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Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

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ERRATUM on p. 382. We goofed! The Editorial Office apologizes to Vesta Crawford, Linda King Newell, and Valeen Tippetts Avery for adding the note that Sister Crawford was the daughter of Lewis Bidamon. She was not, but was one of the early editors of the *Relief Society Magazine.* To err is human, to forgive divine.

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B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon

Truman G. Madsen

INTRODUCTION

By its own account, the Book of Mormon is for doubters. It announces on its title page a clear purpose for all the hard labor of preserving records: "To the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD." That statement presupposes that there would be serious and searing doubt in the world and that even religious readers, whatever their Messianic expectations, would not only raise questions about the historicity of this or that segment of the life of Jesus, but about the whole religious enterprise.

Whether that expectation was obvious in prior centuries or not, the fading religiosity of man is a contemporary fact.

Among readers who came to the Book of Mormon with hard, skeptical assumptions, B. H. Roberts[1] is notable. He was capacitated by temperament and equipped by study for penetrating analysis. Moreover, at many junctures of his life he had profound personal reasons and emotional and spiritual stresses which might have led a man of lesser integrity to discard wholesale his religious heritage. But on his other side was his capacity for constant, patient study. This he brought (for more than a half century) to the Book of Mormon as he did to his work in history, never letting go, never fully satisfied with what he had written or said, and never unwilling to consider afresh the latest spate of difficulties.

We have no autobiographical account of his own conversion to the Book of Mormon. But he does provide us with the makings of an outline: He accepted it with only surface acquaintance in his youth in Britain, as had his mother, as part of the total meaning of the "new dispensation" (his favorite phrase for the Restoration Movement). Prior to his becoming a missionary he had also had an intuitive or spiritual assurance in response to the very spirit of the book and its impact in his soul. In the mission field he was immediately subjected to the assault and battery of stereotyped hostility.

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[1]B. H. Roberts, author of the *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* and editor of the *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* was one of the First Seven Presidents of the First Quorum of the Seventy from 1888 until his death in 1933.

And early on he found himself in public debate in Tennessee with a notorious Southern States figure, "Parson Alsup." For three days this man deluged the inexperienced Elder with an exhaustive and bitter denunciation of the Book of Mormon. (He later learned that each of Parson Alsup's arguments had been borrowed whole cloth from Alexander Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger.*) From the stress of those three days, Elder Roberts emerged the victor in three senses: First, a responsive audience came and stayed to listen. Second, after a discussion of pre-Christian knowledge of Christ, Elder Roberts took the advantage and Parson Alsup refused to continue the debate. And third, within a short time he had baptized and confirmed into the Church more than sixty converts of the local citizenry.

This was not a mere passing episode but a preview of the rest of his life. Cumulatively, he worked to get a fair hearing for the book, in two full volumes and some seventy articles, reviews, and tracts, and hundreds of sermons.

Aside from probing the book itself (one of his heroes, Orson Pratt, had read it countless times word-by-word to versify and cross-reference it), B. H. Roberts spent much library time in great centers and collections. As a missionary in England, for example, he went daily on a five-minute walk from the mission headquarters to the celebrated Liverpool Picton Library. There he made "an immense collection of notes" on evidences of American antiquities and archaeological works. At the other end of his life, during his five years as mission president in the Eastern States Mission from 1923 to 1928, he went on weekends, and sometimes at other times, to the New York Public Library and pursued further research on Book of Mormon antiquities.

The purpose of this article is to present a synopsis of what B. H. Roberts wrote and said about the Book of Mormon from ten different perspectives. Our samplings will corroborate the judgment of Herbraist Sidney B. Sperry and historian Hugh W. Nibley that his work, though not fully scientific or linguistic, was "shrewd" and that in basic outlines he was not only a ground-breaking pioneer but, in light of what followed, was ahead of his time.

1. ROBERTS AS CIRCUMSTANTIAL ANALYST

In his considerations of the Book of Mormon, B. H. Roberts held that the strictest canons of confirmation–including strict, inductive methods–apply. The Book of Mormon, after all, is a public document that can be examined by anyone, faithful or faithless. It is

shareable, and its claims can be checked against historical data. Examination of it is repeatable in the most concrete laboratory sense. Of course, at this level, one can hope only for probabilities, but before one can be convinced that the book is authentic, he must be convinced that it is plausible and, before that, that it is possible.

Roberts was not himself "softened up" to the possibility of miracle. The Mormon understanding of miracles which he embraced repudiates the notion that they are a violation of law, natural or otherwise, or that they involve the logic of paradox. "Miracle" is the name of something extraordinary or beyond conventional explanation.[2] Roberts dealt extensively with what he called "external evidences" for the book. But that was preparatory to the other side of the equation, not what is the evidence for the Book of Mormon but *what is the Book of Mormon evidence for?* At a distance one may say the Book of Mormon story is impossible. Roberts's response has been reworded in our time: "If it happens, it must be possible." Here is a 522 page book (English edition). Start by reading it, and then move to the questions of its sources and its implications.

There was a boldness in Roberts's five decade study of the book and in the 1500 pages he set down about it.

> The Book of Mormon of necessity must submit to every test, to literary criticism, as well as to every other class of criticism; for our age is above all things critical, and especially critical of sacred literature, and we may not hope that the Book of Mormon will escape closest scrutiny; neither, indeed, is it desirable that it should escape.[3]

He came to symbolize a willingness, an almost reckless willingness, to consider the latest learned exegesis. He tried to stay abreast (mainly through Biblical commentaries and the pages of the *Hibbert Journal*) of textual analysis and the contextual efforts of higher criticism. Though he tended to feel the contribution of such criticism was highly tenuous–hanging heavy weights on slender threads[4]–the personal implications were that his own roots went deeper. After some four decades of toil, he said: "For many years, after a rather rigid analysis, as I think, of the evidence bearing upon the truth of

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[2]See B. H. Roberts, " 'Miracles' Part of the Divine Economy," *The Seventy's Course in Theology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 4:79.

[3]B. H. Roberts, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9 (April 1906):435-36.

[4]See B. H. Roberts, "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 14 (June 1911):668. A more precise account of the Isaiah problem by B. H. Roberts is printed in the *Improvement Era* 12 (July 1909):681-89 under the title "An Objection to the Book of Mormon Answered."

the Book of Mormon, I have reached, through some stress and struggle, too, an absolute conviction of its truth."[5]

In fact, in the quagmire of the struggle he became almost sanguine. Thus he could write in August 1905, "I do not believe the Book of Mormon can be assailed and overcome."[6] This was not because he assumed the faithful and credulous would refuse to abandon the book. It was because, regardless of the criterion brought to test it, and no matter how one defines evidence, the book would stand up as an authentic historical document.

Fifty years later the efforts of the counter-theorists (including the regalvanized Spaulding theory) have come full circle. All talk of a ghost writer or ghost writers has been discredited. And sociologist-historian Thomas O'Dea expresses the "common sense" conclusion that Joseph Smith himself wrote the book.[7] But the marvel of the product requires radical reappraisal of the alleged author. It is frequently said today, "Joseph Smith was a genius." Anyone who could produce (however one defines "produce") such an elaborate document would of course be a master, a multiple-talent genius in creative imagination and literary forms. He would also have to have the power of a "zeitgeist," and subliminal "cultural tendencies," and a superhuman grasp of the whole sweep of Middle Eastern and pre-Columbian American history.

And that is just the point: how could any genius or set of geniuses in the nineteenth century concoct a book that is filled with stunning details, now confirmable, of the ancient cultures it claims to represent? By the use of Occam's razor and David Hume's rule that one only credits a "miraculous" explanation if alternatives are more miraculous, the simplest and least miraculous explanation is Joseph Smith's: he translated an ancient record. It imposes what Roberts called "a greater tax on human credulity" to say Joseph Smith, or anyone in the nineteenth century, created it.[8]

As for the translation itself, Roberts argued that transmission of information through angelic ministrants and the use of the Urim and Thummim in translation is thoroughly Biblical. Addressing himself to those who had no confidence whatever in the Bible, he went on to plead for an open mind with respect to man's ingenuity

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[5]Roberts, "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," p. 667.

[6]B. H. Roberts, "Our Work Review of the New Manual," *Improvement Era* 8 (August 1905):784.

[7]Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 24, 30–37.

[8]B. H. Roberts, "The Probability of Joseph Smith's Story," *Improvement Era* 7 (March 1904):321–31 and (April 1904):417–32; B. H. Roberts, "The Relative Tax on Human Credulity Between Ancient and Modern Dispensations of the Christian Religion," Salt Lake Tabernacle address, 21 Ocober 1924.

and the marvelous instruments that have come into his hands which make the Book of Mormon claims at least possible.[9]

2. ROBERTS AS HISTORIAN

His study of American antiquities and his tracing of legends and mythology gave B. H. Roberts a disciplined caution. He knew that fallible memory and active imagination and the flux of purpose in telling and retelling could turn any authentic story into palpable fiction. He knew as well that in the midst of such oral traditions and folklore there are often kernels of truth. With the instincts of a courtroom attorney intent on cross-examination, he interviewed those who had firsthand knowledge of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. He lived in the midst of first-generation witnesses.

During his first mission to Iowa in 1884, he visited David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses, who said among other things, "Young man, if that book is not true nothing on God's earth is true." Then David Whitmer added that he had been cautioned on the revelatory day, "David, blessed is he that endureth to the end." Roberts felt there was hidden warning in these words, for David Whitmer was the only one of the three witnesses who died outside the Church.[10]

Roberts lamented the fact that many encyclopedias claimed that each of the three witnesses later denied his testimony of the Book of Mormon. The constraint of evidence–some of it gathered by Elder Roberts–led many editors to retract and reverse that statement. Late in life Roberts himself made a biographical project out of the life of Oliver Cowdery, planning to present him as the paradigm of a man of "almosts," who came close to destiny but who finally was stripped of his gifts and leadership role. But in response to prayer Roberts became convinced that Oliver Cowdery had completed his mission and that his private estrangement from Joseph Smith added weight to his unrelenting witness of the Book of Mormon. Roberts threw his manuscript of Oliver Cowdery's "almost" achievements into the fire.[11] That the witnesses of the Book of Mormon held to their testimonies, especially in light of the turbulent circumstances of their

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[9]Roberts, "The Probability of Joseph Smith's Story," pp. 321–31.

[10]Diary of J. Orvall Ellsworth, 23 September 1923. Ellsworth was a Ph.D. student in economics at Cornell University at this time. See also B. H. Roberts's account of his interview with David Whitmer, *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* October 1926, p. 126.

[11]Recollections of Georgia Roberts Maury, a daughter of B. H. Roberts, in an interview with the author, 1966.

lives and the many attempts to discredit them, was to Roberts heavy evidence indeed. He himself said their testimonies of the book were "unimpeached and unimpeachable."[12]

Then later in his official capacities as a General Authority and as an assistant Church Historian, B. H. Roberts had many additional interviews with other early participants in the Mormon drama such as John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, the Pratt brothers, and others, including Anson Call, Philo Dibble, Nathan Porter, and Edward Stevenson.

3. ROBERTS AS ANALYST OF A "TRANSLATION"

B. H. Roberts was preoccupied with Joseph Smith's role as translator. One reason was that critics turned Joseph's phrase "by the gift and power of God" into a claim he never made, that of verbal inerrancy. Roberts wrote a whole treatise on these issues, concluding that Joseph Smith could not escape his own skin. Joseph's vocabulary and grammar are as clearly imposed on the book as are fingerprints on a coin. When Harold Glen Clark asked President Roberts if the Book of Mormon would read differently had it been translated by someone else, B. H. Roberts replied, "Of course, not in substance and basic message but in modes of expression."[13] Although Joseph Smith affirmed he used a Urim and Thummim, the instrument did not do everything and the Prophet nothing. Roberts insisted that the translation process was neither so simple nor so easy a thing as has been supposed by both advocates and critics of the Prophet.[14] On the contrary, "brain sweat" was required, and preparation, and labor. Further, as an illustration that exact word-for-word translation of one language into another is impossible, Roberts presented examples from the Greek New Testament showing that the word *Master* used in the authorized version is a translation of six different Greek words all having different shades of meaning. *Judgment* stands for eight different Greek words.[15] He concluded, "Let us rid ourselves of the

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[12]B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God,* 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), 2:278. Richard L. Anderson has dealt thoroughly with this subject. See "Oliver Cowdery's Non-Mormon Reputation," *Improvement Era* 71 (August 1968):18-26; "Martin Harris: The Honorable New York Farmer," *Improvement Era* 72 (February 1969):18-21; "David Whitmer: The Independent Missouri Businessman," *Improvement Era* 72 (April 1969):74-81; "Five Who Handled the Plates," *Improvement Era* 72 (July 1969):38-47.

[13]Harold Glen Clark to Truman G. Madsen, 25 April 1966, in possession of the author. Harold Glen Clark served under B. H. Roberts in the Eastern States Mission and asked this question during a mission school session in Brooklyn.

[14]B. H. Roberts, "Bible Quotations in the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 7 (January 1904):191-96.

[15]B. H. Roberts, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9 (May 1906):544-53.

reproach of charging error, even though it be of forms of expression, unto God."[16] Elder Roberts hoped for the day when the President of the Church would authorize that the Book of Mormon be "made a classic in English . . . without changing the shade of a single idea or statement."[17] He did not live to see it become a classic in other translations.

4. ROBERTS AS ADVOCATE AND DEFENDER

In his systematic analysis of the Book of Mormon, volumes 2 and 3 of *New Witnesses for God* (he called it correctly "the fullest treatise on the Book of Mormon yet published"),[18] B. H. Roberts considered objections to the book and also counter-theories of its origin (including Alexander Campbell's, which Campbell later abandoned). Some of those objections included the following: awkward style and errors in grammar (Roberts answered they could be traced to the translator); passages which reflect King James terminology (the mental framework of young Joseph Smith); linguistic issues such as uniformity versus diversity in style (clearly several styles are demonstrable); variant readings of Isaiah in 2 Nephi (likely from a credible common source); apparent pre-Christian knowledge of the gospel (Paul and New Testament writers presuppose that); the giving of the priesthood to others than the Tribe of Levi (why not?); the birth of Jesus "at Jerusalem" (no, "in the land of" Jerusalem); Nephite knowledge of the "call of the Gentiles" (historical and prophetic); the alleged three days of darkness in the Western Hemisphere (not of the whole world); the unoriginality of the book (it should be true to Jewish understanding–but there are many surprises); alleged "modern" astronomy in the book (not really); geographical issues (plausible enough); questions arising from the Anthon transcript and its relationship in hieroglyphics and Mexican picture writing (wait for Egyptologists); alleged plagiarisms of historical and Biblical stories (religious experience is not falsified by being repetitive); the absence of Book of Mormon names in native American languages (similar names); the building of the Nephite temple (a small temple built by a small colony); the mention of iron and steel and the horse among the Nephites (iron is defensible from other sources, the horse is problematic); the incredible Jaredite barges (not

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[16]Ibid., p. 549.

[17]See B. H. Roberts, YMMIA Manual, 1903–1904, "The Book of Mormon, Part 1," *New Witness for God,* vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: General Board of the YMMIA, 1903), chap. 7, pp. 106–21.

[18]B. H. Roberts to Charles W. Nibley, 10 June 1908, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.

incredible); the marvels of the Liahona (there are historical analogies in the Bible); the unmanageable weight of the plates (heavy but not debilitating); and the unheard-of antics of a beheaded soldier named Shiz (there are other known cases).[19]

Roberts thought it significant that most of these objections involved a misreading or misrepresentation. Yet he also allowed that his own answers to certain anachronisms in the book were at that time less than satisfactory. That little or no evidence of some of the events or elements of the Book of Mormon could be discovered in 1900–1930 nonscriptural sources is hardly proof that the narrative is mistaken or implausible. In the spirit of a logician, he urged that negative knowledge–that something didn't happen–is much more difficult to prove than what did. Negative theory is less valuable than one trifle of positive evidence, with which the Book of Mormon is replete.

Contemporary scholars, far more specialized and better prepared with linguistic tools, have begun at the other end. By studying the Jewish-Arab cultures of the sixth century B.C. and earlier, and again the meso-American culture of the appropriate later periods, they define "patternistic" themes and traits. The Book of Mormon can now be checked to see where it matches these contemporary findings. Hugh W. Nibley's *Lehi in the Desert & The World of the Jaredites* provides an Old World context, and John L. Sorenson's work concludes that the Book of Mormon is also a "meso-American codex" and pleads that scholars in anthropology and archaeology apply the book to their cultural researches even though they are hesitant about its claim to be a sacred text.[20] Meantime, new discoveries of ancient writings reaching into the same periods provide scholars with tighter controls on the claims of the book. The "coincidences" continue to pile up.

5. ROBERTS AS WISDOM SEEKER

B. H. Roberts saw the Book of Mormon as a well of aphorisms. He listed more trenchant sayings from the Book of Mormon than from any source other than the Bible. These sayings, he believed, were comparable in their edge and insight not only to Biblical but also to Hindu and Chinese classics. The following were among those he wrote into his own notebook and memorized:

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[19]Roberts, *New Witnesses for God,* 3:407–557.

[20]Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert & the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, [1952]; John L. Sorenson, *The Book of Mormon as a Meso-American Codex* (Provo, Utah: Society for Early Historical Archaeology, 1977); see also Hugh W. Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976).

Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy (2 Nephi 2:25).
It must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things (2 Nephi 2:11).
When you are in the service of your fellow beings you are only in the service of your God (Mosiah 2:17).
Wickedness never was happiness (Alma 41:10).
To be learned is good if they hearken unto the counsels of God (2 Nephi 9:29).
It is by grace that we are saved, after all we can do (2 Nephi 25:23).
See that ye bridle all your passions, that ye may be filled with love (Alma 38:12).
What manner of men ought ye to be? Verily I say unto you, even as I am (3 Nephi 27:27).
I give unto men weaknesses that they may be humble; . . . for if they humble themselves before me, and have faith in me, then will I make weak things become strong unto them (Ether 12:27).
Despair cometh because of iniquity (Moroni 10:22).
Without faith there cannot be any hope (Moroni 7:42).
Charity is the pure love of Christ, and it endureth forever; and whoso is found possessed of it at the last day, it shall be well with him (Moroni 7:47).
The laborer in Zion shall labor for Zion; for if they labor for money they shall perish (2 Nephi 26:31).[21]

Roberts elsewhere warned against a tendency to disparage such phrases which come quickly to the tongue even before their full significance is apparent to the mind–a tendency toward "air-sniffing" contempt for the moral wisdom of the ages. Beauty and value remain even in the most threadbare of such counsels.[22] Who can calculate the power of the repetitive phrase in the Jewish Passover seder "Next year in Jerusalem"? Or the two words that have grown out of the holocaust of the Jews, "Never again!"? B. H. Roberts felt comparable impact in such phrases as, Oh remember, remember my son, "wickedness never was happiness."

6. ROBERTS AS CREATIVE WRITER

From college days and in the wake of his duties as an editor and journalist with the *Millennial Star* and the *Salt Lake Herald,* B. H. Roberts aspired to creative writing. He had already demonstrated narrative gifts and a dramatic sense. Short stories, plays, and even a

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[21]"Bible Companion" and Miscellaneous Notes compiled by B. H. Roberts during World War I when he was a chaplain, Church Archives. (See also Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1906, p. 17, and April 1928, p. 108.)

[22]B. H. Roberts, "A Nephite's Commandments to His Three Sons: Corianton," part 3, *Improvement Era* 3 (August 1900):760–69, and part 4 (September 1900):835–43.

historical novel were on his agenda of things to do. As a start, he wrote stories on Moroni, a sketch of a "Nephite Republic," and a fictionalized and heightened account of the life of Alma's son Corianton, a tale of sneaking indulgence and remorse and renewal.[23] The story was adapted by O. U. Bean into a play. It is not surprising that it enjoyed local acclaim, but it also found its way from the Salt Lake Theater to Broadway. Though it is a moralizing story, the response to it, for Roberts, pointed to the dramatic possibilities of this and a hundred segments of the Book of Mormon. Not only did he feel that Book of Mormon characters have flesh-and-blood counterparts in our own day and in our own interior lives, but he also thought it utterly inept to speak of the Book of Mormon as "antiquated" or of its idealisms and descriptions of barbarism as "unreal." He saw it as a mine of sinewy spiritual inspiration. He visualized the book of 3 Nephi as a pageant, a magnificent Easter vision which could not be matched anywhere in the world of literature.[24] For Roberts, one might read 3 Nephi from no other motives than those he brings to Homer or Beowulf.

As the Church centennial approached (1930), he dreamed of a major motion picture with a script built upon one or more of the epic civilizations portrayed in the book. It was not to be.

Although he did not live to realize it, B. H. Roberts, as president of the Eastern States Mission, was the "Elias" of the now nationally known Palmyra Pageant. It was he who set up an elaborate celebration on 23 September 1923 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the receiving of the plates from the Hill Cumorah. He had prepared five careful addresses but because of illness delivered only two. The press described his Hill Cumorah address as "like some graphic panorama of the past," like a "Norse saga," and President Roberts wrote home that this one paragraph justified his entire effort.[25] Also through his efforts, the Church acquired the Hill Cumorah, the Joseph Smith Farm, the Sacred Grove, and the Whitmer Farm.[26] "I rejoice that we have these places," he said. He was pleased with the call to New York in the first place because it was the territory of "the early scenes of the Prophet's life, the first vision and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the Hill Cumorah, etc.,"

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[23]B. H. Roberts, "Corianton, a Nephite Story," *Contributor* 10 (March-July 1889):171, 206, 245, 286, 324. Later published as *Corianton, a Nephite Story* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902).

[24]Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1928, p. 112.

[25]The paragraph was in the *Rochester Herald* (New York), 22 September 1923. (See also Roberts, *Conference Report,* October 1923, p. 90, and B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1957], 6:524.)

[26]Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 6:525-26.

which "naturally would endear this section of the country to the mind and heart of Elder Roberts."[27] Several articles grew out of the five years he spent there.[28]

7. ROBERTS AS DOCTRINAL TEACHER

B. H. Roberts was more perceptive than many who tend to read traditional concepts into Book of Mormon verses. The absence of many of the traditional religious doctrines impressed him. Convinced that this book grew out of ancient sectaries of Judaism and from the firsthand contact of a whole community with the resurrected Christ, he felt these absences were significant. For instance, in the Book of Mormon there is no doctrine of ex nihilo creation, nor of original sin, nor of a triune hypostatic God, nor of divine immateriality, nor of faith alone, nor of the all-sufficiency or only-sufficiency of the Bible, nor of the priesthood of all believers, nor of predestination, nor of total depravity. For Roberts, these were later "Christian" doctrines because none of them could be legitimately defended from the Bible itself.

As to the "originality of the Book of Mormon,"[29] Roberts found doctrines exceeding the native intelligence of Joseph Smith, and his associates, and indeed the combined intelligence and learning of the nineteenth century. Among these truths were the definition of truth itself (Jacob 4:13); the doctrine of opposite existences (2 Nephi 2); the doctrine (with cosmological implications) that the universe splits into two categories "things to act and things to be acted upon" (2 Nephi 2:14); a foundation for an unqualified affirmation of man's agency (2 Nephi 2:27, 10:23; Alma 61:21); a doctrine of the fall of Adam as instrumental to a higher good (2 Nephi 2:10–11, 15; Alma 42:16–17); a doctrine of the nature of evil as "among the eternal things"–"as eternal as good; as eternal as law; as eternal as the agency of intelligence"[30] (2 Nephi 2:17; Jacob 5:59; Alma 41:13) and thus a "master stroke" in the solution of the classical problem of theodicy[31] (how can a God of power be responsible for evil and the

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[27]B. H. Roberts, Biographical Notes, dictated in 1933, typescript, in possession of the author, p. 217.

[28]See, for example, B. H. Roberts, "Ramah-Cumorah in the Land of Ripliancum," *Deseret News,* 3 March 1928, and "God the Father's Purposes in Creation," *Improvement Era* 29 (January 1926):230–37.

[29]Roberts, "Originality of the Book of Mormon," *New Witnesses for God,* 3:166–219; cf. B. H. Roberts, "Originality of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 8 (September 1905):801–15 and (October 1905):882–902.

[30]See also Roberts, *New Witnesses for God,* 3:227.

[31]B. H. Roberts, "A Master Stroke of Philosophy in the Book of Mormon," *Deseret News,* 16 June 1928. See reply by J. H. Paul, 23 June 1928. See also B. H. Roberts, "The Immortality of Man," *Improvement Era* 10 (April 1907):401–23; "Opposite Existences," *New Witnesses for God,* 3:219–27; and *The Seventy's Course in Theology,* 4th Yearbook, lessons 6–8, pp. 28–46.

devil?) (2 Nephi 2:15–25); and a doctrine of the purpose of man's existence (2 Nephi 2:25). Here he contrasts the classical catechisms, confessions and creeds of the major Christian and Jewish faiths. He formulates this doctrine from the words of Lehi as follows: "Earth life became essential to intelligences–Adam fell that this earth life might be realized. The purpose of man's earth life is that he might have joy. The purpose of the gospel is to bring to pass that joy."[32]

In his fourth yearbook of *The Seventy's Course in Theology* on the atonement, Roberts concluded that the Book of Mormon teaching is unique on the role of Christ, that the balance of justice and mercy is the eternal foundation of the meaning and necessity and power of the atonement of Jesus Christ:

> [This] is a doctrine, in modern times, peculiar to "Mormonism"; or, to speak more accurately, to the New Dispensation of the Gospel revealed to Joseph Smith; and is derived almost wholly from the teachings of the Book of Mormon.[33]

In its account of the free and complete redemption of little children and the redemption of those who die without law, he wrote, the Book of Mormon is also patently clear. In fact, having compared the Book of Mormon teaching with classical "soteriology" in Anselm, Thomas, Augustine, Calvin, and Luther, B. H. Roberts concluded that nowhere else in all Christian literature is such mighty understanding of the Christ presented. Accepted as a "fifth Gospel" it would "put to silence several great controversies."[34]

Above all, he "rejoiced exceedingly" to show that the Book of Mormon does not simply affirm that Jesus is the Christ but that it clarifies what it means for Jesus to be the Christ. In contrast to those who have held that Mormonism denies or qualifies the deity of Jesus Christ, Roberts held that the Book of Mormon is solid testimony to the contrary. Therein is revealed that Christ is the complete revelation of the one divine nature, the express image of the Father, and that in nature and attributes the Father is exactly like the Son. It is in that sense that Mormons are (and in another sense are not) monotheists. "There is only one God-nature."[35] When intelligences in

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[32]Roberts, "Originality of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 8 (October 1905):900. See also pp. 801–15 and 882–902.

[33]Roberts, *The Seventy's Course in Theology,* 4:113–14. He refers to major doctrinal sections of the Book of Mormon–2 Nephi 2; Alma 12, 34, and 42; and Mormon 9.

[34]Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1904, p. 16.

[35]His most mature statement is in "God," *Discourses of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1948), pp. 79–105; cf. Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1924, pp. 76–80. He speaks of the Book of Mormon as an instrument to "stem the tide of unbelief" (p. 79) and establish the deity of Jesus Christ (p. 80).

the universe fulfill the will of God and receive of his fulness, they too become "harmonized" and participate in that God-nature. Christ was the first who by his life and sacrificial death reflected and revealed "all of Him!–God revealed in all His fulness."[36] In the late 1920's Elder Roberts convinced the leadership of the youth organizations of the Church to set up a banner-slogan: "We stand for absolute faith in the eternal God, revealed in Jesus Christ."[37] And in his own sermons he utilized the tract he had written while president of the Eastern States Mission in the series of four tracts, "Why 'Mormonism'?"

> Mormonism is here to be, through the Book of Mormon, a witness to the Deity [more than to the divinity] of Jesus Christ: "to the convincing of the Jews and Gentiles that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting HIMSELF to all nations."[38]

8. ROBERTS AS DEVIL'S ADVOCATE

B. H. Roberts found and in many cases anticipated objections and reductive approaches to the book. He was known to turn the tables on young Mormon missionaries and represent "the case against" with crisp skill, pushing points of vulnerability that tested their mettle. He warned them against superficial response. Most of his colleagues disapproved of such confrontations, but Roberts would say, "You will have a good experience. It will open your eyes and deepen your understanding."[39]

On 4 and 5 January 1922, B. H. Roberts made an oral presentation before the General Authorities concerning what some critics claimed were anachronisms in the Book of Mormon–the mention of horses, of cimeters or swords, and of silk. These were troublesome to him as well as to the critics. He also presented a lengthy analysis of a tougher problem still–the variety of language dialects in Central and South America, more varied than the time period claimed by the Book of Mormon could account for. The meetings lasted for ten hours on the first day and through the whole day and evening of the second. Elder James E. Talmage, of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, recorded that he and others were asked to help Elder Roberts prepare answers, though none were clearly on the horizon. Elder

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[36]B. H. Roberts, Subject Outline Book, 1924, MS, pp. 1–2, Church Archives.

[37]Ibid., p. 8.

[38]B. H. Roberts, *Handbook of the Restoration,* 1st ed. (Independence, Mo.: Zions Printing and Publishing Company, 1944), p. 318. See also pp. 318–42.

[39]Oral History Recordings of Dr. John T. Emmett, 16 December 1967, p. 5. Elder Emmett was secretary to B. H. Roberts in the Eastern States Mission. Transcript in possession of the author.

Talmage, nevertheless, predicted in his journal that the Book of Mormon would be vindicated.[40]

Later, in March of 1922, Roberts prepared a draft of a written report to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. It included a further discussion of the linguistic problems and other points as well. The study of such books as those of Josiah Priest, Ethan Smith, and others led him to examine such questions as: What literary and historical speculations were abroad in the nineteenth century? Could Joseph Smith have absorbed them in his youth and could these influences have provided the ground plan for such a work as the Book of Mormon? Did Joseph Smith have a mind "sufficiently creative" to have written it? And what internal problems and parallels within the Book of Mormon called for explanation? In confronting such questions Roberts prepared a series of "parallels" with Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*; a summary of this analysis excerpted passages from Ethan Smith's work and lined them up in columns with comparable ideas in the Book of Mormon.[41] Examination of such questions was contained in a typewritten manuscript entitled "Book of Mormon Study."[42]

About this particular study, certain points must be kept in mind if it is not to be gravely misunderstood. First, it was not intended for general dissemination but was to be presented to the General Authorities to identify for them certain criticisms that might be made against the Book of Mormon. In his 1923 letter, Roberts wrote:

> Let me say once and for all, so as to avoid what might otherwise call for repeated explanation, that what is herein set forth does not represent any conclusions of mine. This report [is] . . . for the information of those who ought to know everything about it *pro and con,* as well as that which has been produced against it as that which may be produced against it. I am taking the position that our faith is not only unshaken but unshakeable in the Book of Mormon, and therefore we can look without fear upon all that can be said against it.[43]

It is not clear how much of this typewritten report was actually submitted to the First Presidency and the Twelve, but it is clear that it was written for them.

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[40]Journals of James E. Talmage, 4 and 5 January 1922, Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo. I am indebted to Sterling Albrecht for these references.

[41]Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews,* Photomechanical Reprints, and "Parallels by Mormon Historian B. H. Roberts" (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilms, n.d.).

[42]The original is in the possession of the Roberts family. A xerox copy of that original has been placed in the Marriott Library at the University of Utah.

[43]B. H. Roberts to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, March 1923.

In 1932 Roberts wrote to a missionary who had heard rumors of his work: "I had written it for presentation to the Twelve and the Presidency, not for publication. But I suspended the submission of it until I returned home, but I have not yet succeeded in making the presentation of it."[44]

Second, the report was not intended to be balanced. A kind of lawyer's brief of one side of a case written to stimulate discussion in preparation of the defense of a work already accepted as true, the manuscript was anything but a careful presentation of Roberts's thoughts about the Book of Mormon or of his own convictions.

