The Sting of the Wasp: Early Nauvoo Newspaper— April 1842 to April 1843	
JERRY C. JOLLEY	487
Book Reviews	
DAVID J. WHITTAKER	
Leonard W. Levy, Treason against God:	
A History of the Offense of Blasphemy  MALCOLM R. THORP	497
E. B. Long, The Saints and the Union:  Utah Territory during the Civil War  EUGENE E. CAMPBELL	500
Ward J. Roylance, Utah: A Guide to the State	5.02
LEONARD J. ARRINGTON	502
Index, Volume 21, Nos. 1-4	
GARY GILLUM	505

Published Quarterly by Brigham Young University Press Provo, Utah 84602

#### ISSN 0007-0106

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12-82-64734-6M

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Volume 22 Fall 1982 Number 4

Brigham Young University Studies, 020170, is published quarterly, Winter, Spring,
Summer, Fall, by Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah 84602. Second class
postage paid, Provo UT 84601.

# Brigham Young University Studies

# A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 22	Fall 1982	Number 4	Number 4			
	CONTENTS					
The New Publications of the Standard Wo ROBERT J. MATT			387			
Reaganomics and the Su A Rationale J. KENNETH DAY			425			
Home and Office, A Poe EDWARD L. HAR			440			
Reopening the Mexican I F. LAMOND TULI			441			
Bronze Rubbing, A Poer CLINTON F. LAR			454			
Lucy Mack Smith's 1829 to Mary Smith Piero DEAN C. JESSEE			455			
The Bier of Autumn, A RANDALL L. HAI			466			
The Transformations of I EDWARD L. HAR			467			
Christmas Voices, Poems MARDEN J. CLAR			483			

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# The New Publications of the Standard Works—1979, 1981

Robert J. Matthews

#### INTRODUCTION

In August 1979 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints published a new edition of the King James Version of the Bible, its ancient standard work. In August 1981 the Church then published new editions of the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price, its three latter-day standard works. This 1981 edition marked the first change in format since 1920 for the Book of Mormon and since 1921 for both the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price. It also marked the first major addition to the Doctrine and Covenants since 1876 (except the Manifesto, added in 1908) and since 1902 to the Pearl of Great Price (except for two temporary additions in 1976). Several features make the publication of these new editions of the standard works a monumental event in the onward progress of the Church.

In order to view these new editions in their proper setting, we need to review briefly the reasons that first prompted publication of this LDS edition of the Bible and then led to the decision to improve and update the other standard works.

For many years throughout the Church, students of the scriptures have wished for a Bible that was cross-referenced to the other standard works. For the past forty years or so, many Church members have used a Bible published by Cambridge University, which was known as the "missionary edition," because it contained a separate ready-reference and other notes supplied by the Church as special helps to missionaries. However, the footnotes, cross-references, and dictionary, designed for the Bible only, were prepared by Cambridge Press and were often found inadequate for LDS use. The Bible dictionary was informative in many instances; but having been prepared

without the advantage of latter-day revelation, it lacked discussion of many topics significant to Latter-day Saints and also contained a number of viewpoints that believers in the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price would recognize as incorrect. Latter-day Saints have a basic tenet that the Bible, as great and venerable as it is (whether it be the King James Version or any other version), is not now as it originally was, neither in completeness nor clarity. Consequently, Church members have often desired a Bible that would bring together under one cover cross-references to other standard works, explanatory footnotes, excerpts from the Joseph Smith Translation, and any other features that would aid the Latter-day Saint reader.

An initial step by President Harold B. Lee in October 1972 established a committee consisting of Elders Thomas S. Monson and Boyd K. Packer of the Quorum of the Twelve. Soon Elder Bruce R. McConkie was appointed by the First Presidency to the committee. Elders Marvin J. Ashton and Howard W. Hunter also served for a time. This committee, acting under the immediate direction of President Spencer W. Kimball (who at the time was President of the Quorum of the Twelve), was given a charge to prepare Bible study aids that would assist members of the Church in increasing their scriptural knowledge and improving their gospel scholarship. The committee's official name is the Scriptures Publications Committee, and the First Presidency has charged it with the responsibility of overseeing the editing and publication of all the standard works of the Church.

When the committee began its work, it was given no detailed list of plans except a stipulation that the text of the King James Bible was to be used without alteration. The committee called on others for technical assistance<sup>1</sup> and worked to identify ways to produce an edition of the Bible that Latter-day Saints could use to maximum advantage. William James Mortimer, then manager of Deseret Book in Salt Lake City and now director of Printing Services for the Church, was appointed committee secretary. In this capacity he also served as the Church business agent in the actual work of publishing the scriptures. Subcommittees were formed, assignments were made, and the work

¹Many were engaged in the production of these new editions of the standard works. At one time at least one hundred faculty and students at Brigham Young University were assigned various tasks. Many faculty throughout the seminary and institute of religion systems were also involved. It would be impossible to list all who contributed, and a partial list would be inadequate. The principal laborers besides those mentioned in the text of this article were Ellis T. Rasmussen and Robert C. Patch of the BYU religious instruction faculty. They were assisted by Robert J. Matthews. Mention must be made also of the exceptional computer work of Steve Howes and Vicki Barney Hovik of BYU and of the excellent work of secretaries and typists without which the project could not have been done.

commenced. As materials were produced, they were submitted to the Scriptures Publications Committee for review and periodically cleared by the First Presidency and the Twelve.

Because Cambridge University in Great Britain had the necessary equipment and experienced personnel, the page layout, typesetting, proofreading, and making of printing plates were done there. The Cambridge technicians also developed a special, easy-to-read type style with short extenders, which made it pleasing to the eye yet permitted the lines to be placed quite close together, thus saving space. Since most of the books would be marketed in the U.S., the majority of the printing and binding was done in Boston to save shipping expense.

In August 1979, seven years after the work commenced, the LDS edition of the King James Version came from the press with the following: (1) new explanatory chapter headings, (2) an extensive 598-page topical guide (abbreviated TG in the new editions) or subject-matter index with 3495 entries, (3) over 600 excerpts from the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (abbreviated JST) that greatly illuminate passages of the King James Version (abbreviated KJV), (4) cross-references to all of the standard works, (5) a 195-page Bible dictionary (referenced BD) with 1285 entries especially written for Latter-day Saint use, (6) a simplified footnote system and (7) 24 easy-to-read maps with a gazetteer. The topical guide, Bible dictionary, a section of Joseph Smith Translation passages, gazetteer, and maps form an 826-page appendix.

The new footnoting, based upon verses rather than on chapters, employs a simplified numbering system, beginning with "a" in each verse. Former systems based on chapters (rather than on verses) often extended to a long series of footnotes going all the way through the alphabet and having to double the reference symbol as in "aa," "bb," etc. The former system offered a chain-reference which the new format does not, but the simplicity of use when coupled with the topical guide makes the new system preferable and the chain system unnecessary.

During the preparation of the Bible study helps, it became apparent that ideally there should be new editions of the other standard works, since the improved chapter headings and the footnote and cross-referencing systems developed for the Bible would also benefit the other scriptures. Furthermore, there were several typographical errors and omissions in the latter-day scriptures that needed correction. Other clarifications and additions, including new

introductory material for each of the books of the triple combination, two new sections having to do with salvation for the dead, maps for the Doctrine and Covenants, President Wilford Woodruff's views concerning the Manifesto, and a statement about the 1978 priesthood revelation, would likewise be beneficial for the best use of these scriptures.

The new editions virtually offer a comprehensive course of study in the gospel of Jesus Christ and were designed for use by seminary and institute students, missionaries, and the general membership of the Church. However, even an advanced scholar can benefit from the chapter headings, Joseph Smith Translation entries, alternate readings from Hebrew and Greek, easy-to-read reference system, and other such features.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE BIBLE

The text of the new edition is the King James Version (in Britain, known as the "Authorized Version"), which is the official English-language Bible of the Church. No modifications of any kind were made in the text itself, the additions being limited to extensive study aids. The cross-references, chapter headings, footnotes, topical guide, and Bible dictionary are not official pronouncements of Church doctrine although the committees who prepared them endeavored to be accurate.

# Chapter Headings

Every chapter in the Bible has an explanatory, descriptive heading written especially for this new edition to give the reader a preview of the chapter, usually with a doctrinal emphasis. The headings are interpretive and actually serve as a commentary to each chapter. The following example from Genesis chapter 3 will illustrate this point. Other editions of the Bible have depicted the events of this chapter as "Man's shameful fall" and "The serpent cursed" (headnotes in the missionary edition). The new LDS edition reads,

The Serpent (Lucifer) deceives Eve—She and then Adam partake of the forbidden fruit—Her Seed (Christ) shall bruise the Serpent's head—Role of woman, and of man—Adam and Eve cast out of the Garden of Eden—Adam presides—Eve becomes the mother of all living.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Church Publishes First LDS Edition of the Bible," Ensign 9 (October 1979): 8–18.

# Topical Guide and Concordance

The topical guide and concordance is a major segment of the new material, consisting of 3495 entries, at least 750 of which are extensive collections of scriptural statements, with references from all of the standard works. This topical guide, which is really a subject-matter index, is a most useful instrument and in a unique way shows that the four standard works teach the same doctrine, thus effectively demonstrating that they are witnesses for each other. The alphabetical entries are so constructed that in a matter of minutes any reader can locate a number of passages from the standard works on almost any gospel topic. Passages are given first from the Old Testament, then the New Testament, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and then the Pearl of Great Price.

A committee of six persons prepared these materials, which were first published in 1977 as A Topical Guide to the Scriptures of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This publication field-tested the materials and also allowed its many users to note errors and omissions and thus improve its contents. Every copy contained a detachable form which asked for readers' suggestions to be sent to the committee. That volume was subsequently revised and published in the new edition of the Bible in 1979, as "Topical Guide with Selected Concordance and Index."

This guide is at once extensive yet simple in its construction. For example, under the general topic of "Jesus Christ," there are nearly 1600 scriptures. This large number of references would be unwieldly were it not for the alphabetical arrangement of fifty-eight subtopics that provide a very definite selection of information from each of the standard works.

# The Joseph Smith Translation

The new LDS edition of the Bible retains the text of the King James Version throughout, but augments it with more than 600 footnote passages from the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible. These footnotes cite the reference to and reprint the text of the Joseph Smith Translation if it is not more than eight lines long. Excerpts longer than eight lines are included in a seventeen-page collection, beginning on page 797 of the appendix under the title "Joseph Smith Translation: Excerpts Too Lengthy for Inclusion in Footnotes." The Book of Moses and "Joseph Smith-Matthew" (formerly "Joseph Smith 1") in the Pearl of Great Price are also excerpts from the Joseph Smith Translation, but since most users of the new LDS

edition of the Bible will also have a copy of the Pearl of Great Price, footnotes to "Moses" and "Joseph Smith-Matthew" are designated by citation only.

The Joseph Smith Translation provides many items of clarification as well as additional information, and its contributions are usually doctrinal in nature. Entries range from short items consisting of the correction of one word to long passages of hundreds of words.

An example of a Joseph Smith Translation entry is found in connection with John 4:1–3. The subject is baptism and the King James Version reads:

When therefore the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John (Though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), He left Judea.

The foregoing passage leads one to conclude that Jesus did not personally perform water baptisms. The corresponding passage from the Joseph Smith Translation John 4:1–5 clearly affirms that he did:

When therefore the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, they sought more diligently some means that they might put him to death; for many received John as a prophet, but they believed not on Jesus. Now the Lord knew this, though he himself baptized not so many as his disciples; For he suffered them for an example, preferring one another. And he left Judea.

Other passages remove contradictions, clarify obscure or vague statements, correct erroneous conclusions, and offer much information not available from any other source. The Joseph Smith Translation is one of the major contributions of the Prophet Joseph Smith toward understanding the Bible, and it is an excellent study guide to help readers obtain the true meaning and intention of many passages.

# The Bible Dictionary

The new dictionary is based upon the Cambridge dictionary that appeared for many years in the missionary edition of the Bible used in the Church, but this dictionary has been improved in three major ways: (1) Items considered by the committee either to be in error or of insufficient value to be given space in the new dictionary were omitted. (2) Items that were incomplete, because they were based on the Bible alone, were strengthened and complemented by latter-day revelation and also the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith contained in the *History of the Church* (abbreviated HC in the new editions). This includes entries on the Fall, Zion, Urim and Thummim,

Adam, sacrifice, and hundreds of others. (3) New entries were added that were basic to the gospel, including discussions on such matters as dispensation of the fulness of times, Aaronic priesthood, Melchizedek priesthood, the family, and many others. The changes in the new dictionary are doctrinal rather than cultural or geographical. It contains a total of 1285 entries.

Alternate Readings from Hebrew and Greek

Even though the King James Version is unchanged in the new edition, additional help is often needed because some of its passages do not adequately reflect the Hebrew and Greek texts. Therefore, alternate readings, developed by scholars at Brigham Young University, are provided in the footnotes to clarify obscure and obsolete terms and to explain idiomatic phrases. For example, created (Gen. 1:1) is shown in the footnote to have the meaning in Hebrew of "shaped" or "fashioned." The phrase "multiply thy sorrow and thy conception" (Gen. 3:16) is shown to mean in Hebrew "increase thy discomfort and thy size (i.e., in the condition and process of pregnancy)." The phrase "seek judgment" (Isa. 1:17) is shown to mean "seek justice"; and "They judge not the fatherless" (Isa. 1:23) means "they do not do justice to" the fatherless. The phrase "searcheth the reins" (Rev. 2:23) is shown in the Greek text to mean searcheth the "desires and thoughts." The "noisome . . . sore" (Rev. 16:2) in the Greek is really a "bad" or "evil" sore. Instead of John's looking upon the scarlet woman with "great admiration" (Rev. 17:6), the footnote shows the meaning to be great "astonishment." Although such helps are found throughout the entire Bible, LDS readers will probably most appreciate those in Genesis, Isaiah, and Revelation because the subject matter of these books has such a direct bearing on the latter-days.

#### THE BOOK OF MORMON

Preliminary Pages

One of the significant additions of the 1981 edition of the Book of Mormon is a one-page introduction that briefly explains what the Book of Mormon is. This introduction declares that "the crowning event recorded in the Book of Mormon is the personal ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ among the Nephites soon after his resurrection." Also included is the Prophet Joseph Smith's declaration that the Book of Mormon is "the most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts, than by any other book."

Earlier editions of the Book of Mormon contained "The Testimony of Three Witnesses," "The Testimony of Eight Witnesses," and an article bearing the caption "Origin of the Book of Mormon." These are also included in the new edition, but the latter article has a new title, "Testimony of the Prophet Joseph Smith." One of the effects of this new caption is to create an impressive crescendo in the testimonies of these special witnesses, culminating in the testimony of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who is the greatest witness.

Chapter Headings

Every chapter in the 1981 edition of the Book of Mormon has been given a new descriptive, interpretive, and explanatory heading. For example, the former heading to 2 Nephi 3 read:

Lehi to his son Joseph—A prophecy by Joseph in Egypt—A choice seer foretold—The mission of Moses—Hebrew and Nephite scriptures.

#### The new heading is more specific:

Joseph in Egypt saw the Nephites in vision—He prophesied of Joseph Smith, the latter-day seer; of Moses, who would deliver Israel; and of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon.

Another example showing the increase of detail in the new headings is seen in 3 Nephi 15. Former heading:

The Law of Moses superceded—The Giver of the Law fulfills the Law—The sheep of another fold.

# New heading:

Jesus announces that the law of Moses is fulfilled in him—The Nephites are the other sheep of whom he spake in Jerusalem—Because of iniquity the Lord's people in Jerusalem do not know of the scattered sheep of Israel.

The hundreds of new chapter headings constitute a kind of commentary to the Book of Mormon.

#### Text Corrections

Throughout the various printings and editions of the Book of Mormon, beginning with the first English edition in 1830, there have occurred some variations in the text. Most of these have been slight and often have not seriously affected the meaning of the passage; however, some have been significant enough to warrant correction.

A researcher seeking to determine the original and/or correct text of the Book of Mormon has several advantages and source materials of a kind that are not available to those seeking the original texts

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> Courtesy of Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

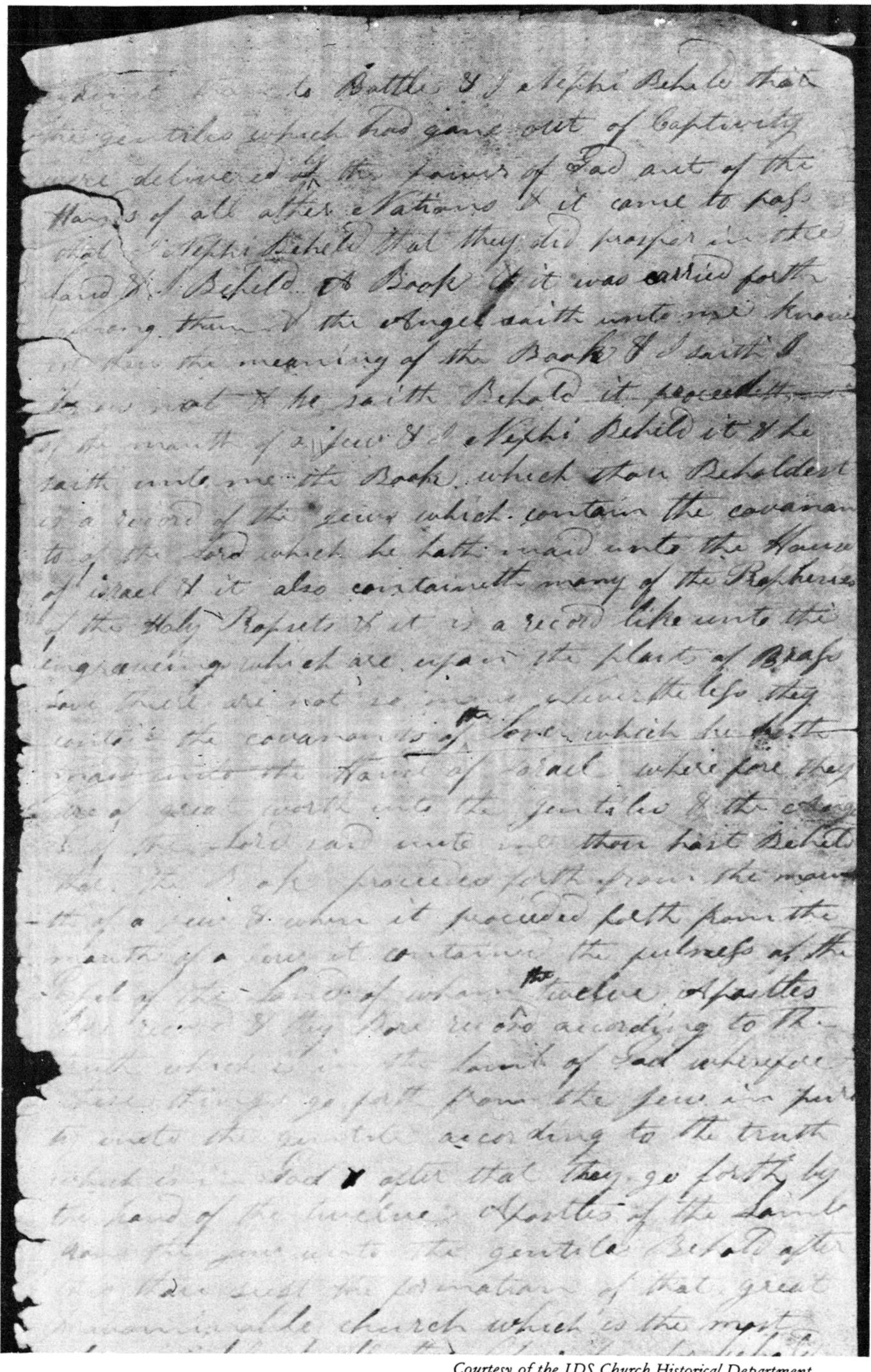
Printer's Copy of the Book of Mormon 1 Nephi 2:1-17 of the Bible. For one thing, a sizeable portion of the original manuscript of the Book of Mormon, which Joseph Smith dictated to Oliver Cowdery and other scribes, is extant and is housed in the archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. It consists of 144 hand-written pages covering material roughly from 1 Nephi 2 to 2 Nephi 1, Alma 22 through 46, and also parts of the book of Helaman. A complete copy of the original, which is principally but not entirely in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery, is also extant and is generally referred to as "the printer's copy" because it was made to be used in setting the type for the first edition of the Book of Mormon. This manuscript is owned by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) and is housed in Missouri. It consists of 466 pages and contains some slight variations from the original dictated manuscript. Both of these documents have been used for research by members of the LDS and RLDS churches.

In addition to the original prepublication handwritten documents, copies are also available of every printed edition of the Book of Mormon. Those most notable for comparison of the text are the 1830, 1837, 1840, 1852, 1876, and 1920 editions. The first three are particularly valuable because they were printed during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph Smith and some copies contain editorial notes by him. The title page to the third edition (1840) contains the statement that it has been "Carefully Revised by the Translator."

Many of the variations in the text of the Book of Mormon consist of unintentional departures by the typesetter of the first edition from the handwritten manuscript, while others are transcription errors by Oliver Cowdery as he made the printer's copy. Furthermore, studies show that some typographical errors have persisted in every edition of the Book of Mormon, and other variations have occurred in some, but not all, of the many printed editions. Fortunately there have been scholars who, being aware of these variations, have commented on them in their formal papers and other publications.<sup>3</sup> The 1981 edition has benefited from such research and has at least 265 corrections of which about 100 are substantial enough to affect the meaning. A few significant items are as follows:

1 Nephi 13:24. Instead of "plainness of the gospel," the new edition uses "fulness of the gospel." The original dictated manuscript

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Among these are Jeffrey R. Holland, "An Analysis of Selected Changes in Major Editions of the Book of Mormon—1830–1920" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966); Stanley R. Larson, "A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon Comparing the Original and the Printer's Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); and Richard P. Howard, Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1969).



