly went into more detail on how he found the stone, learning of it from a girl in the neighborhood, who, through means of her own stone, showed him its location buried beneath a tree many miles away. Purple said Joseph claimed the stone enabled him to annihilate time and distance, that it was "an all seeing eye" and gave him "attributes of deity." Purple also said Joseph exhibited the stone in court and that it was the size of a hen's egg.

Although these two accounts are not mutually exclusive, in some ways the Purple testimony is more incriminating. Since Purple may have taken the only notes at the trial,¹⁹ it is peculiar that he should record one set of facts at that time and remember something quite different in 1877. Of course, he admitted in 1877 that he had since told and retold the story many times. He did not say that he used notes to write the 1877 article, and some evidence suggests he was relying on memory. Purple calls Josiah Stowell "Isaiah Stowell," which is the kind of error that might result from a reliance upon memory. Purple admitted his sources for his article were some vivid recollections, his writing of the events when the trial occurred, and frequent rehearsals since. He does not say he referred to his notes when he wrote his article.²⁰

Fraser's lists Josiah Stowell as the second witness, but Purple indicates Joseph, Sr., was next to testify against his son. Stowell is listed by Purple as the third witness. Purple gives an interesting account of Father Smith's testimony, saying that "he and his son were mortified that this wonderful power which God had so miraculously given . . . should be used only in search of filthy lucre." Joseph, Sr., added that he wished "his Heavenly Father was to manifest his will concerning this marvelous power. He trusted that the Son of Righteousness

¹⁹Judging from the justice of the peace records from Manchester and Chenango counties, which I have seen, testimony as extensive as that recorded in *Fraser's* was not customary. If we may believe Purple, however, he was requested to take notes by Justice Neely. Thus it is possible that these were afterward written into Neely's docket book. But we need to know more about how they got into print and who handled them in between time.

²⁰Possibly the notes had by that time (1877) been taken to Utah. Nibley also believed Purple relied on his memory. See Nibley, p. 145.

would some day illumine the heart of the boy, and enable him to see His will concerning him." While such testimony would contradict some things in Joseph's personal history, nonetheless it does suggest that Joseph, Sr., had a religious concern which transcended money digging.

The *Fraser's* and Purple accounts of Josiah Stowell's testimony do not entirely agree. While both have Stowell testifying that he believed in Joseph's divining powers, Purple has Stowell saying Joseph could see treasures fifty feet underground, a statement which brought a direct challenge from Justice Neely. Stowell stuck to his story, however, and said he not only believed it but knew it. Both accounts give Jonathan Thompson as the last witness but with widely differing and contradictory versions of his testimony. *Fraser's* has Thompson relating how he, a man named Yeomans, and Joseph Smith went out at night and began digging, after Joseph told them the exact position of a treasure chest. They dug several feet and struck something with their shovel, after which Joseph looked into his glass and became frightened, seeing there an Indian who had buried the treasure and then killed his friend and buried him to guard it. Thompson said he believed that Joseph could divine such things with his stone and recounted how the chest, which was enchanted, kept settling away from them as they dug.

In the Purple version of Thompson, Joseph Smith told Stowell that a band of robbers had buried a treasure and placed a charm over it, which could only be removed by fasting and prayer. They dug for the treasure to a depth of five feet but decided they lacked sufficient faith to secure it. They offered the blood of a lamb as propitiation, but the treasure continued to recede from their reach.

The matter of whether or not Joseph Smith was found guilty remains an open question. *Fraser's* recorded his guilt, but A.W. Benton indicated that, although he was "condemned," because of his youth "he was designedly allowed to escape." Purple contradicted them both, recalling that "the testimony of Deacon Stowell could not be impeached, the prisoner was discharged."²¹

²¹There is some reason to think Purple may have confused 1830 with 1826 here, since Joseph makes it clear in his history that Stowell's testimony did help to bring a favorable verdict at the later trial. See Smith, I, 89-90.