Third, many of the perceived problems are no longer problems. Roberts himself soon came to realize that the peoples of the Book of Mormon do not represent the only migration that inhabited the Western Hemisphere. So the problem of linguistic variation dissolved. Later scholars would find evidence of cimeters, of silk, and of horses.[45]

Roberts said in 1933 that he had concluded Ethan Smith played no part in the formation of the Book of Mormon. Appreciative of irony, he might well have smiled at the sequel. After his death, ill-wishers published the "parallels" of the book without Elder Roberts's cover-letter disclaimer.[46] Others have gleefully recited other "problems" as he presented them, seemingly unaware that they were reflecting neither Roberts's own considered conclusions nor the current state of research. Fawn Brodie wrote in her biography of Joseph Smith that *View of the Hebrews* "may" have given Joseph Smith the idea of writing the book. While conceding that it "may never be proved" that Joseph ever saw *View of the Hebrews,* she was confident that "the striking parallelisms between the two books hardly leave a case for mere coincidence."[47] So doing, she unwittingly provided the criteria that validates the Book of Mormon. The "striking parallelisms" between the Book of Mormon and its own claimed historical matrix are far more striking, indeed destroying the case for "mere coincidence," while such genuine historical parallels do not exist for Ethan Smith's speculative treatise. Before his death in 1933, Roberts

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[44]B. H. Roberts to Elizabeth Skolfield, 12 March 1932, in possession of John Noble Henchley.

[45]Nibley, "Steel, Glass and Silk," *Lehi in the Desert,* pp. 210-16; cf. Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), pp. 64-65. See also Milton R. Hunter, "Chichén Itzá Horse," *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1956), pp. 1-10; and "Archaeology and the Book of Mormon: Horses in Ancient America," part 6, *Improvement Era* 58 (October 1955):724-40, and part 7 (December 1955):898-99, 972-77.

[46]Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews,* Photomechanical Reprints, and "Parallels by Mormon Historian B. H. Roberts." "It would seem to indicate that B. H. Roberts had lost his faith in the Book of Mormon" (Introduction, p. 1).

[47]Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), pp. 46-48.

had concluded that the central claims of Joseph Smith and Ethan Smith are not only independent but incompatible.

Roberts felt he had established beyond doubt that there is enough independent evidence for pre-Columbian, Jewish or Hebraic influence on native American races to make the Book of Mormon claims at least credible. The evidence was accumulating rapidly in the last decade of Elder Roberts's life (it has been an avalanche since), so much so that he told fellow-historian Preston Nibley in 1930 that he wished to call in his *New Witnesses* volumes and start over.[48] To missionary associates he confided that he hoped to visit Central and South America and there examine firsthand the remnants of ancient middle-American peoples. Most of his work, he admitted, had been as a "compiler," heavily dependent on secondary sources for his conclusions. Age and declining health dissolved this hope ("How our visions vanish as time rushes upon them," he wrote in the late 1920s).[49]

Teachers who have used the "Devil's Advocate" approach to stimulate thought among their students, lawyers who in preparation of their cases have brought up what they consider the points likely to be made by their worthy opponents–all such people will recognize the unfairness of taking such statements out of context and offering them as their own mature, balanced conclusions. For ill-wishers to resurrect Roberts's similar "Devil's Advocate" probings is not a service to scholarship, for they are manifestly dated. And it is a travesty to take such working papers as a fair statement of B. H. Roberts's own appraisal of the Book of Mormon, for, as this paper abundantly demonstrates, his conviction of its truth was unshaken and frequently expressed down to the time of his death.

9. ROBERTS AS ONE SPIRITUALLY ATHIRST

In Roberts's mind and heart the Book of Mormon was "precious withal,"[50] and one who began with faith could later be edified by what Elder Roberts called an intellectual testimony of its truths. Or one could begin with the intellect and end with an edifying faith in the personalities behind it. During his mature life he went back and forth between the two, equally excited by the feelings of discovery. To intimates, on more than one occasion, he quoted Brigham Young's statement "that no man had yet so much as heard of the

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[48]Preston Nibley in conversation with the author, 1960.
[49]B. H. Roberts to Elizabeth Skolfield, 23 April 1928, in possession of John Noble Henchley.
[50]Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1911, p. 58.

Book of Mormon but what the Spirit of the Lord whispered quietly to his soul that that book was true."[51] Though renowned for his gifts as a speaker, B. H. Roberts agonized over the fact that he could never communicate the intensity, the power, the consuming white light that seemed to him to shine through the book.

In April 1928 on only one of thirty occasions when he used the Tabernacle pulpit on this subject, he said after reading of the ancient Nephites crying "Hosanna" in the presence of Christ:

> Now, tell me in what Church or cathedral in the world, in what sacred grove, in what place among the habitations of men will be found a more glorious Easter vision of the Christ than this? And the world would have lost this if it had not been for the Book of Mormon coming forth and there is a hundred more such glorious things that have come to the world in that book to enlighten the children of men.[52]

He closed with a prayer, for on this level the paralytic influence of analysis gave way to faith and its fulfillment. It was the praise of God that shone in him as he sang his song of praise.

By 1930, Roberts had polished his two major works—the six volume *Comprehensive History of The Church* and his three volume manuscript, "The Truth, the Way, the Life." His chapter on the Book of Mormon in the *History* is modified only slightly from the conclusions drawn in his *New Witnesses* books. But two chapters on Christ in the final volume of his doctrinal treatise include a more detailed exegesis of 3 Nephi and especially of the teachings of the Christ in their ethical and social bearing. He provided further insight into his assertion that the Book of Mormon "intensifies" the New Testament sermons of Jesus and demands a higher and richer relationship with Christ as Christ (not just Jesus as teacher). This was the absolute preface to a higher mode of personal and social sanctity and righteousness.[53]

At the 1930 centennial celebration, in summarizing the work of the first century and anticipating the beginning of the second, Roberts spoke in the idiom of revelation:

> Hear, Oh Heavens and give ear, Oh earth, for God hath spoken. . . . The Record of Joseph in the hands of Ephraim, the Book of Mormon, has been revealed and translated by the power of God, and supplies the world with a new witness for the Christ, and the truth and the fulness of the Gospel.[54]

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[51]See Roberts, *Conference Report,* October 1905, pp. 44-45.

[52]Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1928, p. 112.

[53]B. H. Roberts, The Truth, the Way, and the Life, vol. 3, chaps. 50, 51, and 52, MS, Church Archives.

[54]Roberts, *Conference Report,* April 1930, p. 47.

10. ROBERTS AS IDEOLOGICAL PROPHET

B. H. Roberts did not enjoy being cast in the role of prophet. But he was confident in the triumph of ideas. "If you regard us from the viewpoint of learning and philosophy, we cut no great figure," he said in his mid-life. Yet Mormonism is "essentially a religion for intellectual men."[55] He believed that it would appeal, once seen clearly, to the highest intelligences of the earth:

> I am convinced that when men of intelligence can be brought to the point of being sufficiently humble to read again the Book of Mormon, and to take into account the high purposes for which it was written . . . and will stop sneering at such human elements as may be in it, and will examine once more its teachings upon the great theme of salvation through the atonement of the Christ, they can indeed find wisdom and philosophy and truth in its doctrines.[56]

The book, he predicted, would have gathering and unifying power, not only for the Jewish and Christian world, but for all. It would come to "fix the world's standards of philosophical thought and ethical action in ages yet unborn."[57] "Oh, what the world would have lost, if the Book of Mormon had not been brought forth!" he said in April 1928.[58]

In 1933, in his final discourse titled "God," B. H. Roberts said again that Joseph Smith received commandments from God "which inspired him" and gave him power from on high to translate the Book of Mormon which, with subsequent revelations, "brought forth a development of the truth that surpasses all revealed truth of former dispensations."[59] He had earlier said the book would come to be viewed as "the greatest literary event of the world since the writings of the decalogue by the finger of God or the publication of the testimony in the New Testament that Jesus is the Christ."[60]

He also said: "We who accept it as a revelation from God have every reason to believe that it will endure every test; and the more thoroughly it is investigated, the greater shall be its ultimate triumph."[61]

He once pointed out a striking prophecy in the Book of Mormon about itself. Nephi records, "There shall be many which shall

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[55]Ibid., April 1911, pp. 57–59.
[56]Ibid., pp. 59–60.
[57]Ibid., October 1906, p. 65.
[58]Ibid., April 1928, p. 107.
[59]B. H. Roberts, *Discourses of B. H. Roberts,* p. 105.
[60]Roberts, *Conference Report,* October 1923, p. 91.
[61]Roberts, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon," p. 436.

believe the words which are written; and they shall carry them forth unto the remnant of our seed" (2 Nephi 30:3). How many is "many"? Roberts knew well that a person can believe the Bible, at least in an attenuated sense, without believing the Book of Mormon. But one cannot believe the Book of Mormon without also believing the Bible. The same Nephi also predicts that "other books" will come forth to convince Jew and gentile "upon all the face of the earth that the records of the prophets and of the twelve apostles of the Lamb are true" (1 Nephi 13:39). The Book of Mormon and the other books yet to come will not replace the Bible. But the Bible will be reinstated in a greater fulness of splendor and clarity than it has enjoyed in all prior centuries.

B. H. Roberts's ten approaches to the Book of Mormon assured and reassured him that it was authentic scripture. And he died with this faith: The Book of Mormon will not convert the world to a small and encrusted sect called Mormonism, for Mormonism is to become a world movement. The Book of Mormon will help reconvert Christians, and eventually all the family of man, to Christ.

To See Thy Face

Randall L. Hall

1.
I come rising from the water
Like an angel,
Breathing rarer air,
Leaving buried in the quivering grave
The crippled part of me that trembled in the light,
That dark and warring part of me
That I had bruised and wounded
But could not totally subdue.

I come rising
With the new blood singing praises
To the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost
Through whose names and power
Every whit of me is cleansed!

2.
There is fire,
In those hands placed firmly on my head,
That ignites a thrill and quiver in me
And I begin to fill with flame
As I open wide my arms
In joy and greeting
For the promised Brother
Come to be the mentor of my soul.

He enters bringing gifts
In preparation for our journey to the light:
A scouring flame,
A golden vial whose scent is peace,
A compass,
A key that opens time.

Randall L. Hall received an M.A. in English, with an emphasis in creative writing, from Brigham Young University. In April 1979 he was named Poet of the Year for Utah by the Utah State Poetry Society, and his first book of poems, *Mosaic,* was published in September.

3.
In the center of this circle ringed with power,
Hands once again upon my head,
I receive the hallowed power
That transports me to the mountain
And allows me to behold the glory
And the everlasting burnings of His face.

My own hands come alive with flame
And I am sent to minister.

The future blooms before me
Where, standing in His stead, my words

Guide infants cradled in my hands

Collapse the life from wind
Restore it to a failing body

Organize and kindle stars
And govern suns that roll upon their wings
In orbit through the air.

4.
I reach upwards,
In this palace spiring towards the sun,
Eager to be lifted into heaven by Thy hand.

Time and space
Are shattered like a pane of clouded glass;
And the metaphor of Eden
Shares its quickened struggle with my heart.

Sequestered from the world
The eyes of angels watch
As, one by one,
I lay upon the altar
All the jewels and baubles of my soul
And seek the promised recompense
That floods with charity and light
This necessary emptiness.

5.
In this room of whiteness, silence, mirrors and light
I kneel
And take your hand.
We feel the words of power
Thrill the air
And fuse our love forever.

Now one, we kneel together, truly,
Creating an infinity of images
That, in our likeness, shuttle back and forth
Within the mirrors of eternal lives,
Harbingers of that unnumbered myriad of sons and daughters
Rising into grace upon the earths and kingdoms we have formed,
Rising to the fullest measure of creation,
Rising splendidly in that bright flux beyond the stars!

Bringing the Restoration to the Academic World: Clinical Psychology as a Test Case

Allen E. Bergin

I believe in bringing the Restoration to the academic world by infusing scholarly work with values, revelations, and inspired methods of inquiry that derive from the gospel. If this can be done rigorously and successfully, the results could be revolutionary. President Oaks, in his lecture to the faculty entitled "A House of Faith" (1977), presented an inspired vision of the harmony among the University, the temple, and the Missionary Training Center. I believe that vision supports the goal which I have in mind in this lecture. As the divine purposes underlying these three great institutions are harnessed into a coherent search for and dissemination of truth, incomparable modes of scholarship and education can result; but first *it must be understood that the principle of revelation is as fundamental to the University as it is to the gospel itself.*

REVELATION AND CELESTIAL SCHOLARSHIP

To take the step from terrestrial to celestial scholarship requires an integration of the spiritual and the empirical, with the spiritual providing the basic frame of reference and much of the impetus for our rational and empirical efforts. In keeping with Church teachings, I believe that the extraordinary insights of scientists, scholars, and artists come by revelation in the context of disciplined and educated searching. This means that the process that pertains to sacred knowledge also applies to secular knowledge, for the origins of both lie ultimately in the same divine source of truth. It seems important, then, to make this influence a systematic part of our work instead of the happenstance factor it often is now.

Divine revelation is the guiding factor in the growth of all human knowledge. President Harold B. Lee referred to this fact:

Allen E. Bergin, a member of the Institute for Studies in Values and Human Behavior and a professor in the Psychology Department at Brigham Young University, presented this address as the Sixteenth Annual Distinguished Faculty Lecture, 21 February 1979, at BYU. Portions of this address are scheduled to appear in the August 1980 *Ensign*.

> Some years ago in a class of seminary teachers at Brigham Young University, Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck, a University of Iowa professor, remarked that "every great scientific discovery came as an intuition to the mind of the discoverer." When he explained what he meant by intuition, his students said they called it inspiration.[1]

There is widespread interest in the academic world concerning where great ideas come from. Dr. Hans Strupp and I, in an interview with the psychiatrist Kenneth Colby, found him fascinated by the subject. He discussed inspirational dreams and said he had been waiting all his life for one. He then said: "In the final analysis no one knows where great ideas come from—they are a gift from God."[2]

The discoveries of Albert Einstein seem to fit with this notion. One cannot help but be intrigued by the question of where he got his ideas. His paper on the special theory of relativity, written in the summer of 1905 when he was twenty-six, was astonishing. This paper, which turned the scientific world upside down, contained not a single footnote or reference. Einstein once declared that he "created it out of whole cloth." One biographer, R. W. Clark, said: "Today, two-thirds of a century after Einstein posted the manuscript of his paper to *Annalen der Physik,* the dust is still stirred by discussion of what inspired him."[3] Einstein once reflected upon the fact that even in his youth he had intimations of his later concepts. He also said:

> When I examine myself and my methods of thought I come to the conclusion that the gift of fantasy has meant more to me than my talent for absorbing positive knowledge.[4]

> The mind can proceed only so far upon what it knows and can prove. There comes a point where the mind takes a higher plane of knowledge, but can never prove how it got there. All great discoveries have involved such a leap.[5]

Clark stated that such work "demanded . . . the quality of intuition, a feel for nature as indefinable as a poet's sense of words."[6] Dr. Henry Eyring, who knew Einstein at Princeton, told me that the man seemed to speak a religious language and to be in touch with a cosmic consciousness. I recently asked Dr. Kenneth Colby if he believed

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[1]Harold B. Lee, "Seek Learning, Even by Study, and Also by Faith," *Improvement Era* 71 (1968):103.

[2]Allen E. Bergin and Hans H. Strupp, *Changing Frontiers in the Science of Psychotherapy* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), pp. 280–81.

[3]Ronald William Clark, *Einstein* (New York: World, 1971), p. 74.

[4]Ibid., p. 87.

[5]Ibid., p. 622.

[6]Ibid., p. 87.

that Einstein was in touch with a cosmic consciousness, and he replied: "Yes." Einstein, himself, said that his goal was to discover the mind of God. Everything else was details.

Kekule, the German chemist, had a visionary experience in which he perceived the ends of swirling molecules bending and touching one another to form a ring, and thus was born the notion of molecular structures in matter that became one basis for the field of organic chemistry.[7]

The psychological studies of creativity carried out by D. W. MacKinnon at Berkeley manifest this same intuitive process at the core of innovative work in diverse fields. Using a measure of intuitiveness, MacKinnon's study of creative groups showed that nearly all had it: "90% of the creative writers, 92% of the mathematicians, 93% of the research scientists and 100% of the architects."[8]

Neal Miller, a National Science Medal winner, in acknowledging the importance of such phenomena in discoveries, has described the relationship between two phases in the scientific process–that of discovery and that of proof:

> During the discovery or exploratory phase, I am interested in finding a phenomenon, gaining some understanding of the most significant conditions that affect it. . . .
>
> During this phase I am quite free-wheeling and intuitive–follow hunches, vary procedures, try out wild ideas and take short-cuts. During it, I usually am not interested in elaborate controls. . . .
>
> After I believe I have discovered a phenomenon and understand something about it comes the next phase of convincingly and rigorously proving this to myself and to the rest of the scientific community.[9]

Note his assertion that the proof phase *follows* the discovery of a phenomenon. The discovery is usually based on some process other than a precise scientific method although it always occurs in the context of substantial information and intensive scholarly labor.

A set of experiences related by President Oaks in his 1977 faculty workshop address also illustrates the theme of intuitive and inspired discovery. His lecture is one of the most important I have ever heard or read concerning the means by which the University may attain its

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[7]I am grateful to Dr. Smith Broadbent of the BYU Chemistry Department for this account, derived from Kekule's own writings.

[8]D. W. MacKinnon, "The Nature and Nurture of Creative Talent," *American Psychologist* 17 (1962):489.

[9]Neal E. Miller, "Comments on Strategy and Tactics of Research," in Bergin and Strupp, *Changing Frontiers in the Science of Psychotherapy*, p. 348.

destiny. In it he described five different occasions in which he experienced spiritual direction. With respect to an administrative decision, he said:

> I experienced that kind of revelation, as pure intelligence was thrust upon my consciousness.[10]

With respect to professional inquiry, he said:

> At other times, in connection with my scholarly work on law and legal history, I have been restrained from publishing something that later turned out to be incorrect, and I have been impressed to look in obscure places where I found information vital to guide me to accurate conclusions on matters of moment in my work.[11]

Since the restored gospel teaches that this process of illumination consists of a communion between divine intelligence and the human spirit (Job 32:8), I believe we should make it an explicit aspect of scholarly inquiry as we attempt to bring the Restoration meaningfully inside of our daily professional labors and attempt to build an academic Zion. This would take us beyond the unsystematic use of this method that already occurs in much creative work.

AN LDS MODEL OF INQUIRY

The nature of inquiry in our work might then be construed as in Figure 1.

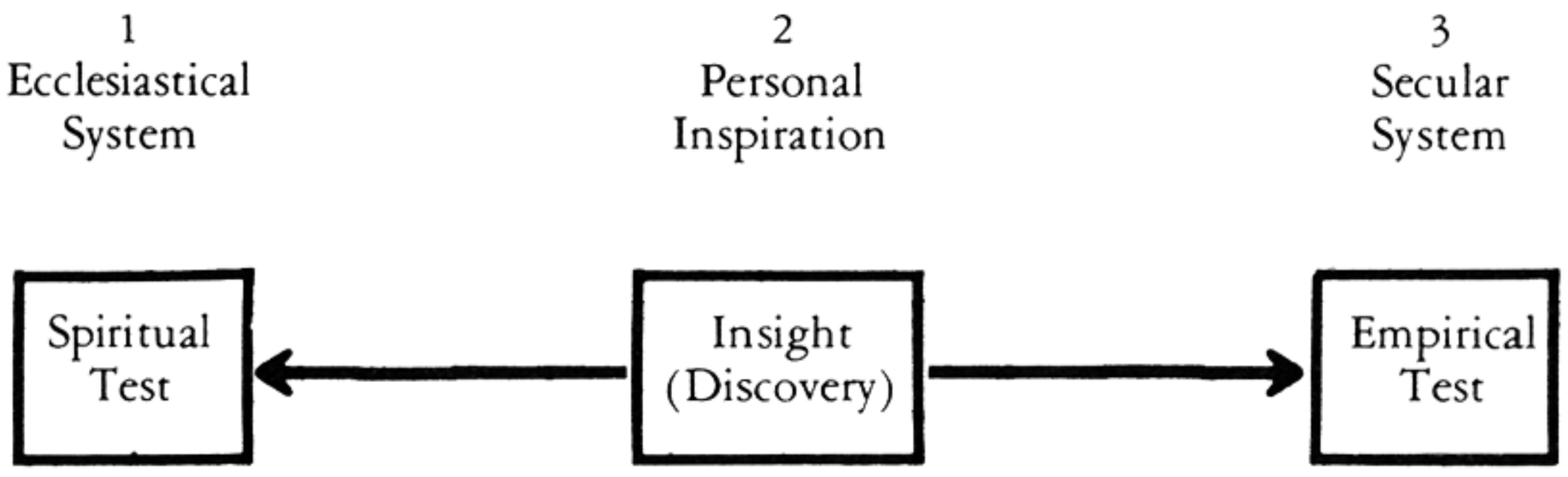


Figure 1. LDS Professional Functions

[10]Dallin H. Oaks, "A House of Faith," in *1977 Annual University Conference Report* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1977), p. 15.

[11]Ibid.

It may be noted there that the revelatory method is at the center of the discovery process under #2. It is depicted as personal inspiration where an individual, such as Einstein, in the context of a system of inquiry receives an insight or makes a discovery. On the right we indicate that the insights so obtained are formulated into hypotheses so that in the regular professional domain they can be tested, refined, revised, and brought to fruition by the ordinary means of empirical observation, experiment, and reason. There is no need in the professional context to divulge the origin of the ideas to be tested even though we know that all good hypotheses, whoever proposes them, come from similarly intuitive and subjective sources.

On the left is indicated the process of spiritual validation, that is, testing a revealed or personal insight by seeking further revelation or a witness about it.

This method includes checking one's insights against the scriptures, or the words of the living prophets, or gaining the additional testimonies of other scholars who are capable of making their own spiritual test of the question. This method is relevant primarily to our BYU and Church context and is probably not shareable outside of it. It short-circuits ordinary empirical methods and is already widely used within the Church, such as in the development of the family home evening program, which was instituted on the basis of inspiration as a means of influencing human behavior change without a professional empirical test of its effectiveness.

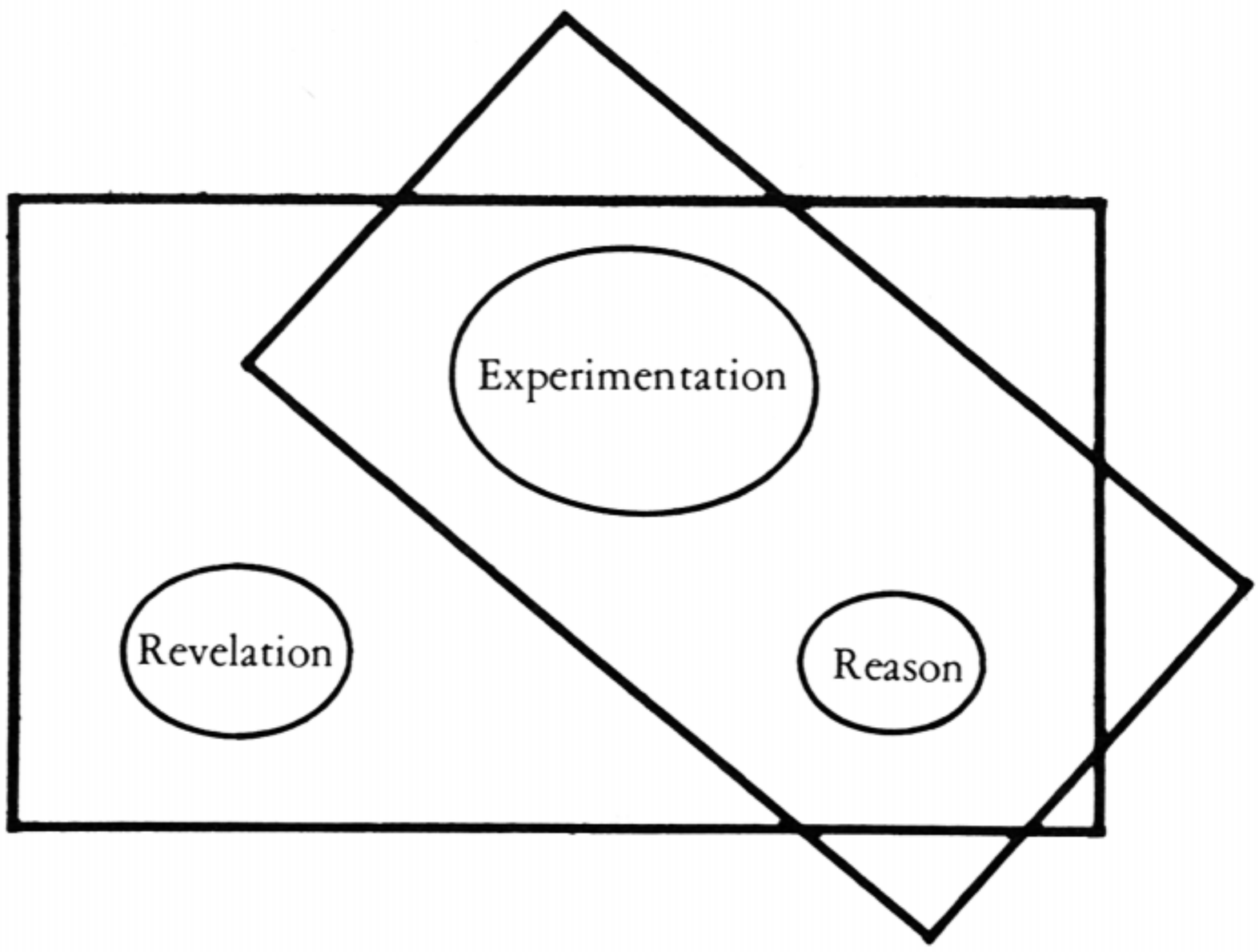
Similarly, spiritual forms of counseling can be developed and applied within the Church setting without empirical validation, although an inspired program operating solely within the Church can and should be refined by the standard research methods under #3 for the benefit of the Church and those others who have eyes to see and ears to hear. In this case an arrow would be drawn from #2 to #1 and from #1 to #3.

This diagram indicates the importance of role differentiation. If a person is operating in role #2 and is writing and lecturing on his insights, it is important for him not to act as though he has completed #1 and #3. A person sometimes may express insights without having completed external tests of either the spiritual or empirical type. Similarly, one could start from #3, operating strictly within an empirical, professional frame of reference and obtain ideas there that coalesce #2 and #3, and then bring them over to #1 and try them out in the Church. Then, an arrow would be drawn from #3 to #2 and from #3 to #1. There is not an absolute sequence here, but a variety of ways of functioning. It is important to

distinguish the roles, however, so that when we are operating solely within the Church it is quite clear that we are not doing #3 and vice versa. Our roles can then be kept clear.

This approach emphasizes a harmonious application of revelation, experiment, and reason—all three of which are given of God. These are depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2. True Knowledge



When we serve as missionaries, we expect our investigators to use this method for acquiring truth. They are asked to study, pray, attend church, and live the principles of the gospel in order to obtain true knowledge. They are expected to think, experiment, and receive revelation. However, when we return from missions, go to graduate school, and then become professors, we lop off the revelatory method as though it is irrelevant to our own search for truth, which we call scholarship. So, in Figure 2, I have put experimentation and reason in a box with revelation lopped off, and that I think is the standard procedure of most scholars. All I am suggesting is that we restore revelation to our approach to truth within our professions and incorporate it into the complete system of inquiry the Lord has outlined.

The relevance of this system can be illustrated by reference to personal experience.

I was working on some psychotherapy research and had in mind some unusual ideas about therapeutic outcome based on previous examinations of data, discussions with colleagues, etc. I had begun to believe that sometimes the help being given was actually making people worse. This was difficult to verify because there were virtually no studies that used a category of "worse" in their outcome ratings. It seemed that few considered it possible that well-intentioned counseling designed to relieve suffering could actually increase mental disturbances as opposed to decreasing them. I then began to immerse myself in more data, table by table, of numerous studies, looking, examining, and pondering. At some point, which I cannot remember exactly, the illumination came: "*Yes, they are getting worse and the therapy is the harmful agent. If these negative effects are separated from the remainder of the outcome data, then a strong improvement effect appears.*" It was as though it were midway through my process of inquiry that this happened. I had struggled with the various findings, yet I was far from completion or verification. But there it was–clear as could be. I knew then that the hypothesis was right and I began to rush through the data study by study, anxiously looking for confirmation. I found it everywhere. It was buried in the statistics of many studies but was extractable. It was evident in obscure, single sentences and references here and there. It popped up in case reports. I began to remember and see some of my own past cases more clearly. It was as though I now had a conceptual structure in my mind into which the bits and pieces of evidence readily fit. Despite the acknowledged dangers of fitting and possibly distorting data into a preconception, I have come to realize that this is the way insight actually works. It is neither isolated from the data nor really part of the data. It is a principle or truth which gives order to the phenomena and, if it is right, comes as pure intelligence via a heavenly process, as President Oaks described, and enables us to correctly interpret the data.

Lest you believe this sense of certitude about an insight to be idiosyncratic, let me refer again to Dr. Einstein. Part of his theory asserted that gravity should have an effect on light. It was determined to test this theory by observing during an eclipse of the sun whether light coming from stars to earth shifted as it passed the sun. This difficult test was conducted by Sir Arthur Eddington and others a number of years after Einstein posited the phenomenon. The results confirmed his theory. Eddington referred to it as the greatest day in his life; but when Einstein's student read to him Eddington's telegram with the confirmation, he was unmoved. He said: " 'But I

knew that the theory was correct. . . .' When . . . asked what if there had been no confirmation of his prediction, he countered: 'Then I would have been sorry for the dear Lord [Eddington]–the theory *is* correct.' "[12]

My own experience is like a crust of bread fallen under the table compared to the feast that Albert Einstein provided the world, but I firmly believe the processes to be similar and available to all of us. I understand that a number of our faculty have had comparable experiences. They are in fields as diverse as music and chemistry. I hope that we will have the privilege of learning more about them in the future.

In 1966 I published an article in which I named "The Deterioration Effect" and also identified the correlated improvement effects. Although it was only eleven pages long and though others had written about the problem, my synthesis seemed to clarify matters in evaluating change sufficiently that the news shot around the professional world and within a year I was well known in my specialized field on the basis of that one simple insight.

Figure 3 illustrates the phenomenon. It depicts a compilation of data from many studies by various research teams. On the left we have two bars representing a group who received no therapy but who were emotionally disturbed. On the far left is indicated a distribution of initial pre-experiment scores, such as on a measure of depression, with the average score in the middle. The next bar indicates that after a period of time has passed, say six months, the depression scores on these individuals have spread out somewhat. Some have improved and a few have gotten worse, apparently spontaneously, so there is a new distribution for this untreated group.

The fourth bar on the far right indicates a similar initial distribution of depression scores prior to treatment for an equivalent group who are to receive therapy. After therapy, a strange thing happens. The depression scores have fanned out in both directions, as shown in Bar 3, indicating that some of the treated cases have become significantly worse than any in the untreated control group, while some have become significantly better. Some did not change, and some have changed spontaneously for reasons having nothing to do with the therapy.