Courtesy of the LDS Church Historical Department

- says "fulness." The printer's copy says "plainness," which was an understandable human error because "plain" and "plainness" occur several times in the same chapter and "plainness" is the topic of the passage. All subsequent editions have used "plainness" because of the influence of the first printing. The 1981 edition returned to the original text because "fulness" seems to be consistent with the intended meaning of the passage, which is a declaration that many plain and precious things have been taken out of the Bible; therefore it no longer contains the fulness of the gospel message.
- 1 Nephi 19:2. Instead of "engraven upon those plates," "engraven upon those first plates" is used. The history of this passage is the same as that of the previous entry; that is, the word in the original text was dropped in the printer's copy, and all subsequent printings have omitted it. The passage is more precise with the word first included. On the basis of the original manuscript the word first has been restored to the 1981 text.
- 1 Nephi 19:23. "The book of Moses" becomes "the books of Moses." The justification for this correction is that the original manuscript uses the plural "books"; the printer's copy uses "book." The correction is also reasonable and necessary since Moses wrote more than one book, and the Book of Mormon itself speaks of the "five books of Moses" (1 Nephi 5:11).
- 2 Nephi 2:27. Instead of "the great mediation," the 1981 edition uses "the great Mediator." This passage was obviously a reading error by the typesetter. The original manuscript is not extant. The printer's manuscript reads "Mediator," but the first and all subsequent editions have read "mediation." The sentence is grammatically more correct with Mediator because it retains the parallel structure that the choice for mankind is between Christ (the great Mediator) and the devil. This parallelism is weakened by the uses of the word "mediation." Correcting this passage is therefore of significance for grammatical accuracy as well as doctrinal emphasis.
- 2 Nephi 30:6. Instead of "white and delightsome," as in most earlier editions, the 1981 edition uses "pure and delightsome," in reference to future Lamanite generations. The printer's copy says "white." Unfortunately, the remaining portion of the original dictated manuscript does not include this scripture. The 1830 and 1837 editions of the Book of Mormon, based on the printer's copy, also say "white." However, the 1840 edition, which was "carefully" revised by the Prophet Joseph Smith, uses "pure" in

place of "white." All subsequent editions have reverted to "white," probably because the 1852 edition (the next after the 1840) was based on the 1837 edition rather than on the 1840. In the process of arranging the 1981 edition the committee presented all of the textual corrections along with the reason for each proposed correction to the First Presidency and the Twelve for approval. The decision to use "pure" in this passage was made not on the basis of the original manuscripts (as were most other cases) but on the 1840 revision by the Prophet Joseph Smith and the judgment of the living prophets. This correction does not negate the concept that future generations of Lamanites will become white, but it removes the concept that one has to be white to be delightsome to the Lord.

Mosiah 29:15. "Him have I punished according to the law which has been given" is corrected to "him have I punished according to the crime which he has committed, according to the law which has been given." Although the original manuscript is not extant, the printer's copy contains the whole passage, as did the 1830 printing. However, the 1837 and all subsequent printings have omitted "according to the crime which he has committed." An omission of this kind seems to have occurred because of the repetition of the words "according to the," the typesetter's eye easily passing to the last instance and not seeing the intervening words. This phenomenon happens often enough that textual critics have given it a name: homoeoarchton (meaning "same beginnings") or homoeoteleuton (same endings). It is a problem to anyone copying extensive amounts of material or to a printer setting type. In this case (Mosiah 29:15) material was omitted from the text by the typesetter. Although the incomplete passage still makes sense, the important detail, that punishment was measured according to the crime, was lost. In other instances the same process was responsible for the loss of material that was more vital to the meaning, as the next example illustrates.

Alma 32:30. Chapter 32 contains Alma's discourse comparing faith in God to the sprouting of a seed and growth of a plant. Both the original manuscript and the printer's copy show that the printed editions have omitted thirty-five words from the latter part of verse 30. In the original, the phrase "sprouteth and beginneth to grow" occurs three times in close proximity. However, the first printed edition (1830) retained only two of these phrases, thus losing the rest of the material. All subsequent editions of the Book of Mormon have reflected the 1830 loss, which is clearly the result of the typesetter's

mistaking the last phrase of the copy as the one he had just set. The thirty-five words have now been restored to the 1981 text: "And now, behold, will not this strengthen your faith? Yea, it will strengthen your faith: for ye will say I know that this is a good seed; for behold it sprouteth and beginneth to grow."

The foregoing example is the most extensive restoration in any portion of the Book of Mormon and is necessary not only for textual accuracy but also because the words are needed to complete the thought expressed by Alma, that one's experience in the initial growth of faith is a strengthening process toward even greater faith.

Alma 16:5. Instead of whether, the 1981 text uses whither. The situation described in this passage is a time of war in which some Nephites have been taken captive by the Lamanites. In the earlier editions the chief captain over the Nephite armies goes to Alma the high priest (because Alma has the spirit of prophecy) and asks whether the Lord would that they should go in search of their captive brethren. Use of the word whether means to ask if they should go or not. The original manuscript is not extant for this passage, but the printer's copy uses the word whether, as have all editions of the printed Book of Mormon. However, the printer's copy also contains a correction that was made during work for the 1837 edition, indicating the word should be whither. Why this correction was not incorporated into the 1837 edition is not known. It has now been included in the 1981 edition. The word whither of course means "where," not "if." The proper sense of the passage therefore is where "shall we go to find our brethren?" That whither is the proper word is further verified in the next verse in which Alma tells them where to go to rescue the prisoners.

Explanatory Footnotes

In addition to cross-references to all LDS scriptures, the 1981 edition contains a number of explanatory or content footnotes. These occur occasionally to explain terms that seem to have a Hebrew connection, such as in 1 Nephi 2:10, in which Lehi wishes his son Lemuel could be like a "valley, firm and steadfast, and immovable in keeping the commandments of the Lord!" The footnote reads, "IE like Ezion-geber, the Hebrew roots of which denote firmness and strength, or might of a man."

When Ishmael died, he "was buried in the place which was called Nahom" and his daughters "did mourn exceedingly" (1 Nephi 16:34–35). The footnote for the word *Nahom* reads: "HEB probably consolation," from verb *naham*, 'be sorry, console one-self."

The quotations from Isaiah contain many footnotes explaining Hebrew terms and comparative information with the Joseph Smith Translation and the Book of Mormon. For example, at 2 Nephi 12:2 the following footnote occurs: "Comparison with the King James Bible in English shows that there are differences in more than half of the 433 verses of Isaiah quoted in the Book of Mormon, while about 200 verses have the same wording as KJV." Another footnote (for 2 Nephi 11:8) reads, "See the Latter-day Saint edition of the King James Version of the Bible for other notes and cross-references on these chapters from Isaiah."

# Pronouncing Guide

At the conclusion of the 1981 edition of the Book of Mormon is a new version of the Pronouncing Guide that suggests probable sounds of the words from the Book of Mormon.

#### Index

An extensive index of 416 pages and nearly 2500 topics is placed in the back portion of the Triple Combination for all three standard works. The headings are followed by separate paragraphs for references from the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price. When any of the three books is published separately, it will contain its portion of the index. One of the features of this index is that it frequently refers the readers to the topical guide and/or the Bible dictionary for additional information.

#### THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS

The new "Explanatory Introduction" to the Doctrine and Covenants is designed (1) to inform the reader as to why a collection of revelations like those contained in the Doctrine and Covenants exists, (2) to present a short history of various printings, (3) to present the "Testimony of the Twelve Apostles [of 1835] to the Truth of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants," and (4) to explain how this new edition is different from earlier ones. It closes with the explanation that various errors have occurred and been perpetuated in previous editions, especially in dates and geographic place-names given in the historical portions of the headnotes; therefore, some minor corrections were in order in this 1981 edition.

Other special features of this edition include two new sections (137 and 138), material by President Wilford Woodruff about the Manifesto of 1890, and the First Presidency statement about the

priesthood revelation of 1978. There are also improved cross-references, improved section headings, new subject-matter summaries for each section, and four maps showing major geographical locations—all of which help readers understand and rejoice in the message the Lord has given in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Corrections and additions were made when error had occurred or when it seemed that fuller explanation was needed in the headnotes than had been given in previous editions. Considerable care was given to assure accuracy. Most of the alterations were made in the headnotes. Changes in the text were basically limited to punctuation (see D&C 76:16–17) and a few deletions of unnecessary words (see D&C 78). It would not be feasible in a summary article such as this to include every variant, but we will present a few to show what has been done. We will also attempt to give the rationale behind the corrections in the new edition.<sup>4</sup>

#### Section Headnotes

In the earlier editions of the Doctrine and Covenants, the headnotes contained two types of material—historical background and a content summary. These were printed all the way across the page, covering the space of two columns. In the new edition, the headnotes contain historical and background information only and still reach across the entire page. The content summaries are separated from the history and placed at the top of the left-hand column, consistent with the format used in the chapter summaries of both the Bible and the Book of Mormon. It thus places the content summary, which is generally doctrinal in nature, in a paragraph by itself in a more conspicuous position than formerly used.

Many of the historical background portions are significantly different from earlier headings. A discussion of some of the headnotes and the reasons why they are different follows in the numerical order of the sections:

Section 1. Beginning with the 1921 edition, the heading read: "REVELATION given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, during a special conference of Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, held at Hiram, Ohio, November 1, 1831." The 1981 edition omits the phrase "of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

Information for corrections and additions was drawn from many sources, the most significant of which are Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974); and Lyndon W. Cook, prepublication manuscript for his book *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981). In addition, many of the faculty of religious instruction at BYU contributed individual items and made helpful suggestions.

When the Church was organized on 6 April 1830, it was called the Church of Christ (see D&C 20:1), as is evident from many early documents, including the title page of the Book of Commandments printed in 1833. The complete title of the Church as we know it today was not revealed until 1838 (see D&C 115:3–4). Therefore, it would be anachronistic to refer to the Church in 1831 by a title it did not receive until 1838. This minor but historically accurate adjustment was also made in the headings of sections 21, 22, and 102.

Section 2. Former editions have read, "WORDS SPOKEN BY MORONI, the Angel, to Joseph Smith the Prophet." The new edition reads, "An extract from the words of the angel Moroni to Joseph Smith the Prophet." Since Moroni spoke many more words than those presented in section 2, this clarification seems appropriate.

Section 3. The former heading "REVELATION given to Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Harmony, Pennsylvania, July, 1828, relating to the loss of certain manuscripts of the first part of the Book of Mormon . . ." is enlarged to read: ". . . relating to the loss of 116 pages of manuscript translated from the first part of the Book of Mormon, which was called the Book of Lehi."

A similar clarification occurs in the heading to section 10. A footnote to D&C 10:42 explains the reason for the change: "In the Preface to the first edition of the Book of Mormon, the Prophet explained that the material in the 116 pages had been translated from a portion of the plates called the 'Book of Lehi."

Section 11. This revelation was given through Joseph Smith the Prophet to his brother Hyrum and carries a date of May 1829. Its placement in the Doctrine and Covenants tends to suggest a time prior to the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood on 15 May 1829 (section 13). However, in the History of the Church, compiled from data dictated or approved by the Prophet, the revelation to Hyrum is placed after the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood. Consequently, an explanatory note in the new edition indicates that section 11 possibly was received 'after the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood.'

Section 30. This is a revelation to David Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and John Whitmer. The heading is essentially the same in both the former and new editions for the date, place, and recipients. However, the new edition adds the following historical comment: "Originally this material was published as three

Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51), 1:39-46; hereafter cited as History of the Church.

revelations; it was combined into one section by the Prophet for the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants." In the Book of Commandments (1833) this material appears separately as chapters 31, 32, and 33.

Section 34. The forepart of the heading is essentially unchanged except for a comment that Parley P. Pratt is an "older brother" to Orson Pratt. However, at the end of the heading the new edition adds: "This revelation was received in the Peter Whitmer, Sen., home."

#### Section 35. The former editions read,

REVELATION given to Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Sidney Rigdon, December 1830. As a preface to his record of this revelation the Prophet wrote: "In December, Sidney Rigdon came to inquire of the Lord, and with him came Edward Partridge; the latter was a pattern of piety and one of the Lord's great men."

### The new edition alters this considerably:

Revelation given to Joseph Smith the Prophet and Sidney Rigdon, at or near Fayette, New York, December 1830. . . . At this time the Prophet was engaged almost daily in making a translation of the Bible. The translation was begun as early as June 1830, and both Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer had served as scribes. Since they had now been called to other duties, Sidney Rigdon was called by divine appointment to serve as the Prophet's scribe in this work (verse 20). As a preface to his record of this revelation the Prophet wrote: "In December Sidney Rigdon came [from Ohio] to inquire of the Lord, and with him came Edward Partridge. . . Shortly after the arrival of these two brethren, thus spake the Lord."

In order to show the context of this revelation, it seems necessary to provide information about the work of translating the Bible in which the Prophet was engaged. Furthermore, since the revelation was to Sidney Rigdon, it seems appropriate to delete from the former heading the reference to the character of Edward Partridge and include it in the heading to section 36, which is a revelation to him.

Section 43. The former heading declared that the first part of the revelation was addressed to the elders of the Church and the latter part to the nations of the earth. However, a close reading of the revelation suggests that the entire revelation is to the elders. This is handled accordingly in the 1981 edition: "The first part deals with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Discourse by Orson Pratt, 18 September 1859, Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–86; reprint ed., 1967), 7:311.

matters of Church polity; the latter part contains a warning that the elders are to give to the nations of the earth."

Section 49. This revelation was given to Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, and Leman Copley about the religious group known as the Shaking Quakers. The new edition explains that the correct name of the Shakers was "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." It also adds useful information about some of the major doctrinal concepts held by the Shakers, enabling the reader to better understand certain statements in the revelation. The new edition thus adds the following to the heading:

Some of the beliefs of the Shakers were that Christ's second coming had already occurred and he had appeared in the form of a woman, Ann Lee; baptism by water was not considered essential; the eating of pork was specifically forbidden, and many did not eat any meat; and a celibate life was considered higher than marriage. In prefacing this revelation, the Prophet wrote: "In order to have a more perfect understanding on the subject, I inquired of the Lord, and received the following."

When the reader has some idea of the beliefs of the Shakers, he can see the intent of the revelation more clearly. For instance, verses 5–10 have a strong emphasis on the facts that Jesus is the Son of God and the Savior of all the world and that he will come again to earth. Verses 22-23 declare that when the Savior comes he will not come "in the form of a woman, neither of a man traveling on the earth." This precise information has direct bearing upon the Shakers' doctrine, for they believed Jesus had already come—as a woman. Likewise, verses 11-14 emphasize the ordinances of the gospel, including the necessity of baptism. Verses 15-17 speak against willful celibacy; verses 18–19 declare that the eating of meat is not forbidden by the Lord. Each of these declarations is directed at some aspect of the Shakers' belief. Without a knowledge of those beliefs, the reader of this revelation might not see the significance of what the Lord is saying and the revelation would appear to be of general application. The background shows the revelation has specific intent.

The new heading closes with this statement: "The revelation refuted some of the basic concepts of the Shaker group. The aforementioned brethren took a copy of the revelation to the Shaker community (near Cleveland, Ohio) and read it to them in its entirety, but it was rejected."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The material concerning the Shakers' beliefs was obtained from Milton V. Backman, Jr., of the BYU religious instruction faculty; and several written sources, notably Frederick William Evans, Compendium of the Origin, History, Principles, Rules and Regulations, Government, and Doctrines of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859).

Two other items that clarify this revelation should also be noted. Verse 18 reads, "and whoso forbiddeth to abstain from meats, that man should not eat the same, is not ordained of God." The awkward wording—"forbiddeth to abstain"—has the same effect as a double negative and could cause misunderstanding by seemingly saying that the eating of meat is forbidden. The obvious meaning of the passage, however, is clear in verse 19, which states that "the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air" are "ordained for the use of man for food and for raiment." As an added clarification, the new edition contains a footnote for verse 18 as follows: "IE biddeth to abstain; see v. 19 and Gen. 9:3–4."

In verse 21 we find the statement: "And wo be unto man that sheddeth blood or that wasteth flesh and hath no need." To this is appended the corollary footnote that reads: "TG Life, Sanctity of. JST Gen. 9:11 And surely, blood shall not be shed, only for meat, to save your lives; and the blood of every beast will I require at your hands."

Section 61. This revelation was given on the bank of the Missouri River at a place called McIlwaine's Bend. The new heading offers several clarifications, one of which corrects the earlier statement that placed the revelation on the "first day of a journey" on the Missouri River. Based on a study of the historical records, the new heading states that the event took place on the "third day of the journey." Another helpful feature connected with this revelation is that the map on page 297 of the new edition, showing "The Missouri-Illinois Area," locates McIlwaine's Bend. The location of this site has been generally unknown, but through calculations made by modern scholars from information in journals and diaries it has been located.9

Section 72. This revelation has to do with the appointment of the second bishop in the Church. The new edition explains that "this section is a compilation of two revelations received on the same day. Verses 1-8 make known the calling of Newel K. Whitney as a bishop. He was then called and ordained, after which verses 9-26 were received giving additional information as to a bishop's duties." 10

Section 78. Most students of Church history are aware that sections 78, 82, 92, 96, 103, 104, and 105 carried a number of code names and words used to disguise the identity of the persons, places,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>A. Sidney Gilbert, "Book of Commandments, Laws and Covenants," Book B, Library-Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Church Archives), as cited in Cook, Revelations of Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Max Parkin and Lyndon Cook, as cited in Cook, Revelations of Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup>The clarification for this division comes from the "Kirtland Revelation Book," Church Archives, pp. 13–15.



"Kirtland Revelation Book"

and concepts referred to. The original drafts of these revelations did not contain these code words but used rather the real names of the persons and places. These code words began with the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. However, many readers have not understood why these unusual names were used. Some have supposed they represented a divine or revealed name of the persons and perhaps pertained to a past or future existence. This evidently was not the case. The code names were used in 1835 so as not to expose to the enemies of the Church the identity of the persons, places, or concepts. The 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants printed the real names in brackets after the code words. This practice was continued until the 1981 edition. Since there exists no present need to have the code names, the 1981 edition uses only the names in the original manuscript. This procedure is explained in the new headnote to sections 78 and 82.

Section 82 has some additional interesting factors requiring further discussion. Prepublication handwritten manuscripts are available for all of the revelations containing code words except for section 82. Since the printed editions of section 82 have four code names not found in the other sections, the people to whom they refer remained unidentified, even in the new 1981 edition. This is explained in a footnote to verse 11: "Alam was probably Edward Partridge. See HC 1:363. The other unusual names in this verse are not identifiable at this time." Although some current scholars attempted to identify the three remaining persons referred to in the unusual names (Mahalaleel, Harah and Shalemanasseh), there was not a consensus, and it seemed best therefore not to identify these code words in the new edition.

Much of what we know about the origin of the unusual names was given in an article by Elder Orson Pratt, longtime Church Historian and a member of the Twelve. He explained the circumstances that gave rise to the names, and he also identified some of the persons. But he was writing from memory and made some errors. Some of the words such as *Baurak Ale* (formerly in D&C 105:16) and *Baneemy* (in 105:27) have Hebrew origins.

Section 86. This revelation clarifies some aspects of the parable of the wheat and the tares contained in Matthew 13. The former heading read, "REVELATION given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Kirtland, Ohio; December 6, 1832." The new heading adds

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Discourse by Orson Pratt, 16 August 1873, Journal of Discourses, 16:156; see also Orson Pratt, The Seer (1853-54; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Eugene Wagner, n.d.), pp. 227-29.

which were parto exten

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department showing that the actual names were used in the original manuscript Portions of Section 78 from the "Kirtland Revelation Book"

by way of explanation, "This revelation was received while the Prophet was reviewing and editing the manuscript of the translation of the Bible."

There are interesting historical items that contribute to the foregoing statement. The Prophet had already completed the translation of the New Testament by March 1832, eight months before he received the revelation recorded as section 86. In his initial translation, the Prophet did not alter Matthew 13:30, which in the King James Version places the gathering of the tares *before* the gathering of the wheat. However, the Joseph Smith Translation manuscript has a note pinned over the passage, making the proper correction that the wheat is gathered first. This corresponds with the sequence given in D&C 86:7. This correction apparently was added on 6 December 1832, while the Prophet was reviewing the manuscript for publication. Although this entire "review" was not completed until July 1833, 12 in December the Prophet was working with Matthew 13.

A note in the Prophet's journal for 6 December 1832 reads, "December 6 translating and received a revelation explaining the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares etc." The activity referred to by the Prophet apparently has reference to his review of the Bible manuscript. This example is an illustration that during the process of the Bible translation the Prophet received light and inspiration, not only correcting errors that had crept into the Bible but also providing additional information. In this case, section 86 not only corrects a biblical error but also interprets the parable in terms of latter-day fulfillment. This revelation also demonstrates the close relationship that existed between the translation of the Bible and the reception of many revelations now contained in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Section 87. The former editions have the following headnote: "REVELATION AND PROPHECY ON WAR, given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, December 25, 1832." The new edition adds the following: "This section was received at a time when the brethren were reflecting and reasoning upon African slavery on the American continent and the slavery of the children of men throughout the world." This information is attributed to President Brigham Young. 14

Section 88. The earlier heading read, "REVELATION given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Kirtland, Ohio, December 27, 1832. Designated by the Prophet, the Olive Leaf." It has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>History of the Church, 1:324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Joseph Smith Journal, 6 December 1832, Church Archives. We are indebted to Stephen Knecht for insight on the situation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Discourse by Brigham Young, 20 May 1860, Journal of Discourses, 8:58.

enlarged in the 1981 edition to read, "It was designated by the Prophet as the 'olive leaf... plucked from the Tree of Paradise, the Lord's message of peace to us." It appears from the historical records that portions of this revelation were received on December 27 and 28, 1832, and January 3, 1833." 15

Section 89. The heading in former editions read, "REVELATION given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Kirtland, Ohio, February 27, 1833, known as the Word of Wisdom." The 1981 edition adds the following background information: "As a consequence of the early brethren using tobacco in their meetings, the Prophet was led to ponder upon the matter; consequently he inquired of the Lord concerning it. This revelation, known as the Word of Wisdom, was the result. The first three verses were originally written as an inspired introduction and description by the Prophet."

When the Word of Wisdom was first printed, originally as a separate tract and later in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, the material now contained in verses 1–3 consisted of a paragraph that was not part of the text. It became a regular part of the text in the 1921 edition.