Constable DeZeng's bill may not settle this question as readily as Walters has supposed. The relevant item in the bill reads as follows:

Serving warrant on Joseph Smith of [Chenango Co.?
 Subpoening 12 witnesses & travel
 attendance with Prisoner two days & 1 night
 Notifying two justices
 10 miles travel with mittimus to take him

The bill does not indicate where Joseph was to be taken. Walters argues that the warrant was sufficient to take Joseph into custody for the trial and that the mittimus was issued afterward so that the sheriff could take Joseph, who had been found guilty, into custody and remove him from the county. On the surface this hypothesis does not seem likely. If one concedes that the *Fraser's* report of the trial is at least partially accurate, that source suggests that since a warrant and mittimus were included in the trial costs that both were issued *prior* to the trial. It was customary in the nineteenth century to issue a warrant for the arrest and a mittimus to the jailer to hold the defendant for trial.

These many contradictions cast some doubt upon the trustworthiness of the testimony that was purportedly given at the trial and the accuracy of the reported conviction. Perhaps some additional intensive research similar to what Reverend Walters has done will lead to a discovery of Neely's docket book or Purple's original notes. If so, we could obtain the additional information which is needed with respect to these difficulties.

In the meantime, if the bills should prove authentic and demonstrate that Joseph Smith was tried as a "Glass Looker," what shall we make of him? Nearly everybody seems to have conceded that if Joseph Smith was indeed a gold digger that he was also a religious fraud. This is a view, however, of our own generation, not Joseph Smith's. Joseph himself never denied that he searched for buried treasure, only attributing the stories which circulated about him to his work with Stowell.²² In one place he admitted that he did such work but never made much money from it.²³ Martin Harris, who for most of his life was a believer in Joseph Smith, only confessing

²²Smith, I, 17.

²³*The Elders' Journal*, I (July 1838), 43.

that he "lost confidence in Joseph Smith" while he was a Shaker in the 1840s,²⁴ was quoted as saying that Joseph and his father were part of a company which searched for treasure.²⁵ Hosea Stout, who believed in the Prophet, said that the gold plates were found by means of a seer stone.²⁶

If there was an element of mysticism in Joseph Smith and the other early Mormons which led them to search for treasures in the earth, it does not disprove the genuineness of their religious convictions. William Purple admitted that Josiah Stowell was "educated in the spirit of orthodox Puritanism" and was "officially connected with the first Presbyterian church of the town." In a letter to Joseph Smith, only part of which has been published, Stowell made it clear that his deepest interests in Joseph Smith and his movement were religious. Although too ill to write his own letter, he dictated to Martha L. Campbell that he hoped to come to Nauvoo in the spring of 1844. "He says he has never staggered at the foundation of the work for he knew too much concerning it," Mrs. Campbell wrote.

If I understood him right he was the first person that took the plates out of your hands the morning you brought them in, and he observed, blessed is he that seeth and believeth, and more blessed is he that believeth without seeing. He says he has seen and believed. He seems anxious to get there (to Nauvoo) to renew his covenants with the Lord. . . . He gave me strict charge to say to you his faith is good concerning the work of the Lord.²⁷

It has been argued that Joseph's religious pronouncements in his history were written for public consumption and that in reality he was a calculator and schemer who exploited the religious feelings of his people for his own ends.²⁸ But this ignores the deep sense of religious calling in the man which goes far back into the history of his family. For now, it is instructive to take note of a letter which Joseph wrote to his wife, Emma, in 1832 which suggests this dimension of his character.

²⁴See Thomas Colburn's statement to this effect in "Journal History," 2 May 1855.

²⁵*Tiffany's Monthly*, V (May 1859), 164.

²⁶Juanita Brooks, (ed.), *On the Mormon Frontier. The Journal of Hosea Stout* (2 vols.; Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1964), II, 593. See the entry of 25 February 1856.

²⁷B. H. Roberts published an excerpt from the letter in his *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1930), I, 98. The revealing original is in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²⁸Brodie, pp. vii, 5, 16.

Chenango County to Albert Neely &
People
Tung Bridge
Same
Tung Bridge
Same
John Thomas
To my fees in trial
of above cause 3, 68

People
Samuel May
mailed 22. 1826
To my fees in the case \$2.99

Same
Joseph Smith
The Glasgow
March 20. 1826
Middensons
To my fees in examination
of the above cause 2, 68

Judge Albert Neely's bill of costs

Because it was not written for public consumption, it must bear unusual weight.