This finding helped clarify several other problems. One of the questions was "How does personality change occur?" Once the

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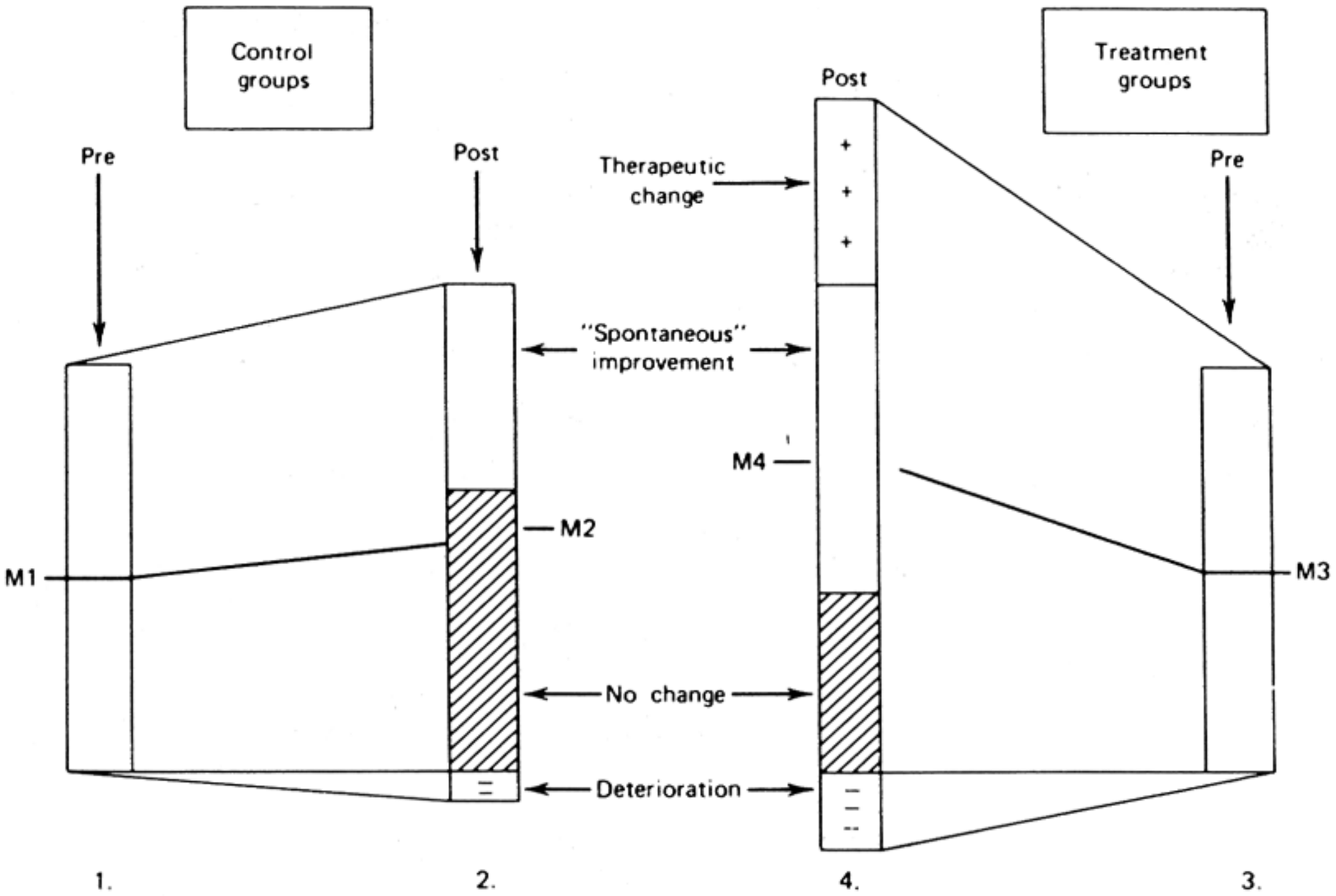
[12]Clark, *Einstein*, p. 230.

fanned-out distribution in Bar 3 was noted, then we could examine what was happening at either end. Several groups of researchers studied the matter and found that some of this was due to client characteristics. Those who were most disturbed to begin with were more fragile and more readily deteriorated during therapy. The largest influence on this dispersion came, however, from the therapists themselves. A series of studies showed that therapist characteristics are the



Bar 1 — Distribution of test scores for disturbed control groups at beginning of studies.

Bar 2 — Distribution of test scores for disturbed control group at end of study showing increased spread of scores due to "spontaneous" improvement and "spontaneous" deterioration.

Bar 3 — Distribution of test scores for disturbed treatment group at beginning of therapy.

Bar 4 — Distribution of test scores for disturbed treatment group at end of therapy showing increased spread of scores due to therapeutic change and therapist induced deterioration.

M1, M2 M3, M4 — Median points, pre and post, which show greater change for therapy groups than control groups.

+NOTE: Lengths of bars are approximations.

Figure 3. The Diverse Effects of Psychotherapy[13]

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[13]S. L. Garfield and Allen E. Bergin, eds., *Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behavior Change,* 2nd ed. (New York: Wiley, 1978), p. 153.

primary factors that divide positive from negative outcome.[14] These characteristics provide, by the way, profound support for the gospel notions of love, affection, unselfishness, and commitment, because it is those therapists who are warm, empathic, well adjusted, and wise who seem to get the positive effects. Those who have their own anxieties seem to get the negative effects.

The foregoing illustrates my thesis of how I started with data, how personal inspiration became involved, and how the different processes of inquiry came together. It was a great success in my life. Looking back upon it, it was almost like a conversion experience.

Looking back, I must, however, admit to significant failures as well. Many wonderful and exaggerated things have been said about me this evening; but for the sake of the aspiring students especially, I want to mention some of my failures so that it will be clear that imperfect people can still succeed.

When I was in college and transferred to BYU, I came here on academic probation. I had to struggle upward and out of that into a new way of functioning. I think low points occur in peoples' lives that they have to overcome. That was one of mine. One of my more recent failures was a book I attempted to write. I was invited to write an introductory text by a publisher who indicated that I would make a great deal of money from it, and the publisher provided a substantial financial advance to get the project started. But, after several years of effort, the marketing tests obtained negative reactions to the manuscript. It was judged as too academic and abstract. I tried to revise it but was never successful, so eventually I invited Dr. Robert Bennion to help me because of his flair for communicating to students. We did some revising but never succeeded in adequately revamping the entire manuscript–seemingly 800 pages down the drain. I hope to have saved it now by turning it entirely over to Dr. Bennion. Perhaps if he takes my parts out of it and fills them in, it ultimately will see the light of day. Then, he will get the money and I won't. I have had many other failures, but I think that is as many as I can divulge tonight.

SCRIPTURAL IMPLICATIONS FOR A THEORY OF PERSONALITY AND RELATIONSHIPS

While the research I and others have done provides part of a comprehensive gospel approach to personality, it is also transcended

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[14]Allen E. Bergin, "Some Implications of Psychotherapy Research for Therapeutic Practice," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 71 (1966):235–46.

by the gospel because the scriptures reveal basic concepts that are fundamental to an understanding of human nature that cannot be understood in their fulness in any other way. Turning to the scriptures, for example, illustrates how points #1 and #2 in Figure 1 can be implemented.

I would like to refer to an unusual example of the combination of #1, #2, and, ultimately, #3, that has been occurring here on our campus with respect to human behavior. I refer here to the work of Victor Brown, Jr., on homosexuality. That work has not been published yet, but it has been presented to several groups for their reactions. He has taken the inspiration of the scriptures, he has worked within a Church context, he has worked with the data, and then he has put together a theory. That theory is the most original I have seen on this subject. It is a theory that can be easily translated into secular terminology for testing of the hypotheses associated with it. It is a beautiful example of the combination of the three role functions depicted in Figure 1 and the three aspects of inquiry depicted in Figure 2. I hope that before too many months Dr. Brown will have the opportunity to share it with many people on the campus so they can visualize more clearly how this system of inquiry can be implemented.

My own survey of the scriptures reveals two themes basic to personality theory. The first theme woven throughout the scriptures is identity. The second theme pertains to relationships between identities. I will focus here mainly on a theory of relationships as it derives from the scriptures.

A correct understanding of both identity and relationships is fundamental to any theory of personality or psychotherapy, and that understanding has to begin with our knowledge of God the Eternal Father, his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.

This I believe to be the correct beginning of *all* gospel-based scholarship, whether it be arts or sciences. I say this with confidence because of personal experience and because Joseph Smith said it: "The first principle of truth and of the Gospel is to know for a certainty the character of God."[15] Note that he said "truth," not just doctrinal truth but apparently all truth. I do not have time to expand upon this concept, but a knowledge of and faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost influences all other knowledge. The world does not understand this, but it is exactly why those who possess the

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[15]Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978):201.

restored gospel will necessarily excel in the world in all forms of knowledge, if and when they apply the methods outlined by the Lord.

Knowledge of our eternal nature, our divine origins, and our similarities to and relationship with the Gods forms the basis of our conceptualization of human relating.

Knowing that the three distinct Gods who govern us and the world in which we live, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are individuals with personality and identity means that we can both relate to them in a personal manner and also observe how they relate to one another. This learning is critical to understanding their design for the ultimate model of relationships. This is important because identities do not exist in isolation. Relationships permeate existence. Personal qualities emerge in part from interaction with other identities. Without relationships, the existence of an identity would have no meaning.

The first two commandments, to love God and our neighbors (Matthew 22:36–40), are the first premises of interactional psychology. The first asserts that the love of God is prior to our love for each other and implies that human love cannot reach a fulness without love for God and obedience to his laws (D&C 59:5).

Jesus Christ exemplified the nature of love both for God and for man. His relationship to the Father and to the human family provides a paradigm for our analysis of the true modes of relating. We see in the Savior's example two themes that reappear throughout the scriptures. One is obedient submission to the divine will and the other is redemptive love.

There is thus a duality in the first and second commandments. This duality consists of the fact that divine authority and law provide the underlying *structures* for relationships as well as definitions of the *processes* which are to take place within those structures. I believe that the concepts of *structure* and *process* as we derive them from the scriptures are two of the most powerful that we can use for guiding psychological work.

We might liken structure to the anatomy of the body with its skeletal, muscular, and other systems, while we might liken process to the physiological, cellular, and chemical processes that occur within the anatomical structure. Physiology without structure wouldn't work very well because it would become like mush on the floor. Structure without physiology would, of course, die. We might also think of structure as ideals and process as feelings. For example, values are structures, they are mental structures, while love is a process.

The scriptures reveal an amazingly substantial account of these two features. The Savior's conduct exemplifies them in their ideal forms. He responded perfectly to the authority of his Father as it was manifest in laws and commandments. He manifested submission of will to the structure the Father imposed upon him. He said: "I have suffered the will of the Father in all things from the beginning" (3 Nephi 11:11). There is thus a hierarchy from Father to Son and a lawful structure within which the eternal affection between them exists. Given this prior loving obedience, the power was obtained by the Savior to enter totally into relationships in a healing, redemptive manner. The oneness thus achieved creates the basis for personal, familial, and societal integration.

Structure

Structures are thus regulatory in form. The Lord's commandments, the church organization, our eternal covenants, the ordinances, and our value systems are structures. Parenthetically, the United States Constitution is another good example of a structure within which multiple processes occur. Some of these value structures regulate behavior between people. Others regulate processes inside of a person. They provide guides or standards for functions in which perception, judgment, evaluation, interaction, reward and punishment, self-control, and role behavior occur.

The importance of gospel structure is manifest when we consider it in relation to the value structures that currently govern psychological theory and clinical therapy. There are two dominant professional value systems: *clinical pragmatism* and *social idealism.*

The *pragmatic approach* is oriented toward reducing stress such as anxiety, depression, guilt, and other symptoms. It is a straightforward and frequently powerful system for reducing pain and increasing pleasure without reference to orthodox ideals, long-range consequences, or familial side effects. It does not acknowledge that sometimes guilt and suffering are necessary. It does not respect chaste life-styles. The technology of the new sex therapies illustrates the point. Pleasuring techniques do turn people on who suffer orgasmic incapacities, but there is little reference to maintaining a balance between inhibition and gratification nor is there adequate reference to moral structures that guide intimacy. Its goal is baldly stated as "getting results." But are they good? Sometimes they are, but often they are not.

Social idealism is built upon humanistic philosophies of self-understanding, self-actualization, independence, and interpersonal involvement. It is reformist in tone, defines what is good, puts man at

the center, and is generally critical of many traditional moral values. When applied to therapy with orthodox believers, it is subversive of some of their values.

Let me briefly compare an orthodox theistic value structure with the dominant clinical, humanistic structures by listing some of the important contrasts. I will not list the regions of overlap and agreement, but only the crucial *differences.* Parenthetically, I might mention that at a symposium just a few weeks ago I presented these contrasts to an audience in San Francisco of approximately 500 psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and psychiatric nurses. Here are the contrasts:

	Theistic	*Clinical Humanistic*
1.	Humility, dependency, submission, obedience. God is supreme.	Self-aggrandizement, independence, anti-external authority. Man is supreme.
2.	Identity is eternal and divine. Relationship with God defines self-worth and self-identity.	Identity is ephemeral and mortal. Relationships with others define self-worth.
3.	Self-control in terms of absolute values. Strict morality. Moral purity.	Self-expression in terms of relativism. Flexible morality. Situation ethics.
4.	Love and affection at the core of the relationship system. Nurturance, service, and sacrifice of self. Self-transcendence.	Self at the core. Self-actualization central and personal needs paramount.
5.	Eternal marriage. Fidelity and loyalty. Emphasis on procreation and family life.	Open marriage or no marriage. Emphasis on self-satisfaction and sex without responsibility.
6.	Responsibility for our own sins and pathologies. Accept guilt. Suffering, repentance, and contrition are keys to change. Restitution for sins and errors is required. Forgive others who cause distress.	Others responsible for problems and changes. Reject guilt. Apology for sins and errors. Relieve suffering instead of experiencing it fully. Make others pay. Blame others.
7.	Weaknesses are a blessing, motivate change, keep us humble and close to God.	Weaknesses are disorders or afflictions.
8.	Knowledge by faith and effort. Meaning and purpose derived from spiritual insight.	Knowledge by self-effort alone. Meaning and purpose from reason and intellect.
9.	Intellectual knowledge inseparable from the emotional and spiritual. Ecology of knowledge.	Intellectual knowledge for itself. Isolates the mind from life. One-dimensional intellects.

As you might imagine, there were many reactions to this analysis. I had been perhaps more anxious about that lecture than any I had previously given because I was coming out quite straightforwardly on many topics to a group of anti-establishment type people who were very liberal. There were several homosexuals who were mental health professionals in the audience. I was anxious because on the panel were some of the world's most distinguished psychiatrists and psychologists, people I knew from past association but who did not know the fulness of my conversion to using this kind of value structure professionally.

I was also quite concerned that I might lose some friends. One of them, Jerome Frank, a psychiatrist from Johns Hopkins Medical School, was very kind but said he thought I had given all of the positives in favor of a theistic system and all of the negatives in a humanistic system. Yet, later, I received a letter from him in which he said the lecture had "left a lasting impression" and he wanted a copy. Another reaction was by Hans Strupp, the famous clinical psychologist who has been president of the Division of Clinical Psychology of the American Psychological Association (APA). He and I have written a book together; but after I spoke at APA two years ago about the importance of religious phenomena in behavior, he wrote me a letter opposing what I was trying to do. He is Jewish. He had escaped from Germany in 1939, and orthodox Christianity frightened him because he felt it was partly behind the things done to the Jews there. We carried on an argument by correspondence. I was therefore most curious about what he would say after the lecture. We were standing in the foyer of the hotel, and he said: "That was an outstanding lecture." At that point, I had it made. I felt very good. Just that one person symbolically represented many.

There were many other reactions. The religious people in the audience were virtually moved to tears, and they seemed to cluster around and rally around the point of view expressed. One of them said: "No professional person has said anything like this in San Francisco for ten years." I wasn't sure that was true, but it certainly made me feel good.

A fellow from New York stood up during the question period and said, "Now, you've spoken very personally about your values and you argue that everyone is promoting their own values in this field, so you're going to do it and be like everyone else. So, you've been personal, and I want to know what your personal value is with respect to homosexuality." At that point there was a stunned silence

in the audience. I was stunned myself. For three seconds I contemplated how I was going to react. But then I felt that there was no way to react except with total transparency. It was a very honest question so I would give a very honest answer. The first thing I said was that as far as I am concerned homosexuality is sinful. The silence deepened. Then, I stated that this does not mean I hate homosexuals; I can have respectful associations with them and I can treat them therapeutically. But then I described a recent study of homosexuality and also said that my beliefs led to the hypothesis that homosexuality had negative consequences. I said that while that may be a hypothesis from my value structure, I believed there was support for it. I referred to a study just published[16] which indicated that 50% of white male homosexuals surveyed in San Francisco had had at least 500 sexual partners, 28% had 1000 partners, and 25% of them had had relationships with boys under the age of sixteen. By the time I had finished with the data on homosexuality, no one said anything more, although afterward some came up and talked with me.

I feel that this symposium experience was a transition point in my professional career. I overcame some of the fears, especially the fear of physical assault, which I think was a real possibility. I just decided that from now on if somebody throws something at me or beats me up afterwards, I'll just have to take it, because the rewards, internally for doing what I believe and externally among those who are seeking for a standard or rallying point, are exhilarating.

You can see how our value structure leads to entirely different goals for therapy and means for achieving those goals than do other value structures. One set is consistent with eternal life and the other is not. While the good aspects of humanism can be incorporated into a comprehensive gospel framework, the philosophies behind the common clinical therapies are largely unacceptable and must be challenged by us through publications, lectures, and practices.

Process

Now, a word about *process* and then a comment on the balance beween it and structure. Processes are evident in emotional arousal such as anxiety, anger, depression, and joy. They are also present in conflict within a person, in psychological defenses, and in creativity.

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[16]A. P. Bell and M. S. Weinberg, *Homosexualities* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978).

But, as I have indicated, the scriptures indicate that the most vital *process* of all pertains to love and affection.

Love is lawful; that is, the power of its feeling and interpersonal influence aspects are efficacious within a structure. Without that structure, love can be as psychologically damaging as an uncontrolled nuclear reaction can be physically damaging.

While value structures and eternal laws thus govern the process of love, it does require spontaneity within that overarching structure. It is fluid–the feelings and thoughts of people who love flow together in harmony so that a sense of oneness occurs. The experience of loving another person is thus often referred to as an encounter or a communion of souls. Often it is expressed physically as well.

The embracing that occurs among family members and friends after a particularly inspiring blessing is a good example. The need to touch and to hold is almost magnetic and automatic. The loving feelings are already there, but they are integrated, intensified, and sealed by the hug. In this connection, I am intrigued by Dr. Truman Madsen's reference to the reunion we will experience when we return to our Eternal Father and Eternal Mother as a "royal embrace"–a beautiful way of describing what I mean.

The love of parent for child is, in fact, one of the most beautiful examples of complete devotion, commitment, and caring, a process of warmth, sacrifice, understanding, and forgiveness that occurs within a gospel familial structure. I see this kind of joy in my wife Marian's affection for our triplet boys. Under Marian's tutelage and with my assistance, Daniel, the triplet who suffered a brain injury during a near-drowning accident a few years ago, has been coming up from a vegetative state to one where he is a joyous, happy individual. A hug of his is most surely a "royal embrace."

Such moments, which we refer to as process, are integrating, healing, and renewing. They are at the core of mental health and resistance to maladjustment. They are, of course, effective only when they occur within lawful structures, such as parent-child relationships. Indiscriminate hugging and kissing is process without structure and can be dangerous.

Balance between Structure and Process

At this point, I should describe further my understanding of the relationship between structure and process in terms of balance. Structure includes the authority and power to regulate relationships. Love

provides much of the content that occurs within those structures. The balance between regulation and expression, or control and spontaneity, is a delicate one. Mastering it is a key to successful personality development. Maturity, growth, and therapeutic improvement all depend upon this balance to an important degree. The nature of this perfect balance is established by divine laws governing moral behavior and psychological functioning. Our task is to match our own structure and process to the eternal ideal of structure and process.

Appropriate balance requires that love and affection not be dispensed indiscriminately, without reference to guidelines governing time, place, person, extent, etc. Some people are all process and no structure. Their love is permissive, pervasive, and disastrous in that they reward all behavior roughly equally. Parents who are this way undermine the child's chance to learn self-control and teach that anything goes. The product is often an arrogant, demanding, overconfident, and self-indulgent person. Absence of *both* process and structure in child-rearing is even more disastrous and yields the most severely debilitating psychological disturbances. That is a hypothesis that behavioral scientists can test. High structure and low love, that is, lots of rules and low affection, can induce obsessionalism, hostility, and rebellion. High structure and high love appear to produce the most integrated personalities.

In sexual life, the Puritan approach represents high structure and low process: all rules and obedience and no spontaneous encounter. The modern liberated approach is process with little structure–spontaneity–multiple relationships without rules. The gospel approach balances rules with spontaneity. The laws of eternal marriage and a chaste life-style govern while loving, giving, communion, and union are endorsed.

In music, classical music reveals a harmony between structure and process, whereas rock music is mainly process with minimal structure.

In pathology, a compulsive personality is more structure, whereas an anxiety or depressive reaction is more process.

In psychotherapy, behavior therapy is mainly structure, humanistic therapy is mainly process, and LDS therapy provides a harmony of the two.

In biology, cancer, as a form of uncontrolled cell division, is like process without structure.

Another comparison that can be made is that between encounter group therapy and a testimony meeting. Both involve spontaneous

self-disclosure and expression of feeling, i.e., are high on process; but the testimony meeting has structure and thus embodies the process in a method that does not lose control and can be integrated into a continuing life-style. Commonly, therapy encounters create emotional highs, too much disclosure, and letdowns with relapses.

Structure and process also have implications for masculinity and femininity and male and female roles. It is conceivable that males are more structure and females more process even though both aspects are necessary to mental health and a balanced life. I do not have the temerity to go into the possible implications for masculinity and femininity tonight, but perhaps Brother Brown will discuss it in his analysis at a later time.

Hopefully, at this point it is clear how these concepts derive from the scriptures, how they can be developed within a spiritual frame of reference, and how they can then be applied, tested, and refined within the empirical realm.

Personal and Familial

First, if we expect to rely upon the Lord for guidance in academic work and to use the revelatory method in its highest mode, personal reform is needed. Superior dedication, devotion and discipline are prerequisites to this process. It demands more effort, not less, than what is expected of other scholars.

Similarly, family duty, fidelity and love are required. As Joseph Smith learned, the revelatory method does not work when a person is alienated from those he loves and is responsible for. He noted while translating the Book of Mormon that when he was in personal conflict with his wife, Emma, he could not translate. Reconciliation preceded revelation.

If we cannot function by such personal standards of performance and accept a moral quality in all our efforts, then we cannot utilize the Lord's methodology and are left to the standard methods of scholars. In that case, neither BYU nor Zion can excel the world.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROFESSIONAL'S LIFE-STYLE

My third broad thesis is that if we are going to succeed in bringing the Restoration to the academic world by incorporating revelation into our methods and by making applications from scripture, then we must change our profesional role behavior. That it can be wrenching, I know from personal experience.

Internal to Church and BYU

The Lord has purposely provided for us a unique environment here at his University within which we can explore all matters spiritually and morally with complete freedom. I could not do at Columbia University what I am doing now, nor would many other projects in this area underway here by other professors be possible elsewhere. Others speak of academic freedom, but nowhere else is there fulness of freedom to seek the real truth. I personally deeply appreciate the efforts of the Board of Trustees, the Commissioner's Office, former President Ernest Wilkinson, President Oaks, and the University legal staff to protect the independence of this institution to search the way we want to, the way we must, the way we know is right. Without this physical and spiritual protection, we cannot serve the Lord as scholars in his way without outside interference, monitoring, objections, and constraining of our creativity.

An example of what we can do in the way of behavioral study is to take the scriptures and writings of the prophets as standards by which to evaluate everything else. Using the scriptures as our Urim and Thummim, we can reexamine the content of our fields, such as personality theories and therapeutic methods, for consistency with revealed truth. Inconsistencies will give us pause, but the more exciting phase is where we see consistencies that bring illumination and expansion of our awareness or where we see new possibilities that go beyond consistency. This kind of phenomenon is clearly occurring in our analyses of structure and process, for in that work we have found scriptural bases for rejecting many contemporary views, but we have also perceived consistencies and possibilities for integration, and, beyond that, we have been able to give our understanding of the literature in that area a depth, focus, and penetration not previously possible.

It is an amazing thing simply to think about any subject in the university in terms of the scriptures. Just sit with the scriptures and think about history, think about physics, think about art, think about language. I know many of you have done that. If we would then take the personal ideas that arise and try them out in empirical tests (#3, Figure 1) and spiritual tests (#1, Figure 1), we could go a long way.

Much of this will be particularly useful within our own Church context and difficult, if not impossible, to use in secular settings. Like the Church welfare program, some of what we do may be admired by others for its results but not understood or applicable by them.

Professional Behavior

If we expect genuine success, then additional principles pertinent to our academic roles become relevant. Basically, we must reject some of the world's standards of success.

First, we must resist the "publish or perish" syndrome which induces people into academic gamesmanship by rewarding frequency counts of publications rather than significance. I would rather see a man or woman do one significant thing a year than five or six insignificant ones. We hear much about the knowledge explosion—how many thousands of journals are published each month and how no one can keep up with the flood of new knowledge. Let me assure you that those thousands of journals are full of junk, redundancy, and false ideas. Einstein revolutionized physics with just three short papers, totalling a small number of printed pages. In clinical psychology and related fields, only a small percentage of what is published is significant. This is supported by citation studies in psychology showing that only a small percentage of the people in the field account for most of the work that gets cited by others. The vast majority of articles are rarely, if ever, quoted by anyone else.

Second, we must shed ourselves of intellectual pride. The academic world thrives on pride, image, notoriety, fame. Even the honor of this lecture can create problems for humility. We cannot afford to promote ourselves, seek honors or judge others with condescension because we believe we are more brilliant or productive than someone else. This is anathema to the spirit of God. A contrite spirit is essential for us and we must in some cases forego credit for our work, doing what we do as a service to humanity.

Third, we need to learn a healthy respect for authority, which most academics do not have. It is standard academic practice to train young intellectuals in autonomy, independence, and challenging of authority. It is so ingrained that no one thinks twice about an iconoclastic, rebellious self-sufficiency that is irreverent and claiming of personal rights. This seems to have been bred into our best minds for several generations. It is difficult to find a professor who is not an unwitting proponent of authority conflict.

The restored gospel teaches us that our academic inquiries should be based upon humility, reverence for God, and respect for his chosen leaders. It shows us that the way to truth is by submission to the divine will, not prideful independence and self-sufficiency. It also teaches that obedience is crucial to learning the most important things.

Fourth, we must also readjust our way of relating our work to the outside world of scholarship and public affairs. Much of what we discover by the revelatory method and by our internal rearrangements of priorities must be translated into a language that is understandable to the rest of academia. This may mean stating some of our revealed discoveries in the form of hypotheses for secular tests. In San Francisco, I translated my values into eight hypotheses that could be tested by behavioral science. It may also mean rewording concepts in ways that make sense in contemporary contexts. It may mean adjusting techniques to terrestrial needs.

Fifth, on the other hand, there will also be bold and daring innovations that will sweep into the professions with power because they will be based upon revolutionary insights. In areas where moral values are concerned, for example, we cannot adjust or equivocate. We have the strongest position in the world in that area and we ought to act like it. Our theory of psychology and change is equally strong and challenging. Too often we are intimidated by or are deferrent to the leaders in our fields and we fear repudiation. While our framework is controversial, it is so powerful that we need not fear repudiation.

I have been astonished over and over again to address secular audiences with some fear inside that I would be rejected or possibly even physically assaulted because of my strict moral views only to find that people from diverse backgrounds will rally to our standard and that even our critics will resonate to a clear, open articulation of the truth. While there have been a few Korihors and Zeezroms in each audience who have heckled, the spirit of the majority has, in every case, subdued them.

I have talked to them straight about the existence of God, the influence of the spirit of God upon the individual, the importance of revelation, love, morality, and the example of Christ.

Some of these experiences, as the one in San Francisco, have been very powerful. In some cases, the reaction has been a little austere and constrained; but I've found an interesting thing. If you know your field and have established your competency, you can say outlandish or radical things and people will listen reasonably respectfully.

One of the most wonderful things that happened to me I would like to convey briefly. It was at the University of Washington, just one year ago. It was my first opportunity to speak to a standard psychology department of people with diverse backgrounds—a large department with about sixty faculty members. I was tentative and fear-

ful about it. There was a packed audience, and it seemed as though there was a kind of magnetism in the atmosphere. I was drawn to them and they were drawn to me. We felt very close. I stayed for about an hour afterwards and then, unscheduled, they had me come back for three more hours the next morning. Before I left Seattle a small group of professors came one at a time and said: "I want to come to BYU and work with you people." And one of them hugged me and said: "Thank God there is somebody who will stand up for Christ." That same person, a clinical psychologist, said: "I will never, ever teach clinical psychology the same again." There is much more that could be said, but all I know is that the personal encounters like that have changed me as a person. I can't go back. I am a radical in the eyes of some people, but I really don't care. They will have to react to it and get on our side or the other side.

It may be presumptuous of me to say this can be done in every field, but I believe it. I have sat with the catalog and thought about various fields such as history, law, business, medicine, music, education, physics. There seem to be numerous conceptual anomalies and often moral deficiencies in many fields. Though I am an amateur in them, it seems to me that most subject areas need the conservative radicalism and reform we can provide, if we will only believe in ourselves.

May I mention briefly one area with which I have some familiarity as a former mediocre physics major. While I revere Einstein and believe he received revelation and admire the continuing impact of his theories on science, I am convinced that he was wrong on some fundamentals. There appear to be crucial defects in several of his basic assumptions and equations–defects as serious as the ones he saw in Newton's system. He seems to have been right about so many things and I am such an intellectual infant compared to him that I hesitate to comment, but I believe the gospel implies certain things that his system doesn't incorporate. There is just enough physics in the scriptures to show me that there is something basically wrong with his notion of the velocity of light as a limiting factor in the universe. If the gospel is true, I think Einstein is wrong about that. Even though his concepts are beautiful, there are still defects. I believe that a superordinate conceptual system is needed which supercedes both Newton and Einstein, one which will allay the current confusion, for example, in particle physics. I hope there is a young genius in the audience who would like to take on the task. I also believe that physics and psychology will ultimately coalesce because, if my understanding of Doctrine & Covenants 88 is correct, there

must be consciousness in matter and matter in consciousness. I have been pleased that people like Jae Ballif and Peter Crawley don't believe I am crazy when I say things like this but take it quite seriously. In any case my point has been made: either I have proved that I am a fool or there is something to the notion that one can go back to the foundations in any field and start over on any topic–evolution, the theory of the unconscious, relativity, etc.–and things will start to distill. The mind will be stimulated. Intelligence will flow into it and create new insight.