Section 99. This revelation to John Murdock was placed in its present sequence in the 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. At that time, and in subsequent editions, the heading has listed the date as August 1833. However, there is considerable evidence that this date is incorrect. Brother Murdock's own journal, the "Kirtland Revelation Book," and the editions of the Doctrine and Covenants previous to 1876 all give the date as August 1832. The earlier date is certainly correct, especially as determined from the journal and its sequence of events; therefore, the new edition gives the proper date and adds this explanation: "Although editions of the Doctrine and Covenants beginning with 1876 have listed this revelation as Kirtland, August 1833, earlier editions and other historical records certify to the proper information." The error of dating in the 1876 edition has caused this section to be placed out of proper chronological order; it should properly be between sections 83 and 84.

Section 102. The headings in the former editions of this section have read, "MINUTES of the organization of the first High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at Kirtland, Ohio, February 17, 1834." The 1981 edition contains several significant differences. To avoid an anachronistic reference to the present name

<sup>15</sup>Woodford, "Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," pp. 1127-28.

of the Church, the words the Church are used instead of the complete title (see discussion of section 1).

Other additions in the headnote include the following: "The original minutes were recorded by Elders Oliver Cowdery and Orson Hyde. Two days later, the minutes were corrected by the Prophet, read to the high council, and accepted by the council. Verses 30-32, having to do with the Council of the Twelve Apostles, were added by the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1835 when he prepared this section for publication in the Doctrine and Covenants." This addition was appropriate and necessary since the Council of the Twelve was organized in March 1835, a year after the Kirtland high council came into being, and a clarification between the two was needed.

Section 107. This extensive revelation on priesthood is dated in the 1921 edition as 28 March 1835. However, it is clear that not all of the section was received on that day. The 1981 edition adds this explanation: "Although portions of this section were received on the date named, the historical records affirm that various parts were received at sundry times, some as early as November 1831."

The records referred to tell us that when first published in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, this revelation was section III and captioned "On Priesthood" with no date given. Later, the 1876 edition was prepared by Elder Orson Pratt, and he placed this revelation as section CVII with the explanation "the fore part, or first fifty-eight verses, being given March 28th, 1835; the other items were revealed at sundry times." Since the entire document appeared in the 1835 edition, the "sundry times" spoken of by Elder Pratt had to have been earlier than 28 March 1835.

The material now in verses 59–100 is in the "Kirtland Revelation Book," which states that this material was revealed in November 1831. This information clarifies D&C 107:58, which refers to an earlier but unspecified revelation on Church government. Likewise, verse 93, which speaks of a "vision showing the order of the seventy," also seems to refer to an earlier revelation. There are other evidences that parts of section 107 were received earlier than the traditional date. For example, verses 53–55 occur verbatim in a blessing given by the Prophet to his father on 18 December 1833, sixteen months before the popular date given for section 107.

The realization that section 107 is a compilation of revelations rather than a single one received on 28 March 1835 is historically quite helpful to understanding the Doctrine and Covenants. It says

something about how revelation comes and how it is used and indicates that the Prophet received some revelations earlier than the date under which they appear formally in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Section 108. This revelation is directed through the Prophet Joseph Smith to Lyman Sherman. The former editions of the Doctrine and Covenants have not presented enough background material in the heading to enable the reader to understand the content of the revelation correctly; consequently, there has been some misunderstanding concerning it. Former editions have interpreted the revelation as a promise to Brother Sherman that he would be ordained to the office of elder (see the heading to the 1921 and subsequent printings). However, since Brother Sherman was already a seventy and a high priest at the time of the revelation, some additional background is needed.

On 26 December 1835, Lyman Sherman came to the Prophet and said he was "wrought upon" and troubled and desired a revelation through the Prophet as to his (Sherman's) duties.<sup>17</sup> Just what was bothering him is not specified.

The direction in D&C 108:2-4 (26 December 1835) is that Brother Sherman should let his "soul be at rest concerning your spiritual standing" and that he would be "remembered with the first of mine elders, whom I have chosen." This is not intended to mean an ordination to the office of elder in the Melchizedek Priesthood (as the 1921 edition states), since he was already a high priest, but seems to mean something like, "You shall be one of the first [leading] elders in the Church, etc." In 1837 he was released from the office of seventy (since at that time high priests could not be seventies) and was subsequently called as a member of the Twelve (16 January 1839) but died (February 1839) before he was ordained. The headnote and content summary to this section in the new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants are worded in a manner to guide the reader toward a proper context and interpretation. This section is a clear example of the need for adequate background information if we are to understand correctly.

Section 119. This section presents a revelation that was given to the Prophet Joseph Smith at Far West, Missouri, on 8 July 1839. Earlier in the Church, the United Order had been practiced wherein those who belonged to the Order deeded their entire property to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>History of the Church, 2:345.

Church. Due to severe persecution and the failure of many to comply with the requirements of the Order, this procedure was changed by revelation and a system of tithing instituted. The revelation known as section 119 was given in response to the Prophet's supplication: "O Lord, show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing." Without knowing this background, one could easily misunderstand the revelation. The word tithing itself means "a tenth"; however, the Prophet was not asking the Lord simply to show him how much a tenth was. In the transition from the United Order there needed to be some guidelines. Furthermore, it is evident that the word tithing as used in the earlier revelations and as commonly spoken of by the Brethren was not limited to a tenth, but it was a more inclusive term covering all contributions and consecrations of property. Thus, in the 1981 edition the following is added to the headnote:

The law of tithing, as understood today, had not been given to the Church previous to this revelation. The term "tithing" in the prayer just quoted and in previous revelations (64:23; 85:3; 97:11) had meant not just one-tenth, but all freewill offerings, or contributions, to the Church funds. The Lord had previously given to the Church the law of consecration and stewardship of property, which members (chiefly the leading elders) entered into by a covenant that was to be everlasting. Because of failure on the part of many to abide by this covenant, the Lord withdrew it for a time, and gave instead the law of tithing to the whole Church. The Prophet asked the Lord how much of their property he required for sacred purposes. The answer was this revelation.

Not only is the clarification valuable to understanding this section, but it also enables us to get the proper insight to a previous revelation known as section 64 in which is found the statement "he that is tithed shall not be burned" at the Lord's coming (D&C 64:23). When we understand what *tithing* meant in that day (1831), we can appreciate that it is not a mere ten percent that guarantees protection against the fire. The true sense of the revelation is that he who is wholly consecrated and dedicated shall not be burned. As a footnote to 64:23, the new edition tells the reader to "see note on tithing in heading to Section 119." Having this background information is essential to gaining a correct understanding of both section 64 and section 119.

Section 120. Since the 1921 edition, the date of this section has been unintentionally given the incorrect date of 18 July. It has now been corrected to read 8 July, which the prepublication records show to be the correct date, it being the same day as for section 119.

Section 129. This section presents "three grand keys by which the correct nature of ministering angels and spirits may be distinguished." In earlier editions of the Doctrine and Covenants, this section was described as a revelation "given to Joseph Smith the Prophet [on] February 9, 1843," conveying the impression that it was on this date the Prophet himself learned of these keys. However, there is documentary evidence he had given a similar explanation to the First Presidency and the Twelve on 27 June 1839.18 The written source used for the Doctrine and Covenants was from a later occasion (1843) on which the Prophet explained the same concepts, and on which his scribe William Clayton recorded it. Thus the material now identified as section 129, although the product of revelation, was not a new revelation received in 1843. We do not know when the Prophet first received this knowledge, but we know that it was at least by 27 June 1839. Accordingly, the headnote to the 1981 edition reads: "Instructions given by Joseph Smith . . . February 9, 1843," rather than "REVELATION given to Joseph Smith . . . February 9, 1843." This is an important matter, for it contributes to the accuracy of the new edition and relieves the awkward inference that the Prophet himself did not receive the keys to angelic identification until late in his ministry after most of the heavenly ministrants had already appeared to him.

Section 132. The information contained in D&C 132 was recorded on 12 July 1843 to meet a specific need. But the principle of plurality of wives, which constitutes a major portion of the section, was known to the Prophet long before this date. Therefore, the new edition adds the following explanation: "Although the revelation was recorded in 1843, it is evident from the historical records that the doctrine and principles involved in this revelation had been known by the Prophet since 1831." This is an important clarification relative to the time period in which the laws governing the plurality of wives were revealed to the Prophet. Among the historical evidence for the earlier time period is a signed report written by Elder Orson Pratt in 1878 and published in the Millennial Star. In it he affirms his personal knowledge that the Prophet received a revelation on the matter in the fall of 1831.<sup>19</sup> A second piece of evidence comes from an address by Elder Joseph F. Smith, delivered in Salt Lake City on 7 July 1878, in which he gives 1832 as the time of the revelation.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Cook, Revelations of Prophet Joseph Smith, pp. 286-87.

<sup>19&</sup>quot; Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," Millennial Star 40 (9 December 1878): 788.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Discourse by Joseph F. Smith, 7 July 1878, Journal of Discourses, 20:29.

Sections 137, 138. These two sections are new to the Doctrine and Covenants with the 1981 edition. Both documents are known to Church historians and members and have been published in Church literature. They were first made part of the standard works by the sustaining action of the general conference of 3 April 1976 and were published as an insert to the Pearl of Great Price. They were then transferred to the Doctrine and Covenants in the 1981 edition. Section 137 is a record of a vision of the celestial kingdom given to the Prophet Joseph Smith at Kirtland, Ohio, 21 January 1836; section 138 is an account of a vision of the Savior's ministry in the world of spirits given to President Joseph F. Smith, 3 October 1918. Both of these documents are fundamental to the doctrine of salvation for the dead and are therefore invaluable additions to the Doctrine and Covenants, especially at this time when genealogical research, temple building, and ordinance work for the living and the dead are reaching unprecedented activity.

Supplement to Official Declaration—1. Official Declaration—1, the Manifesto, has been published as part of the Doctrine and Covenants since 1908 and remains unchanged in the new edition. However, there have now been added "Excerpts from Three Addresses by President Wilford Woodruff Regarding the Manifesto," which give detailed explanation as to why the Manifesto was issued. President Woodruff tells of the role of the President of the Church and of the revelations which he himself had received leading to the discontinuance of plural marriage. This material from President Woodruff has been published previously, but this is the first

time it has appeared in a standard work.

Official Declaration—2. In June 1978, the First Presidency announced that a revelation had been received by President Spencer W. Kimball extending priesthood and temple blessings to all worthy male members of the Church. The First Presidency subsequently sent a letter to the leaders of the Church throughout the world, informing them of this revelation. Official Declaration—2 consists of (1) an introductory statement, (2) the letter, and (3) a concluding note to the effect that the letter was unanimously sustained by the vote of the general conference on 30 September 1978 as the "word and will of the Lord."

Maps. The 1981 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants is the first to contain maps showing significant locations having to do with the rise of the Church in this dispensation. Not every place mentioned in the Doctrine and Covenants is shown, but the four maps make it possible to locate the most significant cities, rivers, and other

sites having to do with the contents of the Doctrine and Covenants. These maps were specially prepared by the Department of Geography at BYU for publication in the new edition.

#### THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

The "Introductory Note" provided in the new edition of the Pearl of Great Price gives a short background of the various editions of that book since the first collection was published in Liverpool, England, in 1851, by Elder Franklin D. Richards. The introduction also provides a brief statement about the present contents. Each of the various portions of the Pearl of Great Price (except the Articles of Faith) has been given subject-matter chapter headings, whereas earlier editions had only headings with limited content. Only thirteen changes were made in the text of the Pearl of Great Price. About twenty-five corrections and additions were made for clarity in the former headings.

Selections from the Book of Moses. The Moses material has had various titles since it was first printed in the Pearl Great Price in 1851. At that time the Moses material was fragmentary and contained no unifying title or identification as to source. In the 1878 second edition of the Pearl of Great Price, Elder Orson Pratt enlarged the content of Moses and added the title "Visions of Moses" to the introductory part and "Writings of Moses" to the remaining part. The 1902 edition arranged the materials in eight chapters and labeled it "Book of Moses." Dr. James E. Talmage, later to become a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, prepared this edition on assignment from the First Presidency. The new 1981 edition designates the Moses material as "Selections from the Book of Moses," with the subheading "An extract from the translation of the Bible as revealed to Joseph Smith the Prophet, June 1930—February 1831." This is an appropriate heading because it identifies the source and the date, as well as indicating that this is not all of Moses' writing.

Another feature of note is the correction of the dates at the beginning of each of the chapters of Moses. The dates when the materials were revealed to the Prophet Joseph recently became available when the RLDS History Commission kindly made the original manuscript of Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible available for research. Since the Book of Moses is an excerpt from the Prophet's translation of the Bible, the availability of the manuscript is very helpful for many reasons, one being that it contains several dates, which, when placed with known dates and events in Church history, add to our

knowledge of the time frame when the Moses material was revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith. The new edition states that chapter 1 was received in June 1830, which was correctly given in earlier editions; however, chapters 2–5 were received by Joseph Smith from June to October 1830, several months earlier than former editions had indicated. Part of chapter 6 was revealed in November 1830 rather than in December as was formerly thought. The date of chapter 7 was unchanged, since December 1830 is correct. The date of chapter 8, which was given as December 1830 in previous editions, is now known to have been February 1831. Having the correct dates permits students to obtain a historical insight as to when the various portions of the Moses material were revealed to Joseph Smith. It also helps to establish a doctrinal relationship between the Book of Moses and the revelations published in the Doctrine and Covenants which were received during the same period of time (June 1830–February 1831).

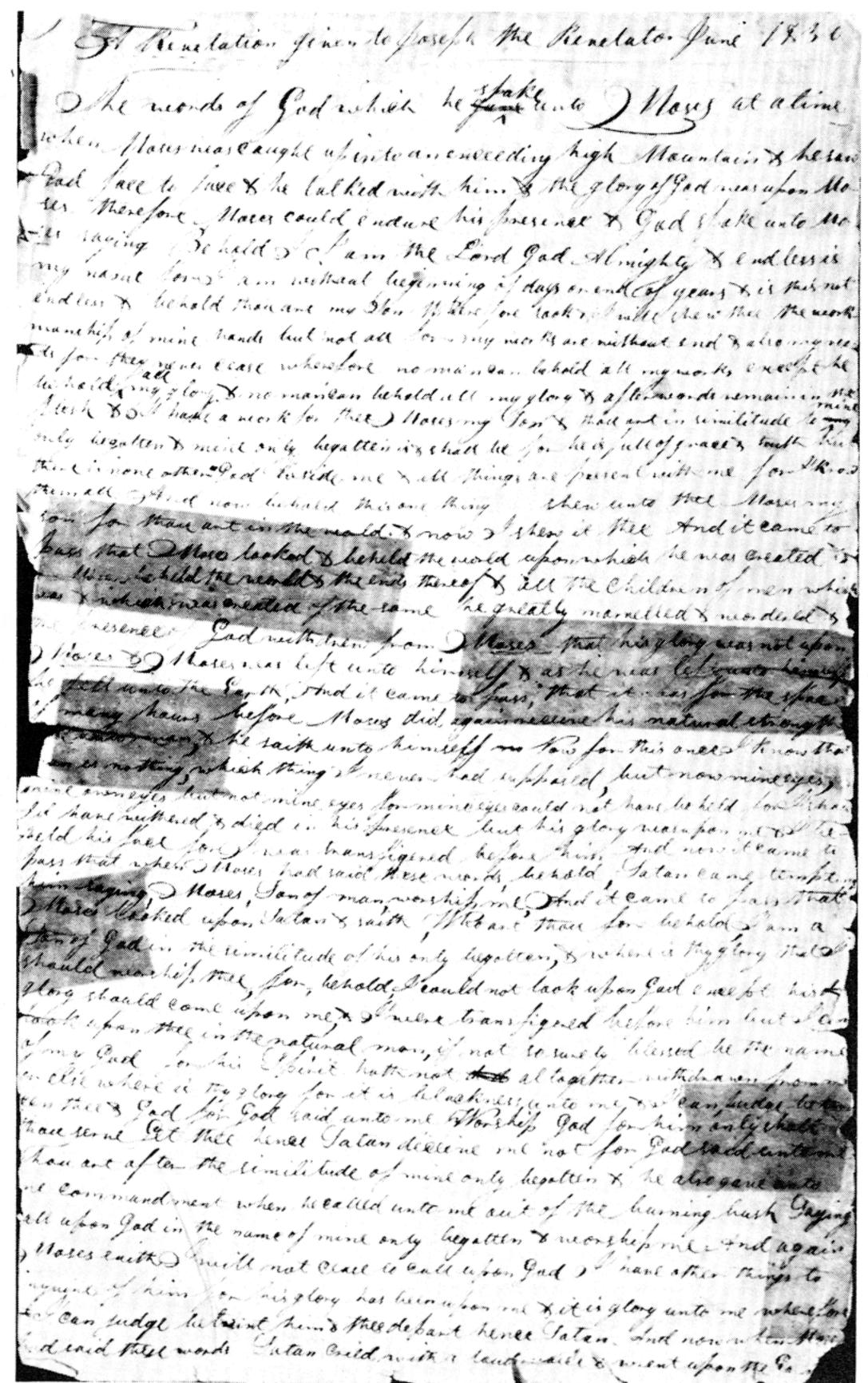
The Book of Abraham. Through the various printings and editions of the Book of Abraham, the clarity of the facsimilies has deteriorated, becoming less distinct and consequently less accurate. The new edition uses photoprints of the facsimilies as they occurred in the first printing of the Abraham material in the Times and Seasons in 1842.<sup>21</sup>

A significant textual correction was made in Abraham 1:3, which formerly read, "the first man, who is Adam, our first father." The 1981 edition reads, "the first man, who is Adam, or first father." This change was made on the basis of a manuscript in the LDS Church Historical Archives which records Abraham 1 clearly with the word or rather than our for this passage. The printing history of this verse is as follows. It was first printed in the Times and Seasons of 1 March 1842 where it reads the same as the manuscript, "or first father." This same text was continued in the first edition of the Pearl of Great Price, July 1851, and also in the 1878 and 1888 editions. In the 1902 edition, the text was changed to read "our first father." All subsequent editions of the Pearl of Great Price have followed the text of the 1902 edition. The 1981 edition restores the earlier reading.

"Writings of Joseph Smith." Another significant format change in the 1981 edition was to remove the caption "Writings of Joseph Smith" from Matthew 24 and the Joseph Smith History (formerly Joseph Smith 1 and 2). This caption was a little misleading, for these items are not substantially different from other "writings" of Joseph

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Times and Seasons 3 (1 and 15 March and 16 May 1842): 703, 720-21, 783.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Ibid., 3 (1 March 1842): 704.



Joseph Smith Translation
O.T. MS, no. 2, p. 1
Moses 1:1-19
showing dates of the Book of Moses revelations

Calabre 21: 1830 1830 I Makeyal begat Mathemath dother soms & daughters & Mathered begat Tame lamech tack unto himself two wives the chance of and was to Adah , the man of he alter Zellah & widoh hear fales he was the father if wech as dwell in Sonto & they were keepers of Cattel & Les Beathers mane was Julial who was the Father of all and on the the Less & Bryan & Billah the also hear Tubal bain an instruction of way artificer in brefs & Seen & the rester of Juliet tain was called Namah & Lamich rais unto his wives widah & zillah hear my bare we conver of Lamuch rearter water my speach for I have claim a was to my wanding & a young man to bong hust of Buin whall be arriged siven fat! trily Lamech well be reventy & reven fold or Samuch having entered into a consument with enter after the manner of Jain wheneve he have Maken Marter of the great brevet which was administered with Jam by Satar of sat to san of Tubet tour brock having known them seeded began to reaced it mute the sains of Adam wherever Lamet being angery thee him not like unto bein his brother abel for the take of getting gain beat he dies him for the author take you from the days of Cain there was a Sunt cambian ation of their works were in the dork it they know every man his boother. Vanimier 30 th 1830 curred Sameck & his hause I all they that has commonted with Salan for they kept not the commence intentity for It displeased God & he ministered not unto them y the works were shammations & began to oftend among all the Louis of mon I it was owing the land of men of among the daughters of min dunt wate his wines they Killed against him & declared the things abroad I had not composite. Xichnefore Sanuel was dispine I can't aut I come not among the Some of non lest he should der of this the works of differests began to prevail among all the saw of men + Bad consul the Court with a rose curse de was angent, with the wicked with all the same of men whom he had made for they want not hearken unto his waice nor believe an his wally begatten dan even him which he declared lufore the foundation of the world & the the Gooked began to be proched from the beginning being declared by Hales changels unt forthe from the presence of God & by his own vaice & Juy the tift of the Haley Glast a thur all things were confere med & the Gesfel preached & a decree must forthe that it should the go, the worth until the end thereof a their it was amen o obdan hearkens unto the mais of 150 & called reform his Sours too to refer to ordane knew his wife again. I she bear this a

Joseph Smith Translation
O.T. MS, no. 2, p. 10
Moses 5:41 and 6:2
showing dates of the Book of Moses revelations

Smith. The Matthew material is now appropriately labeled "Joseph Smith—Matthew" with the subheading "An extract from the translation of the Bible as revealed to Joseph Smith the Prophet in 1831: Matthew 23:39 and Chapter 24." (It is abbreviated in the footnotes of the new editions as JS-M.)

A correction of verse 8 was made by adding the words "and shall hate one another" to the end of the verse. This phrase has been missing in publications of the Pearl of Great Price since 1851. The corrections were made on the basis of the original manuscript of the Joseph Smith Translation.<sup>23</sup>

A correction of verse 30 was made so it reads, "the love of men" in place of "the love of many." This correction was also made on the basis of the original manuscript of the Joseph Smith Translation<sup>24</sup> and is consistent with a parallel passage in D&C 45:27.

The material formerly identified as Joseph Smith 2 is now captioned "Joseph Smith—History" (abbreviated as JS-H). A correction was made in verse 4 and 56 concerning the date of Alvin Smith's death.25 The proper date is November 1823, not November 1824 as has been erroneously printed in editions of the Pearl of Great Price since 1851. The year error apparently crept into the text because the history was written several years after the event and was given erroneously in the *Times and Seasons* account from which the history was extracted.26 However, the proper year is easily ascertained from an article in the Wayne County [New York] Sentinel under the date of 25 September 1824, which mentions the fact of Alvin's earlier death and burial. This of course could not have been discussed in September 1824 if the death did not occur until November of that year, some two months after the newspaper article was published. The newspaper article written by Joseph Smith, Sr., leaves no doubt that Alvin had passed away at the earlier date.