I have visited a grove which is Just back of the town almost every day where I can be Secluded from the eyes of any mortal and there give vent to all the feelings of my heart in deadiation [*sic*] and praize [*sic*] I have called to mind all the past moments of my life and am left to morn [*sic*] and Shed tears of sorrow for my folly in sufering [*sic*] the adversary of my Soul to have so much power over me as he has had in times past but God is merciful and has forgiven my sins and I rejoyce that he Sendeth forth the Conferter [*sic*] unto as many as believe and humbleth themselves before him.²⁹

It is time historians began to study this aspect of Joseph's personality. No one who ignores it can understand him.

²⁹The letter, dated 6 June 1832, is in the Mormon Collection, Folder I, Chicago Historical Society, and has recently been printed in *BYU Studies*, XI:4 (Summer 1971), pp. 517-23.

Mormonism and the Commercial Theatre

LAEL J. WOODBURY*

"Polygamy is an attempt to get more out of life than there is in it," said actress Mary Shaw in a curtain speech at the New York Playhouse following the opening performance of *Polygamy Or A Celestial Marriage*, on 1 December 1914. Written by Harriet Ford and Harvey O'Higgins, and "Founded on the Mormons' Secret Practices," the play was a scurrilous attack upon The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It epitomized the commercial world's practice of depicting in art only the most sensational aspects of Mormonism.

At the same time, however, art—a metaphor for thought and feeling—documents how much society's attitude has changed in the last fifty years. Particularly, do the voiced language and lifelike action of theatre present especially clear evidence of those changes; and it is possible there to trace the evolution, from rejection to respect, of the nation's posture toward the Church.

Polygamy was not the first play about Mormonism; a number of turn-of-the-century dramatists exploited its troubled history. Several scenes in *An Aztec Romance*, presented at the Manhattan Opera House early in the century, treated Mormon themes. *The Girl From Utah* was essentially a romantic melodrama which did not even attempt to analyze the Church or its problems. *The Danites*, written by Joaquin Miller for actor McKee Rankin, depicted the Mormons' alleged thirst for vengeance against those who had abused them. An effective drama, it was popular for several seasons. De Wolf Hopper briefly

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turned the humorous possibilities of polygamy to his profit in *One Hundred Wives*, a comedy written by William Young; but the production did not endure.

It was, however, the 1914-15 production of *Polygamy*, a well-mounted, well-acted major Broadway production, that summarized America's prevailing negative view of Mormonism and in turn, no doubt, reinforced and confirmed that view. On the other hand, its hostility was so intense, its structure so flamboyant, and its charges so inflated, that it very likely served the Church to some extent by inviting rational minds to take an objective look at Mormonism's real history and doctrine.

Polygamy presents the thesis that, a quarter-century after the eschewal of the plural marriage doctrine, the Church still regarded polygamy as a divine institution and command which it vigorously enforced in secret, while its wealth was used subversively to control state and national legislation.

The plot is complex. It depicts Daniel Whitman and Zina, his wife, who are devoted to each other and to the Church. Zina's brother, Brigham Kemplall, is an apostate who openly defies the Church and its supposed hypocrisy and who loves Annie Grey, a young lady who was compelled by the Church to marry an elderly apostle. Against the backdrop of a power struggle within the Church hierarchy, and Brigham Kemplall's taunts that polygamy is still practiced by the Church in spite of statements to the outside world that it is not, Annie—now a widow—is ordered by the prophet to marry Zina's husband, Daniel. Daniel and Zina despair at this order, but fearing the financial ruin of her husband by the Church, and her separation from him in the next world if she refuses, Zina gives her consent.

Annie and Daniel are married but agree not to live together; but Annie can find no other shelter in Salt Lake City. It is emphasized to her that polygamy must be *lived*; it is not merely a nominal sealing. Annie runs away, but is brought back by an apostle's first and oldest wife, Bathsheba, a practical woman and a shrewd politician who observes that there is no way out for Annie because "all men are naturally polygamists." But, seeing the despair of Annie, Bathsheba gives her savings of twenty years to the apostate Brigham Kemplall so that he can escape with Annie from their persecutors.

The play's style is highly melodramatic. One critical scene ends when, after the marriage, Zina approaches the closed bedroom door and, thinking Dan and Annie are within, falls shuddering to the floor. The production's climactic scene occurs in the temple when the apostle is confronted by his wife, Bathsheba, who turns on him and threatens to appear before the Council of the Twelve and accuse him of breaking his oath as an apostle and plotting to succeed the Prophet if he does not let Annie and Brigham go.