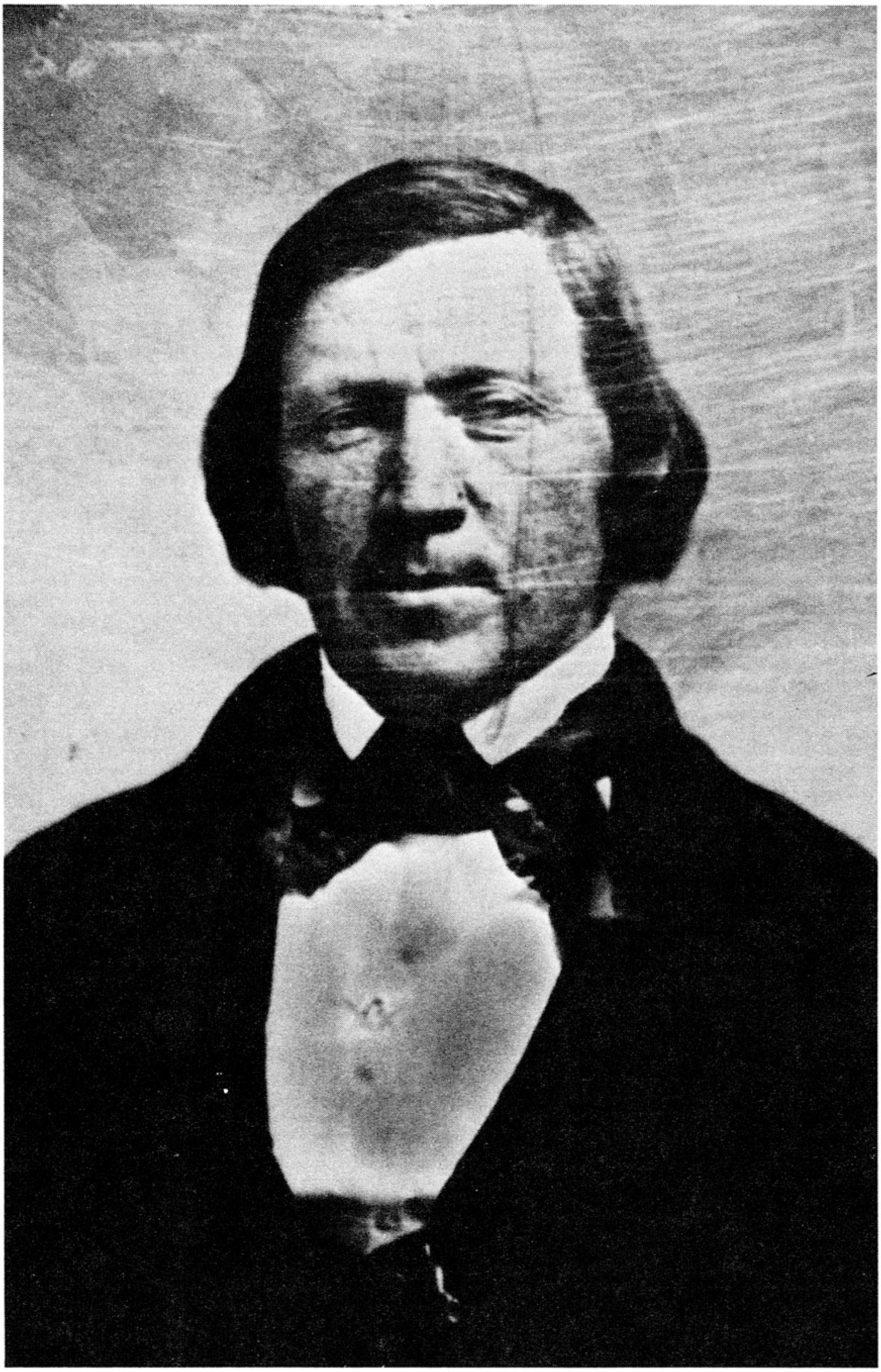
It seems to me that in the Dark Ages scholarship was turned upside down by throwing out both revelation and empiricism. Martin Luther's and others' protests against the control of thought and practice were a necessary beginning in correcting this. The rise of empirical science, almost in parallel, was also a necessary step in reopening the world to truth; but the premises of both the theological reformers and the scientists were self-limiting. They achieved a *reformation* in belief and scholarship but not a *restoration.* In their time, it required the testimonies of many to create an atmosphere and a system of mutual support, stimulation, and protection to succeed in making the break with the past.

I am convinced that here at BYU and among our friends elsewhere we need the testimony and labors of many who are willing to complete the break from the intellectual darkness of the Dark Ages by restoring the principle of revelation to the methods of scholarship, instruction, and practice, not as a parallel theological compartment but as an integrated part of the system itself. By thus bringing the Restoration to the academic world, we may assist in turning the knowledge system of the world right side up by putting the Creator at the basis of it, the Savior Jesus Christ.

I believe the Apostle Paul stated my thesis clearly and better than I can in the first and second chapters of 1 Corinthians when he declared:

> See your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh . . . are called: But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. . . .
>
> We speak the wisdom of God, . . . even the hidden wisdom . . . which none of the princes of this world knew. . . . But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit . . . yea, the deep things of God. . . .
>
> For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but [by] the Spirit of God. . . .
>
> . . . which the Holy Ghost teacheth; . . . But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God for they are foolishness

unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. . . . For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? BUT WE HAVE THE MIND OF CHRIST. [1 Cor. 1:26–27; 2:7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16; capitalization added.]



Brigham Young

Brigham Young's Family: The Wilderness Years

Dean C. Jessee

After returning from England in 1841, Brigham Young faced one of the sternest tests of his life–a test that was to have sobering and far-reaching implications for himself and the structure of his family. It came when Joseph Smith privately introduced the principle of plural marriage to him as a divine commandment. None "could have been more averse to it than I was when it was first revealed," he recalled.[1]

> If any man had asked me what was my choice when Joseph revealed that doctrine, provided that it would not diminish my glory, I would have said, "Let me have but one wife;" . . . I was not desirous of shrinking from any duty, nor of failing in the least to do as I was commanded, but it was the first time in my life that I had desired the grave, and I could hardly get over it for a long time. And when I saw a funeral, I felt to envy the corpse its situation, and to regret that I was not in the coffin.[2]

Contented with his wife Mary Ann and their three children, and imbued with Western monogamous traditions, Brigham Young "brooded and sorrowed for months" at the prospect of plural marriage.[3] But by mid-1842 his feelings had become reconciled to the point that on 14 June he took as his first plural wife Lucy Ann Decker, whose mother had married Brigham's brother Lorenzo following a separation from her first husband, Isaac Decker. Joseph Smith officiated at the ceremony and Brigham's cousin, Willard Richards, witnessed the proceedings. The following year Harriet

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[1]Susa Young Gates Papers, Box 12, folder 3, MS, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[2]Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–1886), 3:266.

[3]Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 321.

Cook and Augusta Adams were added to his family; and prior to Joseph Smith's death in June 1844, Brigham had taken a fourth plural wife, Clarissa Decker, the sister of Lucy Ann.

The death of Joseph Smith created a situation that not only increased Brigham Young's ecclesiastical responsibilities but also added to his domestic concerns as well. Susa Young Gates explains that following the Prophet's death her father went to Joseph's widowed plural wives and "told them that he and his brethren stood ready to offer themselves to them as husbands" in accordance with the tradition of ancient Israel whereby posterity for a dead brother might be born in this life and that "the widows might choose for themselves."[4] Subsequently, eight of Joseph's plural wives (Olive Andrews, Emily D. Partridge, Louisa Beaman, Mary Elizabeth Rollins, Rhoda Richards, Olive G. Frost, Zina D. Huntington, and Eliza R. Snow) were married to Brigham Young for the remainder of their mortal lives. By the time Brigham left Nauvoo in February 1846 to lead the Mormon exodus west, twenty-six additional women had been "sealed" to him for time and/or eternity. And when he died thirty years later, the total to whom he had been married was fifty-five. (It should be noted, however, that many of these "wives" were widows or older women whom Brigham merely cared for or gave the protection of his name. Others were married primarily with an "other-world" spiritual relationship in mind. Sixteen of his wives bore his fifty-seven children. Most of the others who were "sealed" to him were never connubial spouses in the ordinary sense.)[5]

The struggle of Brigham Young to care for his family and at the same time to direct the migration of the Mormon people to a new

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[4]Susa Young Gates Papers, Box 12, folder 2, MS, Utah State Historical Society.

[5]Records indicate that the following women were sealed to Brigham Young. The sixteen who bore him children are designated by an asterisk: Miriam Works,* Mary Ann Angell,* Lucy Ann Decker (Seely),* Augusta Adams (Cobb), Harriet Elizabeth Cook,* Clarissa Caroline Decker,* Emily Dow Partridge (Smith),* Clarissa Ross,* Louisa Beaman (Smith),* Eliza Roxcy Snow (Smith), Elizabeth Fairchild, Clarissa Blake, Rebecca Greenlief Holman, Diana Chase, Susan Snively, Olive Grey Frost (Smith), Mary Ann Clark (Powers), Margaret Pierce (Whitesides),* Mary Harvey Pierce, Emmeline Free,* Mary Elizabeth Rollins (Lightner, Smith), Margaret Maria Alley,* Olive Andrews (Smith), Emily Haws (Whitmarsh), Martha Bowker, Ellen A. Rockwood, Jemima Angell (Young), Abigail Marks (Works), Phebe Ann Morton (Angell), Cynthia Porter (Weston), Mary Eliza Nelson (Greene), Rhoda Richards (Smith), Zina Diantha Huntington (Jacobs, Smith),* Amy Cecilia Cooper, Mary Ellen De La Montague (Woodward), Julia Foster (Hampton), Abigail Harback (Hall), Mary Ann Turley, Naamah K. J. Carter (Twiss), Nancy Cressy (Walker), Jane Terry (Tarbox), Lucy Bigelow,* Mary Jane Bigelow, Sarah Malin, Eliza Burgess,* Mary Oldfield (Kelsey), Eliza Babcock, Catherine Reese (Clawson), Harriet Emeline Barney (Sagers),* Harriet Amelia Folsom, Mary Van Cott (Cobb),* Ann Eliza Webb (Dee), Elizabeth Jones (Lewis, Jones), Lydia Farnsworth (Mayhew), Hannah Tapfield (King). (Research in possession of the author.)

While Maria Lawrence appears on several published lists of Brigham Young's wives, I have found no marriage record to substantiate a union between her and Brigham Young.

homeland across some 1300 miles of wilderness is an epic within an epic. Like its larger counterpart, the removal of his family across the Plains is a story of lonesomeness, privation, suffering, and death, with a few moments of serenity and peace sandwiched in between. And if instances of neglect seem evident, it was because personal relationships were necessarily lost in the interest of the Kingdom of God in those trying years:

> My time has been so occupied with public business since I left Nauvoo, that my personal friends have been almost totally neglected. . . . The great cause of Zion taken en masse swallows up all minor or personal considerations and wife and children and relatives appear lost as it were and we are obliged to forsake them all to build up the Kingdom of God and bring about a reign of peace upon the earth, therefore you must forgive me for any seeming neglect.[6]

The task of caring for his family at that critical time was complicated for Brigham Young not only by the overwhelmingly larger responsibility of directing the whole Mormon migration but also by the fact that his family had more than doubled in size within six weeks of his departure, adding weight to an already heavy personal burden.

In the evening of 15 February 1846, Brigham Young crossed the Mississippi River to begin the move west. He arrived in the camp at Sugar Creek about 8 p.m. with fifteen wagons and "50 persons . . . of his own family."[7] Some indication of those of his family who may have been with him, at least part of the time during the Iowa phase of the journey, may be determined from the records of the organization of the Camp of Israel at the Chariton River ford on 27 March 1846.

From the beginning, the organization of the Mormon exodus had been imperfect, to say the least. When the move west was first contemplated in Nauvoo, twenty-five men had been named as captains, each with responsibility to choose a hundred families and prepare them for the journey across the Plains. These captains were further directed to divide their companies into groups of fifty and these into groups of ten. Once across the Mississippi River, however, the organizational structure practically dissolved due to a combination of such circumstances as the wandering of some people back and forth between Nauvoo and the pioneer camps, inclement weather, bad roads, and the poor state of preparation of many who had embarked

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[6]Brigham Young to George D. Watt, 16 April 1847. Although the words cited here are actually a Willard Richards postscript to the letter, the sentiments go far beyond Richards's own experience.

[7]John D. Lee Diary, 15 February 1846, MS.

on the journey. These conditions so mixed and separated people as to almost completely destroy the initial order and make it "impossible to effect anything like a perfect organization."[8]

Attempts were made at Sugar Creek and at Richardson's Point to correct organizational defects, but with little permanent success. Then at the Chariton River on 27 March another attempt was made to organize the camp. Although this effort did not bring permanent order, the extant record of the organization contains the best available information about those of Brigham Young's family who were with him during the initial stages of the exodus. Listed in the roster as the first ten of the first fifty of the first hundred, Brigham's company comprised fifty-one individuals. Among these were eleven of his wives (Mary Ann Angell, Jemima Young, Emmeline Free, Lucy Decker, Clarissa Decker, Emily Partridge, Louisa Beaman, Clarissa Chase, Susan Snively, Margaret M. Alley, and Ellen Rockwood), his six children by Mary Ann Angell, five other children by previous marriages belonging to two of his plural wives, relatives of some of these wives, a nephew and his wife, and other persons connected to Brigham Young by adoption.[9] That the organization established at Chariton River was not completely intact prior to 27 March, and that it was not to remain so thereafter, is evident from known movements of some of the participants. Several of Brigham Young's wives traveled, by arrangement, with their own parents or friends. Others remained in Nauvoo to come later.

Emily Partridge, one of Brigham's "proxy wives" (as the widows of Joseph Smith were known),[10] left the City of Joseph with her infant child a short time before Brigham did. Having been secretly married to Brigham, Emily had lived in Nauvoo with her mother and stepfather, William Huntington,[11] where, the previous October, she had given birth to one of the first children of a plural marriage, an event carefully concealed from all but a few.[12]

In writing about her experience in later years, Emily remembered the boats crossing the river as loaded with wagons and people, the heavy snowstorm of 19 February, and the cold as she sat on a log, hungry and dejected, her child clasped in her arms. Having become

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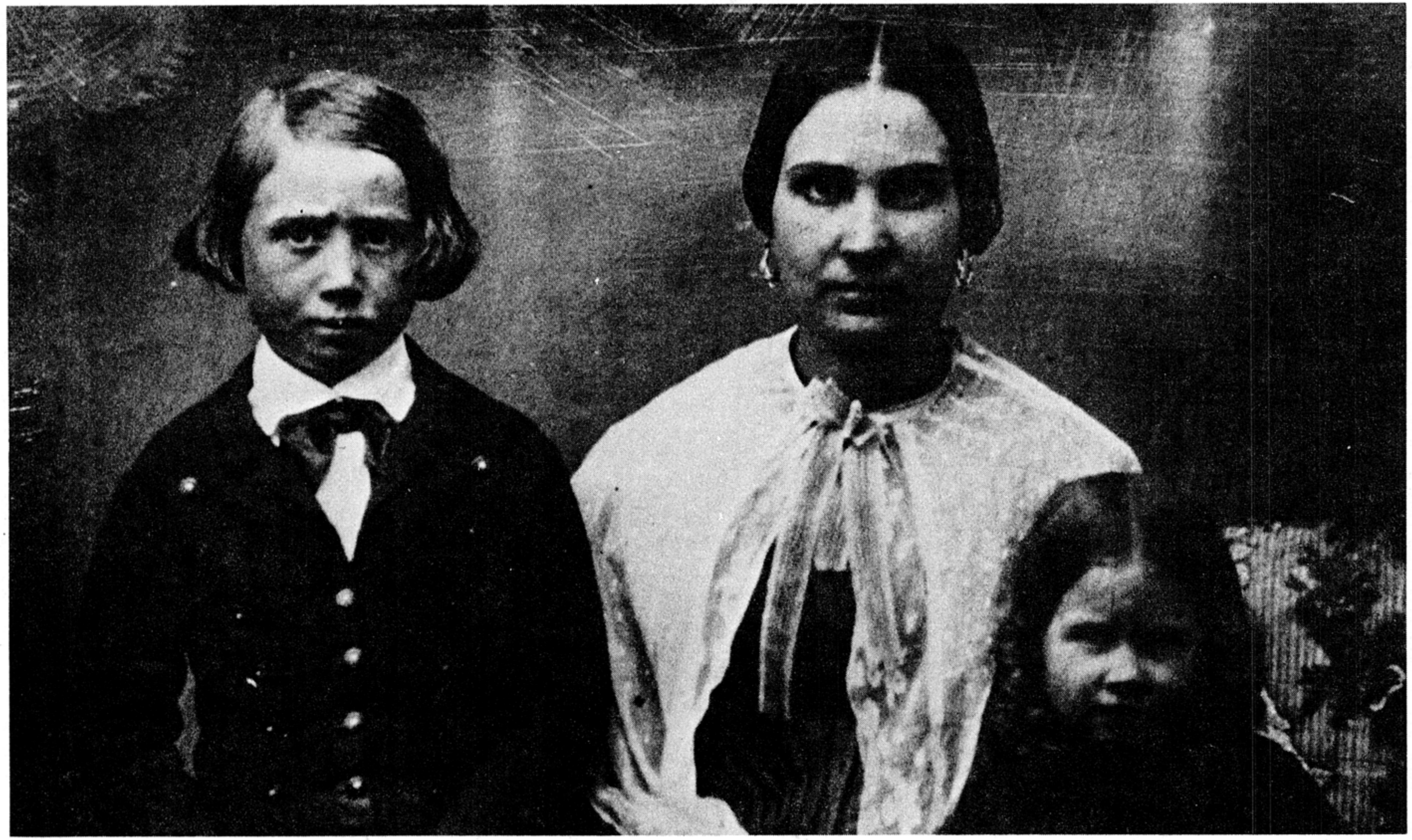
[8]Willard Richards Diary, 27 March 1846, MS.

[9]"Record of the Organisation of the Camp of Israel which Took Place at Shariton Ford, I.T. on Friday March 27th and Monday 31st [30th] 1846," pp. 4–5, MS.

[10]This terminology is used in Emily Dow Partridge Young's Autobiography and Diary, pp. 3, 27, typescript.

[11]Following the death of Edward Partridge, his wife Lydia married William Huntington on 27 September 1840 (*Times and Seasons* 1 [October 1840]:191).

[12]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, p. 4.



Emily Dow Partridge Young with her children, Edward Partridge Young and Emily Augusta Young

separated from family and friends,[13] she had wandered from one fire to another, "some giving me food, others a place in their tent to sleep." During the inchworm progress of those early weeks, "food was very scarce, a small piece of johnny cake and a little bacon fat to sop it in, constituted a meal. Sometimes we had a little more and sometimes less." In reflecting upon this scene, so emotional that even after the healing influence of many years it still brought tears,[14] she noted that "President Young had to look after the welfare of the whole people" and therefore "had not much time to devot[e] to his family. But as soon as he could, he made [such] arrangements for his family's comfort, as his means would admit of."[15]

When Brigham Young's company left Mt. Pisgah on 2 June, at least two of his wives who had been with him at Chariton River (Zina D. Huntington and Emily Partridge) remained behind. The Huntingtons had stopped at Pisgah to gain strength and provisions to continue, and William Huntington had been appointed to preside over that settlement. But when Huntington's health failed and he died,[16] the prospects for Emily and her child's continuing the journey that year faded. Unable to obtain means and besieged with family sickness, Emily and her mother were forced to stay the winter of 1846–1847 at Mt. Pisgah, where they lived in a log hut without coverings on the doors or windows and with a hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape.[17]

After leaving Pisgah, Brigham had continued on to Council Bluffs on the Missouri River, where he arrived on 14 June. To Emily, the silence that closed in behind him was almost unbearable. He did return on 6 July to solicit volunteers for the Mormon Battalion but left again three days later. On the last day of August Emily wrote to Brigham expressing "great satisfaction" with a letter he had written her, the first she had heard from him in six weeks:

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[13]Brigham Young had returned to Nauvoo on 18 February and did not arrive back in camp until 22 February. Details that would explain why Emily would be alone with her child are missing from her record.

[14]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, pp. 3-4, 119. On 16 February 1897, Emily Partridge wrote in her diary: "It is snowing, and I am reminded of 51 years ago, when I was in camp on Sugar Creek sitting on a log with my 3 months old baby in my lap without home or friends. I can truly say I felt desolate indeed. I have been sheding a few tears." Later, on 24 July, she watched the Jubilee parade in Salt Lake City in commemoration of the arrival of the pioneers in the Valley: "The procession came up 5th East past Emily's. So I had a good chance to see it with[out] leaving home. The display was grand. The old pioneer wagons were almost too realistic. They brought back in a forcible manner the horrible journey across the plains. I only sat and cried while they passed."

[15]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, p. 3.

[16]Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901–1936), 1:370.

[17]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, p. 4.

> Our folks are better than they were but are quite feeble yet. I suppose you have heard of fathers death before this. I was sorry to hear your babe had been sick and hope he is well again by this time. I am the only one in our family that is well. Little Edward [Partridge Young] is quite unwell. I think it is his teeth as he has none through yet. He is ten months old yesterday. He will take a few steps alone. Zina [Huntington] is well and is living with Sister Boss. As to my going this fall, I hardly know what to say. I desire to go and can hardly bear to think of staying here this winter. It seems the most like nowhere of any place I was ever in. Mother does not want me to leave her, and I think it would be selfishness in me to le[a]ve her in her lonely situation. I wish we had means to come but we have not as yet. Lydia [Partridge] has a chill on and I can hardly get time to write at all. I hope you will come down this fall. I want to see you very much and all the rest of the folks up there that I am acquainted with. I do not want to be where I had not ought to be but I do feel as if this was no place for me. Give my love to the girls and take a large share for yourself. I expect there is a great contrast between this letter and some others you have received but I hope you will excuse it; I remain yours and hope to through life.

In a postscript she added, "Zina sends her love to you. I hope you will not show this to the girls."[18]

Winter at Mt. Pisgah brought better health, but also severe cold. "There I cut down my first and only tree for fire wood," Emily wrote. She also recalled the roaming bands of wolves that would howl in the night, "and if they had been disposed they could have . . . come in . . . as there was only a blanket hung up at the door." Finally, in the spring, Emily and her mother joined others from the settlement traveling to the main camp at Winter Quarters and arrived there in time to see Brigham Young shortly before he started for the Salt Lake Valley.[19]

As mentioned previously, while in Nauvoo Emily had kept her infant child in hiding and few knew that she had one. However, after she started the journey west, her relationship to Brigham Young became common knowledge. With knowledge came prejudice. Some thought that "the Lord had given men plural wives for stepping stones for them and their first wives to mount to glory on" and that

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[18]Emily Partridge Young to Brigham Young, 31 August 1846. "The girls" has reference to Brigham Young's young plural wives.

[19]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, p. 4. Sarah P. Rich noted the trip of the Huntingtons from Mt. Pisgah to Winter Quarters in March 1847: "The 12 of March we started with all our family allso Mother Huntington and her family as president Young had sent a team and Charles Decker with the team to assist Sister Huntington with her family to winter quarters. It was coald wether and continued So nearly all the way." (Sarah P. Rich Diary, 12 March 1847.) Eliza Partridge Lyman noted that Emily and her mother arrived at the Missouri River on 19 March 1847 (Eliza Partridge Lyman Diary, 19 March 1847, MS).

the plural wives could never rise because of their inferiority. At Winter Quarters curious people would stop at Emily's "to see a 'spiritual' child. One woman told me she thought he was the smartest child she had seen. I said, 'Don't you think they are as smart as other children?' She said 'no,' she did not think they were. There was a good deal of that spirit at that time and sometimes it was very oppressive."[20]

Another of Brigham Young's proxy wives was among the first to leave Nauvoo. Traveling with the Stephen Markham family, Eliza R. Snow crossed the Mississippi River on 13 February, two days before Brigham Young. Suffering from ill health, she too witnessed the heavy snowstorm of 19 February that "commenced in the night and continued thro' the day," making conditions so disagreeable that she could not leave the wagon. Sensitive to the plight of her people, she was saddened as she passed through Farmington, Iowa, where the inhabitants manifested "more levity than sympathy" toward the homeless exiles.[21]

Deprived of Brigham's immediate association, Eliza cherished the infrequent moments when he would stop to see her as he directed the massive migration. On 9 March she "had the pleasure of the first interview" with Brigham since her departure from the city. Nine days later he "shook hands" with her, and particularly important was his visit on the twenty-ninth when he promised "in the name of the Lord I should get my health." After the company she was with traveled three miles over rough road on 14 April, her day brightened when they joined Brigham's camp on the edge of a high sandy prairie. Then, as the President's responsibilities took him further away, the cherished moments became less frequent. Finally, on 24 August, as Eliza was approaching Council Bluffs at the reins of her own wagon, the day suddenly became very special to her when Brigham and several others drove up in a carriage, engaged a driver for her team, and invited her to accompany them the rest of the way to camp.[22]

Not all of Brigham Young's family left Nauvoo in the early months of 1846. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner wrote, "We had not means to go with the church, in fact, we could hardly get enough to eat."[23] Another who stayed behind was Harriet Cook, the

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[20]Ibid., pp. 3-4, 103, 119.
[21]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 13, 19 February; 2 March 1846, MS.
[22]Ibid., 9, 18, 29 March; 14 April; 24 August 1846.
[23]Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner Autobiography and Diary, p. 25, MS, Utah State Historical Society.

mother of an infant son (Oscar Brigham) born just five days before Brigham had crossed the Mississippi River. An important theme of surviving family letters during the exodus reveals Brigham's concern for those of his family he was forced to leave behind and his vicarious efforts to care for them. From Richardson's Point, fifty-five miles west of Nauvoo, Brigham implored his brother Joseph Young:[24] "As you have staed in Nauvoo and I am gon from there, and cannot due for my frends as I could if I was there [I] will caul upon you to help my frends by councel and manegement." Brigham authorized Joseph to sell his house and two lots. "They will bring enuph to bring all my frends." Lest the sale of his Nauvoo property should appear to be a severe trial, Brigham added, "Due not think Brother Joseph, I hate to leve my house and home. No! far from that. I am so free from bondedge at this time that Nauvoo looks like a prison to me. It looks plesent ahead but dark to look back." He then specified two of his wives who needed help: "Sister Hariot Cook is at Br. [Nathaniel] Ashbys in the [Erastus] Snow house, and sister [Julia Foster] Hampton must be braught with the saints. I [don't] like to ask or require enny thing that ads to [your] burthen, but if you can look at these maters . . . it will be a favor to me and others."[25]

Still at Richardson's Point on 15 March, Brigham wrote to his "dear wife," Harriet Cook. The letter indicates his concern not only for Harriet but also for five other wives (Mary and Margaret Pierce, Elizabeth Fairchild, Augusta Adams Cobb, and Mary Ann Clark Powers) still in Nauvoo, and it tells of the plans he was formulating to unite them with the rest of the family.

> I address a fue lines to you by Br. Joseph B. Noble who is a going to return home emeditely after his famely. . . . I expecate[d] to have returned to Nauvoo, but it looks so much like a prison to me that I think I shall goe fu[r]ther west instead of going East at present. Br. J.B. Noble will see that you are provi[d]ed for to come comfort[a]ble, and I want you to com with him. . . . I expect Br. Babbott [Almon W. Babbitt] will get a good caredge or wagon and team for you and others. Br. Noble will get a good man to drive it. It is likely Br. John Young and Even [Evan M.] Greene, Sister Faney [Young] and others of my frends will come at the same time. I want you to see Sister [Mary Ann Clark] Powers and have hir watch hir opertunity . . . and start with some one that will bring hir a peace [piece] with spead. . . . I want you to see Sisters Mary and Margret Pears [Pierce], Br. Robert Pears['s] daughters and see if ther Father is [coming]. If not get them along with you if you can. Br. Noble will bring the sister that is there.

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[24]Joseph Young had been appointed to "preside over the church" in Nauvoo after the departure of the Twelve (Joseph Young Certificate of Appointment, 10 February 1846, MS).

[25]Brigham Young to Joseph Young, 9 March 1846.

> Sister Betsy [Elizabeth] Fairchilds [I] wish you could bring [her]. Give my love to them all. I want to see you and the little Boy. Tell Sister Augusta Cobb I hope she will be blest. I want [to] see hir again. . . . Be cherful and of good corouge Sister Hariot. We shall soon meet again. . . . I wish you to read this to Sisters Cobb, Powers & Pearces.[26]

Ten days later and fifty miles further west, at Chariton River, Brigham again addressed Harriet in his continuous effort to provide for those he had left behind:

> I read your letter to Luca [Lucy Decker]. I was Glad to here from you. I wish Br. John [Young] and Even [Evan Greene] had put 2 horses before the coredge [carriage] and taken you a long with them. We all want to see [you] verry much. I should come back but feele that it would not be safe for me to come to Nauvoo again verry soon. Kiss the Babe [Oscar Brigham Young] for me. The girls talk a gradeal [great deal] about you and wish you [were] with them. They have a tent to themselves. Mary Ann [Angell] is verry kind to them. We have enjoyd ourselves verry well on our jorny though we had much bad wether. I hope you will overtak us before long. Br. Joseph B. Noble will probible bring you and I hope Sister Powers. See Sisters Mary and Margret Pearce if you can. See when they are coming. Give my love to them. Also to Br. and Sister Ashby and the Children. They are a Blesed Famely I think. Sister Hariet bring a fue tin plats cups & co & co [etc.] if you can get them. They will be convenatt [convenient] on the jorney. Earthen [ware] is not worth much and the girls are therey [very] scanty for such things. May the Lord Bless y[ou] and the Little Boy.[27]

In a letter dated 7 April addressed "Dear Friend," Harriet Cook acknowledged the receipt of letters from Brigham of 15 and 25 March and replied that she "should have answerd them sooner, but for the want of something interesting to communicate." She then focused upon her husband's inquiries.

> Sister Powers has the imflamatory rumatism. She has not been able to do anything for 3 weeks. She has been confined to her bed some of the time. She is so she can get around a little now. She is determined to go west, she has no inclination to stay here. The way looks dark to her, but she has full faith that it will open. . . . I went to see Margaret and Mary Peirce. They think their Father will start the first of May. I do not know whare Betsey Fairchild lives nor any one that does. I have been to see Sister Cobb once. She never comes to see me. I go in to see brother John [Young] ever[y] day or two. I like him first rate. He says he will take me west when he goes if I do not go before. Sister Ashby[']s babe and mine have had the measles. They are well now. Sister Ashby thinks the way looks dark for them. Their is no prospect of their selling at presant. They keep up first rate spirits, and that makes

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[26]Brigham Young to Harriet Cook, 15 March 1846.
[27]Brigham Young to Harriet Cook, 25 March 1846.

me feel well. It is so natural for us to partake of the feelings of those around us. They are very kind to me. . . . Brother Noble's family are well. They come over to see me often. We have a great many long conversations about how we shall go west. Martha [Bowker] was over here this morning. She said she was a going to write. . . .

In closing, Harriet asked to be remembered "to all the girls"–her sister wives.

Tell them I expect they all envy me the pleasure of staing in Nauvoo. It seems like an old house deserted of all its inhabitants. I have been up into the Temple. I looked west as far as I could see, but could see nothing of the camp. Give my best respects to your wife and Elisabeth and Vilate. I close by subscribing myself as ever yours.[28]

While efforts were being made by Brigham Young to bring remaining members of his family west from Nauvoo, word came to him that Harriet was planning to go east, probably to New York to visit her family against whose opposition she had joined the Church in 1842. This information was the topic of a letter to her from Council Bluffs on 23 June:

My Dear Hariot. I have jest heard you talked [of] going East. Now I pray you harcon to my councel and come to the west. If you have no way to come with the Brethern where I have made provision wright to me the first opetunity and I will send a team after you or come my self. Edman [Edmund Ellsworth][29] might bring you or you can come with Sister Faney [Young]. I cannot bare the thaught of your going East. You will not enjoy your self if you goe. Come here. Your frends are here. We injoy our selves first rate. I long to see you safe to camp with your bab[e]. May the Lord Bles you and yours. Give my best love to Br. Ashby['s] famely and all of my frends.[30]

Although details are missing, Harriet had joined the rest of the family on the Missouri River within a year.