The Articles of Faith. Three editorial corrections occur in the 1981 edition of the Articles of Faith. In the fifth article of faith, the punctuation was altered to emphasize the need for divine authority in the ministry by removing the comma after the word hands and placing it after the word authority, thus: "and by the laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>New Testament Manuscript 1, p. 57, line 4, Library-Archives, The Auditorium, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Mo.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 56-A, line 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Verse 56 was in error in all these printings. Verse 4 did not offer a specific date until the 1902 edition, which then gave the year 1824, which of course was an error.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Times and Seasons 3 (2 May 1842): 772.

the ordinances thereof." This correction emphasizes the obvious intent of the passage.

In the sixth article of faith, the abbreviation viz was replaced by the word namely.

In the tenth article, the former wording "that Zion will be built upon this [the American] continent" now reads "Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent." This improvement in the sentence structure allows a freer flow of words. It also specifies that the part of Zion known as the New Jerusalem will be established in America; whereas, Zion in the larger sense, meaning the stakes, is not limited to America.

#### CONCLUSION

This article has been only a brief survey of the reasons for, the procedures followed in, and the unique features of the new 1979 and 1981 editions of the standard works published by the Church. These new editions officially manifest the intention of the Church to promulgate the sacred word of the Lord given in every age, and to do it as correctly as possible. They have come forth at a time when study of the scriptures is receiving increased emphasis in the Church curriculum.

The uniform reference system developed in these four standard works reminds us of Ezekiel's prophecy that the books will be "one" in the hand of the Lord's people (Ezek. 37:15–19). This concept is even more graphically described by Lehi when he says that the writings of Joseph's seed and of Judah's seed "shall grow together" unto the confounding of false doctrines and bringing people to a knowledge of the covenants of the Lord (2 Nephi 3:12). The new study aids—the topical guide, Bible dictionary, and maps—bound within the covers of the new editions, and the improved footnotes and cross-references to the standard works on the very pages of the sacred books are a step toward a fulfillment of these ancient prophecies. And yet these new editions are not perfect. There will no doubt be further corrections and additions in the years ahead. But as they now stand, the 1979 and 1981 editions constitute the most comprehensive scripture study-aid program ever made by the Church.

In general conference 1 April 1979, President Spencer W. Kimball spoke of the progress the Church had recently made and, even more, of the progress it was destined to make in the years ahead:

The Church is at a point in its growth and maturity when we are at last ready to move forward in a major way. . . . But the basic decisions

needed for us to move forward, as a people, must be made by the individual members of the Church. . . . We have paused on some plateaus long enough. . . . The Church is ready to accomplish . . . things now which it could not have done just a few years ago.<sup>27</sup>

Some of the things being accomplished within recent years are increased missionary activity, improved genealogical research techniques, increased temple building, and an increased emphasis on the scriptures in the correlated curriculum of the Church.

At a time when the Church of Jesus Christ is rapidly extending its message of salvation to all the world, there is a greater need for these new editions of the scriptures than ever before because the teachings contained within them are fundamental to all the activities of the Church. These scriptures are now ready for use as we stand at the threshold of the greatest worldwide expansion of the kindgom of God in the history of mankind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Spencer W. Kimball, "Let Us Move Forward and Upward," Ensign 9 (May 1979): 82.

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# Reaganomics and the Supply-Side: A Rationale

## J. Kenneth Davies

This paper is not intended as a defense of the Reagan economic program as such, nor even of the Reagan political posturing and rhetoric. These are in a constant state of flux made necessary by changing political and economic forces as well as the bargaining game being played between the president, Congress, public-pressure groups, and factions within the administration itself.

It is intended to present some economic facts and to identify a set of economic principles which just might help extricate the nation from the multifaceted economic dilemma it now faces.1 This set of principles is often referred to in the popular literature as Reaganomics, but this term is far too narrow and is frequently used by liberals pejoratively, indicating the concepts originated with President Reagan. Also referred to as supply-side economics, these principles are historically valid enough to stand on their own. While they have, by and large, been espoused by President Reagan and a number of his advisors, they are by no means the product of or limited to that group. They are principles being given consideration by a small but growing number of economists searching for a viable alternative to the liberal Keynesian policies which have been in force worldwide and which in the opinion of some have helped lead the U.S. and much of the world into the present economic problems. And it is obvious that such policies have been unable to respond effectively. The principles of Reaganomics or supply-side economics are philosophically related to but not synonymous with classical economics.

To understand and evaluate this set of principles, the reader must first recognize the economic milieu facing America as 1980 passed into 1981. Most of these points represent long-run trends:

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¹The essence of this article was developed in the late spring of 1982. By the late fall, the economic data indicated substantial improvement; however, the long-run problems still remain. We may have turned the corner, but the road ahead is still long.

- 1. Industrial production was falling, having decreased from an index of 152 in 1979 to 147 in 1980.
- 2. Unemployment had risen from 5.8% in 1979 to 7.1% in 1980, an increase of 22%.
- 3. Prime interest rates had almost doubled during the previous year, having reached a peak of 21.5%.
- 4. The rate of inflation had risen from a consumer price index of 5% in 1976 to a peak of 13.3% in 1979.
- 5. Productivity (output per hour) was down, having fallen about one percentage point since reaching a high in 1977 as compared with a 7% increase between 1974 and 1977.
- 6. Corporate profits had fallen from an index of 197 to 182 in one year.
- 7. The national debt was continuing its skyrocketing growth, increasing by \$83 billion in 1980—and that during a period of international peace.
- 8. The Social Security system was almost bankrupt.
- 9. Bankruptcies were proceeding at a forty-year high.
- 10. The economy was so enervated that the value of the American dollar in the international trade had been falling for years.

There was not one major positive aggregate economic statistic in 1980-81. There was no better formula for economic disaster.

#### A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It must be remembered that this condition had been generating over a period of many years in which Keynesian economics and social liberalism had dominated economic thought and American public policy. In all fairness, the importance of what was happening was really unknown to most economic observers and policy makers until the 1970s. Most economists had been swept into the Keynesian tide, and it was not until that decade that they first became aware of the coexistence of both excessive inflation and high unemployment, which has come to be called stagflation.

During the 1930s there was excessive unemployment but no inflation; in the 1940s the nation experienced war-induced inflation but little unemployment. While there were several recessions during the Eisenhower years, prices and interest rates were relatively stable.

The tragically abbreviated Kennedy years were also reasonably comfortable, the economy making progress against unemployment with relatively stable prices. It is perhaps understandable that both academic economists and policy makers perceived inflation and recession as mutually exclusive—that there could be one or the other but not both together. Public policy could then be devised which simply either reduced unemployment or inflation. This was public policy compatible with Keynesian-oriented economic analysis. The politics of Keynesian-oriented policy was, however, another story. Policy directed toward recession was politically popular; that against inflation was unpopular.

It was during the Johnson war years (1963–68) that a major economic blunder was made which set in motion forces which brought stagflation. It was assumed that the nation could have both "guns and butter." After all, we were the richest, most powerful nation in the world, and it was generally thought that we could continue to support both a war and a high level of consumption. The nation engaged in an expensive and protracted war in Southeast Asia without making the necessary domestic consumer sacrifices. Little attempt was made to restrain prices and wages. In addition, the newly launched War on Poverty was continued through a period of escalating prices. The result was inflation, worsened by the "supply shocks" of worldwide shortages of food, fiber, and oil as the nation moved into the seventies. The inflation became so entrenched that the public came to expect that inflation would continue, and people developed all sorts of devices to protect themselves against its effects. These devices in turn acted to insure wage-price escalation with inflation feeding upon itself. A people expecting inflation and acting accordingly produces what has been referred to as inflationary expectations. Keynesian demand management was politically unable to correct that problem. The required increased taxes and/or reduced government spending were both political anathema.

The 1970s became a decade characterized by both rapidly rising prices and rapidly increasing unemployment. The public-policy dilemma was that when action was taken to restrain inflation, unemployment increased; when steps were taken to reduce unemployment, inflation resulted. The only way out of this dilemma seemed to be the imposition of price and wage controls while the government and the Federal Reserve stimulated the aggregate demand in hopes of reducing unemployment through fiscal (decreased taxes and increased spending) and monetary (increased money supply) policy. The American people were not prepared to accept for long such a

radical solution. The controls, reluctantly imposed by Nixon, ended without ceremony but with to-be-expected rapid escalation of prices.

By 1980 it became apparent that the practices of Keynesian economics and social liberalism were unable to contain or control the aggregate economy. While many of the goals were laudable—prosperity, stability, and justice—after fifty years of operation, leaders had not been able to achieve them in concert. It became increasingly apparent to many that full employment, stable prices, a high rate of economic growth and economic freedom were mutually incompatible although they were desirable. The attempt to engineer them had failed, producing the economic instability of the 1970s.

#### THREE AGGREGATE ECONOMIC MODELS

This failure resulted in large measure from some false economic assumptions and the resultant invalid conclusions. These errors can be illustrated by contrasting three highly simplified models representing pre-Keynesian, Keynesian, and post-Keynesian aggregate economics.<sup>2</sup>

## The Pre-Keynesian Model

The classical model dominating economic thought until the 1930s assumed a long-run aggregate supply (AS) curve or function in

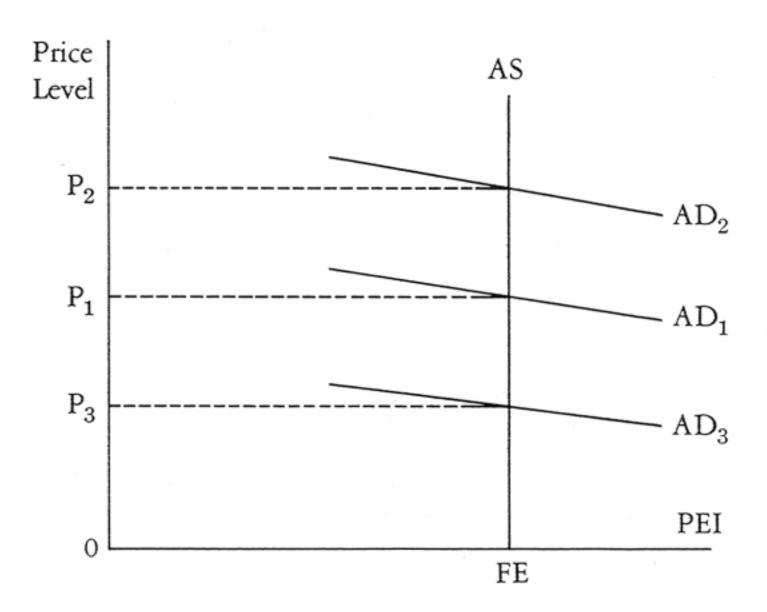


Figure 1. Pre-Keynesian, Classical Model

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The author recognizes the limitations of these simplified models but views their expository advantages as outweighing their limitations.

which production, employment, and income (PEI) would be at the full-employment (FE) level, maintained there by perfectly flexible prices and wages. This is illustrated in figure 1. If the economy produced too little relative to demand, prices and wages would automatically increase, stimulating production; if too much were produced, prices would quickly fall, reducing production. The induced aggregate demand (AD),<sup>3</sup> regardless of its level, would be sufficient to maintain full employment whether at AD<sub>1</sub>, AD<sub>2</sub>, or AD<sub>3</sub>. Unemployment would not exist for long. There was no need for government intervention. Economic ills would cure themselves.

# The Keynesian Model

In the 1930s, John Maynard Keynes and liberal philosophers recognized the errors of assumptions and conclusions in classical economics. While prices and wages could increase, they were not flexible downward; aggregate demand did not always respond quickly to changes in aggregate supply; high unemployment could exist for excessively long periods of time; it appeared that economic ills would not necessarily cure themselves. The decade-long depression of the 1930s seemed to be proof of this. Their new model is illustrated in figure 2. They assumed an aggregate supply in which any level of

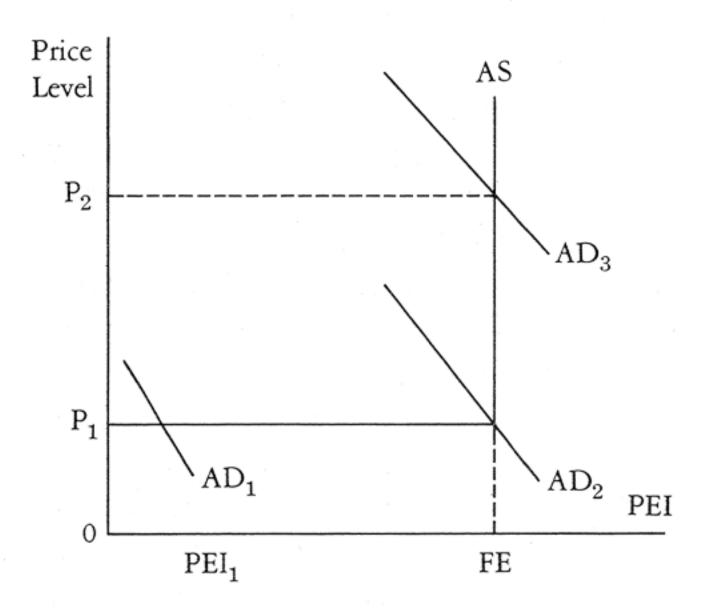


Figure 2. Keynesian Model

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Say's Law was assumed, namely that supply would create its own demand. Whatever was produced would automatically give rise to the demand for that production. According to Say, surpluses leading to recession were, in the long run, impossible. (See William J. Baumol and Alan S. Blinder, *Economics* [New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982], p. 778).

production would be achieved up to the full-employment level (FE) by stimulating aggregate demand (AD<sub>1</sub> to AD<sub>2</sub>) without any inflation. Any stimulation of AD beyond that point (to AD<sub>3</sub>) would be inflationary, prices rising to P<sub>2</sub>. They also assumed that aggregate demand on its own was usually insufficient to achieve full employment, that, operating on its own devices, it would be to the left of the full-employment level. Implicit in their model was the assumption that demand creates its own supply. Create the demand necessary to achieve full employment and the needed supply would be forthcom-

ing. This is just the opposite of the classical model.

Government was the only effective means of stimulating aggregate demand to the full-employment level. It could be reached through fiscal and/or monetary policy which would compensate for any deficiencies of the private sector. The fiscal policy usually chosen was to increase government spending, meeting the modern-day liberals' agenda for increased government as the cure to socio-economic injustice. Reduced taxes could accomplish the same thing in aggregate terms, by leaving more money for the private sector to spend, but this would mean decreased government, an approach which is contrary to the liberals' prescription for socio-economic planning. To them, appropriate monetary policy was to increase the money supply, thus inducing low interest rates, which would in turn encourage spending. Implementing these policies would increase aggregate demand, thereby stimulating production and employment. Theoretically, full employment would be achieved without any inflationary effect. In the assumed "unlikely" event of inflation, the appropriate policy would be the reverse: decrease aggregate demand back to the full-employment level by reduced government spending, increased taxes, and/or decreased money supply.

The assumptions of the Keynesian model were no more realistic than were the pre-Keynesian ones, though they appeared to be so until the administration of President Johnson neared its close. As long as the economy experienced either recession or inflation, but not both at the same time, the Keynesian solutions seemed economically viable. But the Keynesian conclusions have not proven to be any more valid for the 1970s and 1980s than the pre-Keynesian ones for the 1930s because neither represented reality. A new model was clearly needed.

The Post-Keynesian Model

It became apparent in the 1970s that there was a short-run inverse relationship between prices and unemployment, illustrated by

the Phillips curve (figure 3). At alternatively lower prices  $(P_1, P_2, P_3)$ , higher levels of unemployment  $(U_1, U_2, U_3)$  would be experienced. At alternatively lower levels of unemployment, higher levels of inflation would exist. The public-policy implications of the Phillips curve are that because of the short-run trade-off between inflation and unemployment, the use of monetary or fiscal policy to correct either one only exacerbates the other. As action is taken to reduce inflation, unemployment increases; as action is taken to reduce unemployment, inflation increases.

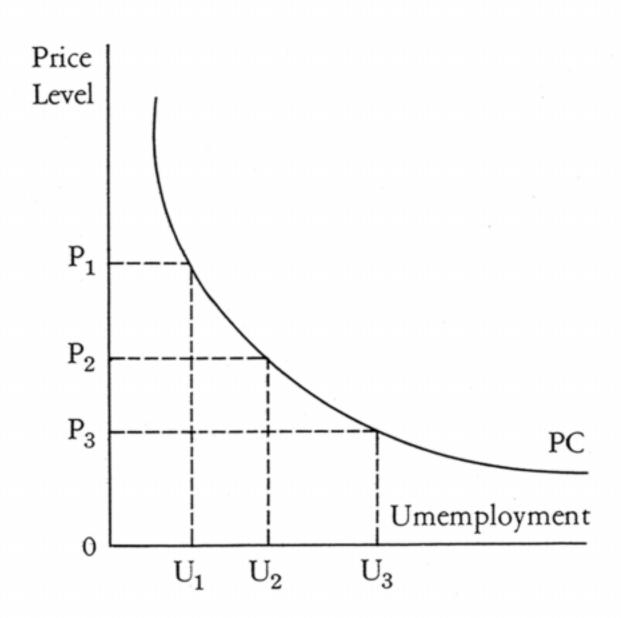


Figure 3. Phillips Curve—Short-run Movement

Further complicating the issue was the apparent long-run movement of the Phillips curves up and to the right during the 1970s—worsening the trade-off. At any given price level  $(P_1)$ , unemployment was worse  $(U_1, U_2, U_3)$ ; at any given level of unemployment  $(U_a)$ , prices were higher  $(P_a, P_b, P_c)$ , as illustrated in figure 4.

The mirror image of the Phillips curve relates prices to production, employment, and income (PEI), illustrated by an aggregate supply curve which rises to the right as in figure 5. It may be seen that with a given aggregate supply, the higher the level of PEI (E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>), the higher the prices (P<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>2</sub>, P<sub>3</sub>), and all this at an escalating rate.<sup>4</sup>

The author recognizes that there may be challenges as to the slope of the aggregate supply curve. He has chosen to include in a given curve the extremes of the Keynesian range (the relatively flat portion) and of the classical range (the relatively verticle). There are those who would eliminate either or both of the extremes.

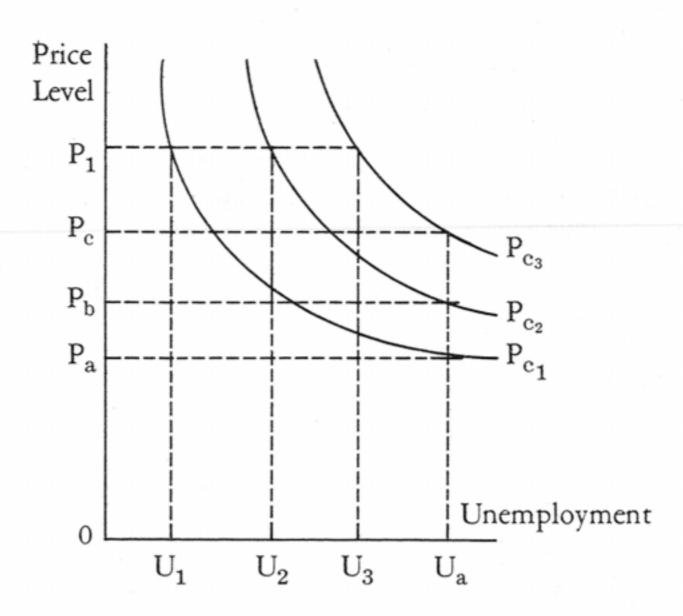


Figure 4. Phillips Curve—Long-run Movement

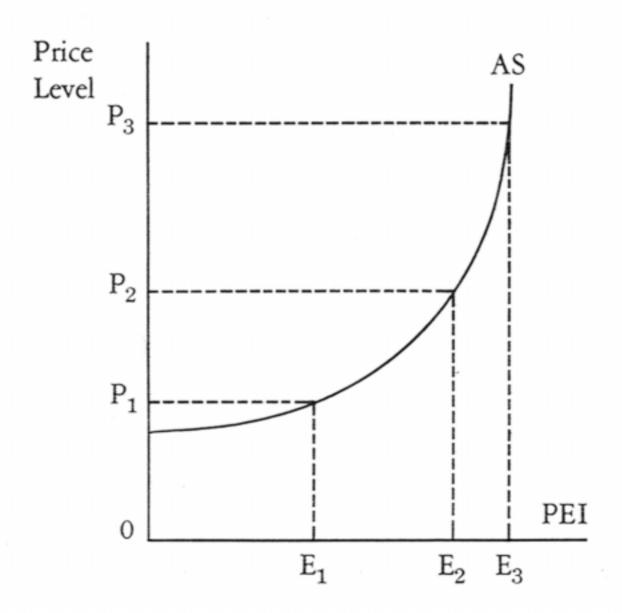


Figure 5. Aggregate Supply-Post-Keynesian Model

If the economy is at a very low level of PEI, aggregate demand could be stimulated, say from AD<sub>1</sub> to AD<sub>2</sub> (shown in figure 6), with substantial effect on production, employment, and income (E<sub>1</sub> to E<sub>2</sub>) but with little effect on prices (P<sub>1</sub> to P<sub>2</sub>). But at higher levels of

production, increases in production could be achieved only at the expense of larger and larger increases in prices, P<sub>3</sub> to P<sub>4</sub>.

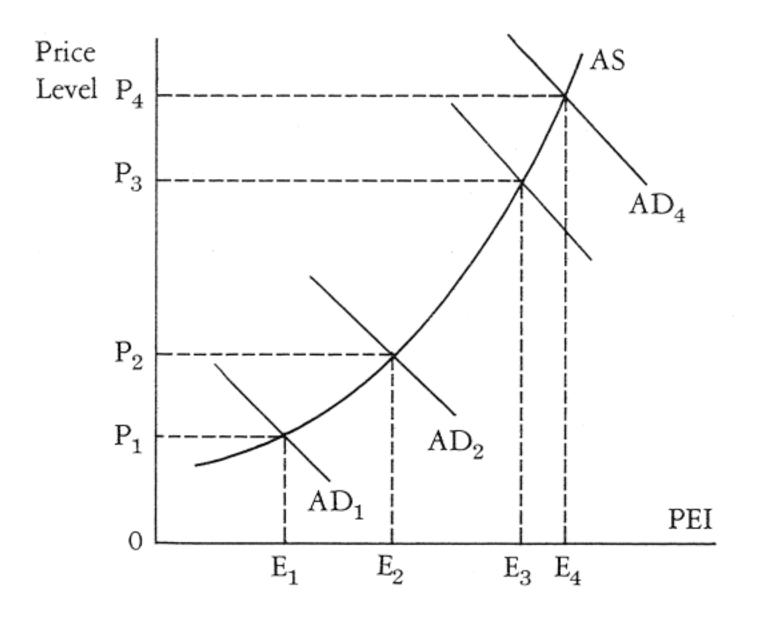


Figure 6. Increasing Aggregate Demand

However, should aggregate supply be diminished from AS<sub>1</sub> to AS<sub>2</sub>, as seen in figure 7, prices would continue to rise (P<sub>1</sub> to P<sub>2</sub>) while PEI would be diminished (E<sub>1</sub> to E<sub>2</sub>) and consequently unemployment would be increased.