The play had impact in precisely the way the authors intended. In an unidentified 1915 newspaper clipping in the New York Public Library, Dr. Frank Crane wrote, after seeing the play:

A great passion that once showed itself in terms of religion, of intense moral conviction aroused by superstition, has turned into a fearful system, hardened into an organization which, to save men's souls in the mass, crushes them one by one. . . . The American people have rather lost interest in the Mormons. Most of us think that they are no longer active, no longer a menace, and that their peculiar practice of polygamy has ceased. The only change, however, is that from being poor and defiant they have become rich and crafty. They have learned the devious ways of the corporation. They know how to crush and kill without getting the blood all over their cuffs.

Although polygamy formed the main subject of the drama, a second indictment was that the Church had become a ruthless power successfully compromising the financial and political interests of the nation. Even Dr. Crane was astonished at the magnitude of that thesis:

And who can believe that polygamy is today a compact organization, with unlimited funds, controlling eastern banks, maintaining an active lobby at Washington, pushing its tentacles everywhere by subtlest politics, and holding in its iron grip devoted women whose sublime faith lifts them from heartbreak to loyalty, and men who move as surely and as secretly as the agents of the Spanish Inquisition or of the Council of Ten in Venice.

Equally defaming was the playwright's characterization of the Church as a "national Frankenstein" and his charge that he could not get conventional financial backing for production of the play because managers told him that "the Mormon Church would ruin them financially if they put such an expo-

sure on the stage. We had to organize an anonymous producing company whose assets could not be uncovered and destroyed."

An unidentified reviewer in *The New York Post* of 2 December 1914 related a scene that purports to take place in the Salt Lake Temple: "It appears that the Prophet, seated on his throne in the Temple, not only exercises an illimitable despotism over the families of all the saints and the apostles themselves, but, like some imperial chancellor, receives the reports of his diplomatic agents from all parts of the United States and the civilized world, and issues mandates which statesmen and financiers, at home and abroad, must obey if they would avoid defeat or ruin." The reviewer found this scene and its suggestion thoroughly unbelievable, however, and observed that "the affairs and aims of Mormondom are not altogether a closed book to the intelligent public, and nothing can be gained by making them the subjects of grotesque misrepresentation."

It is apparent that *Polygamy* was not entirely successful as anti-Church propaganda. Despite its handsome production and its manifest intent to persuade the audience that the play portrayed Mormonism's actual practice, other reviewers expressed reservations about its structure and its logic. Inasmuch as Brigham Kempl and Annie resolved their problem simply by leaving Utah, the question was raised why they did not "escape" at the beginning of their conflict rather than afterward. Hector Turnbull, writing in *The New York Tribune* of 2 December 1914 observed:

Like most plays, however, that are built primarily to expose an evil practice or a social sore, the dramatic value of the work suffers somewhat from the eagerness of the authors to bring home their message. An elaborate web is built around the central figures in rebellion, and after it has been shown in all its menacing impregnability for three acts which are sometimes tense and always interesting, the play ends with the rebellious characters freed, to love and be happy by the simplest of devices—escape. Which method, of course, with all the material and religious sacrifices it entails, has always been the refuge of people who found their adopted faith to become incompatible with a stronger human love. Such an ending to so engrossing a situation cannot fail to cause a let down in the interest of the audience and therefore weakened the effect of the entire play, and all the shrewd and clever observations on conditions made by the authors throughout the

course of their arraignment of the Mormons. One would infinitely rather forego the Conventional "happy" ending to so unusual a work than see its force tempered by such a commonplace expedient.

The New York Journal of the same date observed: "It somehow reminds one of the old story of the wretched prisoner who pined in solitary misery in a solitary cell for twenty years until one day when he had a happy inspiration, opened the door, and walked out. The whole play is more or less in the nature of a childish bugaboo."

Such criticism apparently motivated one of the authors, Harvey O'Higgins, to defend his play before The Drama Society of New York. There he gave a romanticized description of his encountering a man having a "most remarkably dead face." The man was "short, portly, erect, and dignified with a head of white hair like Mark Twain's." "His face," said O'Higgins, "was absolutely colorless, absolutely composed, and he spoke as from a great distance of thought." This man was Frank J. Cannon, the son of President George Q. Cannon. President Cannon had played an important role in reconciling the Church with the federal government, and Frank Cannon had been the first United States Senator from Utah. But, according to O'Higgins, Senator Cannon had become disaffected because of the Church's alleged political practices and clandestine polygamy and had eventually left the Church and had taken a position as an editorial writer on *The Rocky Mountain News* in Denver. O'Higgins had printed Cannon's story in *Everybody's Magazine* with the title "Under The Prophet In Utah"; and it was interest in this piece which had prompted him to write *Polygamy*, although the play had not been an attempt to dramatize Cannon's alleged experience.