Brigham Young's separation from members of his family was a very severe test for some of those left behind. Writing from Nauvoo, which at the time looked like "a cage of unclean birds" to her, Augusta Adams Cobb expressed "heart felt pleasure" for the "very welcome little note" she had recently received from Brigham but lamented her lonely condition:

I do truly have to walk by faith now, for I have nothing whereon to lean but my heavenly Father . . . and I am left like a poor pilgrim solitary and alone. I think often of what poor old David has said in one

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[28]Harriet Cook to Brigham Young, 7 April 1846.
[29]Edmund Ellsworth had married Brigham Young's oldest child, Elizabeth, 10 July 1842.
[30]Brigham Young to Harriet Cook, 23 June 1846, MS, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

> of his psalms, that "tho the fig tree blossom not nor the herd bleat in the stall yet I will trust in the God of my Salvation." . . . and if there is nothing left for me but to trust in Him I will endeavour to do that and believe that behind a frowning providence he hides a smileing face. But my dear Brigham you may think all this is quite easy to a soul that truly loves God but let me tell you that for me it has been the hardest strugel that I have ever met with.

Augusta concluded her letter by wishing to be "affectionately" remembered to three of her sister wives, Clarissa Ross, Margaret Alley, and Emmeline Free, whom she regarded as "choice spirets."[31]

Mary Ann Clark Powers, another of Brigham's wives to remain in Nauvoo, had commenced the journey into Iowa but because of difficult conditions had returned to the city. In August 1846 she wrote Brigham, "If I could have herd Counsil from your lips I should have been happy but I felt as though I was left to my self. But I have done what I thot was for the best." Her reason for not joining others in the migration at a later time was due to a dream she had had a few nights after her return to Nauvoo, a dream which seemed to confirm her decision to stay. Continuing her letter, she wrote, "You dont know how much I wanto see you and I hope I shall see you before long. I canot think of staing hear this Winter. It doos not seem to me like Nauvoo, it is so gloomey." Still sensitive to the need for secrecy in her plural relationship, Mary concluded her letter:

> If you do not think it wisdom to write tell Louisa to write it in her leter. I have many things [to] tell you but I have not time now and I must close. And may the Lord bless you all and remember me before the Lord that I may be preserved from eavl and do his will in all things and I Pray that he will hasten the day when I shall be with you and the Saints that I love.

The letter, addressed to "Mr. Brigham Young" was signed only "Yours," with the comment, "I think that you will know who this is from without the name."[32]

Unable to continue the migration west when a request for men to serve in the Mexican War drained the male strength of the camp, Brigham Young established Winter Quarters on the Missouri River in the fall of 1846. This community consisted of some 700 dwellings and 3500 people, including a large part of his own family.[33] Just how

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[31]Augusta Adams Cobb to Brigham Young, 11 March 1846, MS, New York Public Library.
[32][Mary Ann Clark Powers] to Brigham Young, 9 August 1846.
[33]Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt, and Taylor, 6 January 1847, and Hosea Stout Diary, 24 December 1846.

his large family was housed there is not known in detail. He had at least one home of his own and possibly more. Some of his wives resided separately, or with relatives or friends with whom they had traveled. Eliza R. Snow wrote that after an evening of social activity at Robert Pierce's (the father of Mary and Margaret), attended by Brigham Young and Mary Ann Angell, Brother Pierce "very politely" conducted Louisa Beaman and herself "home." That Brigham may have had more than one dwelling and that at least some of his wives lived together is suggested by a poem Eliza composed for "All the Ladies who Reside in the 2d Mansion of Prest. B. Young."[34] But whatever the living arrangements, not all lived together, nor in equal comfort. Naamah Kendal Jenkins Twiss, writing to a sister in New Hampshire on 29 December, reported the mildness of the weather and the fact that "most of the Bretheren have put up log cabins and got into them so they are comfortable." She added, however, that she and "Sister Green" (Mary Eliza, another of Brigham's wives) "have to sleep in a waggeon," and what was more, she had "not slept in a house since last July."[35]

Winter Quarters presented a scene of intense activity as the Saints worked to protect themselves against the coming winter and to prepare for resumption of the western migration the following year. Disease-ridden, the settlement became the site of much suffering and death. But the picture was not all one of hard work and misery; there was also occasional peace and serenity. The cessation of the westward trek afforded an opportunity for social contacts and the renewal of relationships that in previous months had almost ceased to exist. In September, Eliza R. Snow rejoiced at Brigham's second visit with her since her arrival at Winter Quarters. She noted the devotion of Mary Ann Angell during a siege of illness that had left Eliza lying "at the gate of death." She also wrote, after a visit on 26 November, of the "kindnesses" of Louisa Beaman and Clarissa Decker. And by far the highlight of the year was five days between Christmas and New Year's that Eliza spent with "the girls." At President Young's on 27 December she had "the pleasure of supping on a bak'd turkey" and on the thirtieth spent an "agreeable" afternoon with Brigham, Mary Ann Angell, and Louisa Beaman. The climax of the week came on New Year's Eve: "To describe the scene . . . would be beyond my pow'r. Suffice it to say, the spirit of the Lord was pour'd out and we receiv'd a blessing thro' our belov'd mother Chase

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[34]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 26 January 1847.
[35]Naamah K.J. Twiss to Mrs. Thomas Nichols, 29 December 1846.

and Sis. Clarissa [Ross] by the gift of tongues." Eliza concluded her five-day visit with "the female family" on New Year's Day with the remark, "my love [for them] seems to increase with every day's acquaintance."[36]

The new year brought further rejoicing in the Brigham Young household at Winter Quarters. Within six hours on 8 January, midwife Patty Sessions delivered three children, one of whom was the son of Louisa Beaman and Brigham Young.[37] A week later, Eliza R. Snow was visiting Louisa when Brigham, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards stopped in. "President Young held his son, Prest. Kimball blessed him," and the Church historian recorded the event.[38] Following the blessing, Eliza R. Snow stayed with the mother and child a week, "as I was told to do."[39]

One morning early in February, Stephen Markham brought Eliza an invitation from Brigham Young to a "family party" to be held that day in the Council House. "The party was an interesting one; five of the Br[other] Young's being present and one sis[ter]. Probably 100 persons were present in all, and we supp'd at a table that would have done honor to a better cultivated country," wrote Eliza. "The exercises open'd with singing and prayer, and after feasting and dancing, clos'd with an address by Prest. Young which succeeded one by father Kimball." After the party, Eliza stayed the remainder of the night with Louisa.[40]

Although not publicized, a significant family event at Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847 was the marriage of Brigham Young to Lucy and Mary Jane Bigelow. The account, written in a somewhat fictionalized style by a daughter of Brigham and Lucy in later years, is instructive regarding the mechanics of his courtship in a plural situation. Sometime after arriving in Winter Quarters in the fall of 1846, sixteen-year-old Lucy Bigelow and her nineteen-year-old sister Mary were approached with matrimonial intentions by a Brother Wicks, who was very persistent in his solicitations. To resolve the matter, the girls' father, Nahum Bigelow, consulted Brigham Young, pointing out the persistence of Brother Wicks, that his daughters were "getting to a marriageable age," and that he (Nahum) was "quite anxious to see them married to a good man." The

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[36]Eliza R. Snow Diary, September–December 1846.

[37]The birth of this child, Moroni, absent from official family lists raises the known total of Brigham Young's children to fifty-seven. The birth of the child is noted in Patty Sessions Diary, 8 January 1847, and Eliza R. Snow Diary, 9 January 1847.

[38]Willard Richards Diary, 15 January 1847.

[39]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 15 January 1847.

[40]Ibid., 4 February 1847.

President promised to talk to the girls about the matter and in a few days came to their home. Lucy was absent, but in the course of Brigham's conversation with Mary he asked her if she wanted Brother Wicks for her husband:

> "No, sir; I don't think that I do;" the girl timidly and quietly replied.
> "Well, is there any one you do want? The Sisters ought to have their choice in the matter for they can choose but one; and they have a right to select that one. So if you know of any one you would like, tell me who it is."
> "I don't know of any one, thank you, Pres. Young."
> "Well, now then; how would you like me for a husband, Mary?"
> "I can't tell, sir."
> "Take your own time to think it over. And you may ask your sister Lucy the same question I have asked you. If you girls would like to be sealed to me, you can tell me whenever you are decided on the matter."

The conversation between Brigham and Mary had occurred in the fall of 1846; but regardless of what her sister might decide, Lucy had resolved never to marry in a plural relationship and "certainly not to such a reserved, dignified man, old enough to be her father." Lucy had hoped that something would happen that would relieve her from the necessity of saying "No" to the President of the Church. Then one evening in early March 1847, amid the preparations for the departure of the pioneer company to the West, President Young again presented himself at the Bigelow home and shortly thereafter received an affirmative answer from Mary. But, since Lucy was absent again, he asked Mary to ascertain her decision. Again confronted with the question, Lucy replied, "I don't know. . . . I'll tell you what it is, Mary, I don't feel as if I could marry him. He's got such lots of wives now, and it don't seem like he could ever be my husband." Finally, Lucy relented and the following Sunday gave her affirmative answer to Brigham:

> "Very well then," he said, "we will have the matter attended to on such a day this coming week."
> So it happened. The fourteenth day of March, 1847, in the evening of that day, President Young, accompanied by Elders Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and Ezra T. Benson came down to the Bigelows, and after chatting a few moments the two girls, Mary and Lucy, stood up, and were sealed to Brigham Young for time and all eternity.

Susa Young Gates, daughter of Brigham and Lucy, wrote that no one in Winter Quarters knew about this event, not even next-door neighbors. "It was not till after their arrival in the 'Valley' that the girls became known as wives of Brigham Young, or in reality became such, and then afterwards, were sealed in the Endowment

House."[41] Commenting upon the courtship, Susa noted that her father

> did not spend any time "courting" girls; his time was far too occupied, and his principles never allowed him to run after girls. When the Spirit of the Lord whispered to him that he should seek such and such a one for a wife, he did so in a quiet, manly, grave way, never with any spirit of coercion on his part, and always leaving as he so often expressed it: "the sparking to come after." "Marry first and spark after," was a favorite aphorism of his, and he carried it out in his own life.[42]

Between the time of his marriage and his departure from Winter Quarters less than a month later, Brigham saw his new bride Lucy only three times: once when he stopped for a few moments at the Bigelows and she was out skating with her brothers on the overflow of the river, another time while she was playing games near the schoolhouse with friends, and again when she was skating on the pond. Susa notes that her mother felt ashamed that Brigham, "so dignified and grave," should see her romping with her friends. Then, almost as a complete stranger, he left for the great unknown, leaving for the future the time for taking Lucy and Mary from under their father's roof.[43]

While there were times of enjoyment for the Young family during the winter of 1846–1847, they did not entirely escape the trials and sorrows that stalked the land. Tragedy struck on 16 March when one of Brigham's wives, Mary Pierce, died of consumption.[44] She and her sister Margaret (also married to Brigham) had traveled to Winter Quarters with their father some time after Brigham Young arrived there. Of their journey, Margaret wrote: "We had a comfortable carriage and consequently did not suffer as much as others did during our wanderings through the wilderness."[45]

By the time Brigham Young left Winter Quarters in April 1847, nearly all of his family that had been detained in Nauvoo had joined him at the Missouri River. Although a few of his wives would continue on to the Great Basin that year, the majority would remain in Winter Quarters to go west with him in 1848. Scattered entries in a small book of notes and reminders, written as Brigham prepared for

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[41]Susa Young Gates, Biography of Lucy Bigelow Young, pp. 15–20, MS, Utah State Historical Society. Extracts from the biography are edited and published by Miriam B. Murphy in "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife: Lucy Bigelow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977):270–88.

[42]Susa Young Gates, Biography of Lucy Bigelow Young, pp. 16–17, Utah State Historical Society.

[43]Ibid., pp. 20–21.

[44]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 16 March 1847; also Manuscript History of the Church, Brigham Young Period, 17 March 1847.

[45]"Margaret Pierce Whitesides Young Exerpts Taken From her Journal," p. 3, typescript. An edited version of this appears in "One of the Pioneers," *Young Woman's Journal* 15 (April 1904):162–66.

the departure of the pioneer company, suggest the concern he had for the transportation of his family: "I wish the Presedents of my division to get teams and wagons with teamsters to take my famely with there provisions to our next location." "Let John Y. Green drive Mrs. Young['s] wagon. James Young drive his mothers Sister Jemimas wagon. Let no other teamsters bord with Mrs. Young & Sister Jamima but J.Y. Greene and James Young." "Let Each one of my famely take what and all they expect to have so there will [be] no division after they leve here."[46]

Complicating Brigham's effort to provide transportation for his family were heavy demands upon his personal property. In some instances he was able to resolve the problem by turning to loyal friends. When Stephen Markham agreed to transport Eliza R. Snow, "Pres. Y[oung] said [it] would be a great accommodation to him as he was short on it for wagons."[47] Later, when a "heavy church debt" took four of his wagons and eight yoke of oxen, Brigham approached Willard McMullen, whose wife was an invalid, for help. Brother McMullen agreed to take Lucy Bigelow in his wagon in return for her assistance in caring for his wife and the President's offer to furnish a yoke of oxen and three hundred pounds of flour.[48]

Brigham left Winter Quarters to begin the final leg of the pioneer journey on 14 April 1847. Accompanying him was Clara Decker, the daughter of Harriet Decker, wife of Brigham's brother Lorenzo. Harriet's asthmatic condition, and the fact that she was expecting a child, accounted for the exception to the rule that the pioneer company would consist of men only. Clara was one of two women invited along to care for her. Leaving the rest of her family and friends, and clutching fond memories of recent experiences, Clara recalled that she "never felt so badly" in her life as she contemplated her "uncertain pilgrimage."[49]

Having left all of his family in Winter Quarters except Clara Decker, Brigham naturally turned his thoughts to them as he proceeded west. But the demands on his time and the difficulty of the journey limited the favors he could bestow upon them to "continual prayers" and an occasional letter written piecemeal over days at a time. Ninety-five miles west of Winter Quarters, on 20 April, he

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[46]Brigham Young Notebook, 9 March 1847.
[47]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 18 March 1847.
[48]Susa Young Gates, Biography of Lucy Bigelow Young, p. 24, Utah State Historical Society.
[49]Clara Decker Young, "A Woman's Experiences with the Pioneer Band,"pp. 4-5, MS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

found time to write his "dear companion partner in tribulation," Mary Ann Angell:

> I should have writen to you by Br. Rockwood but had not time. The Camp was to be organized and a gratedeal to be dun to prepare for mooving. On Sunday I should have writen but did not feele able to. I lade abed and thaught of a grate deal I should like to say to you. The Camp is in good helth and first rate sperits. They have never felt better in there lives. I think my helth has verry much improved yesterday and to day. You menshend in your letter that you herd I lay on the ground the night I left home. I did but due not think it hurt me, but when I arived in camp I found my self complet[l]y tired out. I thank you a thousand times for your kind letters to me more especely for your kind acts and still more for your kind hart. I pray for you and the children continualy and for all of our famely. I due think the Lord has blest me with one of [the] best famelyes that eney man ever had on the Earth. I due hope the children will be good and mind there mother when I am gon.

Brigham cautioned his two oldest boys, Joseph A. (12) and Brigham Jr. (10), whose youthful vigor in the absence of paternal restraint was no doubt a cause of concern: "My son Joseph you *must not goe away from home* and Brigham also must stay at home. How due [you] sapose I would feele when I come home and find one of my children destoyed by the Indens? I pray this may not be the case." Two weeks later, twenty miles above the head of Grand Island, Brigham found a little more time to conclude his letter:

> I want to wright a long letter but have not time. We are all perty well at present though my labour has b[ee]n verry hard for me on the jorney. I pray for you continualy. . . . I am glad you are not a going to come on this sumer for I want to be with my famely when they come this jorney. . . . I want the bretheren to help my famely whilst I am gon and not aupress them. Joseph and Brigham be good Boys and mind your mother and Ales [Alice], Caroline, little Johne and finely all my children and famely be you Blest for ever and ever.[50]

After Brigham's departure, the social contacts between members of his family continued in Winter Quarters much as they had before he left. Eliza R. Snow attended several gatherings in the spring of 1847 that were special spiritual experiences for her. On 26 April, in company with Margaret Pierce, Jemima Young, and "the girls," she wrote of "a rejoicing time thro' the outpouring of the spirit of God." In early June hardly a day passed that did not find members of the family meeting to "improve in the gifts" of the spirit. "This is

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[50]Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell, 20 April and 4 May 1847.

truly a glorious time with the mothers and daughters in Zion, altho' thrust out from the land of our forefathers and from the endearments of civiliz'd life," wrote Eliza. The afternoon of 2 June she spent with Lucy Decker, Zina Huntington, Louisa Beaman and Emily Partridge. "E[mily] and myself spoke in the gift of tongues. In the eve. met at Harriets. Had a good time. Sis [Mary Ann] Young join'd me in a song of Zion." At this meeting Mary Ann encouraged Eliza to accept an invitation of the Pierces to go west with them that summer.

On 8 June Clarissa Ross gave birth to a daughter, the second child of Brigham's born at Winter Quarters. Two days later, Eliza visited Clarissa, accompanied by Clarissa's mother Phoebe Chase, and gave the infant a blessing, which may account, in part at least, for its name, Mary Eliza. The day after the blessing was another "glorious time" witnessed by Eliza, Zina Huntington, Emily Partridge, Martha Bowker, Margaret Pierce, Louisa Beaman and others when three of those present experienced the gift of tongues.[51]

Having finally joined the family at Winter Quarters with Oscar Brigham, her infant son, Harriet Cook wrote to her "dear Husband," on 14 June, thankful for her "deliverance" and for the improvement of their son from a severe burn.

> I feel my weakness at this time, and my inability to perform this task well, but knowing that my greatest fault has been not placing the confidence in you that I ought, I am determined to lay too with all my might and overcome it. . . . O you do not know how thankfull I feel for my deliverance from the powers of darkness that have surrounded me for the last year. My trial has been a sore one, but I have lived through it, and I feel to thank my heavenly Father for his kindness to me, and to you also, for the Lord has made known unto me the integrity of your heart and that all your intentions were pure before him. I have said that I would not follow your counsel, but I now feel that it is my greatest delight. Do not feel that I am unworthy of your love, for I feel to honour you in all things and to submit myself unto thee to do with me even as thou wilt. I remember thy words to me and I do strive to keep my thoughts a secret in my own breast. . . .
>
> Oscar is well and playful as ever. . . . His arm is almost well. He can use it as well as the other. He was burnt bad but I am glad it was no worse.

Harriet's letter also contained news of Clarissa's addition to the family and greetings from other family members.

> Clarisa wishes me to remember her to you for she is to[o] weak to write herself. She has a fine girl. Her name is Mary Eliza. Clarisa is as

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[51] Eliza R. Snow Diary, 26 April and 1–11 June 1847.

> proud of her as any one could wish. She is geting along first rate. Margaret [Alley] and Emmeline [Free] send their love to you. They are enjoying themselves well and say they should not have any very bad feelings at seeing you. They both live with me, or I with them, just which way your a mind to have it. Emmaline['s] mother [Betsy Strait Free] has a pair of twin daughters and I think Emmeline will follow suit soon.[52]

After bidding farewell to many "who seem dearer to me than life," Eliza R. Snow left Winter Quarters on 12 June in company with Margaret Pierce and her family. They traveled with Jedediah Grant's company that would arrive in the Salt Lake Valley later that year. "I felt a loneliness for a while after parting with my friends but the spirit of consolation and rejoicing return'd and I journey'd with good cheer," Eliza wrote in her diary. A few days later she composed a poem "To Mrs. Mary Ann Young," in response to a request before they parted:

> Mother of mothers!
> Queen of queens,
> For such thou truly art,
> I pray the Lord to strengthen thee,
> And to console thy heart.[53]

Six weeks after Eliza and Margaret left Winter Quarters, Brigham entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Upon his arrival an immediate concern was the building of a shelter for his family. On 7 August when the Twelve "picked out their inheritances," standing on what came to be the Temple Block, Brigham selected the block to the east. It was decided, however, for maximum protection until more permanent living quarters could be built on the places of inheritance, to build a fort consisting of log and adobe houses at a nearby location. The individual buildings of the fort were to be about 8 feet high, 14 feet wide, and 16 feet long, with chimneys of adobe, hearths of clay, and all openings toward the inside of the enclosure. Work on the fort began on 11 August, Brigham building four rooms and his brother Lorenzo two at the northeast corner. Ten days later he completed his house and moved in.[54]

It was here that Clara Decker lived, to be joined by Eliza R. Snow later in the year. A chest was Clara's only table; the bedstead was built into a corner, the walls forming two sides and cords

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[52]Harriet Cook to Brigham Young, 14 June 1847.

[53]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 16 June 1847.

[54]Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century 1*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 3:287.

wound tightly around pegs forming the "mattress." Five days after completing his house in the fort, Brigham bid Clara good-bye and started east to bring the rest of his family from Winter Quarters. As he started, one of the company gave Clara a feather bed, but she had become so accustomed to sleeping on the ground or in a wagon that it was some time before she could "appreciate the luxury."[55]

The month of Brigham's departure from Salt Lake Valley was a time of both joy and sorrow for the family members back in Winter Quarters. On 10 August Brigham's seven-month-old son, Moroni, died of "teething and canker,"[56] and on the thirty-first Emmeline Free gave birth to a baby girl who was named Ella Elizabeth.[57]

The journey of Eliza R. Snow and Margaret Pierce to the Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1847 was not without incident. Eliza recalled two "fearful stampedes" that could have been disastrous had it not been for "the peculiar and special blessing of God." The first took place one evening after the animals had all been corraled in a hollow square made by placing wagons side by side. Eliza had just retired for the night in a wagon near one of the openings in the enclosure, when the animals, frightened by someone's shaking dirt from a buffalo robe, suddenly rushed for the exit nearest her. The "bellowing, puffing, and snorting" mass, unable to crowd through the small opening in the corral, "rushed against, and clambered over and upon each other in heaps. . . . The scene was horrible! Some animals died of injuries [and] many had their horns knocked off" before order was restored.

The second stampede occurred in the daytime as the company had stopped to repair a crossing over a broad slough. The teams were standing hitched to their wagons, two, three, and four abreast, when a sudden noise set the whole train in motion. "With fearful velocity, heedless of crossings and bridges," charging teams hurtled across the slough. As the stampede began, Eliza was sitting alone in the Pierce carriage holding the reins of a high-spirited span of horses. She prevented herself from being pulled into the rush only by applying her utmost strength to the reins, until Margaret and her mother, who had been away from the carriage, arrived on the scene to help her.

A highlight of the journey that summer for Eliza and Margaret was the meeting, on 8 September, of Brigham Young's company returning to Winter Quarters. Eliza wrote that "Prest. Y[oung],

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[55]Clara Decker, "A Woman's Experience with the Pioneer Band," p. 8, Bancroft Library.

[56]"A Report of the Deaths in Camp of Israel Winter Quarters Between the Dates of April 26th & Aug. 18th 1847," 10 August 1847, MS.

[57]Journal History, 7 September 1890, p. 4.

H[eber] C K[imball] and A[masa] Lyman sup'd with us," after which there were discourses and a song sung that she had written. It was such a "joyful time" and so "deeply interested and absorbed were all" that no guard was posted that night. As a result, the ever-watchful Indians stole some fifty head of horses, including one of Harvey Pierce's mules. This misfortune materially weakened both companies.

Prior to parting on the morning of the tenth, Brigham came to the Pierce carriage and blessed both of his wives. Eliza then asked "who was to be my counsellor for the year to come. He said ERS. I said 'she is not capable.' He said, 'I have appointed her president.' Said he had conversation with Br. P[ierce] about provision[s], that he will furnish me & all will be right."

Some three weeks later, on 2 October, after crossing a stream nineteen times, Eliza saw the Salt Lake Valley for the first time. It looked like a "broad rich river bottom," but she was "too sick to enjoy the scenery." The next day she viewed the valley from the confines of the fort and the comfort of a "doby [adobe] fireplace."[58]

Among the greetings brought to the Valley with Eliza and Margaret was a letter from Brigham to Clara Decker:

> My dear Clary . . . My helth is good and has been sence I left the valley with the exception of one night. . . . I due feel to bless and pray for you. You have been a grate comfort to me this summer. I miss your society. I wish you to live at home of sister Eliza Snow.
>
> You must pray for me and my safe return. Give my love to your mother. . . . I shall start as early in the spring as I can. . . .
>
> Thursday Morning, the 9th, we have lost seven horses and mules last night. We expect the Indians have stolen them. I almost feele it my duty to return with the companies and see them safe through to the valle. O that I had my famely here.[59]

Grateful for the "good advice" and "kind feelings" manifest toward her, Clara responded to Brigham's letter on 3 October. Much of her writing contained thoughts about her husband and those of the family with whom she was particularly close.

> My Dear Brigham, with feelings which I never before experienced I write these lines. I feel thankful for the opportunity of sending the same to you and hope they will be acceptable. . . .
>
> I felt very lonesome after you left. It seemed to me I was a lone child though in a pleasant land. Evry thing I saw reminded me of you and your goodness to one who feels herself quite unworthy of it.

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[58]Eliza R. Snow, "Sketch of My Life," pp. 25-26, MS, Bancroft Library; and Diary, 8-10 September, 2-3 October 1847. Also, Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 3:298.

[59]Brigham Young to Clara Decker, 8, 9 September 1847.

She expressed gratitude for her "little house" (rooms in the fort), built by Brigham before he left.

> Here I can sit down and let my thoughts wander back to Winter Quarters and fancy I see you surrounded by your family enjoying their sweet society and they yours. I hope so at least. At such times when I am alone I can pray for you and feel quite happy. Though you be far from me you are ever present in my thoughts. I often dream of you generally living my happy days over again but when I wake I find it nothing but a dream and like a sunny morning the rememberance passeth away. But your kindness to me the past summer will never be forggotten. It shall live while memory lives with me. . . .
>
> I hope Mrs. Young [Mary Ann Angell] has good feelings towards me. I remember her kindness to me I assure you. . . . I was glad to hear that Sister [Augusta Adams] Cobb was in Winter Quarters. How glad I shall be to see your face again in this place. I shall count the months yes the weeks untill that happy time comes. I am lonesome though surrounded by Friends. I miss your society much. . . .
>
> When I think of your poor health and the multitude of care[s] you have on your mind togather with the long and tedious journey which lays before you it casts a gloom over my mind and often my feelings overcome me and I sit me down and weep like any child.

Clara closed her letter shortly after a visit from John Young, Brigham's brother. "I was glad to see him. He reminds me much of you in his looks. Pray for me allways. Please excuse all my mistakes. May heavens choicest blessings ever attend you is the prayer of your freind. Yours affectionately."[60]

One of Eliza R. Snow's first acts upon her arrival in the Valley was to write eleven letters to loved ones in Winter Quarters. Among these was a poem for Mary Ann Angell which reflects something of the close bond that existed among some of the wives of Brigham Young:

> Blessed be your habitation
> The abode of peace & rest;
> Yes with all that is a blessing
> I would fondly have you blest.
>
> We anticipate the period
> When you to the Valley come
> Haste & leave your Winter Quarters
> Here you'll find a better home.[61]

Another close relationship had formed between Eliza R. Snow and Margaret Pierce, who had shared the same wagon from Winter

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[60]Clara Decker to Brigham Young, 3 October 1847.
[61]Eliza R. Snow Diary, 5 October 1847.

Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. Eliza had suffered ill health right from the beginning of the exodus, and during the last phase of the journey Margaret had cared for her. Shortly after their arrival, Margaret penned these lines to her traveling companion:

I love thee; and I'll n'vr forget
The time we've spent together
Thro' many toilsome scenes of west
And storms of windy weather.

I love thee; & my heart entwines
Around Thy noble spirit.
May ev'r ry joy on earth be thine
Long life if thou desire it.[62]

On 17 October, a day too cold to go to meeting, and having just received a half pint of tea and a few dozen crackers from Mrs. Pierce, and feeling "greatly blest both temporally and spiritually," Eliza responded to the kindness of her sister wife:

I love thee with the tenderness
That sister spirits love.
I love thee, for thy loveliness
Is like to theirs above.

. . . . . .

I love thee for the kindness show'd
To me in feeble health,
When journeying on a tedious road,
I prize it more than wealth.

I love thee and thou shalt be crown'd
With blessings not a few
Joy, peace & plenty shall surround
Thy path, like summer dew.[63]

After leaving Clara Decker in Salt Lake Valley and passing Eliza R. Snow and Margaret Pierce enroute there on his return trip, Brigham Young joined the rest of his family at Winter Quarters on 30 October 1847. He learned that in his absence two of his wives had gone to St. Louis, Missouri, to work and that one of them was still there. Having been persuaded by a local sister that money could be earned to buy clothing and supplies for the trip to the mountains, Lucy and Mary Bigelow had traveled to St. Louis earlier in the year. With the help of local Church members, the sisters had rented a

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[62]Ibid., 16 October 1847.
[63]Ibid., 17 October 1847.

small room and found employment. They soon discovered that it would take all their earnings to support themselves while there. Homesick and discouraged, Mary, with the assistance of local Saints, had returned to Winter Quarters almost immediately, while Lucy remained. Lucy worked at several jobs in succession, including ironing shirts in a shirt factory ten hours a day. She remained in Missouri until the spring of 1848, when word came from her father in Winter Quarters that Brigham had returned and was disappointed to find her gone, remarking that he "would rather have given the last coat off his back than to have her down there." With this news, after an absence of a year, Lucy returned to Winter Quarters and arrangements were made for her to go west with the rest of the family.[64]

On 26 May 1848, Brigham started his final trip to the Salt Lake Valley leading a company of 1200 persons and 400 wagons. Accompanying him was most of his remaining family.[65] His departure from Winter Quarters was the fifth time since joining the Church in 1832 that he had had to leave home and property. Little is known of family details during the 1848 trip west. John D. Lee noted on 23 July that "Louisa B[eaman] Young was delivered of 2 fine Boys which verry much delighted Pres. B. Y[oung], the Father of the children, who with his co[mpany] roled on 3 m[ile]s."[66] Of the trip Emily Partridge later wrote, "We were more comfortably fitted out than we had been at any time before, but on account of ill health the

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[64]Susa Young Gates, Biography of Lucy Bigelow Young, pp. 22-24, Utah State Historical Society.

[65]When Brigham Young left Winter Quarters in 1848, at least three of his wives did not accompany him. They became permanent casualties of the exodus, or nearly so. One of these was Mary Ann Clark Powers. Unable to leave Nauvoo at the beginning of the migration, she had arrived in Winter Quarters sometime later, only to become disillusioned, apparently by not receiving the attention from her overworked husband that she thought she deserved. Still in Iowa in 1851, she wrote to Brigham requesting to be released from him and among other things mentioned the "bitter cup" she had drunk at Winter Quarters, which she translated as a "cool and distant reseption." Her association with the Young family officially terminated on 15 September 1851, when her request was granted. (Mary Ann Clark Powers to Brigham Young, 18 June 1851; and Young to Powers, 15 September 1851.)

One whose reunion with Brigham Young was delayed several years, due to conditions attendant upon the migration, was Julia Foster Hampton. Widowed when her first husband died in 1844, Julia was married "for time" to Brigham in Nauvoo less than two weeks before he left the city. Having four children of her own and no means of conveyance to the West, she had remained in Nauvoo with a promise that she would soon be sent for. When several weeks passed and no word came, Julia accepted an offer to live with her father in Jacksonville, Illinois. Completely severed from all communication with the Saints, she eventually accepted a proposal of marriage from an Englishman, Thomas Cole, in the fall of 1847, "being almost compelled to do so on account of having a family of small children . . . and no way of supporting them." However, after the birth of one child, Cole "proved to be a mean scoundrel," abusing and beating Julia and the children unmercifully and finally abandoning them for California. In 1855 two Mormon missionaries sent by Brigham Young located Julia and offered her assistance in gathering to the Valley. After being rebaptized, she and her children crossed the Plains to Utah, there to be reunited with the Brigham Young family in November 1855. (Brigham Young Hampton Family Record and Diary, pp. 60-75, MS.)