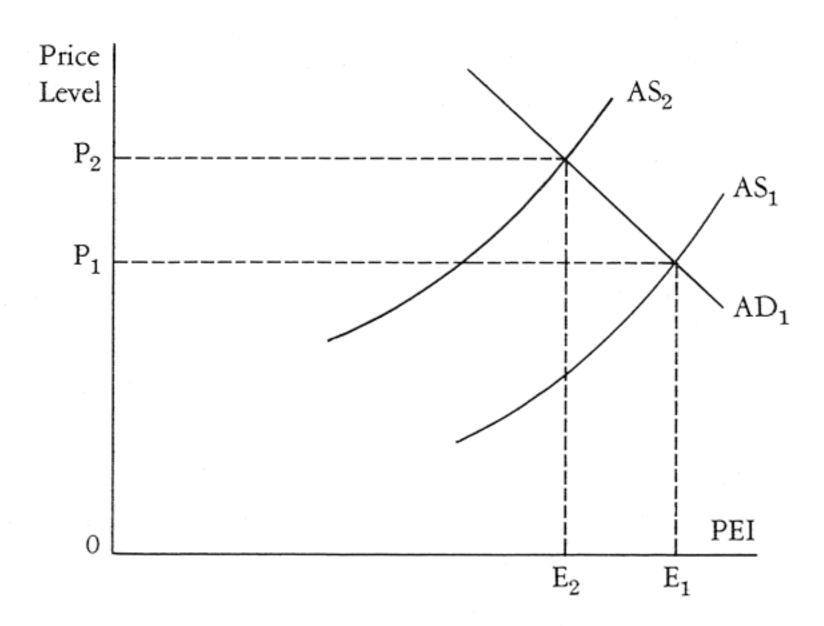


Figure 7. Decreased Aggregate Supply

On the other hand, should aggregate supply increase from AS<sub>1</sub> to AS<sub>3</sub>, as shown in figure 8, higher levels of PEI (E<sub>1</sub> to E<sub>3</sub>), with reduced unemployment, could be achieved and at lower prices, P<sub>1</sub> to P<sub>3</sub>.

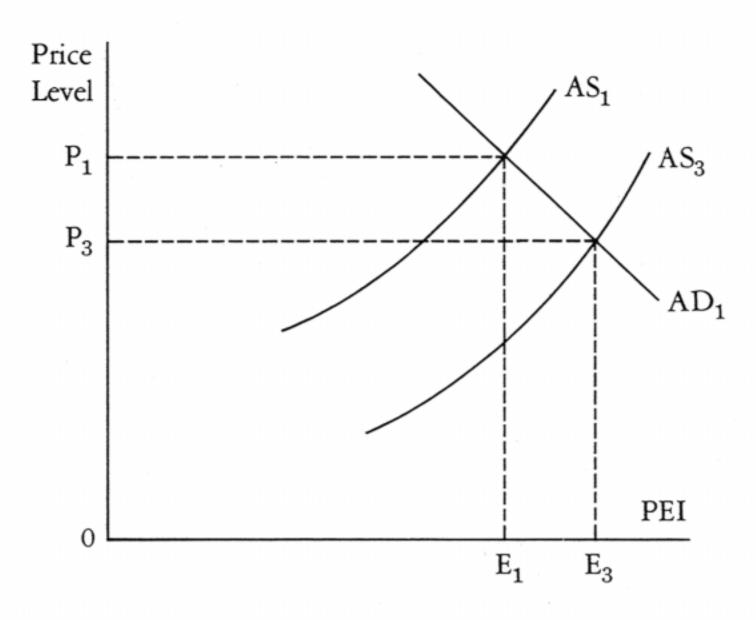


Figure 8. Increased Aggregate Supply

#### LIBERAL SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Keynesian economics relied almost solely on the stimulation of aggregate demand to achieve high levels of production, employment, and income, and, consequently, lower levels of unemployment—its primary concern. There was little concern for aggregate supply or inflation. Beginning in the 1930s, the liberal establishment began to put into place a number of programs with the most desirable and democratic of individual and immediate goals and objectives. They would correct and eliminate the socio-political-economic injustices of the existing American system. They would create a new freedom freedom from fear. The poor would be lifted up, the rich would be brought down, through subsidies to the former and graduated income taxes on the latter. The nation's ills would be solved primarily through the intervention of the federal government. Keynesian economists probably little realized the aggregate effect of these programs. America was rich and powerful and knowledgeable enough to conquer any foe, including poverty.

Illustrative of these programs is a far-from-complete list of government programs, each designed to correct a given ill:

- 1. To correct the poverty often associated with industrial accidents and disease, we created OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration).
- 2. To reduce the personal cost of unemployment, we established unemployment compensation.
- 3. Because of the economic distress associated with old age, we instigated the Social Security system.
- 4. To create a floor under the standard of living, we passed minimum wages.
- 5. To provide for social programs as well as pay for war, we developed highly progressive income taxes.
- 6. In our war against poverty, we developed a welfare program with the basic philosophy that the poor are entitled to relief payments untied to production. We even punished jurisdictions attempting to link them.
- 7. To clean up our environment, we created the Environmental Protection Agency.
- 8. To help the depressed farmers of the 1920s and 1930s through increased agricultural prices, we started a system of limiting the production of food and fiber.

Each of these programs in and of itself had a laudable end product in mind and alone would have placed no great strain on the economy. However, each one of them resulted in reduced production of goods and services and/or increased costs of production. The ultimate aggregate effect of all of these, and many other institutional changes beginning in the 1930s, has been to restrain the aggregate supply, driving up prices higher and higher with little if any positive effect on production and / or employment. In fact, the cumulative effect appears to have reached the point of actually reducing aggregate supply, moving it to the left, thereby driving up prices while actually reducing total production, employment, and income (PEI) and consequently increasing unemployment. This, associated with continued Keynesian efforts to achieve full employment through the stimulation of aggregate demand, along with continued supply shocks, has resulted in stagflation—higher and higher prices, stagnant or decreasing production with higher and higher levels of unemployment. Adding to the inflation has been the very expectation of continued inflation, with inflation feeding on itself.

### SUPPLY-SIDE AGENDA

Supply-side economics<sup>5</sup> is basically an attempt to stimulate aggregate supply faster than aggregate demand increases.<sup>6</sup> This could be done to a considerable extent by restraining aggregate demand while removing or reducing many of the artificial barriers to production created by much of the social legislation of the past forty years.

The position of many supply-siders is to change the mix of aggregate demand through the reduction of the government sector, thereby providing for the expansion of the private sector. The position of this author is that the basic supply-side goal (reducing the rate of inflation while stimulating production, employment, and income) can be accomplished without a significant reduction in the social welfare programs. It is probably this reduction and/or elimination of social welfare programs that raises the greatest resistance to supply-side economics.

There is a way out which would require little change in basic liberal goals and objectives. Economists, by and large (including contemporary Keynesians), know that in the long run and in the aggregate "there ain't no such thing as a free lunch." If people are going to eat, the food must first be produced. If those who are truly incapable of taking care of themselves are to be helped, every effort must be made to increase the aggregate production of goods and services. Little milk can be taken from a sick cow and there can be little care of the poor by a sick economy. The economy is going to be no healthier than its private sector, America's cow. If we want a lot of good milk, we must have a healthy cow; if we want goods and services enough for all, we must have a healthy, productive private economy.

Following is a list of objectives, most of it in common with supply-side or Reagan economics, which just might help increase aggregate supply, reducing the trade-off between unemployment and inflation—that is, make possible lower rates of inflation concurrently with higher levels of production, employment, and income, and consequently lower unemployment rates:

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Supply-side economics is often cluttered up with nonessential Laffer curves and a demand for a return to the gold standard. The validity of these is not essential to this analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The usual view of supply-siders is that if aggregate supply is permitted to grow aggregate demand will expand to absorb it. The view of this author is that public policy should not only consider the stimulation of aggregate supply but should also restrain the artificial growth of aggregate demand. This may be accomplished by restraining excessive increases in the rate of growth of the money supply.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The Malthusian spectre is often raised as a challenge to supply-side economics. It is assumed by some doomsdayers that we have about reached the capacity of the world to increase aggregate supply. The spectre has been periodically proferred since the early 1800s.

- A limited and stable increase in the money supply. In this country increasing the money supply is basically the function of the quasi-independent Federal Reserve system. The Federal Reserve must set a limited range within which it will allow the rate of growth of the money supply to fluctuate. This range must be in the neighborhood of the capacity of the economy to grow. If the money supply grows faster, it will induce inflation; if slower it will retard growth resulting in increased unemployment. Such action will play a major role in containing and stabilizing aggregate demand and consequently controlling inflation. It will make unnecessary the periodic, excessively harsh, reactionary, restrictive monetary policies which, along with huge federal deficits, have created the high interest rates of the past few years. These, in turn, have restricted private investment, resulting in recession.
- 2. A reduction of taxes on savers and investors. If taxes are reduced on savers and investors, the incentive to save and invest will increase, and consumption and aggregate demand will be restrained. The additional savings will reduce interest rates. The lower interest rates will encourage an increase of investment, making possible an increased aggregate supply, resulting in greater production, lower unemployment, and increased productivity, and making lower prices possible. In addition, the lower taxes will promote individual work effort.
- 3. Removal of unnecessary, counterproductive regulatory controls, and subsidization of producers. Removing counterproductive regulatory controls and subsidies will increase work incentives, increase output, and drive down costs of production, directly and through an increase in aggregate supply, with positive effects on both prices and unemployment.
- 4. An increase of competition among producers and sellers. There is some danger that competition may be stifled by the growth of domestic and international monopoly power as the private sector is encouraged to increase production. Such power tends to restrict production with negative effects on aggregate supply. If anything, competition should be increased, keeping

- both prices and wages under control. The problem is identifying true monopoly power and developing viable programs to restrain it.
- 5. An encouragement of the able bodied to leave welfare and enter the labor market. Encouraging the able bodied to work may require actual discouragement to remaining on welfare. It will certainly require great ingenuity and a change in philosophy on the part of the welfare workers and administrators as well as of the law itself. It will also require a major manpower effort to assist those with little or no labor market skills to become productive and participating workers. The frequent liberal argument is that there is little sense developing market skills if there are no jobs, if all you give people is a hunting license to compete for nonexistent jobs. This criticism becomes invalid if the rest of the program to remove the fetters on producers is effective in stimulating production and employment, thus restraining inflation. If there is criticism of the Reagan program, it is for the reduction in manpower programs directed toward this end.8
- 6. Improvement of the efficiency of the operation of the labor market. Improving the efficiency of labor will reduce the length of unemployment of workers and automatically increase production. This, too, is an area in which the Reagan program in its budget-cutting zeal seems to have erred by cutting too deeply into the budget of the Employment Service, which is one of the major aids in improving labor market efficiency.
- 7. A decrease in government spending and the national debt as a percent of our gross national product. If we can reduce government spending and the national debt, the public sector competition for loan funds will be reduced, driving interest rates down. The private sector will take up the slack, growing relative to the public sector. There would then be increased tax revenues even in the face of reduced tax rates on savers and investors. These increased revenues can then

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>However, in late September 1982, the Congress passed and the president signed the Job Training Partnership Act to replace the often criticized CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) program.

provide the means of reducing the rate of growth of the federal deficit to less than the rate of growth of the economy.

This last objective will be difficult to achieve in the face of persistent international tensions requiring heavy defense-related spending. A guaranteed international peace could make the goal feasible. The question is how to achieve peace, and there is no easy answer to this conundrum. Foes of defense spending usually assume such spending to be a complete waste. However, it is not a complete loss. When the various weapons systems are built, people are at least put to work and receive income. The economic negative is that defense industry workers produce goods which do not enter the consumer marketplace, while their incomes do, stimulating consumer demand and prices. Economically this effect is much the same as a concentration of spending on nonproductive human services.

These seven objectives are, by and large, those of Reaganomic practitioners. Reaganomics may not be the perfect answer, but knowing that past Keynesian-oriented public policy makers' single-minded emphasis on aggregate demand has not achieved its goals, perhaps it is time we give supply-side economics the opportunity to prove itself. To do so will require time. Some progress has been made with both interest rates and inflation significantly lower than they have been for years. The inflationary expectations of the past decade already seem to be weakening under the pressure of the deep recession we have been experiencing. Labor unions have even been willing to negotiate contracts with substantial wage concessions and reduction of limitations on production. The index of industrial production appears to be inclining upward, and productivity (output per man-hour) is increasing. High-cost inventories built up in anticipation of continued inflation have been significantly reduced. The October upsurge of the stock market indicates renewed investor optimism. Making a significant reduction in the more intractable excessive unemployment rate will, unfortunately, take longer. But any renewed attempt to reduce unemployment simply through artificially stimulating aggregate demand by way of fiscal or monetary policy will probably set up a new wave of inflation, delaying a return to a stable, prosperous, and just socio-economic system.

# Home and Office

When people leave home and go to a bar, Auden Said, they try to make it look like home. And I guess what's true of people going to bars Is true of people going to offices too. At least, I pass by doors along the hall To my office and catch a glimpse of a snug boudoir: Soft lamplight, carpets, and reclining chairs, Cushioned and plumped, inviting R and R. And why not, I think: old Auden was an oaf. Be comfortable! And if you'd rather be home Than working, pretend you're still home and buy An upholstered recliner and a tinted lamp. I'm just jealous, you can tell, as you walk through the door Of my workplace, Spartan and cluttered in naked light, With maybe a hair shirt hidden somewhere. But Arnold Stein comes back to my mind from Seattle. His door was across from mine: the battered Wooden desk and chair and an ammunition Box for student consultations. I was told He was a German POW during World War II. I never asked him. He wasn't my idol or anything, But he worked hard and seemed to get a lot done. It's time to get out of here and try to forget it. But first let me mention one virtue of austerity— It's easy to leave it, no enfolding and holding, Just pack up and get out. So I'm going home now. And when I get there, there's one thing fairly sure: I don't want to make my bedroom look like my office.

-Edward L. Hart

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# Reopening the Mexican Mission in 1901

## F. LaMond Tullis

In 1874 Brigham Young voiced his interest in taking the gospel message to Mexico. During the next two years he sent out several companies of missionaries, explorers, and colonizers. Then came missionary labors in Mexico City in 1879, the settlement of the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua in 1884 (after the arrival of the first Mormon expatriates from the United States who, because of polygamy, were fleeing federal marshals), and the subsequent reinforcement of the mission in central Mexico by both Anglo-American and Mexican missionaries. However, in 1889, because of the crisis over polygamy, the elders were called home and all missionary endeavor ceased. After the 1890 Manifesto, the Saints turned inward as they attempted to adjust to the dramatic change in marriage practice. They did not think seriously about proselyting in Mexico again until the turn of the century.

While reasons for closure of the Mexican Mission in 1889 may have seemed clear to everyone, President Anthony W. Ivins, who presided over the colonies in Chihuahua, found consequences of closure disagreeable. What success was there in a flock with no shepherd, living in an environment hostile to the gospel? Then, too, whenever President Ivins thought about the matter, he did not feel justified in the course the Church had taken with its members in central Mexico. It seemed to him "that if we convert people to the truth of the Gospel and admit them into the Church we ought to take care of them afterward, that is to say, give them all of the protection and care in our power to keep them in the path of rectitude and teach them the principles that we know will lead them back into the presence of our Father."

In 1876 Elder Ivins had traveled 4,000 miles on horseback with other missionaries to take the Book of Mormon message to the

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¹Anthony W. Ivins to Apostle Francis M. Lyman, recorded in the Manuscript History of the Mexican Mission, 30 April 1902, Library-Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.

Mexican people. From 1882–83 he had served as a missionary in central Mexico, and as president of that mission from 1883–84. He had firsthand experience not only of the difficulty of living the gospel in Mexico but also of the open heart and expansive spirit of the Mexican people. Besides, he never shrank from the conviction that the Church must complete its mission to the Lamanites.

While almost everyone else's attention had been turned to matters of survival and development within his own ethnic community, Anthony W. Ivins continued to brood over the abandoned Mormons in central Mexico among whom he had many personal acquaintances. We do not know if he were preoccupied about the numerous Church members from the Indian tribes in northern Mexico who had also been abandoned, but he did do much thinking and considerable talking about the Church's mission in central Mexico. Thus it was a fortuitous call indeed for Mexico that lifted Anthony Ivins in 1895 from his comfortable residence in St. George, Utah, and placed him in the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua as president of all the Mormons in Mexico.

For six years Anthony W. Ivins directed his prodigious energies and organizational and leadership skills to solidify the position of the Mormons in the colonies. Much was accomplished by the Saints in the colonies under Elder Ivins's able leadership.

Having worked first with the Anglo-American Mormons, in 1901 Anthony Ivins turned his attention to the other half of his calling—the native Saints in central Mexico. He laid the whole matter before the First Presidency during one of his visits to Utah for general conference, speaking not only of the lost Saints who had their right to a shepherd but also of the young men and women in the colonies who spoke Spanish and were acquainted with Mexican customs and culture. Despite the debacles of the past, conditions in the colonies now looked highly propitious. Pressures from the U.S. government had subsided. In the colonies there was a new generation of youth both willing and exceptionally qualified to take the gospel south once again. Besides, the economic well-being and good management of the colonies made possible a surplus in both money and manpower to support a new missionary endeavor. In addition, with the perspective of time, some of the heartaches experienced by the members from central Mexico who had attempted to colonize in the North had subsided. Elder Ivins felt it was a new day and the time for a new effort. The First Presidency agreed.

The man that Anthony Ivins recommended the Church select to direct the work in the south was exceptionally well trained and

committed. Ammon M. Tenney had been with Elder Ivins on the first 1876 expedition into Mexico. He served two years as head of the Mexican Indian Mission (1887–89), later taking Wilford Woodruff's advice to leave for Mexico and settle in the colonies (he founded homes in Díaz and in Juárez). In the colonies, and in his numerous conversations with Elder Ivins, he also urged that the matter of reopening the mission in the South be laid before the First Presidency. When Tenney's call came, he was not particularly happy about leaving his family once again, but he willingly and enthusiastically accepted his new call to serve the Lord.

The Church attached a high degree of importance to this effort, just as it had to an earlier one in 1879 headed by Apostle Moses Thatcher. Thus, arrangements were made for Apostle John Henry Smith as well as Anthony W. Ivins to accompany Ammon Tenney to Mexico City to diagnose problems within the Church and see how many of the old members could be brought back into the fold. Elder Ivins had personal acquaintance with many of the members from his missionary days in the early 1880s. He was anxious to see them again.

The first stop was Cuernavaca, where a Mormon named H. L. Hall lived and operated a hotel. Whether for reasons of patronage or conversion, several of the Mexicans in his employ had joined the Church, and at least one immigrant family from Switzerland was very interested. The hotel afforded a base of operations as well as a serene location on the evening of 8 June 1901 for Apostle Smith to ordain Ammon M. Tenney a high priest and set him apart as president of the Mexican Mission. President Tenney was to be under the direct supervision of President Ivins of the Juárez Stake. But there was no doubt that his new title meant he should strengthen the Saints in central Mexico as quickly as possible.

After they took care of preliminary organizational matters and were apprised by Hall regarding political affairs in central Mexico, Elders Smith and Ivins called once again on Mexican President Porfirio Díaz. While Díaz was becoming an even more controversial man in Mexico than when the first Mormons previously sought his help, there was no doubting his continued friendship with the Saints. Accordingly, having been in Mexico only two weeks, the missionary party on 17 June asked for and received an audience with President Díaz.

Apostle Smith expressed his gratitude to President Diaz and the Mexican people for their kindness and consideration in receiving the Mormons into their land. He also explained the Mormons' purpose for their new mission. President Diaz expressed great satisfaction—already the economic exploits in the north had gained the Mormons a





Reprinted from James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, 1921), facing pages 165 and 69. Ammon M. Tenney Anthony W. Ivins

national reputation—and wished the missionaries every success. He asked Apostle Smith to convey his warmest greetings to President Lorenzo Snow, which Elder Smith did.

Within a decade dark clouds would cover Diaz's relationship with the Church. But, in the meantime, Mormons viewed the Mexican president as their great benefactor, and on every possible occasion visiting Mormon authorities told him so: "No more heroic man stands on God's green earth . . . than the man who stands at the head of the government of Mexico, President Diaz." Typical was the 24 November 1904 visit of Apostles John Henry Smith, Matthias F. Cowley, and Charles W. Penrose, and of Richard W. Young, Dr. Faust, John Beck, D. W. Johnson, and Hyrum S. Harris. On behalf of the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua and the entire LDS church, they congratulated Diaz on his election to a new term as president of the Republic of Mexico. In fact, in 1901 Diaz was a hero to all foreigners in Mexico. "He was half-smothered with foreign decorations, each with its appropriate scroll," says Lesley Byrd Simpson about Diaz, a man who thrived on flattery.

While Díaz was seen as an answer to prayer by some, 4 he was considered a tyrant by others. "It is one of the many charming inconsistencies of Mexico that Porfirio Díaz, the military caudillo and bitter enemy of Juárez, should have succeeded the Lawgiver of Oaxaca and ruled Mexico for a third of a century as an irresponsible despot, under the cloak of the liberal Constitution that Juárez and his devoted company had fought so long to establish."