We commonly think of the artist as a creator. It is more accurate, however, to see him as a reflector—one who mirrors the perceptions and values of his society. This play merely images the dark view and the pathetic misunderstanding about Mormonism which prevailed in the East a half-century ago. It is useful to contrast *Polygamy* with the view of Mormonism now reflected by the commercial theatre and with the degree of participation in it by contemporary artists.

No pro-Mormon drama has yet achieved commercial success, although a number of young LDS writers, such as Doug Stewart, Louise Hansen, Don Oscarson, Gerald and Carol Lynn

Pearson, and Scott Card, show promise of reaching that goal. But remarkably successful attempts to give a more balanced view of the Church and its history have been produced. The movie *Brigham Young* was criticized as essentially inaccurate, but I find its general tone laudable, and I believe that it has favorably modified public opinion. The typical American's conception of Mormonism derives from several paragraphs in a high school history text, from the beliefs and experiences of his relatives, and from the news media. To him, the *Brigham Young* movie presents a more factual description of our people.

Obviously a dramatization of Church history and principles acceptable to Latter-day Saints will probably be done only by a believer. But it is easy to underestimate the magnitude of his problem. How can the playwright picture—that is to say “make concrete,” which is theatre's purpose—the warmth and optimism that characterize our culture? Our problems are inherently dramatic; yet, how does he make our serenity sufficiently dramatic to command the interest of non-Mormons? I believe that the task will be done—it has been done by others as in the movie *The Bells of Saint Mary*. But wickedness always attracts a larger audience than does goodness, and so we need not wonder that world literature is not replete with positive statements of our people and our values.

However, in 1966 Christie Lund Coles and Larry Bastian wrote a musical play entitled *The Red Plush Parlor*. It depicted a man having several wives who rivaled his son for the affection of a woman whom both wanted to marry. Unlike *Polygamy*, it emphasized the high-mindedness, the dignity, and the Christian love which these Mormons held for each other; and it painted a portrait more compatible with Christ's principles than any other play ever written about plural marriage. It is true that *The Red Plush Parlor* has little commercial value in its present form, but its premier production was unusually popular, and it encourages the hope that writers will yet successfully express our values in dramatic forms.

Equally significant is the welcome which commercial theatre now extends to capable Latter-day Saint performers, technicians, and administrators. Because of their attractiveness and the public exposure given them, these subtle ambassadors for the Church generate good will more than sufficient to overcome propaganda like *Polygamy*. I believe that their success is a fruition of the Church's traditional cultivation, beginning in

the children's Primary Association, of the performing arts. Hazel Dawn, Sandi and Salli, Melva Niles, Patty Peterson, the King Family, the Nathan Hales, Robert Peterson, Gordon Jump, Vera Miles, Tina Cole, and Laraine Day, are some of the Mormons who enjoy professional approbation in Hollywood and New York. This spring Keene Curtis, a Mormon from Bountiful, Utah, won the Tony Award for his performance in *The Rothschilds* on Broadway. Their acceptance is another indication of how far the theatre's attitude has changed since *Polygamy*.

An additional measure can be seen in The Ledges Playhouse, a professional summer theatre in Lansing, Michigan, under the co-ownership and direction of Harold I. Hansen and myself. We produced there a series of more than thirty commercial plays for reasonably sophisticated non-Mormon audiences. We did not advertise as a Mormon company but the press so characterized us, for we featured a company of LDS performers and hewed to LDS production standards. The community welcomed us into its homes and society, and our audiences encouraged us to exercise taste in selecting plays, language, costumes, and action. The venture was profitable. There are now multiple LDS companies of performers in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and California.

The contrast between *Polygamy, Or A Celestial Marriage* and *The Red Plush Parlor* or The Ledges Playhouse is salutary and absolute. It shows how far we have come. It is a favorable omen for the spreading of the Gospel and its acceptance by our world.

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