[66]Robert Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876,* 2 vols. (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:65.

journey was most unpleasant. I do not wish to think of that time."[67]

Brigham Young and his company arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on 20 September 1848. For practical purposes his family was now, for the first time, all in one place. Although he would never be forced to leave his home again, he now faced a new challenge: that of establishing his unusually large and complex family in a permanent home.

[67]Emily Dow Partridge Young Autobiography and Diary, p. 6.

Making the World a Home: The Family Portrait in Drama

Jean Anne Waterstradt

We are blessed to live in a culture that seeks to uphold, strengthen, and ennoble man's oldest institution—the family. From its very beginning the LDS Church has embraced the ideal of the moral, harmonious, loving home. During the past two decades, when the assault on the family has grown so vicious and on occasion so successful that at times its survival has seemed imperiled, the Church has voiced its belief in the family in increasingly encouraging, persuasive, forceful tones. Indeed, President David O. McKay's assertion that "No other success in life can compensate for failure in the home"[1] has come to carry for concerned Church members an almost-scriptural authority. Recently President Spencer W. Kimball has pronounced the family "our chief source of physical, emotional, and moral strength."[2]

In this context of Mormonism's overriding commitment to the family, I wish to explore with you the treatment of the family in literature. Whether their medium is poetry, prose fiction, or drama, the greatest artists among the storytellers in Western tradition organize their most significant and cogent statements around the family. Because my special interest in literature lies in drama, I wish to look at the treatment of the family therein. We may use the term "family" in two meaningful senses: that of the family of our immediate experience and that of the family of mankind sharing a common heritage of similar emotional experience.

Family relationships have provided the structure for dramatists from ancient Greece to modern America. The reason is simple, but fundamental: the family is the microcosm; within its bounds are fostered all basic human relationships. Every strength and goodness and

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[1]David O. McKay, *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* April 1964, p. 5.

[2]Spencer W. Kimball, *The Ensign* 9 (January 1979):79.

also every weakness and evil of which human beings are capable originate within the family and from there develop and spread to determine the shape and quality of man's larger society. Within the family circle, a child encounters two formative forces—the nurturing care of the mother and the authoritarian demands of the father. As he grows older and strives to establish his independence, the child has the choice of two possible resolutions to his struggle for psychological and emotional maturity: a dominant identification with one of these primary forces in the family or an achievement of harmony—balance—through a synthesis.

If we share Arthur Miller's view of drama as "being [as] total [an] art as the race has invented,"[3] then we believe that what we see in drama has a power over us unparalleled by any other art. Thus, those tender, those brutal, those loving, those savage, those sustaining, those destructive experiences we live through in that all-transcending group we call family are least ambiguous and most enlightening when they are patterned by a great playwright. And if in drama the families we meet are less than ideal, less than perfect, they are all the more understandable to us fallible members of real families. Through their flaws, their errors, their moral failures we begin to perceive the ideal. And if they sometimes rise to moral heights, they show us what we are capable of doing and becoming.

Miller asserts that

> all plays we call great, let alone those we call serious, are ultimately involved with some aspect of a single problem. It is this: How may a man make of the outside world a home? How and in what ways must he struggle, what must he strive to change and overcome within himself and outside himself if he is to find the safety, the surroundings of love, the ease of soul, the sense of identity and honor which, evidently, all men have connected in their memories with the idea of family?[4]

I should like now to consider three plays disparate in style and technique, yet unmistakably bound together by structures predicated on family relationships, on moral issues that emanate from those relationships, and on the suggestion of that fine balance—that harmony—between the demands of the mind and the heart which is mandatory to growth and success of the family. The three dramas I will examine are Sophocles' *Antigone,* Shakespeare's *King Lear,* and Miller's *Death of a Salesman*—as they explore moral ineptitude, moral

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[3]Arthur Miller, "The Family in Modern Drama," *Modern Drama: Essays in Criticism,* ed. Travis Bogard and William I. Oliver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 232.

[4]Ibid., pp. 222-23.

uncertainty, moral collapse as well as moral commitment, moral insight, moral action, all within the context of the family; as they deal with Miller's ultimate question, "How may a man make of the outside world a home?"

ANTIGONE

There are two families to ponder in *Antigone*:[5] one crippled and almost obliterated from the beginning of the drama and the other maimed and decimated at the conclusion. The first family referred to is, of course, that of Oedipus and Jocasta, his mother-wife, and their two sons, Polyneices and Eteocles, and two daughters, Antigone and Ismene. At the beginning of the play only the two sisters are alive. The second family consists of Creon, Jocasta's brother; Eurydice, his queen; and Haimon, their son; another son has died. Thus, at the beginning of the play, this family is nearly intact, but at the conclusion only Creon lives. We will owe our closest attention to the triad consisting of Creon, Antigone, and Haimon.

The central conflict occurs, as is common in drama, between members of two generations, between Antigone and her uncle, Creon, now King of Thebes since Antigone's two brothers have died at each other's hands. Antigone and Creon collide as a result of the way each views the deeds of Polyneices. Because Polyneices has led an army against his home city in an attempt to take the throne from Eteocles, Creon, in his first official act as king, forbids the burial of Polyneices, at the same time giving Eteocles full honor with a soldier's funeral. Antigone sees Polyneices not as a traitor, but as a brother, and consequently chooses to defy the law. She boldly asserts that her crime in burying her brother is "holy." However, Ismene laments:

> We are only women,
> We cannot fight with men . . .
> The law is strong, we must give in to the law
> In this thing . . .
> I am helpless: I must yield
> To those in authority. And I think it is dangerous
> business
> To be always meddling.
> [Fitts-Fitzgerald, *Prologue,* p. 461]

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[5]Three translations of Sophocles' *Antigone* were used: Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, trans., *The Antigone of Sophocles* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1939), reprinted in Dudley Fitts, ed., *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* (New York: Dial Press, 1947); H. D. F. Kitto, trans., *Sophocles: Three Tragedies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); and E. H. Plumptre, trans., *The Tragedies of Sophocles* (London: Isbister and Company, [1865]).

Ismene has thus acknowledged that she holds the demands of authority superior to the demands of love.

"We–all of us–have a role anteceding all others," Arthur Miller declares; "we are first sons, daughters, sisters, brothers. . . . The concepts of Father, Mother, and so on were received by us unawares before the time we were conscious of ourselves as selves."[6] Enveloped in tragedy, Antigone, motherless and fatherless, is then, as we first see her, a sister, loving both brothers and acting in behalf of one whom the state has denounced. She moves in accordance with what she calls "the immortal unrecorded laws of God" (Fitts-Fitzgerald, scene 2, p. 473). But in her protective and holy concern for her dead brother, she becomes also a mother. She is right, of course, when she defies Creon's edict in order to obey what she identifies as the law of heaven. In Emily Dickinson's language, she upholds the "divine majority" of the soul. She recognizes the claims of the family to the exclusion of any others.

However, Creon is also right in his insistence that the laws of society must be upheld; initially, therefore, he recognizes only the claims of the state. "Anarchy, anarchy!" he cries. "Show me a greater evil!/ This is why cities tumble and the great houses rain down,/ This is what scatters armies!" He is right when he asserts that "good lives are made so by discipline." And he is right when he questions rhetorically, "If I permit my own family to rebel,/ How shall I earn the world's obedience?" (Fitts-Fitzgerald, scene 3, pp. 480, 479). Kitto notes that Creon "has tradition and experience on his side" and that "his maxims are sensible." He emphasizes that Creon "has his own honesty, his own justification, and his own sense of responsibility."[7]

As king, as uncle, as father, Creon is naturally the chief figure of authority in the play. In his *Dictionary of Symbols,* J. E. Cirlot notes that the father "stands for the force of tradition. [He] represents the world of moral commandments and prohibitions restraining the forces of the instincts and subversion."[8] As he deals with Antigone, steadfastly refusing the claims she represents–the nurturing instinct, love, the heart–Creon fully exercises that force Cirlot identifies. And he continues to exercise that force when his son calls upon him to moderate his stand, to recognize that there are claims as urgent as those he makes on behalf of the state.

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[6]Miller, "The Family in Modern Drama," p. 229.

[7]H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954), p. 134.

[8]J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols,* 2nd ed., trans. Jack Sage (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1962), p. 98.

Haimon first greets his father with all the deference due him as parent and monarch: "I am your son, father. You are my guide./ You make things clear for me, and I obey you." He tells his father, "I cannot say–/ I hope that I shall never want to say!–that you/ Have reasoned badly," but he informs Creon that he has heard "muttering and whispering in the dark about this girl" and that "They say no woman has ever, so unreasonably,/ Died so shameful a death for a generous act" (Fitts-Fitzgerald, scene 3, pp. 479, 480).

Haimon then pleads for a balanced judgment:

> I beg you, do not be unchangeable:
> Do not believe that you alone can be right.
> The man who thinks that,
> The man who maintains that only he has the power
> To reason correctly, the gift to speak, the soul–
> A man like that, when you know him, turns out empty.
> It is not reason never to yield to reason!
>
> [Fitts-Fitzgerald, scene 3, p. 481]

Haimon is arguing that "The heart has its reasons that reason does not know."[9] He continues his appeal with the famous image of the trees:

> See how the trees that grow beside a torrent
> Preserve their branches, if they bend; the others,
> Those that resist are torn out, root and branch.
>
> [Kitto, lines 699–701]

The only response Haimon draws from his father is an anger bordering on madness. Creon subsequently strengthens his determination to continue the exercise of his authority. When he once more confronts Antigone, she reaffirms her obligation to Polyneices and observes:

> What I did, the wise will all approve.
> For had I lost a son, or lost a husband,
> Never would I have ventured such an act
> Against the city's will. And wherefore so?
> My husband dead, I might have found another;
> Another son from him, if I had lost
> A son. But since my mother and my father
> Have both gone to the grave, there can be none
> Henceforth that I can ever call my brother.

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[9]Blaise Pascal, *Pensées,* 227.

> It was for this I paid you such an honour,
> Dear Polyneices, and in Creon's eyes
> Thus wantonly and gravely have offended.
> [Kitto, lines 878–89]

Understanding of a unique and tender family tie, not stubbornness or arrogance, motivates Antigone to reject her uncle's demands and to go willingly to death.

It is Teiresias, the blind seer, who first causes Creon really to consider what his decision against Antigone means. He warns the king, "Know then, thou walk'st on fortune's razor-edge" (Plumptre, line 996) and prophesies, "Not many hours will pass before your house/ Rings loud with lamentation" (Kitto, lines 1042–43). Then Creon's followers remind the king, "no single prophecy that [Teiresias]/ Has made to Thebes has gone without fulfilment" (Kitto, lines 1058–59). It is thus his followers who make Creon understand that ruin lies just beyond his unyielding stand, that his prohibitory powers might be destructive of the common good, that authority, the state, may not always be right. When Creon requests, "Advise me; I will listen" (Kitto, line 1064), he has at last acknowledged that the force which Antigone represents must be reckoned with, that its claims are genuine. Creon yields and gives orders to set Antigone free from the tomb in which she has been imprisoned alive.

Creon has readily understood the meaning and uses of authority, but his comprehension of the strength of that other force–love, the nurturing instinct–comes too late. When he finally understands that balance is essential, that authoritarian demands are not the only claims legitimately made upon the family unit and the individuals constituting it, indeed are not the only claims legitimately made upon the larger society beyond the family, it is too late to save Antigone, who has insisted that love has prior rights, or Haimon, who has preached balance to his father, or Eurydice, who cannot cope with the tragedy of the death of her second son. When Creon finally understands the principle of balance, the ideal of synthesis, when he finally learns that certain individual rights must be preserved, that they cannot be sacrificed to the group no matter how large or powerful it may be, an appalling cost has been exacted from members of the two families.

Contemplating the destruction he has wrought, Creon declares that "My own blind heart has brought me/ From darkness to final darkness" (Fitts-Fitzgerald, *Exodos,* p. 497). In this powerful mixed metaphor he confesses that a failure of love on his part has destroyed his family and his happiness. His reason has led him to support the

prohibitions that are the prerogatives of authority to the total exclusion of the demands of the heart. Perhaps he could not listen to Antigone, for she was as single-minded as he, but he could have heeded his son, who understood both positions, who in his approach to the terrible difficulty that beset his family had achieved a synthesis, a balance, lacking in the two people whom he most loved. But when Haimon could not reach his father, he forsook his moderate stand to sacrifice his life for love.

Antigone is correctly viewed as a political drama with a central struggle focused on the rights of the individual as they may conflict with justifiable claims of the state, but, of course, the play ultimately passes beyond political statement. We are far removed from the Greece that existed five centuries before Christ, from the golden age of a remarkable civilization, from the world of Sophocles. But what Sophocles shows and teaches us through the agony of Antigone, Creon, and Haimon is timeless and eternal, and the lesson is grounded in family. Every individual, unless he is truly rootless, experiences in his own context the same conflict that the Theban uncle and his niece undergo.

KING LEAR

Shakespeare's almost intolerably tragic masterpiece, *King Lear,*[10] is, like *Antigone,* organized around two families that become inextricably entwined as the drama unfolds. As in *Antigone,* the families are incomplete, neither having a mother. In the royal family the King of Britain is father to three daughters; in the noble family Gloucester is father to two sons.

In the opening scene we observe Lear in action as both king and father. "Know that we have divided/ In three our kingdom," he announces. "And 'tis our fast intent/ To shake all cares and business from our age,/ Conferring them on younger strengths while we/ Unburdened crawl toward death" (1.1.38–42). He continues, "We have this hour a constant will to publish/ Our daughters' several dowers, that future strife/ May be prevented now" (1.1.44–46). Finally he queries, "Tell me, my daughters,/ Since now we will divest us both of rule,/ Interest of territory, cares of state,/ Which of you shall we say doth love us most?/ That we our largest bounty may extend/ Where nature doth with merit challenge" (1.1.49–54). The

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[10]William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* ed. G. B. Harrison (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1952). References are to act, scene, and line.

key word, the fatal word, in this speech is *divided.* And the question that Lear poses to his three daughters emphasizes and promotes the idea of division. In dividing his kingdom, he inevitably divides his family. These two divisions eventually lead to a figurative division of the universe.

Although Lear's plan does have some kind of reason behind it–his avowed desire to prevent "future strife," for example–it is not based on either true understanding or real love. In bidding for declarations of his daughters' affection, he sets up a contest among them, wherein he encourages extravagant, inflated, fawning statements of emotion as the women compete for their share of the country whose burden he no longer wishes to assume. Goneril claims she loves him "more than words can wield the matter,/ Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty" (1.1.56–57). Regan professes herself "an enemy to all other joys/ Which the most precious square of sense possesses,/ And find I am alone felicitate/ In your dear Highness' love" (1.1.75–78).

When Cordelia breaks the pattern by refusing to flatter her father, saying only that she loves him "according to my bond, nor more nor less" (1.1.95), Lear is at first incredulous. After all, he has offered her "a third more opulent than [her] sisters" (1.1.88). What he fails to comprehend, what it takes him prolonged anguish finally to know is the nature of real love. He does not understand that love is not a commodity. It is not measurable; it cannot be bought and sold. Brooks and Heilman call Lear's attitude "the spirit of calculation."[11] Lear does not know that true love, especially true parental love, is unconditional. His banishment of Cordelia does rest on a kind of reason, on a kind of authority, but it occurs mainly because he understands neither himself nor his children. He knows really nothing of consequence of the parent-child bond. His rejection of his youngest daughter for what he views as her failure in filial duty and gratitude may also be perceived as setting a precedent for Goneril and Regan: it shows them how to reject a parent, how to make him an outcast, how to deprive him of the sense of home. When Goneril and Regan come to power, Brooks and Heilman observe, Lear's "spirit of calculation" comes to power with them.[12] The lack of balance in Lear's approach to his family, then, unsettles, divides, and finally destroys his world. Ultimately, balance is achieved in the

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[11]Cleanth Brooks and Robert Heilman, *Understanding Drama* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957), p. 654.

[12]Ibid.

drama, but the restoration comes too late for Lear and his daughters. Not one member of the family lives to experience for long the harmony, the concord, that is the result of the restored balance.

While Lear is unwittingly loosing the forces that will eventually trap and destroy him, Gloucester is duped by his "natural" son, Edmund, into dividing his family too. With almost ludicrous ease Edmund deceives his father and his half-brother, Edgar, and disrupts their world. Gloucester's tragedy, like Lear's, begins with his rejection of a child, who, Edmund says, has a "nature so far from doing harms/ That he suspects none" and who is characterized by "foolish honesty" (1.2.196–97). With the loyal, loving Edgar an outcast because of Edmund's treachery and Gloucester's gullibility, Gloucester's world is wildly disordered. Seeing conflict and division all around him, he seeks an explanation. He can only conclude that the fault lies in "these late eclipses in the sun and moon" (1.2.112). Like Lear, Gloucester is at this point morally, symbolically blind to his own folly. He has not actively promoted division in his world, but he has easily acceded to it as he is manipulated by his scheming son.

As soon as Lear divides his kingdom and disinherits Cordelia, he is doomed. As soon as Gloucester allows his family to be divided, he is doomed. But as both men move toward their doom, they begin a purgative process that not only cleanses but also teaches, teaches the necessity of concord between intellect and heart, the necessity of balance between authority and love.

The division Lear forces on his family includes a reversal of the roles of parent and child. The Fool early points out that the king has made "thy daughters thy mother" (1.4.188). He sees what Lear does not: that arbitrary abdication of the parental role will lead to both personal and family disaster. Once an individual becomes a parent, his life is forever altered. Nothing can change the fact or erase the relationship. Lear has tired of his responsibilities as king and as father; he wishes to rid himself of the double load. However, he is not weary of his kingly or fatherly privileges and seeks to retain them without carrying the responsibilities that give him the right to those privileges.

Lear thus begins his tragedy by rejecting the duties of both fatherhood and kingship; he has never really understood those duties anyway. In fact, he has never been questioned or defied until Cordelia speaks her truth to him. Without Cordelia, on whom he had "thought to set [his] rest" (1.1.125), he leaves his own home to live with Goneril, but the behavior of his men causes Goneril to complain, with considerable justification. They create such havoc that

they make her "graced palace" seem "more like a tavern or a brothel," she says (1.4.266–67). When she dismisses fifty of his followers, when she further narrows–divides–his already narrowed world, continuing the process that Lear himself initiated, he denounces and curses her and further divides what is left of his family. He has one other daughter to turn to, Regan, but she says she will reduce his retinue to twenty-five. She also humiliates him by directing him to apologize to her sister. His pride and blindness force him to turn away from Regan back to Goneril because he still holds a quantitative concept of love; since her allowance of fifty men is double Regan's, he reasons that she must, therefore, love him twice as much as Regan does. Finally the two sisters suggest that the king needs no followers at all; the end result of all this division is zero. Lear's world is now in ruins, directly traceable to his division of his family, to his failure to understand and practice the principle of balance, to apprehend the meaning of love.

While the children in *Antigone* probably stand blameless, while they attempt to instruct Creon so that both basic forces in the family, love and authority, might be preserved, the children in Lear's family stand culpable. From one point of view even the saintly Cordelia could be held accountable for part of the family tragedy. The elder daughters are guilty of an especially ugly, degrading filial ingratitude. They see in their aged father only a man who has "ever but slenderly known himself" (1.1.296–97), only a man from whom they can seize wealth and power. Upon his protest that "I gave you all," Regan responds, "And in good time you gave it" (2.4.253). His cry "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is/ To have a thankless child!" (1.4.310–11) reflects the torment in Lear's microcosm. His call on the heath for the violent storm to "Crack nature's molds, all germens spill at once/ That make ingrateful man!" (3.2.8–9) enlarges the torment to include the cosmos. Lear wishes for the destruction of the seeds of life of all mankind. The wish comes from impending madness, madness engendered not just by his own failures but also by the failure of his daughters to cherish, to cultivate the nurturing instinct, to exercise the principle of balance. Goneril and Regan have exploited their father's intemperance, his lack of self-knowledge, his failure to understand love. Their eventual goal is to end his life.

What of Cordelia? At the beginning of the tragedy she could halt the disruption but does not. By "mending her speech" (1.1.96), she could forestall Lear's division of his family and let him "unburdened crawl toward death" (1.1.42). But she refuses, perhaps partly

because she is young and she herself has a lesson to learn and partly because she must be the instrument of Lear's change, his redemption, the means by which he is propelled to his moment of truth–when at last he understands what love "pure and undefiled" is, when finally he comes, however briefly, to that requisite balance, that synthesis, that concord of apparently opposing demands.

The relationships in Lear's family are complicated to a point beyond those in Creon's both because of the nature of the double story and the presence of sons-in-law. Goneril and Regan claim originally to love their father "all," despite the fact that they are both married, a fact that Cordelia pointedly comments on when she says to Lear:

> Why have my sisters husbands if they say
> They love you all? Haply, when I shall wed,
> That lord whose hand must take my plight shall carry
> Half my love with him, half my care and duty.
> Sure I shall never marry like my sisters,
> To love my father all.
>
> [1.1.101–06]

Cordelia's observation is sensible. It suggests early that we must be especially alert to the two elder sisters; we must immediately question their sincerity both as daughters and as wives. However, since Cordelia speaks of measurement–"half my love . . . , half my care and duty"[1.1.104]–the observation also associates her with one of her father's flaws–his quantitative view of human affection.

Just as Goneril and Regan break filial ties and abandon filial responsibilities, so do they ignore their marital bonds. Goneril, wed to the seemingly diffident, eminently decent Albany, and Regan, married to the brutal Cornwall, are both attracted to Edmund. They vie for his love just as aggressively as they strip their father of his dignity. Because Cornwall is fatally wounded in his attack upon the helpless Gloucester, Regan has the freedom of widowhood in her pursuit of Edmund. But Goneril, more determined, more hardened, more original in her evil than Regan, poisons her sister and thus temporarily gains the advantage.

As Goneril and Regan deal with Lear, then with their husbands, and finally with Edmund, the contrast between their original vows of love to their father and their deeds, between their intent and Cordelia's, enlarges in wordless fashion behind the lines of the play until it emerges directly when Cordelia returns to the story. Summoned by the devoted Kent, Cordelia assumes the care of her abused parent

and offers "all my outward worth" to whoever can restore Lear's "bereaved sense" (4.4.9–10). The outcast child dedicates herself to her father's care. In the most obvious Biblical echo in the drama, she declares, "O dear Father,/ It is thy business that I go about" (4.4.23–24). When Lear has slept the healing sleep, when he awakens to believe first that Cordelia is "a soul in bliss" and he is "bound/ Upon a wheel of fire that mine own tears/ Do scald like molten lead" (4.7.46–48), and then to realize that he is alive and that Cordelia is with him, he has almost recovered; he has almost learned what he has never known before despite his many years. However, there remains one more step to take before the recovery, the learning, is complete. Upon recognizing Cordelia, Lear says to her, "If you have poison for me, I will drink it./ I know you do not love me, for your sisters/ Have, as I do remember, done me wrong./ You have some cause, they have not" (4.7.72–74). Lear has not yet fully comprehended the nature of true love; he is still thinking in conditional terms; his "spirit of calculation" is not quite dead. Cordelia's breathtakingly simple, poignant, loving reply, "No cause, no cause" (4.7.75), teaches Lear his final lesson. With the reply the ultimate contrast of Cordelia with her sisters is also achieved; the ultimate example of filial obligation and affection is expressed. Furthermore, Shakespeare here contrasts the Cordelia who has suffered rejection and exile, the mature Cordelia, with the Cordelia who could or would say only, "I love . . ./ According to my bond, nor more nor less" (1.1.94–95), when at the beginning of the tragedy her father ordered her to declare her feelings for him. It seems clear that Cordelia, like Lear, has grown in understanding, that Cordelia, like Lear, has approached a balance formerly neglected because its need was not understood.

Like Cordelia, the maligned and persecuted Edgar also rescues a faltering, lost parent, one who had turned on him as Lear turned on his youngest child. But before Edgar assumes responsibility for the wretched, blinded Gloucester, he plays a small role in the care of the wandering king. In his attempts to "make of the outside world a home," Lear finds his way, in the storm, to Edgar's, Poor Tom's, hovel on the heath. Significantly, he does not enter it, but before the hovel he encounters Gloucester's disguised son and, observing Edgar's "utter destitution,"[13] descends into total madness with the observation that Edgar's condition could have been caused only by the

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[13]Harrison, ed., *Shakespeare,* p. 1163.

cruel treatment of daughters. At Kent's invitation, Edgar joins Lear and his followers but does not leave with them when they depart for Dover.

Edgar is thus close by when his father in both physical and emotional agony is thrust out of his own home to "smell his way to Dover" (3.7.93–94). His blinding, says Theodore Spencer, "is the physical equivalent to the madness of Lear."[14] Just as Cordelia appears during the depths of Lear's madness to assume responsibility for his recovery, Edgar now assumes responsibility for his father's well-being during the depths of Gloucester's despair and his determination to commit suicide. Edgar tricks his father, who had earlier been tricked by the faithless Edmund, but Edgar's deception saves Gloucester's life. Instead of jumping from the cliffs at Dover, Gloucester is tricked into jumping from a small mound and then into believing that he has been miraculously preserved despite his leap from great heights. Through this deception Edgar, who has not yet revealed his identity to his father, helps Gloucester find the strength to endure. "Henceforth I'll bear/ Affliction till it do cry out itself/ 'Enough, enough,' and die" (4.6.75–77), he vows. By enduring, he helps atone for unfeeling, unfatherly remarks he has made early in Act I about the circumstances of Edmund's birth, for his cruelty to Edgar, for the division he has allowed to develop in his family because of his lack of understanding, his lack of insight. The wronged child has once more led a parent to moral understanding. A kind of balance is, therefore, reached, but enjoyed only briefly because Gloucester soon faces death. When Edgar at lasts reveals himself to his father, Gloucester's "flawed heart" "burst[s]/ smilingly" (5.3.196, 199).

It is still necessary for Edgar and Edmund to face each other, and in their confrontation Edgar is triumphant. The wronged son, the wronged brother, the outcast, defeats the agent of all his woes. Furthermore, Edgar's conquest of Edmund helps restore balance in Britain, for the treacherous Edmund has commanded the British troops against France and is in reality in control of the state. With his defeat by Edgar come a confession and a kind of penitence, but not in time to save Cordelia and, consequently, Lear. Peace is restored in the state, under Edgar and Albany; the division is mended; but that unit, Lear's family, wherein the discord and division began, has experienced only briefly a restoration of harmony, a feeling of balance,

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[14]"Shakespeare and the Nature of Man," in *King Lear: Text, Sources, and Criticism,* ed. G. B. Harrison and Robert McDonnell (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1962), p. 138.

before it is forever shattered. However, in Lear's simple "Pray you, undo this button" (5.3.309) with its echo of Cordelia's compassion, we hear a renewal of the voice of tenderness and an awareness of the possibility of release and spiritual communication.

Peopled though it is with nobility and royalty and set in a far-away era and unfamiliar circumstances, *King Lear* is yet a contemporary consideration of basic familial situations and problems. Totally relevant to modern times is its almost microscopic examination of the obligations of parents and children to each other, of the disasters concomitant with neglect or abandonment or perversion of these obligations, of the necessity of moderation and balance in one's approach to family difficulties, of the real meaning of authority and love within the bounds of the family.

DEATH OF A SALESMAN

Like the preceding plays in this discussion, Arthur Miller's twentieth-century tragedy *Death of a Salesman*[15] concerns itself with two families. A third family rests in shadowy outline in the protagonist's memory. Once more the problems of division in the family and the father who does not know himself lie at the heart of the drama. Additionally, false values capable of perverting and destroying family structure underline the other troubles the play examines.

When *Death of a Salesman* was first produced some thirty years ago, its influence so permeated the United States that one man hitchhiked from California to Miller's home in Connecticut because he felt that Miller had written his story, that this new play so clearly reflected his own problems and misery, Miller must surely have a profound understanding of him personally.

Why does *Death of a Salesman* affect many readers and viewers in such a peculiarly personal way? It is about a huband and wife beset with financial problems, about an aging man who loses his job, about two sons who disappoint their parents, about a world seemingly indifferent to the difficulties of an everyday family. The larger outline is painfully recognizable to all of us–we all know a Willy Loman, or we may even be partly Willy Loman ourselves.

We first meet Willy in the last troubled days of his life when age has slowed his body and bewilderment at his disastrous business trips and disintegrating family has clouded his mind. As Miller

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[15]Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman,* ed. Gerald Weales (New York: The Viking Press, 1967).

works back and forth between present and past, we gradually understand Willy's agitation, his fear, his growing psychosis.

The Loman family comprises Willy; Linda, his wife; and Biff and Happy, their sons. Because Miller uses the expressionistic technique of fluid time, the flashback, the probing of Willy's memory, we see the Loman family that was, in addition to the one that is. Through the appearances of his older brother, Ben, and the questions he puts to Ben about their earlier life, particularly about their father, we glimpse the family into which Willy was born. A third family in the play consists of laconic neighbor Charley, who may be Linda's brother (Miller implies this relationship but does not make it clear), and Bernard, his son.

Willy's entire life has centered on his sons, particularly on the elder one, Biff. As Willy's mind recedes into the past, we see Biff as a young athletic hero, the glory of his high school team, the envy of his contemporaries, the idol of impressionable young girls. We also see the sons', particularly Biff's, dedication to Willy, their hero-worship of their father. Happy is primarily a tag-along, a younger brother living in the shade of an older brother whom he can never hope to equal, let alone surpass.

Willy's goal for his sons is that they be "well liked." If one is popular, according to Willy, he will never lack for anything. He himself, he says, is a successful salesman because he is well liked. When he arrives at a business with his wares, all he finds necessary is to announce that Willy Loman is here, and he is allowed to see the buyer immediately. Being well liked, according to the Loman philosophy, is the only secret of success. Honesty, ability, training, and hard work have nothing to do with success; only that nebulous quality of personality that causes the automatic smile and happy greeting from the unthinking really matters.

Charley, who runs a successful business, is liked, but not well liked, Willy says. Bernard, Charley's son, is liked, but not well liked, Biff and Happy solemnly declare. Thus, neither Charley nor Bernard can hope to be anyone of genuine consequence in the early Loman world. However, Bernard is useful to Willy's family because he is an excellent student who can feed answers to Biff during school examinations.

Willy's emphasis on being well liked, his belief in the validity of high-school reputation as a foundation for adult life, is supported by a conveniently flexible moral code. When without permission Biff brings home a football from the locker room at school, Willy not only fails to reprimand him but comments that the coach would

probably be pleased, would indeed be inclined to congratulate Biff on his "initiative." He further encourages petty thievery by directing his sons to go next door to the construction site of an apartment house for enough sand so that they can rebuild the front stoop of their home. He also boasts, "You should've seen the lumber they brought home last week. At least a dozen six-by-tens worth all kinds of money.... I gave them hell, understand. But I got a couple of fearless characters there" (p. 50).

Where is Linda, their mother, when their father in effect directs Biff and Happy in their dishonesty? Where is she when Biff cheats on tests? Where is she when parents complain that Biff is too rough with their daughters? Always she stands with Willy as a loyal, loving wife, with words of warm approval or encouragement. Her protests about her sons' behavior seem mild or else are overridden by Willy's domineering personality.

However, in the older family, the family that is, when Willy is ailing and desperate, she speaks plainly and forcefully to her sons:

> I don't say he's a great man. Willy Loman never made a lot of money. His name was never in the paper. He's not the finest character that ever lived. But he's a human being, and a terrible thing is happening to him. So attention must be paid. He's not to be allowed to fall into his grave like an old dog. Attention, attention must be finally paid to such a person. [P. 56]

It is a moving plea, replete with pity and understanding and love.