When Porfirio Diaz had marched into Mexico City to declare the end of La Reforma in 1876, the nation was suffering from economic breakdown and social disorder. He befriended those of wealth and influence. Porfirio's slogan was "Bread and the Club": bread for the army, bread for the bureaucrats, bread for the foreigners, and even bread for the churches—and the club for the common people of Mexico and those who differed with him. He had, to put it succinctly, "the virtues of a great barbarian, and he needed them." Troublesome Indians, striking workmen, indiscreet speakers and writers, and honest bandits disappeared into the noisome dungeons of the fearful old Belén Penitentiary or were shot while "attempting to escape." And Mexico prospered—that is, the Mexico that was

6Ibid., p. 288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 30 June 1901, p. 2, Church Archives. <sup>3</sup>Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos*, 4th ed. rev. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Hubert Herring, A History of Latin America, 3d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 325. <sup>5</sup>Simpson, Many Mexicos, p. 287.

advantageous to Díaz. Men of title, money, and land holdings were highly pleased; other Mexicans were not. But their voice would not be heard for another decade.

Commenting on this situation, Apostle John Henry Smith reported finding during his two-week stay in central Mexico a "gentle and considerate people . . . who had been crushed in the past and the years of serfdom under which they have labored for so many years has killed to a great extent their spirits." Elder Smith, however, did not recognize Porfirio Díaz as part of the problem. The Apostle was resolute in his conviction that the time was not far distant when the natives of Mexico would "enter in at the door designed by their Maker, and would be engaged in building temples to the Lord."

Apostle Smith and the other missionaries were perhaps surprised and no doubt pleased at finding so many members of the Church in central Mexico who had maintained their testimonies during the long interregnum. He had conversed with some of the old members who had been baptized as far back as 1879 during the Thatcher mission. Elder Ivins himself was "surprised at the thorough understanding both men and women seemed to have of the doctrines and principles of the plan of redemption."

In spite of these positive indications, when Elders Ivins and Smith returned to their homes, leaving President Tenney to revitalize the missionary work and institutionalize the Church in Mexico City and environs, there was no doubting the magnitude of the task at hand. As most of the members from the early days originally had been Protestants, it was understandable that in the absence of contact with the Church they would introduce many Protestant ways into their worship. Because Mormonism is low on ritual, anything "different" that smacks of sectarianism is unnerving. Certainly, for the most part, the people had maintained religious activity, but it was being expressed in forms alien to the Mormon way. In addition, marital infidelity and common-law marriages were prevalent among the people. In this, the members had simply made peace, for the most part, with established cultural norms.

If all this were not challenging enough to President Tenney, members had set up their own congregations and were reluctant to lose control of them. Some members relented only after President Tenney promised that never again would the priesthood or the missionaries be withdrawn from them. Although he must have fervently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Journal History, 30 June 1901, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Anthony W. Ivins to Apostle Francis M. Lyman, 30 April 1902.

hoped his statement was prophetic, only a decade would pass before his prophecy would be proven inaccurate as a consequence of the Mexican civil war which brought about the second withdrawal of missionaries from that land.

The chronology of President Tenney's visits to various localities where Mormons were known to reside offers a brief glimpse into conditions of the Church when the mission was reopened. After leaving the other missionaries at the depot of the Mexican Central Railroad for their trip to El Paso via the city of Chihuahua, President Tenney returned to Cuernavaca to hold additional meetings and learn as much as he could. Then he left for Amecameca to visit Sylvester López, an old friend of the Mormons who would do everything for the Church except join it.

From Amecameca he went to Cuautla in Morelos, meeting with Simón Zuñiga, one of the old converts who had been with the company of colonists to Chihuahua in 1887 only to return later, his family disappointed, on foot, and in hardship. President Tenney was welcomed among the Saints there, however, and spent his time reorganizing the branches in the region and reteaching Church organizational procedures and fundamental doctrines. He emphasized the laws of the fast, tithing, and prayer. While the Saints had, to some extent, strayed from Church standards, all whom he met seemed willing to learn and believe. Six new converts came into the Church in Cuautla.

From Cuautla President Tenney traveled to the foot of the imposing volcano Popocatepetl to visit Ozumba, a town that had greatly occupied the time and attention of the 1879 missionaries. Ozumba, he found, had changed little from the days in 1884 when missionary Milson H. Pratt had picturesquely described it:

Ozumba is nearly south of the city of Mexico, about forty miles distant, and is the center of several villages overshadowed by the lofty and noted Popocatepetl. It is situated at the southern extremity of the valley of Mexico, which sweeps around and among the hills and mountains like the bed of some large lake, which undoubtedly the greater part of it was, in times gone by. This region has been terribly disturbed by volcanic eruptions, as extinct craters seem in every direction, abundantly to testify. . . . The "gran volcan" Popocatepetl, rising in a cone 17,852 feet above the level of the sea, still emits a small column of smoke, which can be plainly seen on a clear morning from the village of Aclantla, but later in the day it is quite difficult to distinguish on account of the heavy atmosphere.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Journal History, 16 February 1884, p. 3.

Later, Elder Pratt brought the whole geography of the surrounding area into perspective. Since many of the branches President Tenney returned to visit are named herein, it is interesting to note what Pratt had to say:

The descent from Ozumba to the hot country, or a lower valley just south, called the "tierra caliente," is very rapid, being nearly 3,000 feet in ten miles, and the valley is still over 4,000 feet above sea level. Aclantla lies east of Ozumba, San Juan de Guadalupe on the northeast with its large plantation, Tecalco on the north by west. . . . Chimal, a village of pears and flowers, lies on the south. These settlements are in the immediate vicinity of Ozumba, and what makes them more interesting to us than anything else is that they are all Indian towns, the inhabitants of which are actual Lamanites, Israelites, as there is very little white blood diffused among them, except here in Ozumba. In the other settlements they usually speak the Mexican instead of the Spanish language, although they understand and can speak both. . . . We have also two congregations in the "tierra caliente," one in Coahuistla, and the other in San Andres de la Cal.<sup>11</sup>

In Ozumba, Tenney visited Lino Zarate, who had served the Church as a missionary in 1879 and 1883. On one occasion in 1883 Zarate had let his zeal get the better of his judgment. He and Milson Pratt, knowing all open-air meetings in Mexico were prohibited by law, nevertheless got themselves arrested for preaching in the plaza of Ozumba.<sup>12</sup> Now, eighteen years later, Lino Zarate was still very much a Mormon and was anxious for President Tenney to help him give a blessing to his (Zarate's) wife, who lay at the point of death. Her rapid recovery thereafter seemed miraculous to all except Tenney and Zarate himself, who knew the hand of the Lord when they saw it.

After spending less than two weeks in Ozumba, President Tenney rushed to Atlautla with Zarate and a Brother Camacho where they found Simón Páez and his family. This family also formerly had lived in Juárez, remaining about five years after most of the original colonists from central Mexico had left. Páez received them kindly and wished them every success.

With spirits buoyed, they then traveled to Chimal and visited the family of Nicolás Rodríguez. The family agreed to return to the Church only on condition that the missionaries and priesthood would not again desert them. Then in Tecalco they found Julián Rojas. The spirit of initiative, independence, dedication, and desire to know and carry out the will of the Lord that had made Rojas a successful missionary during the days of Elders Thatcher and Ivins now created

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Rey L. Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," Improvement Era 15 (April 1912): 489.

troublesome conditions for the missionaries. Rojas had a congregation he wanted to control exclusively, reminding the elders that for many years his people had been as "a sheep without a shepherd." They talked a long time and Lino Zarate finally exacted an agreement from Rojas to reaffiliate with the Church.

A month later, on 18 August 1901, President Tenney returned to Tecalco and rebaptized Rojas and seventy-five of his followers. A week later Rojas's complete submission was noted when simultaneously he was advanced to an elder and was able to support Febronio Pérez rather than himself as president of the newly organized Tecalco branch. Inasmuch as this was the first branch reorganized by President Tenney, it is significant that Rojas made it possible, first by acting as shepherd and second by stepping down to allow another to take his place. This transition was no doubt laden with a bitter taste for Rojas, and one can only admire his long-range vision and support of the Church. Interestingly, a year later when Pérez was released and sent on a mission, Julián Rojas was installed as president of the Tecalco branch.

After the initial organization of the Tecalco branch, President Tenney returned to Amecameca but found a "spirit of revolution . . . among those who met at this place." So he traveled to Ixtacalco, just outside Mexico City, and found the Páez family who gladly received new directions after they were shown wherein they had allowed some alien ideas to creep into their religious sentiments.

And so it went day after relentless day for nearly a year—Ammon Tenney alone, except when accompanied by some of the local brethren such as Lino Zarate and Angel Rosales.

Aside from visiting and teaching the members, one of the things President Tenney wanted to do as quickly as possible was create branch organizations and confer the priesthood on worthy members. As soon as some of the Saints were in a position to bear leadership responsibilities under his direction, he organized them in local branches with local branch leadership. Besides the first branch at Tecalco that Julián Rojas had held together for so many years, Ammon Tenney organized a branch at San Andrés de la Cal led by Francisco Miranda, a priest. Needing help, he called Lino Zarate, Julián Rojas, Juán Méndez, Simón Zúñiga, and Brother Camacho on shortterm missions to travel to the branches and give instructions.

Most of these missionaries were married and had many children. It was a service of love that they entered with no small sacrifice. Soon the missionaries were joined by Angel Rosales, Margarito Bautista, Jacobo Gonzáles, and Juán Mairet, the son of the Swiss

family that H. L. Hall had introduced to the Church. In ensuing months, Juán Páez was ordained a priest and set apart to preside over the branch at Ixtacalco, José González (later excommunicated) was sustained in Chimal, and the returned missionary Angel Rosales was placed over the Trigales branch. Rosales on 12 July 1902 became the first returned native missionary to head a branch of the Church among his own people.

From 1902 through 1910 a consistent pattern emerged in the expansion of the gospel in central Mexico. One was the infusion of missionaries from the colonies in the north, who arrived with regularity and with already-developed skills in the Spanish language. Not all of these young Anglo-American Mormons were devoid of personal and family responsibilities. Many were married and left spouses and children at home to be cared for by the Saints while they took their

turn preaching the restored gospel.

A second consistent feature during this period, especially during Tenney's presidency and the later presidency of Rey L. Pratt beginning in 1907, was the building up of indigenous leadership in the branches. More native branch presidents and counselors were called and trained. Relief Societies were organized, headed by local sisters, who learned the arts of compassionate service appropriate for their time as well as skills in health and maternity care. For example, when Lino Zarate died in 1903, he left a wife and seven children. All but his wife and one small daughter were bedridden with the same affliction that cost him his own life—typhoid fever. The Relief Societies of his own and nearby branches rallied to help the family materially and spiritually and to nurse the afflicted back to health. When Apostle A. O. Woodruff and his wife, on tour in Mexico City, contracted smallpox (which shortly took their lives), Juana Páez gave Sister Woodruff the competent and caring attention the English nurse her husband had acquired could not or would not give. Juana willingly risked her own life in the service of a dying sister who so desperately wanted to see her five-month-old daughter one last time.

A third consistent feature of the years up to 1910 was the continued attention authorities in the colonies and in Salt Lake gave the new mission. Anthony W. Ivins came frequently to journey among the Saints, hold conferences, and encourage and instruct the members and missionaries. When he was called to be an Apostle in 1907, his successor, Junius Romney, likewise frequently visited the Saints in central Mexico. And numerous Apostles (A. O. Woodruff, John Henry Smith, Matthias F. Cowley, Charles W. Penrose, Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins) made one or more visits between 1902

and 1910 to check on matters for themselves. Apostle Cowley even spent an entire month going to each branch, organizing Sunday schools and teaching local members how to lead the music.

A fourth pattern was the constant attempt to reclaim the lost sheep that had been abandoned. Of the nearly 300 persons converted to the Church by 1889, there were fifty-five numbered among the Saints as of 13 August 1902. But many missionaries delighted in reviewing the record and going out to contact the lost ones. Sometimes they were successful, sometimes not. In July 1903, for example, two elders left to visit the towns of Tula and Nopala. In looking over the records, they had found the names of several people who had been baptized in those places. In San Sebastián, a village near Nopala, they found José María Yáñez, who, with other members of his family, had been baptized years before. He was cool toward the missionaries but showed them photographs of Elders J. Z. Stewart, Melitón G. Trejo, and others whom he had known.

Yáñez related to the missionaries the conversion of his mother. She had dreamed that some men were publishing a tract that would aid her spiritually. She sent him to find these men. It was then that he had met Plotino Rhodakanaty, who directed him to where Moses Thatcher was having the tracts published. After reading the tracts, the mother asked the elders to baptize her. Her son, José María, and his wife were also baptized. Later he was ordained an elder. But in the long winter of abandonment he had become disaffected and had renounced his priesthood. Yet many other members were overjoyed to see the missionaries again. The missionaries therefore kept making an effort to find them.

A fifth consistent pattern was that the Church grew by new converts to the fold. In the fourteen months President Tenney spent heading the mission, 175 baptisms were performed. Thereafter, by 1911 new converts raised the membership to over 1,000. New fields were opened and new branches organized, and the work expanded to include new peoples and new climates.

During this period there was a minor scurry or two that harked back to the old days when colonization and gathering were much in vogue. In 1903 H. L. Hall and others vigorously proposed setting up a colony of Mormons in Trigales, where a new branch had been organized and the valley and climate seemed most advantageous to receive the Saints in a gathering place. However, the Church adopted Helaman Pratt's alternative plan proposed so many years before—namely, taking a colony of the Saints to the north. Thus, five months later on 15 December 1903 José Zúñiga and his wife left for Dublán

to look over the prospects of colonizing among the Anglo-American Mormons. There was some attention paid to this: "As they are the first to immigrate since the reopening of the mission, many of the Mexican Saints are awaiting with interest their reports of the treatment they receive, etc., for several others are thinking of leaving for the Colonies soon." Then, in 1907, at the organization of the San Pedro Mártir branch, which Anthony W. Ivins had traveled to Mexico City to organize, he told the congregation "that he hoped before long to secure suitable lands near the Colonies" in the north on which to colonize the Mexican Saints.<sup>14</sup> Two years later Ivins in his new appointment as an Apostle sat in a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve in which five thousand Mexican dollars were appropriated to procure land on which to colonize the Mexicans. Elders Ivins, John Henry Smith, and Francis M. Lyman made the proposal, recommending that land be purchased near one of the Mormon colonies already founded by "our people" and "that we do not attempt to colonize them all in one place, but that two small colonies be started." This effort never gained much magnitude.

As the years passed, with the Anglo-American missionaries celebrating each 4th of July in Tivoli Park and the Mexican members each 16th of September in their own communities, clouds of war were billowing on the horizon. Few seemed to see them, especially the foreign residents. Thus, in September 1910 when Mexico celebrated the hundredth anniversary of Father Miguel Hidalgo's "Cry of Dolores" that had launched the war of independence against Spain, all seemed to be well. By all counts the celebration was a magnificent occasion, President Diaz sparing no expense for the guests—many from foreign countries—who were present. In all the wining and dining, and in all the reports sent home, several things were clear: Mexico was the epitome of stability and success in the Western Hemisphere. The country was prosperous, the budget was balanced, and Mexican currency was as strong as the gold that backed it. Foreign capital was safe and returned handsome dividends for those who had invested wisely in agricultural lands, oil properties, and mining or railroad stocks.<sup>16</sup> It was a golden age.

However, within a year, the cruel illusion of Mexico's prosperity and stability would become known to the whole world, not just to the common Mexicans whose standard of living had plummeted while

14Ibid., 19 May 1907.

<sup>15</sup>Journal History, 20 January 1909, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Manuscript History of the Mexican Mission, 15 December 1903.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>For an overview, see David M. Pletcher, Rails, Mines and Progress: Seven American Promoters in Mexico, 1867-1911 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958).

the national economy rose. Mormons in central Mexico and in the northern colonies would soon feel the searing point of the revolutionary's sword.

# Bronze Rubbing

In Warwick, a blonde knelt solemnly on stone, Took a crayon from her purse, unrolled a scroll Of paper over a bronze plaque as if a soul Were ready there, in its gravure, to atone For centuries of pious languor and the drone Of centuries of liturgy over it. The shoal Of heaven rose in leafing gold almost whole For fact and intimation as she seemed to hone Edge and demarcation for slightest bas relief. It is surprising how the soul, in its latency, Will rise to meet a godly art of golden leaf That appears in disciplines of golden tendency. Dusty, dull, the lowly bronze was immortality As much as then achieved, and time an immorality

If it should dull much more. See medieval young Cluster at a grave of stone, weeping for a friend Of light, that he passed away so simply, his end Not thought of, that he was so quickly sung To sleep when he, blanching into death, wrung A twist of sacramental cloth that could not lend Relief, being musty dry and less with which to fend For being worn from old devotions. God, who hung As if in samite, would know that loss and prize The ritual. What springs then from this gravure But gold and effigy? And as the spirit tries The centuries, it keeps its latency of lustre. See in the rubbing on the wall how the lure Of spirit moves as leafing suns there cluster,

Haloing, beyond the pale of dimming time.

—Clinton F. Larson

# Lucy Mack Smith's 1829 Letter to Mary Smith Pierce

#### Dean C. Jessee

Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, was born 8 July 1775 at Gilsum, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, the youngest of Solomon and Lydia Gates Mack's eight children.<sup>1</sup> In January 1796, at age twenty, Lucy married Joseph Smith of Tunbridge, Vermont, and settled there with her husband to a life of farming. During the next twenty-five years eleven children were born to the couple—eight sons, a first unnamed son who died at birth,<sup>2</sup> Alvin, Hyrum, Joseph, Samuel, Ephraim, William, and Don Carlos; and three daughters, Sophronia, Katherine, and Lucy.<sup>3</sup> Bad times, spurred by a succession of crop failures, forced the Smiths to move from Vermont to Palmyra, New York, in 1816. A short time later, they moved two miles south to the adjacent township of Manchester, where events involving young Joseph transpired that changed the course of their lives.

A recently discovered letter, dated 23 January 1829, is a contemporary statement of these events. It was written by Lucy Smith, then in her fifties, to her sister-in-law Mary Pierce<sup>4</sup> at Royalton, Vermont. The letter surfaced on 23 August 1982 through Brent Ashworth, a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Richard Lloyd Anderson, Joseph Smith's New England Heritage (Salt Lake City: Deserte Book, 1971), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Comments by Joseph Smith, Sr., prior to pronouncing a blessing on his children as recorded by Oliver Cowdery, 9 December 1834, Patriarchal Blessing Book, Book A, Library-Archives of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), 1:690-92. Katherine is also sometimes spelled with a C in some Church records.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Mary Smith Pierce (1775–1844), born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, was a younger sister to Joseph Smith, Sr. Mary married Isaac Pierce in 1796, the same year her brother married Lucy Mack. Despite the solicitations of her sister-in-law, Mary never accepted the message of Mormonism. ("Lucy Urged, But Mary Never Joined Church," *Church News*, 4 September 1982, p. 5.) However, there is a question whether Mary ever received the letter from Lucy: In the first place, the letter was part of a large collection of letters valued for their postmarks and may have come from a dead letter file. Furthermore, although separated at the fold, the letter shows no evidence of handling or wear. And finally, the letter is addressed to Royalton, Vermont, whereas the Pierces had moved to Lebanon, New Hampshire, in 1823, nearly six years prior to the postmark date of Lucy's letter.

Provo, Utah, manuscript collector. It was written on unlined white paper measuring 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" x 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" folded to make four pages.<sup>5</sup> Its authenticity is supported by the handwriting and signature which match another letter Lucy wrote to her brother Solomon at Gilsum, New Hampshire, dated 6 January 1831. In addition, the black, double-line oval, handstamped postmark from Palmyra, New York, is the same as that used there between 1829 and 1834. Furthermore, the postage designation of 18<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cents corresponds with the zone rate in effect then for distances from 150 to 400 miles.<sup>6</sup>

An assessment of the significance of the letter—one of the earliest documents pertaining to Mormon history—should consider the following points:

- 1. It provides firsthand insight to the situation of the Smith family more than a year before the Church was organized as an institution. The letter shows the family actually involved in the pre-1830 events that their histories described years later. And it contradicts the popular theory that Joseph Smith's early religious experiences were fabricated later in his life when the need arose for a magnificent tradition—that he "distorted the past in the interest of promoting his public image."
- 2. Lucy Smith was an articulate woman of above-average literary ability. Her penmanship and knowledge of the language transcend that of some who were engaged professionally in scribal work in her day. Beyond this, her letter is something of a tribute to her mother, who in the absence of schools had taken charge of the education of her children "and performed the duties of an instructress as none, save a mother, is capable of."
- 3. The letter shows the impact of Joseph's early religious experiences upon the Smith family and that Lucy's commitment to her son's divine commission predated the founding of the Church and her own baptism. Right here in one of the earliest historical records Lucy Smith is expressing the same convictions about Joseph and his work that she repeated consistently throughout the rest of her life.

In 1831 she wrote her brother of her "great anxiety" for Joseph's welfare, noting that God had set His hand the second time to recover His people.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Having separated along the fold, the two halves have been taped together.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Benjamin Wishnietsky, ed., American Stampless Cover Catalog (Miami: David G. Phillips Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 8, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Fawn Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 2d ed. rev. and enl. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), p. 405.

<sup>\*</sup>Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), p. 19.

He has now commenced this work: he hath sent forth a revelation in these last days, & this revelation is called the "Book of Mormon." . . . I feel to thank my God that he hath spared my life to see this day. Joseph after repenting of his sins and humbling himself before God was visited by an holy Angel whose countenance was as lightning and whose garments were white above all whiteness and gave unto him by the means of which was before prepared that he should translate this book.9

A decade later, Lucy was heard to say publicly that she "wished to leave her testimony that the Book of Mormon is the Book of God" and "that Joseph Smith is a man of God, a prophet of the Lord set apart to lead the people." And in 1855 Frederick Piercy visited Mrs. Smith in her twilight years, after the death of her husband and seven of her eleven children, including the martyred Joseph and Hyrum. Frederick Piercy heard her speak "very freely of her sons, and, with tears in her eyes, and every other symptom of earnestness, vindicated their reputations for virtue and truth." Lucy died on 14 May 1856 in Nauvoo, Illinois. 12

- 4. Lucy Smith was not only conversant on the content of the Book of Mormon some time before the bulk of the volume was translated into English but also knew details of the story that may have come from the lost 116 pages<sup>13</sup>—as, for example, her reference that Ishmael was the brother-in-law of Lehi.
- 5. The letter raises a question about the dating of Doctrine and Covenants, section 4. Joseph Smith's history states that Joseph, Sr., came to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in February 1829 "at which time [the Prophet] received the following revelation for him" (section 4). In her letter Lucy says that she and her husband had returned to Manchester from Harmony on 22 January after having been gone for about three months. The question hinges on whether or not Joseph, Sr., after arriving back in Manchester on the twenty-second, almost immediately returned to Harmony. Some evidence that he did may

9Lucy Smith to Solomon Mack, 6 January 1831, Church Archives.