Linda reveals to Biff and Happy her discovery of the rubber pipe near the gas water heater in the basement and her unwillingness to destroy it or face Willy with it because doing so would insult him. She is fighting for Willy's sanity, for his life, with both maternal and wifely strength. It is clearly Linda alone who now holds the decaying family structure together.

In the younger Loman family, however, Linda's influence is minor. Willy appears to be in complete control. Her chief role is to praise and agree, not to make moral judgments or moral challenges. The label "queen of bromides" is perhaps too harsh for Linda, but those who lavishly praise her devotion, who see her as a tragic figure, or who judge her to be the quintessential wife and mother are not altogether discerning.

The Loman family of earlier days is a united, supportive group, true enough, but it is guided by false values espoused by its chief figure of authority, the father, and unchecked by any potent or sustained effort by the mother. There is no balance in the family: the

main force, Willy, is unprincipled, or at least misguided, and he is uninfluenced by the only person in a position to help. Linda loves and nurtures, it is true, but her care is tendered to a group that seems to have been on the wrong road all its life.

A significant figure in Willy's excursions into the past is his elder brother, Ben. Willy was always second to Ben, just as Happy is second to Biff. But Ben is Willy's key to his childhood and to the material success Willy longs for. Willy's memories of his father are vague and few. All he recalls is a man "with a big beard" and "some kind of high music" (p. 48). Ben tells him their father played a flute. As he questions Ben about the past, he expresses his need to know who he is. "Dad left when I was such a baby," he laments, "and I never had a chance to talk to him and I still feel–kind of temporary about myself" (p. 51). Ben has the answers, Willy believes.

Ben is also a model for the kind of success Willy yearns for–incomparable wealth. Ben's account of his good fortune, however, is mystically vague, befitting the fact that we meet him only in Willy's memory: "When I was seventeen I walked into the jungle, and when I was twenty-one I walked out. And . . . I was rich" (p. 48). How and why did Ben succeed when Willy has not? The chilling scene in which, after he trips Biff, he holds the point of his umbrella over the boy's eye and advises him, "Never fight fair with a stranger" (p. 49), suggests very clearly how he has attained his success. He is a dangerously ruthless man. Still Willy seeks his advice on rearing his sons. Ben responds only, "You're being first-rate with your boys. Outstanding, manly chaps!" (p. 52). Brother Ben is scarcely a pattern for guiding the lives of a family. Yet Willy, blinded by Ben's success and piqued by envy, believes in him to the end. It is Ben, reappearing in Willy's deranged mind, who finally approves Willy's plan to commit suicide.

The Loman family that was, that re-emerges in Willy's dreams, provides most of the explanation necessary for us to understand the Loman family that is. After many years of separation–division–the four Lomans, the present family, have reassembled under the family roof. Biff, the wanderer, and Happy, the vulgar womanizer, are home. Their mother is now living in intense fear. Willy's boss, Howard Wagner, the son of the man who first hired Willy as a salesman, has taken away Willy's salary and put him on commission and then has dismissed him, exhibiting the same kind of ruthlessness that has made Ben successful. With his failure preying on his mind, Willy makes repeated attempts to kill himself.

When Biff arrives home, there is a surge of hope, which soon

ebbs. The joy of reunion recedes quickly. For a few years after high school Biff had worked in New York, but the restrictions of the business world galled him. Now thirty-four, he has no roots. He drifts from job to job, back and forth across the country. "I've always made a point of not wasting my life," he reflects, "and everytime I come back here I know that all I've done is to waste my life" (pp. 22–23). Happy works steadily, but his chief concerns are automobiles and women. He boasts of seducing the fiancées of his friends. Occasionally he makes a financial gesture to his stricken parents, but his main goal is personal pleasure. Here, then, is the reality of the grown-up Loman brothers; Biff, the golden boy, and Happy, the tag-along, have grown into morally shabby adults. Biff, for whom his father had perhaps unreasonably great expectations, is a supreme disappointment.

What happened in addition to what we have already noted? In a crucial memory sequence Willy relives an episode in Boston. Biff, needing his father's help because of difficulties about high school graduation, has followed Willy, who is absent from home on a selling trip, and finds him with a woman in a hotel room. Willy's defense that the woman means nothing to him, that he was lonely, rings true and sad, but it does nothing to placate or comfort young Biff.

The dishonesty that characterized their early family life—the stealing and cheating and infidelity—has proved the undoing of the mature family. Biff wanders because he cannot hold a job. "I never got anywhere because you blew me so full of hot air I could never stand taking orders from anybody!" (p. 31) he tells his father. During the three months he had no address, he was in jail in Kansas City for stealing a suit. He confesses, "I stole myself out of every good job since high school." Not too surprisingly, he also states, "We never told the truth for ten minutes in this house!" (p. 131).

At which kind of work could Willy and his sons have excelled? "We don't belong in this nuthouse of a city!" Biff says. "We should be mixing cement on some open plain, or—or carpenters" (p. 61). Willy has loved to plant and watch the growth of the family garden. He uses his hands skillfully; he can repair and create with his hands. He might have been happy as a farmer or a carpenter, but he has spent his life pursuing wrong dreams and teaching his sons to do the same.

What has happened to Charley and the grown-up Bernard? Charley well understands the disaster Willy's life has become, for Willy keeps borrowing from him and pretends to Linda, who knows

the truth but says nothing, that the money is his salary. Charley repeatedly offers Willy a job, but Willy repeatedly refuses, out of stubbornness and pride and jealousy. Charley, unfailingly charitable, is always there when Willy needs him. It is easy to understand why Miller calls Charley "the most decent man in *Death of a Salesman.*"[16] Willy finally tells him, "You're the only friend I got. Isn't that a remarkable thing?" (p. 98). The hard-working Bernard is now a successful lawyer about to argue a case before the Supreme Court. Willy marvels, "And he didn't even mention it!" Charley's reply sums up the difference between his son and the Loman brothers: "He don't have to–he's gonna do it" (p. 95).

Even with collapse imminent, Willy still cannot let go of his old dreams. When Biff suggests that perhaps Bill Oliver will finance his and Happy's latest scheme because he once worked for Oliver and Oliver admired him, or so his memory lets him believe, Willy grabs the suggestion, enlarges on it, and causes his sons to enlarge on it (although Biff finally pulls back) in the same grandiose manner that characterized the earlier family days. Willy has learned nothing.

As he once more prepares to leave home, Biff tries to make his father understand what his elder son has learned. Biff now knows who he is. "I'm nobody," he cries; "I'm a dime a dozen, and so are you!" Willy resists with his entire soul, "I am not a dime a dozen! I am Willy Loman" (p. 132). Who is right? Both are. The kind of self-knowledge Biff has earned is rare and valuable; but the self-respect Willy fights to hang onto is also essential. The most important fact that emerges in this final confrontation between father and son is that they love each other; despite old scars, despite fresh wounds, they still love each other. And it is really the knowledge that Biff loves him which leads Willy to suicide so that in death he can help his son through his insurance.

Although Arthur Miller claims that "Willy Loman is filled with a joy, however broken-hearted, as he approaches his end,"[17] many of us might find the play profoundly depressing, not uplifting. In at least partial support of Miller's view, John Gassner speaks of "some magnificence of spirit" in Willy Loman. Gassner points out:

> Willy fights for his family all his life, carries on a difficult struggle for sales long after he has ceased to be welcome in the market place, and holds on to an impossible dream for his son. If in nothing else, moreover, he is tragically impassioned as a father. . . . Willy may be called a suburban King Lear, with sons instead of daughters breaking his heart.

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[16]Arthur Miller, "Introduction to *Collected Plays,*" in *Death of a Salesman,* ed. Gerald Weales, p. 170.
[17]Ibid., p. 167.

> Although obviously devoid of the splendor of Shakespeare's old man, limited as Willy is by a small mind and by unelevated language, he is not conceived in merely pathetic terms. . . .

Gassner concludes:

> He dies as a father, not as a salesman. This transfiguration of a man who would otherwise have to be dismissed as a cheat and dolt endows him with some of the magnitude we expect to find in tragedy.[18]

In *Antigone* and *King Lear* we can easily identify examples of moral goals, moral decisions, and moral action. In *Death of a Salesman* the task is complicated. The Loman family seems to offer mostly negative examples. The father, the chief authority figure, never understands, as Creon and Lear finally do. The mother, the other major formative force, allows, if she does not condone, the questionable values by which the family lives and develops. She loves wholeheartedly, but whatever her influence, it emerges too late. A "wronged" son does try to bring his father to moral awareness, but only after he has reached moral depths himself. The ideal of balance in the lives of family members and in family government and structure exists only in silent contrast with the reality of the despair and failure of the Lomans. How should we view this family besides as a negative example? Compassionately. Their troubles are too easily recognizable for us to scoff at; their plight is too familiar for us to feel superior to them.

CONCLUSION

Why look at only tragedies in a consideration of the family in drama? Where are the happy, successful families? Why not consider the bright side of human relationships? Tolstoi's famous opening sentence in *Anna Karenina* provides part of the answer to those questions: "All happy families resemble one another, but each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way." Applied to drama, this observation means, of course, that we may learn more from tragedy than from comedy because tragedy offers a greater variety of experience. Additionally, tragedy inevitably makes a more memorable, more powerful examination of human difficulties. Even if it is true that the main appeal of tragedy is to the heart and the main appeal of comedy is to the intellect, it is still tragedy that makes us think, that

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[18]John Gassner and Bernard F. Dukore, *A Treasury of the Theatre,* 2 vols., 4th ed. (New York: Simon Schuster, 1970), 2:1107.

causes us to contemplate, that teaches us the most. John Donne's dictum that "Affliction is a treasure"[19] dramatizes metaphorically one of the basic values of the tragic experience.

The tragic dramas—all centered on family—we have looked at briefly have shown us the power of the family over the individual, the distress and destruction the family can wreak, but also the promise inherent in the family, even when that promise is present in the play only through indirection or merely in a triumphant moment near the close.

"How may a man make of the outside world a home?" Drama shows us that the individual finds his way in the outside world and his place there according to the preparation his family has given him. The family determines his emotional, his psychological success in that world. If authority and love reach a balance in the family, if the individual is able to achieve a synthesis of those forces that control him within the family, if the family recognizes the need to preserve the values and rights of the individual within the group, if the family rejects false values, then a man may have the kind of beginnings that will allow him to live knowledgeably, perhaps at times even joyfully, in the world beyond his mother and father's home, in the outside world of Miller's question.

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[19]John Donne, "Meditation XVII."

The Prodigal's Mother

Elouise Bell

"Pray you, friend, sit, sit. Take this new cushion–
goose-down and very soft.
You'll not mind if I go on about my weaving?
Yes, it's as you say: a household this large
sometimes imprisons us
As the meanest hovel cannot do.
Within, without, the kitchens, the flocks,
Carding and weaving, buying and selling–
And of course *you* know both sides of the loom about
Servants! Which is worse: doing without them,
Or dealing with them?
Well, I tell you something, Sariah–
You and I have shared so much,
Shall I hide any kernel from you now?–
I tell you this: I am rapacious for the work,
These ashen days.
I devour whole mornings in the vineyards,
Outstripping the fastest girl we've got
(And she knows it too, and pouts);
I tear at the afternoon's work with both hands,
Till the sweat drops like water wrung out of a cloth
from the dye vats.
Late into the evening I gnaw at the shreds of whatever labor
I can sniff out, in storehouse or smokehouse,
granary or garden.
And still the hunger is there, the hollow gapes.

"No. No, nothing from him yet.
Of course we hope. Every day we hope.
In fact, when the last caravan went north,
I weighted our agent's palm with–
Well, it wasn't copper–
To seek out any news of him, any *scrap.*
Nothing.

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"Excuse me, what did you–
Oh, the other one?
Fine, fine, I trust. Hard at it with his father
in the fields.
A sober boy, that one; you'd almost call him sullen,
Not at all like–
Well! Here, have some honey-cakes, fresh as fresh.
Baked them myself before this day was full-term born.
Sariah, oldest friend, no mock honey ever oozed
from your lips,
So tell me: where was I amiss?
If only someone would tell me!
This endless chasing after 'maybe's'
Like some dulled ox chained to his round–
I fear I will end by wandering the hills,
A madwoman in shreds and shards!
Maybe I didn't teach him well enough
In earliest days, when he tugged about my skirts
(Always crying for dates and figs, he was).
But goodness knows, I did my best!
'Wine is a mocker,' I recited by day and by night,
Before the boy was scarcely weaned.
'He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man,'
I quoted from Solomon.
'Honor the Lord with thy substance, and with the
firstfruits of all thine increase,'–
Have we ever done other in this household, I ask you?
Or maybe we were too hard on him, these recent years.
A new-sprung man loves more than fertile soil
and swelling harvests!
Maybe I should have begged some favors from his father–
A journey to distant lands goes far to slake
youthful thirsts.
Tell me, Sariah, I implore you!
What did I *do*? What did I *not*?

"What's that? Sleep? Oh, woman, don't wish sleep on me!
Each night shows me more horrors than he could live out
in a lifetime,
Yet in my dreams, I must live them all–must see him
Freezing and frying,

Limp with starvation and bloated with wine,
Miserably alone and miserably companied–
His worst days cannot possibly out-devil
    my mildest nights.

"Micah? Ah, well–ask the neighbors.
Ask the dozing ones in the temple courts.
What woman knows her husband's heart
When he would have it hid?
He prays, it seems–so do we all–
From first light until last–
Stands often on the hill beneath the giant olive tree–
Look you now and tell me if he's not there–
Stands and rakes the landscape with his eyes,
Combing the highroad, the footpaths.
Oh, Sarele, to see that great man droop, and slow his pace,
And leave his steaming bowl half-full,
Who once could out-eat both his sons
And twice their labors in the field perform!

"Ah, so soon? Verily? Can you not spare one more
    turn of the glass?
Well, the sands have run more swiftly for your company,
    dearest friend.
Ah yes, yes, do that, Sariah.
Do pray for me and mine.
For our son, for Micah, and for me.
And should anyone ask you,
Tell them this:
There can be starvation in the midst of plenty.
The fields here groan with harvest,
The vines hang heavy,
The fatted calf lows in its pen–
But there is a hunger that grips
    beyond the reach of these.
Yes, yes, we will still hope.
Every day we will hope.
Hope makes a thin broth,
But it is all we have.
Farewell . . . and His peace go with you, too.
His peace go with you."

The Declining Distinctiveness of Utah's Working Women

Howard M. Bahr

Looking back, it seems that the American working woman has come a long way since 1940.[1] Certainly during World War II she entered the civilian labor force in unprecedented numbers and following that war did not abandon her work role. Instead, women's share of the nation's jobs increased. In 1950 one-third of America's women were working, by 1960 38 percent, and by 1976 the figure had risen to over 47 percent. In that year, 40 percent of all jobs in the country were held by women.

Along with increased employment for women came opportunities to work in jobs formerly closed to them. Women became more achievement oriented, and growing proportions prepared themselves for the new occupational opportunities by going to college. In absolute numbers, these generalizations are true: there are more women in college than there used to be and more women at work in high-status jobs. But social change seen from the vantage-points of personal experience and the media often lacks comparative perspective. When such changes in women's educational attainment and job status are viewed in relative terms, as part of a general rise in educational attainment and occupational status, it becomes clear that much of the accepted "progress" of women has merely been their keeping pace with the general upward mobility of all segments of society. In many ways, compared to men, American working women are more disadvantaged in the 1970s than they were in the 1940s.

This study deals with Utah working women. About three-fourths of Utahns are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and the state's people often are viewed as distinctive as a consequence of the Mormon influence. The state's

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[1]Most of the comments in this report about change apply to the period 1940-1970. Occasionally, the author has been able to supplement census data with more recent figures, and so some patterns refer to a thirty-six year span, or a "generation."

political conservatism, the formal patriarchal structure of Mormon family life, the larger families, and the negative stance about women's employment outside the home taken by some Church leaders might all be seen as fostering a unique labor force experience for Utah women. Because it is so tempting to drag in patriarchalism or some of these other factors to explain Utah work force patterns which run counter to our accepted notions of how the world has changed and how women have been liberated, a sketching of historical trends and Utah-national comparisons is a critical initial step in this study.

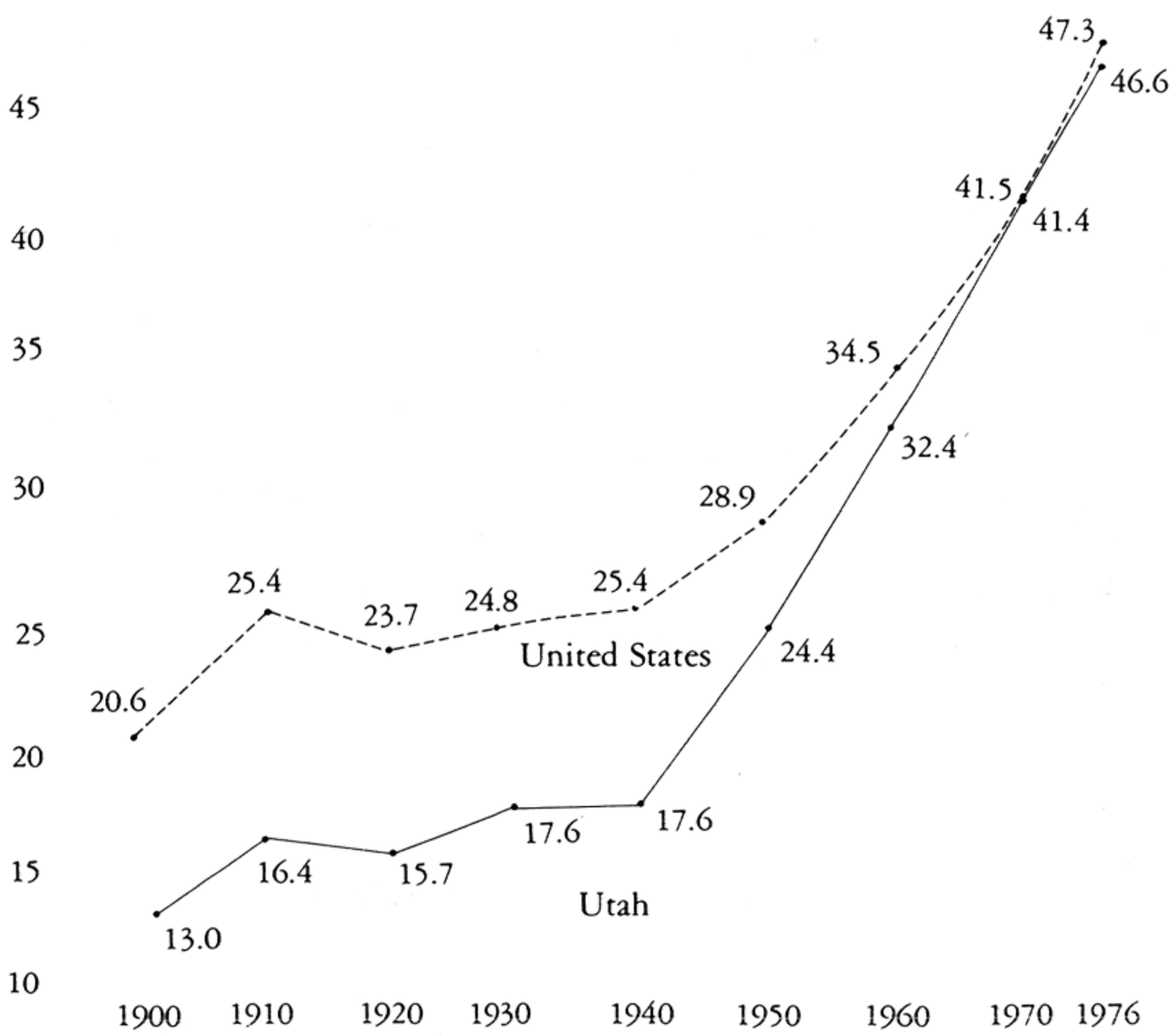
The findings reported here should make us wary of facile generalizations about the distinctiveness of working women in Utah. The excursion into the historical record will document at least three facts that should be kept in mind as we consider more recent studies of Utah women's work: (1) Over the past generation the labor force participation of Utah women has become increasingly like that of women nationally, until today there is no difference. Utah women are as apt as other women to work outside the home. (2) The general types of jobs held by women have changed little since 1940; to the degree that change has occurred, it has been in the direction of making Utah women more like women in other states. (3) Both in Utah and in the nation, the position of women relative to men with respect to higher education and to participation in high-status occupations has either remained stable or deteriorated. True, there are more female professionals today; but there are also many more male professionals, and, in comparative perspective, there are only a few specific occupations where women have made significant inroads.

TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Early in this century Utah women were much less likely to work outside the home than were American women generally. In 1900 only 13 percent of Utah's women were in the labor force, but the national figure was almost 21 percent. As may be seen in Figure 1, although women's labor force participation increased slightly between 1900 and 1940, the gap between Utah women and other women continued at about the same level, with women in the country as a whole being about 1.5 times as apt to be employed as Utah women. Since 1940, the difference has declined markedly. By 1950, 24 percent of Utah women were in the labor force, compared to 29 percent of women nationally, and by 1960 this 5 percent difference had been reduced to only a 2 percent difference. In the late sixties the Utah

Figure 1. Female Labor Force as Percentage of Total Female Population, for Women, Aged 14* and Over, for Utah and the U.S., by Ten-Year periods 1900–1970, and 1976

*Data for 1900–1930 for the U.S. represent women aged 15 and over, and 1970 figures are for women 16 and over.



Sources:

1930: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Labor Force* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 3, part 5, Pennsylvania-Wyoming (Utah), Table 2, p. 649.

1940: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 2, part 7, Utah-Wyoming, Table 17, p. 34, and Table 18, p. 35; part 1, United States Summary, Table 16, p. 44–46, and Table 17, p. 44–47.

1950: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), vol. 2, part 44, Utah, Table 25, p. 44–30; part 1, United States Summary, Table 50, p. 1–99.

1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), vol. 1, Table 52, p. 46–76; part 1, United States Summary, Table 82, p. 1–213.

1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 53, pp. 46–121, 46–122; part 1, United States Summary, Section 1, Table 90, pp. 1–390, 1–391.

U.S. Historical Statistics, Bicentennial, part 1, Series D 49–62, p. 133.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *U.S. Working Women: A Databook* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), Bulletin 1977, Table 3, p. 5.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1976* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), Table 3.

rate caught up with the national rate, and for the past decade there has been essentially no difference beween the two.

It might be argued that the increased proportion of Utah women employed outside the home merely reflects the increasing urban nature of the Utah population in contrast to the national population. However, inspection of state and national figures on women's employment by locality of residence reveals that the tendency toward congruity with national patterns applies in rural farm, rural nonfarm, and city localities alike.

City women have consistently been more likely to work outside the home for pay than have their rural counterparts. In the U.S. as a whole, and in Utah in particular, the census figures on unemployment for rural residents are remarkably consistent, with rural farm women the least apt to participate in the labor force, followed by women who live in rural areas but do not belong to farming families, and topped by urban women, whose labor force participation is highest. Since 1940 the participation of all women in the labor force has increased. In fact, rural women in 1970 were much more apt to be employed than were urban women in 1940.

The convergence of the employment patterns of Utah women and women nationally is apparent in the urban/rural nonfarm/rural farm comparisons in Table 1. In 1940, more than one of every six

TABLE 1
Percentage of Women* in the Labor Force, by Urban and Rural Residence, Utah and the United States, 1940–1970

	1940		1950		1960		1970	
	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.
TOTAL	17.6%	25.4%	24.4%	28.9%	32.4%	34.5%	41.5%	41.4%
Urban	21.7	31.2	28.1	33.2	34.7	37.3	43.0	43.1
Rural Nonfarm	12.4	20.7	17.7	22.7	25.4	28.8	35.4	37.1
Rural Farm	9.9	12.1	13.9	15.7	23.3	22.9	30.9	29.9

*Aged 14 and over, 1940–1960, and 16 and over in 1970.

Sources:

1940: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 2, part 7, Utah-Wyoming, Tables 17 and 18; part 1, United States Summary, Tables 16 and 17.

1950: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), vol. 2, part 44, Utah, Table 25; part 1, United States Summary, Table 50.

1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), vol. 1, Table 52; part 1, United States Summary, Table 82.

1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 53; part 1, United States Summary, Section 1, Table 90.

Utah women was in the labor force, compared to one in four in the nation. The gap between the figures for Utah women and the national rate was highest for women living in the urban areas and smallest for rural farm women. By 1950 the difference in percent of women in the labor force had declined to 4.5 percent, and women in both urban and rural nonfarm Utah lagged about 5 percent behind the national figures in labor force participation. Farm women were still about half as likely as city women to have jobs. By 1960, the difference between Utah women and women in the entire nation had narrowed still further, and for the first time, a category of Utah women—those in the rural farm category—were *more* likely to be in the labor force than their counterparts nationwide.

The 1970 figures reveal that for each of the three rural-urban classifications Utah women's participation in the labor force was no different from that of American women generally, and the differences by urban-rural category were all less than 2 percent. Thus, whether we consider women in cities, in farming areas, or in nonfarm rural settings, the finding is the same: Between 1940 and 1970 Utah women entered the labor force faster than American women as a whole. Not only did they keep pace with the national trend toward increased participation of women in the labor force, but they also closed the employment gap which existed in 1940.

If the trends which have affected the employment of women in the country as a whole had influenced Utah women to the same degree as women elsewhere, the differential between Utah women and other women would have remained even, although the absolute rates of participation would have increased for both groups. Instead, not only did Utah women enter the labor force in numbers large enough to maintain the state's position relative to the increasing national rate, but the gap between Utah women and other women disappeared entirely.

Along with the increase in the percentage of women employed has come an increase in part-time work. Census figures on part-time employment are not available for all working women, but for one segment of the population—the young adult category including women up to age twenty-seven or thirty-four—there are published figures which permit Utah-national comparisons. As may be seen in Table 2, the proportion of employed women working full time (thirty-five hours or more per week) has shown a consistent decline over the thirty-year period in both Utah and the U.S. as a whole.

In 1940, 85 percent of Utah women who worked were employed full time. By 1950 this figure had dropped to 72 percent and then to

60 percent in 1960 and 57 percent in 1970. The figures for the nation as a whole show a comparable decline, going from 82 percent in 1940 to 67 percent in 1970. In other words, four-fifths of the employed women used to work full time, but by 1970, among women under thirty-five, only about two-thirds in the nation and just over half in Utah worked full time. Since 1950, Utah women who work have been consistently more apt to work part time than have their counterparts in the nation.

TABLE 2
Young Adult[a] Women's Employment Status and Hours Worked, Utah and the United States, 1940–1970

	1940		1950		1960		1970	
	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.
Number in labor force	33,888	12,845,259	23,700	6,021,945	41,466	8,462,195	70,397	12,944,539
Percentage in labor force	17.6%	25.4%	25.9%	32.5 %	30.9%	33.7%	43.1%	45.4%
Total at work during census week	25,276	9,515,593	21,030	5,272,355	37,889	7,622,993	63,638	11,624,139
Percentage working:								
1–14 hours	2.8%[b]	2.8%[b]	12.0%	5.1%	20.6%	12.6%	16.6%	11.0%
15–34 hours	12.7	15.2	15.5	13.2	19.5	16.0	26.2	22.0
35 hours or more	84.5	82.0	72.5	81.7	59.5	71.4	57.2	67.0

[a]1940, 14 years and older; 1950, 14–29 years; 1960, 14–34 years, civilian labor force; 1970, 16–34 years, civilian labor force.

[b]1940 category listed was "under 14 hours."

Sources:

1940: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Labor Force* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 3, part 5, Pennsylvania-Wyoming (Utah), Table 22, p. 695; part 1, United States Summary, Table 85, p. 258.

1950: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), vol. 2, part 44, Utah, Table 71, p. 44–97; part 1, United States Summary, Table 122, p. 1–258.

1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 117, p. 46–196; part 1, United States Summary, Table 197, p. 1–507.

1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 166, p. 46–356; part 1, United States Summary, Section 2, Table 217, p. 1–693.

PREPARATION FOR WORK: TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Utah women are better educated than women in the country as a whole. However, these differences also seem to be declining. In 1940,

among women aged twenty-five and over, the median number of years of school completed was 10.4 for Utah women and 8.7 for U.S. women. By 1950, the difference had increased slightly and the average Utah woman had completed high school (median years schooling = 12.0) while the average American woman had only 9.6 years of schooling. The 1960 census revealed that women nationally were beginning to close the gap with the median of 10.9 years completed as compared to 12.2 for Utah women. By 1970, the median figure for Utah women was 12.4, up only .4 from 1950, while that for U.S. women as a whole was 12.1. Thus, as of 1970, the educational advantage Utah women had formerly possessed over women nationally was largely gone.

This finding of the declining distinctiveness of Utah women does not appear, however, if we examine figures on college attendance. Utah continues to maintain a sizable advantage in proportion of women attending college. In 1940, one out of six Utah women aged twenty-five and over had attended at least one year of college, compared to one out of ten nationally. By 1950, the Utah figure had jumped to one out of five compared to one of eight nationally (19.6 percent vs. 12.9 percent). In 1960, 21.8 percent of Utah women had completed at least one year of college compared to 14.8 percent among other women, and in 1970, the comparable figures were 26.6 percent as compared to 18.7 percent.

Thus, while the difference in median number of years of education has almost disappeared, Utah women continue to be enrolled more frequently in college and to be college graduates. In fact, their advantage in proportion of women completing four or more years of college has increased. In 1940, 4.7 percent of Utah women had completed college compared to 3.8 percent for women nationally, an advantage for Utah women of 0.9 percent. In 1950, the difference remained at about the same level with 6.0 percent of Utah women having graduated as compared to 5.2 percent; but in 1960, for the first time in the thirty-year period, the difference between Utah women and other women in the percent completing four or more years of college surpassed 1 percent (7.1 percent for Utah women compared to 5.8 percent for all women), and the difference increased to 1.5 percent in 1970 (9.6 percent versus 8.1 percent, respectively). Despite a national trend toward increased education for women which has raised the national median to near the level for Utah women, in the highest categories of educational achievement, Utah women have not only maintained their advantage but increased it. In

1970, almost one out of ten Utah women was a college graduate, compared to one in twelve for the country as a whole.

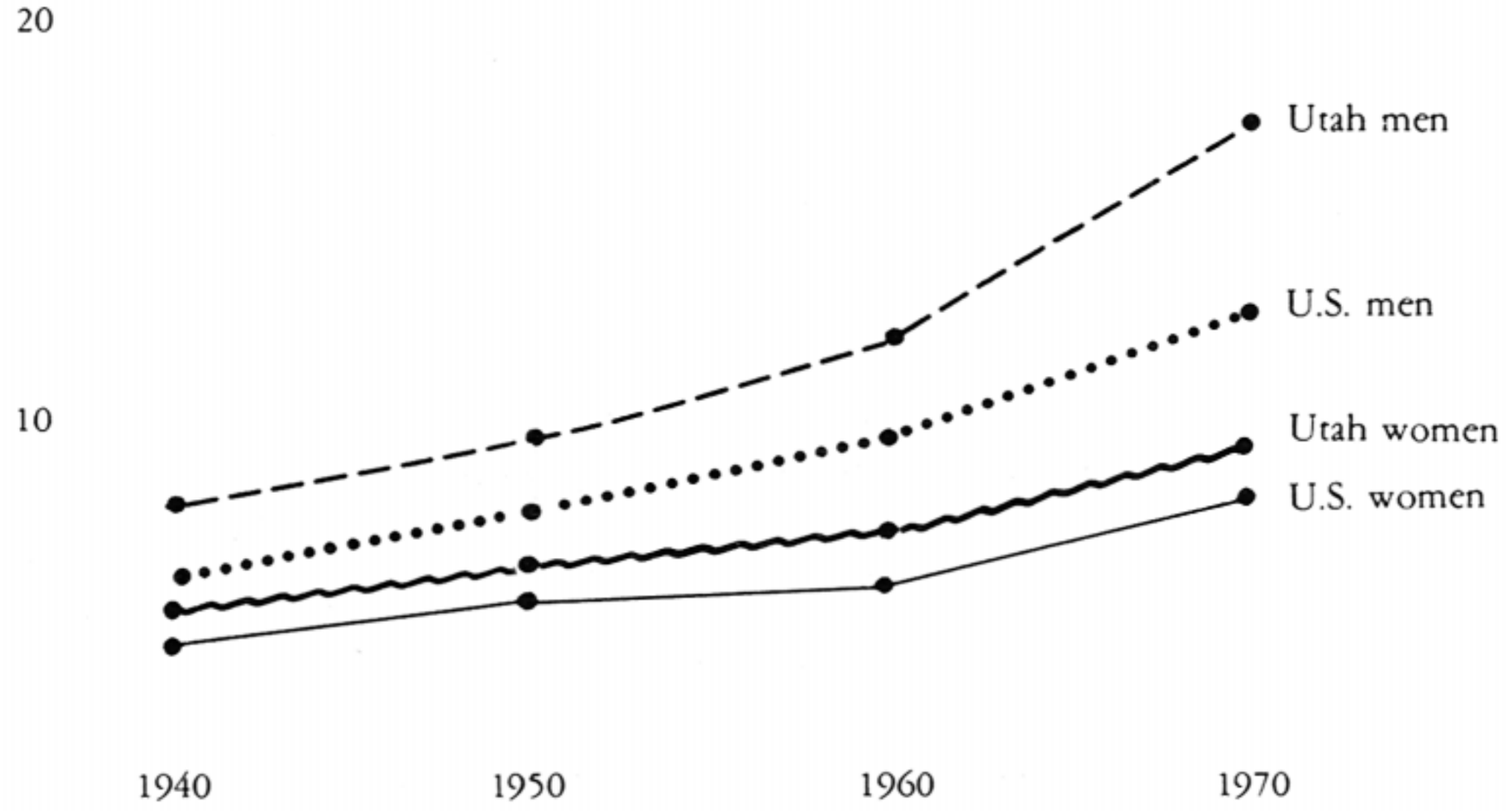
Although the percentage of women attending college increased between 1940 and 1970, the national pattern has been for women to complete fewer years of college than men. As may be seen in Figure 2, women's educational disadvantage has increased, rather than decreased, over the years since 1940. The pattern is consistent for both the country as a whole and for Utah, and it appears whether we consider proportion of college graduates or percent of the population ever attending college. This is not to say that the proportion of women attending college has not increased markedly. It has, but the population of men in college has increased at an even faster rate, so that the educational gap between men and women is larger in 1970 than at any of the earlier census years portrayed in the chart. Today's women are better educated than at any other time in the nation's history, but they continue to fall farther behind the men.

The relative position of Utah women in comparison to the educational attainment of men in the nation as a whole is quite remarkable. When completion of one or more years of college is the indicator of educational attainment, Utah women appear better educated than men in the country as a whole. However, they lag far behind Utah men. In summary, figures on participation in higher education provide little evidence of women's progress relative to men's, over the thirty-year period. Today the population as a whole is better educated, and women have participated in this general improvement. But when the increase in their educational attainment is compared to the improvement experienced by men, it is plain that the disparity is growing, i.e, that women's relative disadvantage is increasing.

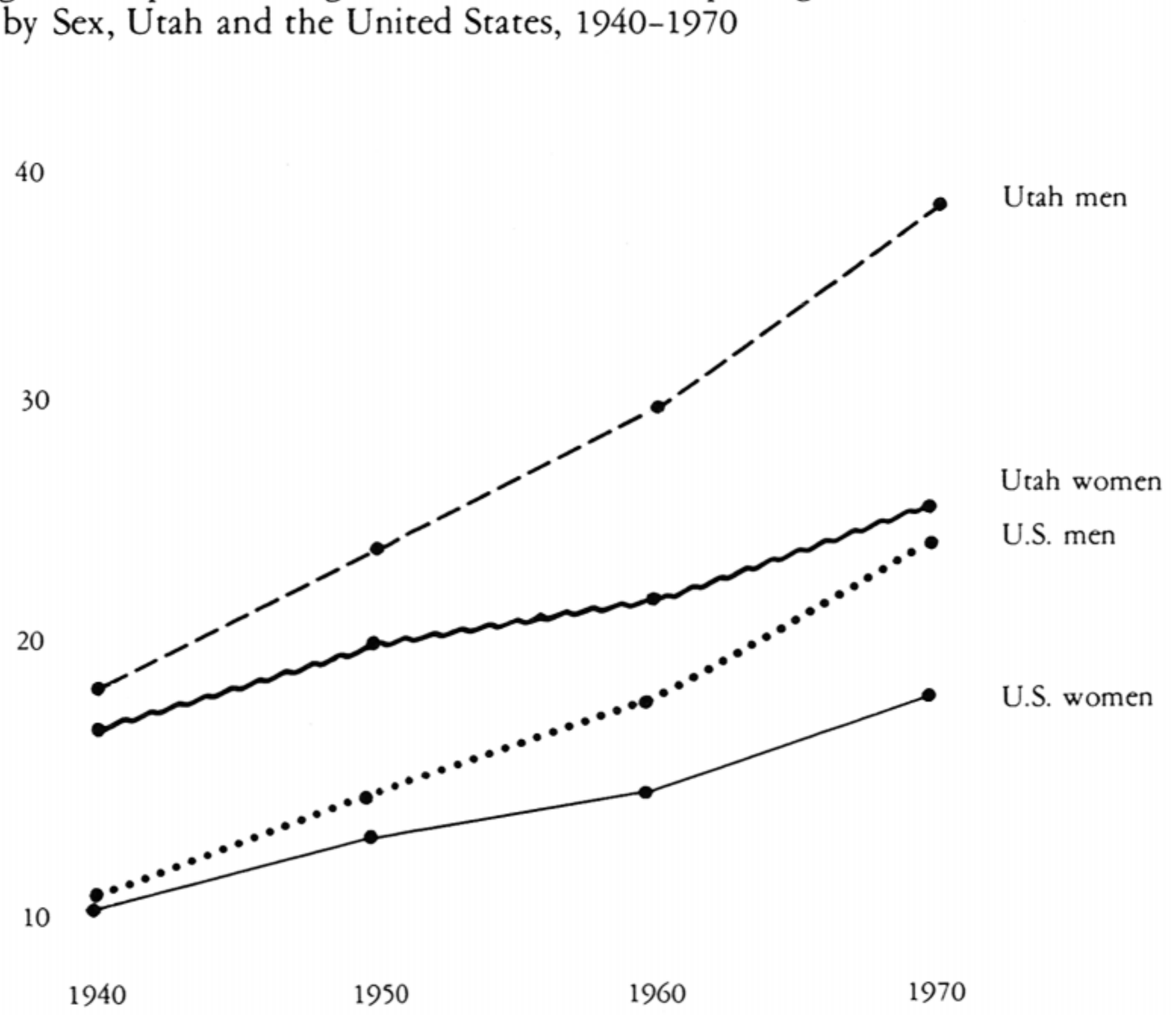
The change in men's attainment in contrast to that of women's is perhaps most dramatic with respect to college graduates. In 1940, 8 percent of Utah men and 5 percent of Utah women had graduated from college. A college degree was clearly an unusual achievement, but women were almost as likely to achieve it as men. Thirty years later, in 1970, the proportion of male college graduates in the Utah population was 19 percent, two and one-half times what it had been in 1940, while among Utah women the proportion was 10 percent. In other words, in 1970 Utah men were almost twice as apt to be college graduates as were Utah women, while in 1940 a man was 1.5 percent as apt as a woman to be a college graduate. In 1970 every fifth Utah man had completed at least four years of higher education as compared to every tenth Utah woman.

Figure 2

Percentage of Population Aged 25 and Over Completing Four or More Years College, by Sex, Utah and the United States, 1940–1970



Percentage of Population Aged 25 and Over Completing One or More Years College, by Sex, Utah and the United States, 1940–1970



Utah women used to have better jobs than American women generally, but that advantage has now disappeared. In 1940 almost one of every five employed Utah women worked in a professional/technical job, compared to one in seven for the nation. By the late 1970s the job distribution of Utah women had become much more congruent with national patterns and one out of six employed women worked in a professional/technical position. This gradual coming together of the occupational distribution patterns for Utah and the country as a whole is apparent in almost every occupational category. For example, as can be seen in Table 3, women managers

TABLE 3
Occupational Distribution of Employed Women, Utah and the United States, 1940–1976

Occupational Group	1940		1950		1960		1970		1976[a]	
	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	18.9%	13.2%	14.9%	12.3%	14.0%	13.0%	16.8%	15.7%	16.3%	16.0%
Managers and administrators	5.5	3.8	4.9	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.7	3.6	5.5	5.5
Sales workers	9.4[b]	7.7[b]	10.9	8.5	8.6	7.8	7.7	7.4	7.8	6.7
Clerical and kindred workers	28.5[b]	24.8[b]	33.0	27.3	36.1	29.7	37.9	34.9	36.7	34.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.9	1.8	2.4	1.6
Operatives, including transport equipment operatives	9.9	18.4	9.8	19.2	8.2	15.4	9.2	14.3	10.3	11.8
Laborers, except farm	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	–	1.1

Farmers and farm managers	0.8	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2	–	–
Farm laborers and farm foremen	0.4	2.9	1.4	2.8	0.4	1.1	0.2	0.5	1.3	1.3
Service workers, except private household	14.8	11.3	15.8	12.2	17.6	13.4	19.4	16.6	18.6	21.0
Private household workers	9.1	17.7	4.9	8.5	4.6	7.9	1.9	3.9	–	–
Occupation not reported	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.8	4.2	5.7	–	–	–	–

[a]These figures are U.S. Department of Labor estimates which may not be strictly comparable to the figures for 1940–1970 which are from the U.S. censuses for those years.

[b]The 1940 census reports "clerical, sales, and kindred workers" as a single category. The breakdown here is an estimate made by dividing the 1940 total according to the ratio of sales to clerical workers in the 1950 censuses.

Sources:

1940: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 2, part 7, Utah-Wyoming, Table 18, p. 35, and Table 19, p. 36; part 1, United States Summary, Table 18, p. 48, and Table 19, p. 49.

1950: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), vol. 2, part 44, Utah, Table 28, p. 44–32; part 1, United States Summary, Table 53, p. 1–101.

1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 57, p. 46–79; part 1, United States Summary, Table 87, p. 1–216.

1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 54, pp. 46–123, 46–124; part 1, United States Summary, Section 1, Table 91, pp. 1–392, 1–393.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *U.S. Working Women: A Databook* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), Table 7; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1976* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), Table 6; and sources listed for Table 2.

and administrators used to be overrepresented in Utah. In each succeeding census the gap has decreased, and the 1976 estimates show no Utah-U.S. difference. Similarly, the underrepresentation of Utah women in operative (factory worker) jobs has practically disappeared. In 1940 almost one out of five employed women were operatives, but in Utah the figure was one in ten. By 1976 the gap had shrunk to only 1.5 percent, with operatives accounting for 10.3 percent of employed women in Utah and 11.8 in the nation. A similar convergence is apparent with respect to women's employment as private household workers and farm workers.

In most ways the convergence represents a relative increase in Utah women's participation in the lower-status occupations and a relative decline in their involvement in the higher-status jobs. Where the trend is not one of relative deterioration of position, the pattern is one of stability. Even among private household workers, an occupational category that has experienced a drastic decline in numbers of workers, Utah women's position relative to the national figures has remained stable. In 1940 one of every eleven employed Utah women was a private household worker, and Utah women were about half as likely as women nationally to be employed in private households. By 1970 less than one in fifty of Utah's employed women were private household workers, compared to one in twenty-five for the nation. Thus, as a generation before, the proportion in Utah was about half that in the entire country.

Both in Utah and elsewhere women workers are concentrated in a few occupations and that pattern has changed little in the past generation. In 1940, well over half (56.8 percent) of the employed women in Utah worked in professional occupations or as sales and clerical workers. For the country as a whole, the comparable figure was 45.7 percent. In 1970 these same three occupational categories accounted for 62.4 percent of Utah women employees and 58 percent of women workers nationally, and the 1976 estimates are at about the same level (60.8 percent for Utah women, 57.6 percent for women nationally).

Not only are employed women heavily concentrated in a few occupational categories, but within those categories they occupy only a few specific "women's jobs." Among Utah's female professional and semi-professional workers in 1940, over 78 percent were employed in one of only two occupations–teachers (54.3 percent) and nurses (24.2 percent). These traditional occupational roles for professional women have continued to dominate among professional women. In 1950, 44.5 percent of the employed professional women were teachers and 22.2 percent were nurses; comparable figures for 1960 are 43.8 percent teachers and 19.5 percent nurses; and for 1970, 41.8 percent were teachers and 15.3 percent were registered nurses.

The other traditional women's occupational category is that of clerical and sales workers. These jobs, which include bookkeepers, cashiers, office machine operators, stenographers, typists, secretaries, telephone operators, file clerks, and retail sales clerks, accounted for 37.9 percent of Utah's employed women in 1940 and 44.5 percent in 1976. Comparable figures for the nation over the same time span are

32.5 percent and 41.6 percent. The single most common Utah women's job in 1970 was secretary, followed by teacher, salesperson, waitress, clerk, bookkeeper, cashier, cook, cleaning service worker, and registered nurse. These ten occupations together accounted for 53.2 percent of all working women in the state.

Table 4 shows the percentage of employed women in these ten occupations in Utah and the nation for the 1940–1970 period. For each of the four censuses represented in the table, these few occupations have accounted for between 53 and 59 percent of Utah's working women. Throughout the entire period, the most common women's job has been secretary, and it seems to be becoming more, rather than less, typical. Since 1940 the proportion of Utah women who are waitresses, bookkeepers, cooks, and nurses has varied less than 1.2 percent, and since 1950 the same is true for teachers. In the 1970s Utah women were somewhat less apt to be salespersons than they had been in the 1940s and 1950s, and their employment as clerks had declined substantially (a development in contrast to their increasing employment as office machine operators, a trend not shown in the table).

Utah-U.S. contrasts in these ten occupations are also of interest. Note that since 1950 nurses have consistently accounted for about the same proportion of employed women in Utah and the nation. Also, not only have Utah women always been more apt to be employed as secretaries, but for this occupation, unlike the others in the table, the gap between Utah and the rest of the country seems to be gradually increasing. For most of these occupations the differences between Utah women and other women have remained at about the same level. The exceptions, where there is a clear trend toward convergence, are teachers and salespersons.

Although a detailed discussion of sex differences in occupation is beyond the scope of this paper, some of the most striking contrasts should be noted. First, it is obvious that the range of occupational opportunity is much more restricted for women. Women are concentrated in only a few occupational categories, whereas men are more evenly distributed across the occupational spectrum. In 1976 over 36 percent of Utah's working women held jobs in the category of clerical workers, and 35 percent more were either service workers or had professional or technical jobs. Thus, three-fourths of the employed women were accounted for in these three categories. In contrast, the proportion of workers in the most common male occupational category ("craft and kindred workers") was only 23 percent, and there was just one occupational category–farm workers–in

TABLE 4
Percentage of Employed Women in Selected Occupations, Utah and the United States, 1940–1970

	1940		1950		1960		1970	
	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.	Utah	U.S.
Secretaries[a]	12.9%	8.9%	12.5%	9.6%	14.2%	10.9%	15.0%	10.5%
Teachers, except college and university	10.3	7.0	6.6	5.3	6.1	5.7	7.0	6.7
Saleswomen, sales clerks	9.8	6.5	10.4	8.0	8.0	7.1	6.1	5.8
Waitresses[b]	5.0	3.2	5.6	3.8	6.2	4.0	5.4	3.7
Clerks[c]	5.2	6.2	11.8	10.9	8.1	8.2	4.6	3.1
Bookkeepers	5.0[d]	4.0[d]	3.8	3.5	3.9	3.6	3.8	4.3
Cashiers[e]			1.9	1.2	2.9	2.2	3.4	3.1
Cooks	1.3	1.0	2.6	1.5	2.7	1.7	2.7	1.8
Cleaning service workers[f]	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.8	2.2	1.7	2.6	2.1
Registered nurses	3.9[g]	2.6[g]	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.8
TOTAL	54.3%	40.1%	59.1%	47.1%	56.9%	47.8%	53.2%	43.9%

[a]Includes receptionists, stenographers, and typists.

[b]Includes bartenders and food counter and fountain workers.

[c]Miscellaneous or not specified; the decline between 1960 and 1970 is attributable in part to the designation of many more specific categories of clerk in 1970.

[d]Includes both bookkeepers and cashiers.

[e]Includes bank tellers.

[f]Includes maids, cleaners, and janitors, except private household.

[g]Adjusted to exclude student nurses, using the ratio of student to professional nurses in 1950.

Sources: Computed from published figures in the following tables:

1940: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 2, part 7, Utah-Wyoming, Table 10; part 1, United States Summary, Table 59.

1950: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), vol. 2, part 44, Utah, Table 75; part 1, United States Summary, Table 126.

1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 121; part 1, United States Summary, Section 1, Table 203.

1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 1, part 46, Utah, Table 171; part 1, United States Summary, Table 222.

which there were fewer than 6 percent of the male work force (see Table 5).

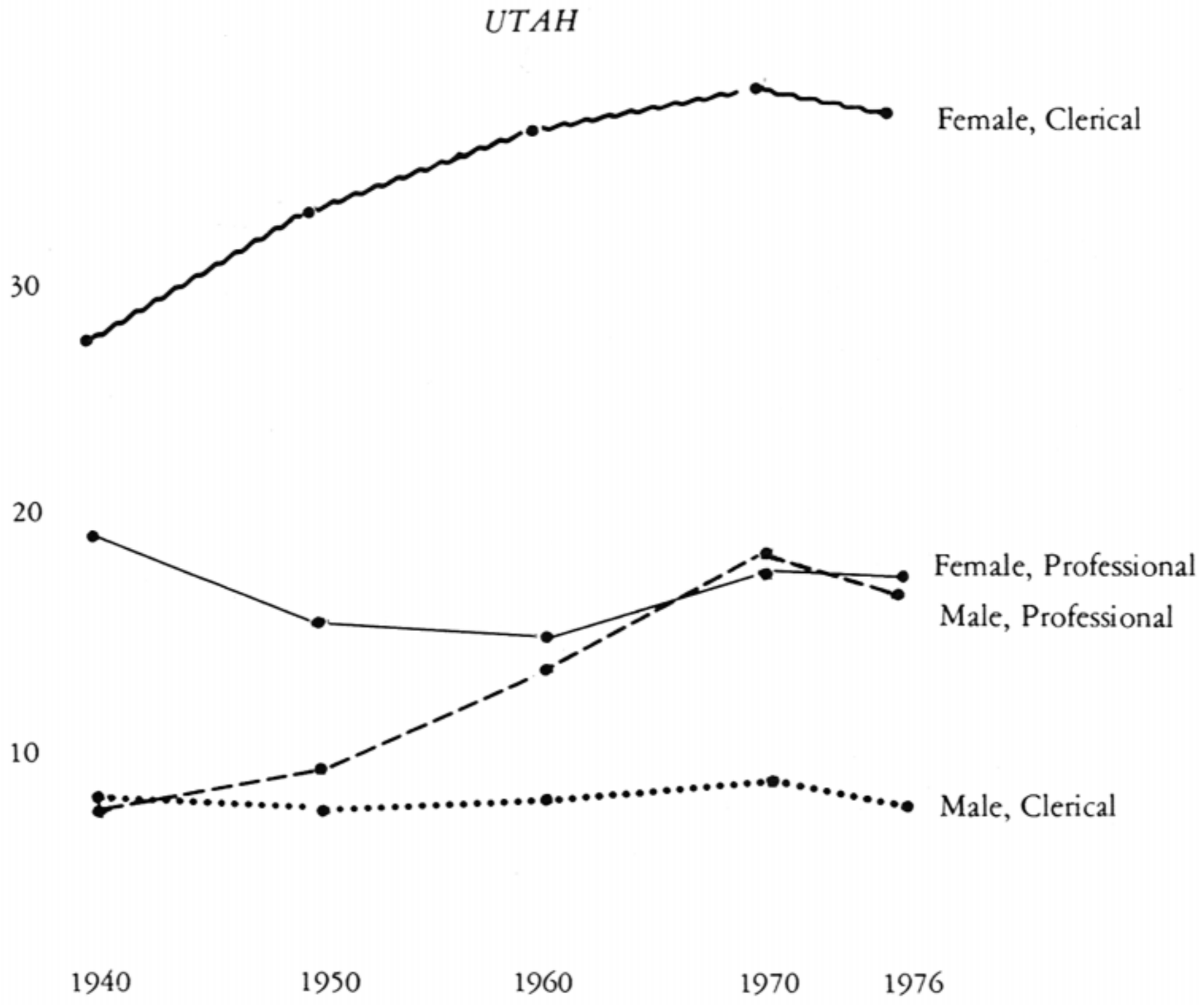
TABLE 5
Occupational Distribution of Employed Persons by Sex, Utah, 1976

Occupational Group	Men	Women
Professional and technical	15.6%	16.3%
Managers and administrators, except farm	14.0	5.5
Sales workers	7.2	7.8
Clerical workers	6.1	36.7
Craft and kindred workers	23.3	2.4
Operatives, except transport	9.6	10.3
Transport equipment operatives	6.3	–*
Nonfarm laborers	6.7	–*
Service workers	6.8	18.6
Farm workers	4.3	1.3
TOTAL	99.9%	98.9%

Earlier we found that although more women are attending college than ever before, their relative position with respect to the educational attainment of men has deteriorated over the past generation. A similar finding emerges when we compare changes in the proportions of males and females in high-status occupations. Figure 3 compares male and female participation in two broad occupational categories between 1940 and 1970 for Utah and for the country as a whole. It may be seen that the proportion of employed women holding clerical jobs has steadily increased in both Utah and the nation, while the proportion of males in clerical jobs has remained stable. Women's increasing involvement in clerical jobs is not a sign of occupational advancement, for these typically are not high-status jobs.

We must look at the professional category to estimate women's access to the most desirable jobs. The profiles in Figure 3 highlight the fact that, relative to men, women's proportionate share of the professional jobs has decreased. In 1940 Utah women were more than twice as likely as Utah men to be employed in professional occupations. Since that time there has been a continual increase in the percentage of men occupying professional positions, in contrast to a slight decline for women. On balance, this means that as the entire

Figure 3. Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers, and Clerical Workers, as a Proportion of Employed Persons, by Sex, 1940–1976



job market has become increasingly professionalized, women's share of the professional jobs has decreased at the same time that men's share has increased markedly. In 1970, for the first time, the proportion of employed Utah males holding professional jobs surpassed that for females (17.4 percent versus 16.8 percent).

As is evident in the lower panel of Figure 3, the same general pattern applies to employed workers nationally, although by 1970 the percentage of the female work force employed in professional jobs was still slightly higher than that for males. In summary, along with the increased employment of women has come an increase in the proportion of workers employed in white-collar and professional jobs. Women have tended to move into the white-collar clerical occupations, but their employment in the professional category has declined in the state of Utah and increased only slightly in the nation as a whole, while men's involvement in professional occupations has increased dramatically. The net result is a decline in working women's status, a loss in relative position accompanying their increased participation in the labor force. They are no longer overrepresented in professional and technical occupations as they once were.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

We have documented the convergence in labor force participation between Utah women and other American women. Between 1940 and 1970, Utah women entered the labor force more rapidly than did women nationally, and as a consequence in the 1970s Utah women have been employed outside the home at about the same rate as women nationally. Part-time jobs are more common for women workers than they used to be, and employed women in Utah are slightly more apt to work part time than women elsewhere.

Utah women are also less distinctive in educational attainment than they once were. They still attend college more than other women, but an advantage they once had in median years of schooling completed has now disappeared. When their education is compared to men's, both Utah women and women nationally show a decline in relative position. Both men and women are getting more education today than formerly, and when the men's increases in educational attainment are compared to the women's, it is apparent that the women have not kept pace.

A similar finding emerged when we considered the types of jobs women do. Although Utah women used to have better jobs than

women generally, that is no longer the case. With the increased congruence in labor force participation has come increasing similarity to the national female labor force in types of jobs held. Utah women, like women in other states, continue to be concentrated in a few "women's occupations." Their range of occupational opportunities continues to be much more constricted than that for men, and they are concentrated in clerical jobs. Moreover, the entire job hierarchy has become more professionalized, but women's share of professional jobs has decreased. In comparison to men, working women in Utah used to be overrepresented in the professional and technical occupations. That advantage has also disappeared, as men's employment in professional jobs has increased while women's has declined.

The trend toward increasing female participation in the labor force by Utah women is a long-term one, and there is little likelihood that it will "go away" in the foreseeable future. The fact that the labor force participation of Utah women is practically indistinguishable from that of women nationally does not mean that Utah women are like other women in all ways. For example, Utah's married women are notably more prolific than married women in the rest of the country. But Utah women are part of the same social economy; and the economic pressures, the changing definitions of appropriate women's roles, and the opportunities for employment that affect the nation also influence Utah. In fact, in view of the high productivity of Utah women and the increasing economic costs of child-rearing, the strains of a regressive and inflationary national economy may affect Utah families more severely than other families.

In other words, not only are Utah families subject to the same kinds of economic pressures as families in other states, but they may, because they have more children, be subject to even greater economic strain. One adaptation to such strain is for the married woman to enter the labor force. There is no evidence, either in the national economic outlook or in current trends in Utah family size and expected patterns of child education and enrichment, that the forces which since 1940 have pushed Utah women into the labor market at a more rapid rate than women nationally are likely to abate.

Accordingly, it seems appropriate that we try as much as possible, through organization and planning, to minimize the negative impacts of women's employment upon family life. Such preparation should be conducted by individuals and families as well as by community and state agencies; it might include the following: (1) The explicit recognition that inasmuch as almost half of Utah women work for pay, the status of a working woman or working mother is

no longer a deviant one in the statistical sense; (2) a serious effort toward reshaping occupational definitions to permit more part-time or variable-time employment; (3) an intensive effort by educators and planners responsible for the design of vocational and professional education in Utah to provide the opportunities and encouragement that will permit Utah women who elect to enter the labor force to do so in higher-status occupations, thereby maximizing their economic contributions to their families, rather than constraining them, by lack of adequate training or by accepted definitions of "women's work," to follow relatively low-paying clerical and service occupations.

Book Reviews

FLAKE, CHAD J., ed. *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930; Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978. 825 pp. $75.00.

Reviewed by Russell T. Clement, instructor in Library Science at Brigham Young University–Hawaii Campus.

After four decades of sustained effort, involving dozens of researchers, bibliographers, and the cooperation of major libraries, universities, and historical societies, this long-awaited bibliography is now in print. It is a great beginning in filling the acute need for ready access to materials on Mormons and Mormonism and should become the touchstone of scholarly Mormon bibliographies.

A Mormon Bibliography includes over 10,114 entries and has been beautifully printed by the University of Utah Press after years of typesetting and proofreading. As it is limited to "books, periodicals, Mormon newspapers . . . , pamphlets, and broadsides pertaining to the first century of Mormonism," it excludes "newspaper articles, periodical articles, manuscripts, maps, and prints" (p. x). Since there were no criteria outlined for including materials not wholly on Mormonism, one must rely on fairly subjective decisions regarding inclusion or exclusion. The editor explains that it "depended on the value of . . . the particular book to the study of Mormonism" (p. xi).

This massive bibliography was the brainchild and long concern of the Western Americana scholar the late Dale L. Morgan. He also wrote the introduction in 1970. It is appropriate that the work is dedicated to him for his pioneering efforts and prolonged dedication to the project.

Morgan's introduction is an informative and delightfully written journey through the last forty years of Mormon scholarship and the making of the bibliography. After terming pre-World War II Utah "a sadly impoverished area, bibliographically speaking" (p. xvi), Morgan chronicles his and others' involvement in compiling the tool. Beginning the preliminary work in 1942 by copying titles in the Library of Congress under pertinent subject headings, he struggled to delimit the project and first proposed in 1949 publishing a bibliography for 1830–1849.

The idea of a "Union Catalogue of Works on Mormonism" (p. xx), which format the bibliography partially follows, was shaped in

1951 when Morgan solicited the support of the Utah State Historical Society. In 1961, the Committee on Mormon Bibliography was formed, and it oversaw the project until publication. Throughout the introduction, Morgan details the contributions of numerous individuals and institutions who have advanced and restructured the work.

The editor, Chad Flake, Special Collections librarian at Brigham Young University, relates his involvement with the work and notes the problems of amassing and standardizing the entries. Portions of his preface could serve as a book review. He is particularly candid about weaknesses in the bibliography: inconsistencies in format, problems with dating and determining variant printings and editions, and the perennial bane of all bibliographies–incompleteness. The Editor's Preface contains much useful information and warrants a careful reading by serious users.

A Mormon Bibliography is printed on quality paper in a very pleasing format, but the blue cloth binding looks cheap and should have been heavier. The entries are arranged alphabetically by main entry in well-spaced, double columns. All entries are numbered, with apparently late inclusions noted by small-case letters. Citations contain standard bibliographic information and generally follow ALA rules and procedures. Author dates are given only to distinguish individuals with similar names (for example, Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Joseph Fielding Smiths). Foreign imprints usually include an English translation of their titles. Numbers in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* are also cited.

Reminiscent of nineteenth century primers, a full page black and white reproduction of an important work's title page appears at the beginning of each letter. These are expertly duplicated and, with their brief captions, serve to break up the pages of bibliographic monotony. Although alphabetical headings run on the top left corner of each page, it may have been more helpful to center the right page heading on the right side. Because main entries are listed only once and subsequent materials and editions marked with a dash, the user occasionally is required to look back several entries or pages to locate the author or first edition. An index arranged chronologically by date of publication completes the bibliography.

Although the bibliography is not (and was not intended to be) a complete Union Catalogue listing copies held in all libraries, it appears that throughout the years the major and minor bastions of Mormonism collections were repeatedly canvassed for entries. An impressive list of 200 institutions is given (and presumably used) in the "Key to Symbols" section.

As previously mentioned, the Editor's Preface points out major weaknesses in the bibliography. Undoubtedly, omissions and bungled entries will be found with usage. A minor but striking mistake is item no. 7212, which is a work published in 1935, five years after the cutoff date. Yet the significance of such a ground-breaking bibliographic tool should not be lost in minute nit-picking. *A Mormon Bibliography* is the first comprehensive, scholarly attempt at gaining bibliographic control in the area of Mormon publication. But it is only a starting point, not the terminus. Both Flake and Morgan are clear on this point. Flake mentions that supplemental volumes and corrections will need to be published. Morgan pinpoints its value precisely: "From here on it is going to be a basic tool, but other tools must join it in the chest before Mormon scholarship can be considered adequately equipped for its job" (p. xxiv). The Committee on Mormon Bibliography is already planning and gathering entries for a subsequent volume covering publications from 1930 to a more current date. *A Mormon Bibliography* stands as the foundation, something that will be improved and built upon.

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TITLES

BOOK REVIEWS

SUBJECTS

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES is a voice for the community of Latter-day Saint scholars. Contributions dealing with LDS thought, history, theology, and related subjects will receive first priority.

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