¹ºRemarks delivered by Lucy Smith before the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, 28 April 1842 (cited in Richard L. Anderson, ''His Mother's Manuscript: An Intimate View of Joseph Smith,'' BYU Forum Address, 27 January 1976). Lucy's remarks, titled, ''Testimony of Mother Lucy Smith,'' were copied by John McEwan in Wilford Woodruff's journal after the last 1842 entry and are dated 27 August 1844.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Frederick Piercy, Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, ed. James Linforth (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), pp. 63-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Buddy Youngreen, "The Death Date of Lucy Mack Smith: 8 July 1775-14 May 1856," Brigham Young University Studies 12 (Spring 1972): 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Lucy makes reference to the loss of the 116 pages of the manuscript, indicating that portion "was carried off by some unknown person." For a more detailed account of the loss and of Martin Harris's involvement, see B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church, 6 vols. (1930; reprint ed., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 1:109–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51), 1:28; hereafter cited as History of the Church.

be derived from Joseph Knight, who recalled that in January 1829 Joseph, Sr., and Samuel Smith came from Manchester to his place in Colesville, New York, and that he (Knight) went with them by sleigh to visit young Joseph in Harmony. 15 However, since Joseph Knight visited the Prophet in Harmony on several occasions, 16 he may not have recalled the Joseph, Sr.-Samuel Smith visit accurately. This possibility is suggested from Lucy Smith's statement that when she and her husband returned to Manchester on 22 January they found Samuel and Sophronia so ill Hyrum had had to quit his job to care for them. The pair continued to be ill for a considerable length of time. Lucy adds that soon after their return Oliver Cowdery came to board with them as a schoolteacher, that he became interested in what young Joseph was doing, and, upon learning Samuel proposed to join his brother in Pennsylvania in the spring, undertook to arrange his affairs so he could accompany Samuel there "by the time he recover[ed] his health." According to Lucy's History, Samuel and Oliver left for Pennsylvania in April 1829.17 If Lucy is right (that Samuel was too ill to travel between 22 January and April 1829), then Joseph Knight remembered the Joseph, Sr.-Samuel Smith visit incorrectly.

6. In 1825 the Smiths had lost possession of their Manchester farm, which included a home and improvements, when a Mr. Stoddard and two other individuals made technical claim upon it while the family was struggling to make the final payment. The loss was finalized in December 1825 when Lemuel Durfee, a local sheriff, paid \$1135 and received legal possession following litigation in the case. From then until the spring of 1829 the Smiths leased the farm from Durfee. Lucy recollected in 1845 that upon her and her husband's return from Harmony the lease upon the farm was "drawing to a close," that they were about to be evicted, and that they began to make preparations to move in with their son Hyrum. But her 1829 letter clarifies her later recollection somewhat, revealing that they had received \$700 from the sale of the farm and that they were "under no bonds to leave" the place, yet had "no inducements" to stay longer.

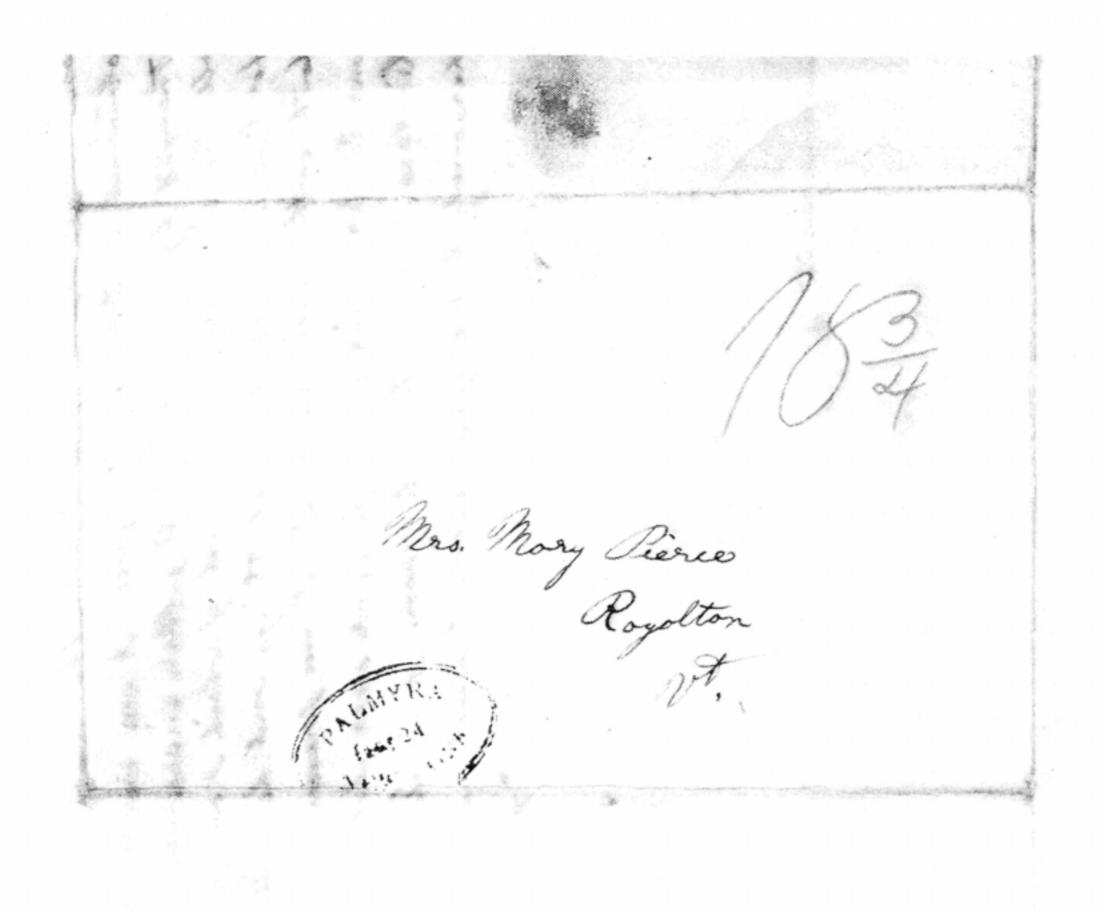
The following seven pages show photographs of the original opposed with my line by line transcription of the Lucy Smith letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Dean Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," Brigham Young University Studies 17 (Autumn 1976): 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>History of the Church, 1:47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches, pp. 128-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 129. On the loss of the farm, see Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816–1831" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971), pp. 104–9.



Courtesy of Brent Ashworth

Lucy Mack Smith letter to Mrs. Mary Pierce of Royalton, Vt., showing the black, double-line oval, handstamped postmark used in the Palmyra, New York, area between 1829 and 1834.

Deur Lister

It is my pleasure to inform you of a great work which the Lord has wrought in our family, for he has made his paths known to Joseph in dreams and it pleased god to show him where he could dig to obtain an ancient recard engrasen whon plates made of pure gold and this he is able to translate. Those forward of God in all ages have had to suffer persecutions for his name's sake and so it is with us there being such a determined effort in this place to thwart the translation that Joseph was obliged to remove his oufe to Censylvanio, nevertheless on account of negligence the translation of the first part of the record was corried off by some unknown person but God is foithfull and the work is now about to proceed; yesterday The Smith and myself returned from a visit to Bensylvania which occupied us about the west 3 months in singing praises to over God, and it is nother I in Times of reviewing that we should think on the welfare of our kin; my object in rehearing these events is to soften your that you may seek for a witness of the truth of this work, for the Lord himself has said that they that seak shall find and to them that knock it shall be opened. I now come to say some Thing of the record it was placed in the earth many hundred years ago by the forefathers of our Indians, they descended from a prophet of the Lord whose name was Lehi he fled from Jerusalem with his family and also his wife's brother's family a few days before Obeliwee hadnessor besieved the City and layed it in asher for although Lehi prophesied unto the fews in the name of the Lard that they must represent of their sins get they would not, neither would they belie we the wonders which were shown to him in dreams concerning Christ that he should be crucified, Therefore God commonded The people of Lehi to get out of Jerusolem and flee into the wilderness and at length they were directed to enter whon the Land of Amer ica; now a part of the people of Letie whose head was named Lomon a son of Letie and they sought to exterminate their more hecame surage and they sought to exterminate their more virtuous bretheren who were collect the people of Nephi therefore

Courtesy of LDS Church Historical Department

## Manchester January 23<sup>d</sup> 1829

#### Dear Sister

It is my pleasure to inform you of a great work which the Lord has wrought in our family, for he has made his paths known to Joseph in dreams and it pleased God to show him where he could dig to obtain an ancient record engraven upon plates made of pure gold and this he is able to translate. Those favoured of God in all ages have had to suffer persecutions for his name's sake and so it is with us there being such a determined effort in this place to thwart the translation that Joseph was obliged to remove his wife to Pensylvania, nevertheless on account of negligence the translation of the first part of the record was carried off by some unknown person but God is faithfull and the work is now about to proceed; yesterday Mr. Smith and myself returned from a visit to Pensylvania which occupied us about the last 3 months in singing praises to our God, and it is natur al in times of rejoicing that we should think on the welfare of our kin: my object in rehearsing these events is to soften your [hear]t that you may seek for a witness of the truth of this work, for the Lord himself has said that they that seek shall find and to them that knock it shall be opened. I now come to say some thing of the record it was placed in the earth many hundred years ago by the forefathers of our Indians, they descended from a prophet of the Lord whose name was Lehi he fled from Jerusalem with his family and also his wife's brother's family a few days before Nebucchadnezzar besieged the City and layed it in ashes, for although Lehi prophesied unto the Jews in the name of the Lord that they must repent of their sins yet they would not, neither would they belie ve the wonders which were shown to him in dreams concerning Christ that he should be Crucified, therefore God commanded the people of Lehi to get out of Jerusalem and flee into the wilderness and at length they were directed to enter upon the Land of America: now a part of the people of Lehi whose head was named Laman a son of Lehi

became savage and they sought to exterminate their more virtuous bretheren who were called the people of Nephi therefore

God cost off the people of Lomon and he cursed them with a dark skin but the people of Nephi he preserved and prospered so long as they obeyed his commondments, and they were not unskilled workmen honing a knowledge of the orts tagether with the sciences. but they had omong them that same secret society which has brought Jerusolem and the whole notion of the Jews to destruction; and after many years they become the more weeked Than Their accursed bretheren, and Gad seeing that they would not repent of the and he resited them with extinction. But I must stop here for I could write ever so long and not have told you one hundredth part of what I will tell you when we have The opport turity of seeing each other again. I wont for you to remember that God himself has given to Joseph that he is able to translate and he is ble to recover these things also in dreams Therefore bework that you do not mack. I hope dear dister this will meet you in good lealth on spirits that your mind might feel disposed to devel whom it for as God lines I have written the truth. Perhaps you will find a little history of my small concerns of interest respecting our family ye; This leaves us all in comfortable health except for Sophronia and Samuel who are of present officited with winter William has gone to Conondayua for the season to line with a joiner and to try his home of that trade We have sold our little place for 700 Dollars and of course must leave it in the spring but Mr. I mith has not yet fixed whon what point of the compose to take, we are under no hands to leane this place yet we have no inducements to stay as we live very much retired; our neighbors generally treat us with contempt ever since it has been noised about what mornels that the Lord has worked. I will give you a little sample; a mon who has always been hind and attentive to our family called on us last fall and was made welcome to our table and his horse to our born with an urgent request as he said that before starting on our journey we would tell him all that we knew raspecting the record to which request we. readily assented which seemed to perfectly satisfy him, as he ruse

God cast off the people of Laman and he cursed them with a dark skin but the people of Nephi he preserved and prospered so long as they obeyed his commandments, and they were not unskilled workmen having a knowledge of the arts together with the sciences. but they had among them that same secret society which had brought Jerusalem and the whole nation of the Jews to destruction; and after many years they became the more wicked than their accursed bretheren, and God seeing that they would not repent of the evil he visited them with extinction. But I must stop here for I could write ever so long and not have told you one hundredth part of what I will tell you when we have the opportunity of seeing each other again. I want for you to remember that God himself has given to Joseph that he is able to translate and he is able to recover these things also in dreams therefore beware that you do not mock. I hope dear Sister this will meet you in good health and spirits that your mind might feel disposed to dwell upon it for as God lives I have written the truth. Perhaps you will find a little history of my small concerns of interest respecting our family &c; this leaves us all in comfortable health except for Sophronia and Samuel who are at present afflicted with winter coughs — — — — — — — — — — William has gone to Canandaigua for the season to live with a joiner and to try his hand at that trade — — — — — — We have sold our little place for 700 Dollars and of course must leave it in the spring but Mr. Smith has not yet fixed upon what point of the compass to take, we are under no bonds to leave this place yet we have no inducements to stay as we live very much retired; our neighbors generaly treat us with contempt ever since it has been noised about what marvels that the Lord has worked. I will give you a little sample: a man who has always been kind and attentive to our family called on us last fall and was made welcome to our table and his horse to our barn with an urgent request as he said that before starting on our journey we would tell him all that we knew respecting the record to which request we readily assented which seemed to perfectly satisfy him. as he rose

from our table he requested us not to call on him for said he I am afraid it will injure my livainess, so much for neighborliness, dely lone the spring of action moves the soul. I have seen too much, quite too much of human nature to home any confidence in 7.8 ths of professed friends, with these news and ten Thousand discouragements it is not probable that we shall lorote in these parts again: such dear dister are my reflections, but I do not want you to think that I have become so uncharitable for my mind notwrolly runs whom the goodness and merey of God, and never before home I been the more content with my lot, having obtained a token of his grace, I am aware that these marnels are Thought by mony to be obtogether increable but I entreot you with all the earnestness and good of which I am coppable that you believe, for God is mighty to do all things and he will answer the prayer of forth with understanding." I am pressed to close but remember me to Mr. Rierce and to your dear children Mr. Smith sends his lane. please to write soon, it would be very gratifying to me personaly to see you again. I must now bir the forewell then ashen Lucy Smith

from our table he requested us not to call on him for said he I am afraid it will injure my business, so much for neighborliness. "Self love the spring of action moves the soul." — — — — I have seen too much, quite too much of human nature to have any confidence in 7.8ths of professed friends, with these views and ten thousand discouragements it is not probable that we shall locate in these parts again: such dear Sister are my reflections, but I do not want you to think that I have become so uncharitable for my mind naturally runs upon the goodness and mercy of God, and never before have I been the more content with my lot, having obtained a token of his grace. I am aware that these marvels are thought by many to be altogether incredible but I entreat you with all the earnestness and zeal of which I am cappable that you believe, for God is mighty to do all things and he will answer the "prayer of faith with understanding." I am pressed to close but remember me to Mr. Pierce and to your dear children Mr. Smith sends his love. please to write soon. it would be very gratifying to me personaly to see you again. I must now bid the[e] farewell — —

then adieu<sup>19</sup> Lucy Smith

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>An issue has been raised with respect to the use of the word *adieu* in the Book of Mormon (Jacob 7:27). Lucy's use of the word in the letter seems to indicate such usage could have been idiomatic in the Smith family.

## The Bier of Autumn

The dry leaves
Fragile, curled and almost drained of color
Are mounded like the bier of autumn

Surrounded by a small group, hunched and bundled For now, in deep October, the chill is sudden to the bones.

In quiet tones of distance
They are speaking of the harvest and the longing
And all the changing colors of the days and years
That drift so ineluctably beyond the reach of everything
But reminiscence.

They hear the quick wind Clicking in the weeds across the lane They listen to the smoldering crackle of the coming flames

The slow smoke twists and rises into darkness Its husky odor settling into coats and scarves

The voices drop away to silence

The yellow flames are splendid now Translucent spires flaring brilliantly against the night

It is as if the burning Coaxed the residue of autumn's brightness from the leaves Before they dwindle down to whiteness and to ash.

—Randall L. Hall

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## The Transformations of Love

#### Edward L. Hart

Since time began, human beings have found themselves caught between two converging axioms. The first is that life is sweet; the second is that life is short. The resulting clash pits time against eternity. Our desire for the experience of life is insatiable, but our capacity for satisfaction is contained within the niggardly limits set by time and physical nature.

Traditionally there have been two ways to resolve the dilemma caused by the conflict between the desire to live and the brevity of life. The first solution is proposed by the Stoics, who simply reject the first axiom: the joys of life are denied. Having convinced ourselves that there is nothing to look forward to, death ceases to be dreadful and comes as the termination of boredom. The Epicureans, on the other hand, attack the second axiom, the one that says life is short. Their answer is to rationalize brevity by saying that it is relative. If time flies, said the Romans, seize the day. Andrew Marvell, in the poem "To His Coy Mistress," says that "though we cannot make our sun / Stand still, yet we will make him run." But the destination of the lathering horses pulling "Time's winged chariot" is still the grave. So, are we compelled to give up fast living as a solution to the dilemma? At best the fast life is a forlorn hope, though a hope of some kind is better than none. It is certainly better to double our experience of blooming cherry trees by going with A. E. Housman in the winter to see them "hung with snow" than to move into the Stoic camp and deny the power of their beauty.

An axiom, say the dictionaries, is a statement that is generally accepted as true; and so our two axioms remain facing us in spite of all our fancy footwork aimed at eluding them. Life is sweet and it is short. Philosophy cannot prevent the mortal wound; it can only

court, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 95, st. 3, line 4.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Andrew Marvell, "To His Coy Mistress," Andrew Marvell: Selected Poetry, ed. Frank Kermode, Signet Classic Poetry Series, ed. John Hollander (New York: New American Library, 1967), p. 77, lines 45–46.

<sup>2</sup>A. E. Housman, "Loveliest of Trees," Modern British Poetry, ed. Louis Untermeyer (New York: Har-

apply a salve. Rasselas, visiting the philosopher whose only daughter has just died, asks: "Has wisdom no strength to arm the heart against calamity?" The philosopher replies: "What comfort can truth and reason afford me? Of what effect are they now, but to tell me that my daughter will not be restored." It is of mortal life that we are speaking, of course, and the religious promise of immortality leaves us facing the fact that the mortality we love and cling to must end.

One of our greatest regrets, as we contemplate a sweetly savored life passing rapidly away, is that such experiences as we have had should be lost. The contemplation produces a further realization: that most of those experiences are lost even before we die. Surely this realization must have been and must be a profound stimulus for the production of art. Death is defied by keeping something of ourselves alive, a thought voiced by Shakespeare in his eighteenth sonnet: when the mortal person being memorialized is put into the "eternal lines" of the poem, that person then becomes immortal by living as long as the poem lasts. At the lower end of the scale we begin the reclamation of fading experience by writing diaries, letters, and sketches. Such things capture experience inadequately; but at the upper end of the scale, the true artist succeeds in transforming the raw material of human life into the substance of immortal art.

The process of the transformation of the volatile, the evanescent, and the ephemeral into the enduring, especially as this process has been treated by British and American writers, is the subject I want to dwell on here. It is a subject that has fascinated the minds of great thinkers through the centuries. How does a block of stone become the writhing serpents and the anguished forms of the Laocoon? How do daubs of paint on a piece of canvas become a Rembrandt self-portrait? And how does plain black ink on sheets of plain white paper become the spellbinding experience of "The Tell-Tale Heart"? An explanation of the transformational power is required.

The force at work in art is puzzling to the rational mind because the product always exceeds the sum of the parts. The unaccountable excess, therefore, had to be added somehow during the process of creation. It was unthinkable to Plato that such unaccountable power was an everyday possession of the artist. It had to come from the outside, from the gods. "For all good poets," says Plato in the *Ion*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Samuel Johnson, The History of Rasselas Prince of Abissinia (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926), p. 64. <sup>4</sup>William Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, sonnets ed. Douglas Bush, William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. Alfred Harbage (Baltimore, Md.: Viking Press, Penguin Books, 1969), p. 1456, line 12.

"compose their beautiful poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed." This theory of inspiration has served generations of romantics, too many of whom, like E. A. Robinson's Miniver Cheevy, have "cursed the commonplace" while waiting to be inspired, forgetting that art begins with the commonplace and transforms it into the uncommon. Through the perception of the Transcendentalists, however, the transcendent reality is both concealed by and revealed in the commonplace appearance.

The power to transform, when not conceived as inspiration, was bound at times to be attributed to magic. In his book The Power of Satire, Robert C. Elliott traces the belief of the ancients that the writer of satires possessed a supernatural power that he exercised in righteous indignation for the punishment of vice. Thus satire became a ritual for the exorcism of evil.7 The explanation of art as magic naturally extended to that branch of magic known as alchemy. Through supernatural power a base metal was to be transmuted into gold, just as, through analogy, the artist as alchemist transmutes the base materials of ordinary experience into the gold of art. In Yeats, the scene is more the refiner's fire than the alchemist's laboratory, though something of magic and of supernatural power remains in his imagery in "Sailing to Byzantium," in which he asks the "sages standing in God's holy fire" to "consume [his] heart away" and transform him into "such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make." The simple analogy of ore going through the refiner's fire would not do, because that assumes that the gold was present in the ore all the time; but we have already seen that the creation of art results in a product greater than the sum of the parts: an unaccounted-for increment.

A contemporary countryman of Yeats, James Joyce, to the shock and horror of the true believer, compared the transmutation of common experience into art to the transmutation of the wafer into the flesh of Christ through the miracle of the mass. Here again an explanation is provided for the increment added during the process of creation. In A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Stephen Dedalus sees himself becoming "a priest of the eternal imagination transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life" through the "discharging of a formal rite." With Joyce,

<sup>6</sup>Edwin Arlington Robinson, "Miniver Cheevy," in Collected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 348, st. 6, line 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Plato, Ion, trans. B. Jowett, in The Great Critics, ed. James Harry Smith and Edd Winfield Parks, 3d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 11. <sup>8</sup>William Butler Yeats, "Sailing to Byzantium," in *Selected Poems and Two Plays of William Butler Yeats*, ed. M. L. Rosenthal (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 95, st. 3, lines 1, 5; st. 4, line 3. <sup>9</sup>James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Viking Press, 1944), p. 221.

however, the transformational power no longer comes from the old God, but from a new one; for he has made a religion of art with himself as priest. But you notice he has not made himself a god; and so that still leaves as a mystery the source of the power exercised by the priest.

It was not by accident that I mentioned the name of Yeats in connection with the attribution of mystical powers to the artist. Yeats has a good deal to say on the subject in a book called *Ideas of Good and Evil*, in which he gives Blake the credit for making a religion of art. "He announced the religion of art," writes William Butler Yeats about William Blake, "of which no man dreamed in the world about him; and he understood it more perfectly than the thousands of subtle spirits who have received its baptism in the world about us, because, in the beginning of important things . . . there is a moment when we understand more perfectly than we understand again until all is finished." <sup>10</sup>

Matthew Arnold is another who made a religion of art, though he arrived at his conclusion by following a different route than that followed by Blake or Yeats. Arnold thought that in his time the old forms of religious worship were failing: "Our religion has materialized itself in the fact . . ., and now the fact is failing it," he quotes himself as saying at the beginning of his essay "The Study of Poetry." And he concludes the quotation by saying, "The strongest part of our religion today is its unconscious poetry." The void left by the failure of the old religion is to be filled by the new religion of art. As time goes on, "mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to sustain us." Arnold's emphasis has shifted from the creation of poetry to its use as a sacred text by readers; and if this is so, we still have the poet as a priest.

Hart Crane, in our own century, is more in the tradition of Blake and Yeats in centering attention again on the mystic power of the act of creation. In his "Proem: To Brooklyn Bridge" from his longer work *The Bridge*, Crane points out that common laborers, not artists, built the bridge, but the bridge itself has become a symbol of spiritual achievement, a shrine: "O harp and altar, of the fury fused, / (How could mere toil align thy choiring strings!)" Between the "mere toil" of the workers and the emergence of the bridge as a

<sup>12</sup>Hart Crane, "Proem: To Brooklyn Bridge," The Bridge, in The Collected Poems of Hart Crane, ed. Waldo Frank (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1946), p. 4, st. 8, lines 1–2.

<sup>10</sup>William Butler Yeats, Ideas of Good and Evil, 3d ed. (London: A. H. Bullen, 1917), p. 168.
11Matthew Arnold, "The Study of Poetry" was first printed as a general introduction to The English Poets, ed. T. H. Ward (London, 1880); reprinted in The Victorian Age, ed. John Wilson Bowyer and John Lee Brooks (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), p. 521.

sacred product of art had to come the infusion of a mystical power to accomplish the transformation, just as the secret forces of yeast working in dough, coupled with the Promethean heat of an oven, transform a shapeless lump into the artistic achievement of a loaf of bread.

Being the instrument through which the sacred power was transmitted was an almost unbearable burden to Crane. In his poem "The Broken Tower" he compares himself to the tower holding the bells that perform the mystical function of gathering "God at dawn." And he has no choice but to ring the bells, for he is, as he says, "their sexton slave." The ringing of the bells is breaking down the tower, just as the effort to create, to be the transmitter of mystical truth, is breaking down the physical frame of the poet.

It is easy to see why the poet as the "sexton slave" required to gather "God at dawn" by ringing his mystical bells would want to facilitate the transmission of the message, always impassioned and preoccupied with ecstasy. Crane used alcohol freely, as others in a similar situation have used drugs. Drugs and magic have always been near allied. Faced with the incomprehensible fact that his daughter Desdemona has run away and married Othello, Brabantio accuses Othello of resorting to "spells and medicines bought of mountebanks.''<sup>14</sup> Often the drug was efficacious only because a spell had been placed upon it, though sometimes it was viewed having independent power. In either case, the drug or the spell worked, as did the magic spell of the mass for Joyce, to bring into the process of creation a power beyond that possessed by an ordinary human being. Another possible function of a drug in aiding creation might simply be that of rendering the poet passive so that outside powers could speak through him without the interference of his will. If the subject could be put in a trance without drugs, this would work just as well, as it did for Yeats, for whom the hand wrote automatically what the spirit dictated; this, however, is just another form of magic spell and emphasizes once more the belief that something beyond ordinary human understanding has to be interposed between mortal experience and immortal art.

Up to this point we have considered the facts that life is short and that since it is all we know of existence the preservation of some part of it through art is prized. We have considered also the fact that many poets and critics have concluded that the transformation of experience into art requires the interposition of a power beyond human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Hart Crane, "The Broken Tower," in ibid., p. 135, st. 3, lines 4 and 1. <sup>14</sup>Othello I. iii. 61.

capacity. But does it? This is the question to be considered now. Down through history, from Aristotle on, there have been those who have put the emphasis on the craftsmanship of the artist rather than on some form of inspiration. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle claims that poetry has its origins in two instincts: the first for imitation and the second for harmony and rhythm.<sup>15</sup> His emphasis was on probability, structure, and rhetoric. Horace likewise emphasizes the skills of the artist, advocating restraint and advising the poet to put his manuscript away and keep it for nine years before publishing.<sup>16</sup> For Horace, good poetry was the result of a combination of natural gifts and hard work.

In our own day the so-called New Critics carry on the tradition of Aristotle and answer "no" to the question of whether something beyond human power has to be called in for the creation of poetry. To them, the transformation is the result of craftsmanship. Mark Schorer, in an essay called "Technique as Discovery," states the case clearly: "The difference between content, or experience, and achieved content, or art, is technique." Cleanth Brooks specifically rules out the substitution of art for religion. One of his "articles of faith" as a formalist critic is "that literature is not a surrogate for religion." It is clear Brooks is aware of the problem we have been concerned with, however, because he states in another article of faith "the formal relations in a work of literature may include, but certainly exceed, those of logic." But where does that excess beyond logic come from? Can it be accounted for entirely by technique?

In answering the question just posed, I do not intend to probe the whole canon of the New Critics. I brought them into the picture solely to raise a question, and now that it is raised, I propose to pursue the answer without their further help. The propositions that follow, then, along with their order and their interpretation, are my own.

In order to interpret life by transforming its raw materials into art, surely the first thing the artist has to do is observe. Actually, observation is the starting point in all human studies, the sciences as well as the arts. Charles Darwin, studying life forms in the Galapagos Islands, and John Keats, wrenching language into a surprising form by his use of the word *bloom* as a transitive verb in his line from "To

<sup>15</sup> Aristotle, Poetics, trans. S. H. Butcher, in Great Critics, p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Horace, Epistle to the Pisos, trans. James Harry and Sara Catron Smith, in ibid., p. 126.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Mark Schorer, "Technique as Discovery," The Hudson Review, 1948; reprinted in The Modern Critical Spectrum, ed. Gerald Jay and Nancy M. Goldberg (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 70.
 <sup>18</sup>Cleanth Brooks, "The Formalist Critic," The Kenyon Review, 1951; reprinted in Modern Critical Spectrum, p. 1.

Autumn': 'While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day''19—both achieved their startling results by careful observation and by the careful noting of subtle similarities and differences. The poet and the scientist see through different eyes, observing specific detail significant to each, though at times the two visions converge as they did, for instance, in da Vinci and in Thoreau; and perhaps the convergence is much more frequent than we suspect. An accurate and apt description of nature by a scientist often verges on, or becomes, poetry. A word such as *symmetry* means something quite different to a painter and to a physicist, but it has a deep meaning for both and, traced to the bottom of that depth, the two divergent meanings spring from a common source.

As the myriads of things seen by the artist settle in the memory, they begin to assume patterns of order, patterns that emerge more clearly as a simultaneous activity begins: the selecting of those details relevant to the pattern and the passing over of those details that are not. Or perhaps the process sometimes works in a reversed manner; as certain details—images, rhythms, or whatever—elbow their way into the consciousness, they demand the formation of a pattern to accommodate them. More than likely, as I suggested earlier, the processes of selection and of pattern-making occur simultaneously. At any rate, the two interact. Details are chosen to fit a pattern because they are representative details and enforce on the mind the conviction that the pattern is true; and the pattern itself is a composite of relevant detail.

The interaction of pattern and detail (or form and content) continues into the next phase of our analysis, that of organization or arrangement. In literature, as we read, one thing of necessity comes before another. The order can be one of time or of climax, or it can arise simply out of the effect of a certain juxtaposition. In Henry IV, Part I, we have a thematic alternation of two sets of scenes involving shadow and substance. In the first set, there is a real meeting between Hotspur and his wife, followed by an imaginary meeting between them as envisioned by Prince Hal. Soon afterward, in reversed order, there is an imaginary encounter between Prince Hal and his father the king (with Falstaff acting the part of the father), and this is followed shortly by the real meeting between Prince Hal and the king. This example illustrates the use of order in thematic arrangements; and the importance of order is equally obvious as we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>John Keats, "To Autumn," in *Major British Writers*, ed. G. B. Harrison, enlarged ed., 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959), 2:357, st. 3, line 25.

return to a use already cited: the order of climax, which determines not only that there must be a gradual revelation up to the denouement, but that there must have been signposts in the form of fore-shadowing all along the trail to build suspense and to tell us at the end that the outcome was inevitable and that we should have seen it from the beginning. By means of order, cause and effect become observable; and by means of order, details are arranged so as to frame each sequence, relate it to others, and make a whole of the unified parts.

The achieved wholeness of a work of art must have something of the intensity that life itself has. Our wonder at seeing and feeling that intensity is part of the surprise of art that gives rise to theories claiming extra-human powers for its creation. But our subject now is technique and an examination of how it contributes to artistic creation, since, to refer to Mark Schorer again, the difference between experience and art is technique. A number of techniques enable a poet to heighten the intensity of a statement. For one thing, the artist can use irony. Demonstrably, by the use of irony we can say two things and be understood to have communicated three. There is Henry Jones, for instance, who gives a stirring Fourth of July speech on patriotism but who fakes a heart condition to avoid the draft. You draw the conclusion yourself that he is a hypocrite, and that fact need not be spoken. In this way and in more subtle forms the writer increases the load of meaning carried by his words. Or take the example of symbols. A symbol is what it is and at the same time it is something else, thus multiplying the weight of meaning in the words. Moby Dick is a real whale, and at the same time he might be a symbol of God, while in another chapter his whiteness might symbolize evil. Thus the Protean shapes which symbols can assume make them capable of almost inexhaustible use. The magic of Prospero, in The Tempest, can be made to yield symbolic meaning for any age. For our day, the magic wand has been likened to science with its ability to dazzle us with external displays of wonders. And the forsaking of magic by Prospero symbolizes the recognition that greater wonder exists in ordinary human relations, in love, for instance, than in the launching of a spaceship.20

In addition to irony and symbol, other forms of figurative language are also at the disposal of the literary artist. Metaphor is the most basic, and all the other types that have long Greek names are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>See Harold C. Goddard, "The Meaning of *The Tempest*," in *The Creative Reader*, ed. R. W. Stallman and R. E. Watters (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1954), pp. 633–42.

somewhat in the nature of subdivisions. All involve comparisons of one thing to something that it is not. The two being compared are basically different but have something in common. We can say the steamer churned the water. You cannot make butter with a ship and you cannot go to sea in a churn, but the appearance of the water stirred up by the steamer is similar to that of cream being sloshed in a churn. If we have seen the one and not the other, the comparison has the effect of making the unknown known instantaneously. Or, if one of the things being compared is concrete and the other abstract, the figure has the capacity to make an abstraction immediately and vividly apprehensible by the senses, as happens, for example, when Macbeth says, to describe his anguish, "O, full of scorpions is my mind."21 We see and feel nothing on hearing the word anguish, but we can certainly see and feel a mind full of scorpions. By these and other devices the feelings as well as the intellect of a reader of literature become engaged so that the work becomes not just a statement about an experience but an experience itself, containing the kinds of intensity associated with real experience. There is an important difference between the experience of art and the daily experiences of life, however; the daily experiences of life fade rapidly and are lost while the experience of art is capable of being recaptured vividly again and again by generation after generation. The addition of technique—or whatever it is—has accomplished a remarkable transformation.

I do not intend to provide a comprehensive treatment of technique here by going on to cover the subjects of diction, word order, sentence structure, connotation, and the various devices of sound and rhythm used in poetry. I hope, rather, that the high points I have already exposed provide a kind of paradigm, enough exposure to enable us to ask again the question posed at the beginning of the discussion of technique.

Is technique by itself enough to explain the process by which raw life is turned into the finished product of art? In answering the question, we have certainly been impressed enough by technique to be able to say that it can do a great deal—and that statement by itself is a technique of irony known as understatement. We can probably say that without technique there can be no art—that technique is an essential ingredient in the transformationl process. If this were not so, there would seem to be little justification for classes in creative writing. Browning apparently thought technique alone was not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Macbeth III. ii. 36.

enough, for his 'faultless painter,' Andrea Del Sarto, lacks soul.<sup>22</sup> But if the whole process of creation is to be thought of in terms of inspiration, where does one begin to teach it? So let us return to the basic question, is technique alone enough?

Even as we look at the evidence of those who emphasize technique, we encounter some disturbing gaps. Aristotle, for instance, in telling us that poetry has its origin in instincts for imitation and for harmony and rhythm, fails to tell us what instincts are and where they come from. And Horace, in telling us that good poetry is the result of a combination of natural gifts and hard work, leaves us with a similar question: the hard work can be directed toward technique, but where do natural gifts come from? Brooks, likewise, tells us "that the formal relations in a work of literature may include, but certainly exceed, those of logic"; and in that excess we have again an unaccounted-for increment. Finally, in discussing the emergence of pattern, as details are selected during the creative process, we are left wondering where the pattern came from.

We could give one answer as to the origin of patterns, that they come from deep in the memory, from an activity at work in the unconscious mind. Alexander Pope, who came from a tradition emphasizing the importance of technique, should have, if any poet could have, told us that technique is self-sufficient. But he did not tell us that. Quite the contrary. In An Essay on Criticism, he says that in poetry "are nameless graces which no methods teach." In the same work Pope seems to anticipate the notion that the patterns of art come from a deep unconscious source in the memory; these patterns, he writes, are "something, whose truth convinced at sight we find, / That gives us back the image of our mind." This thought of Pope's is echoed by Keats in his well-known statement in a letter to a friend that the truth in poetry comes "almost as a remembrance." 26

All of these references to patterns coming into the consciousness of the poet from a deep source in memory are a preface, of course, to a discussion of archetypes. Modern archetypal criticism has two sources: *The Golden Bough* of Sir James George Frazer<sup>27</sup> and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Robert Browning, "Andrea Del Sarto," in Major British Writers, 2:510-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Brooks, "The Formalist Critic," p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Alexander Pope, An Essay on Criticism, in Criticism: The Major Statements, ed. Charles Kaplan (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), p. 204, line 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 208, lines 99-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>John Keats to John Taylor in Major British Writers, 2:362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 13 vols. (1890; reprint ed., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980). For a shorter version of this work, see James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1951).

concept of the "collective unconscious" developed by Carl Jung.28 Frazer discovered that patterns of human behavior repeat themselves in myths from cultures widely separated and without contact. Myths, therefore, become keys to an understanding of human behavior. One of the most pervasive of these patterns, or archetypes, for example, is that of the scapegoat; it has existed from time immemorial, as revealed in ancient myth and ritual, and it appears today as widespread as in the past. Whenever an evil is discovered in our midst, our first reaction is to find a guilty person to bear the blame, and by ritually punishing that person we rid ourselves of our collective guilt. Jung explained these archetypal patterns of behavior by saying that the history of the race persists in the unconscious mind of all people. Thus Pope and Keats reached for their patterns of truth into so deep a pool of memory that they cannot explain the origin. And when these same patterns are presented to readers, each reader is stirred by a racial memory that is so deep in the unconscious that he is perplexed to explain why he is stirred. The memory might be of something as seemingly simple as a rhythm or a color, or it might be as complex as a pattern of behavior. For the poet, the important thing is that the 'image of our mind'' presented in the poem has to be precisely as Pope worded it, an "image of our mind," not just of the poet's mind. The universality of the poet's appeal stems from the fact that the author has drawn his image out of the collective unconscious, the world-spirit, or "spiritus mundi," as Yeats called it in "The Second Coming."

The archetypalists present us with an explanation of the source of the transformational power of art to which we should be able to say, here at last is a theory based on natural phenomena: no more magic, no more mystery. But as we look more closely, we cannot say that. We are still left with a mystery as profound as ever, surrounded by questions as unanswerable as ever. The dark unfathomable pool of the unconscious and the artist fishing on its bank in order to draw forth an archetypal fish—this is certainly an image as immersed in magic as that of the alchemist wreathed in fumes from his retorts or that, even further back in history, of the oracles of Delphi stupefying themselves over fumaroles in the temple of Apollo so that their conscious minds cannot interfere with the transmission of the message from the god.

Here we are again, it seems, at the point where we began, still confronting the two axioms, one of which says that we love life and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Carl Jung, Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

the other, that we cannot keep it for long. And art is still there resolving the dilemma to a degree by offering to transform the well-loved but transitory experience of life into the enduring substance of art: but how remains the question. Still, we are not quite back where we started in that by now we are convinced there is some kind of power, something beyond technique, an excess beyond logic, required to transmute experience into art. But the power is not outside human life; it is inside it. The power is the power of life itself: grand, awesome, comic, tragic, superb, pitiful—the whole range of adjectives supplied by our vocabularies, and more. Life is too great to be contained in any system, and the forms of art that reflect it have constantly to be reshaped and the old molds redesigned and recast to hold its transcended vision if for only a moment. Whenever something new is added to an existing order, says T. S. Eliot in his wellknown essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent," the whole order has to be changed to accommodate it; thus the past is altered by the present. Art succeeds for a time in holding life in an expression of it, but life is too powerful, too dynamic, too multifarious to be contained. That same force that compels us to love life in the first place is ample to provide the power for the transformation of its unending manifestations into art. If life itself does not offer mystery enough to satisfy us, it is because we are singularly insensitive

Resorting to magic as an explanation of the incomprehensible may imply a *deus ex machina* working behind the scenes and pulling hidden wires to achieve contrived effects. But it is hard for us human beings, caught in the experience of human life, to conjure up anything that is really outside or beyond the fabric of our humanness. As a result, our attempts at magical interpretations often become symbolic of forces in life that we cannot understand or do not want to understand. Take as an example the love potion in the Tristram and Iseult legend. The love is a forbidden one. To let it go forward in naturalistic terms would render the participants contemptible, incapable of controlling their passions. But those who invented the legend wanted an explanation that would justify the unlawful play of their own passions, and their unconscious desires were met by a magic potion which deprived the participants of will and hence of guilt or responsibility. Throughout the history of courtly love, this magic was conferred on adulterous passion, conveniently clearing those involved of moral responsibility. In this example, as in most others, we find that magical interpretations may have seemed intended as an escape

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," in Criticism: The Major Statements, pp. 474-82.

from life but that they double back upon themselves and thrust us once more into the context of the life force. That life force exerted a greater pull upon Yeats than did the magic of the crucible in "Sailing to Byzantium." In his later poem "Byzantium," Yeats disavowed the artifice of the gold bird for the "mire and blood" of reality.<sup>31</sup> Two of Tennyson's creations, the Lady of Shalott<sup>32</sup> and Tithonus,<sup>33</sup> chose mortal life over a magical immortality. To human beings the life force exerts a pull no one can escape except through death.

The term *life force* seems pretentious. Let us give the more familiar name *love* to that force which bends us inexorably to life. Defined thus, it is the same term we began our first axiom with: the axiom that we love life. There are so few exceptions to our saying that we love life that the statement remains axiomatic; and being bound fast to life by love the artist tries to come to a full realization of it and thus preserves it through a power that love of life itself confers, enabling the artist to perform the miracle of transmuting the ore of common experience into the gold of art. We have moved from magic to miracles.

It should not surprise us that love performs miracles in art since it performs miracles in so many other areas of life. In a religious sense, it transforms the ugliness of hatred into the beauty of peace through forgiveness. In human growth, it transforms a shriveled soul, locked in the husk of its own ego, into a mature loving and caring man or woman. And even in a biological sense it is the force recognized by Dylan Thomas "that through the green fuse drives the flower," the force that causes a seed to respond to moisture, warmth, and light. And who can say that such a response is not love or that the magnificence of a plant in bloom is not a response of joy to its existence. Some people have found this to be true to the point that they talk to plants, understandable but also unnecessary once we recognize that love is not limited to the brain.

Love takes surprising turns in art, sometimes appearing almost as its opposite, again not surprising since the spectrum of its manifestations is not an arc of one hundred eighty degrees but a full circle in which opposites merge, as illustrated in a modern poem called "Love Song: I and Thou" by Alan Dugan:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Yeats, "Sailing to Byzantium," in Selected Poems and Two Plays, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>William Butler Yeats, "Byzantium," in ibid., p. 132, st. 3, line 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "The Lady of Shalott," in Major British Writers, 2:384-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "Tithonus," in ibid., 2:396-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Dylan Thomas, "That through the Green Fuse Drives the Flower," Collected Poems, 1934-1952 (London: J. N. Dent & Sons, 1952), p. 9, line 1.

Nothing is plumb, level or square: the studs are bowed, the joists are shaky by nature, no piece fits any other piece without a gap or pinch, and bent nails dance all over the surfacing like maggots. By Christ I am no carpenter. I built the roof for myself, the walls for myself, the floors for myself, and got hung up in it myself. I danced with a purple thumb at this house-warming, drunk with my prime whiskey: rage. Oh I spat rage's nails into the frame-up of my work: it held. It settled plumb, level, solid, square and true for that great moment. Then it screamed and went on through skewing as wrong the other way. God damned it. This is hell, but I planned it, I sawed it, I nailed it, and I will live in it until it kills me. I can nail my left palm to the left-hand cross-piece but I can't do everything myself. I need a hand to nail the right, a help, a love, a you, a wife.35

But Dugan cannot deceive us into believing that this is hate. True, in this strangest of love songs he sees life as a cross to which he can nail himself only with a little help—that of a wife to hammer the last nail. But the tenacity with which he clings to life betrays the truth that, in his own words, he is "hung up" on life and that he will live it out until it kills him. There is a fierce clinging here that we have to call love, as the author himself called it in his title: neither

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Alan Dugan, "Love Song: I and Thou," in *Poems* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 12; reprinted in *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry*, ed. Richard Ellmann and Robert O'Clair (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973), pp. 1037–38. Used by permission.

the mawkish and conventional pose of Keats to "have been half in love with easeful Death" of nor the denial of Sylvia Plath or Anne Sexton that becomes real death, and therefore life, since the only significance death has is given to it by the life that it ends. In addition to the expression of a tenacious clinging to life, Dugan's poem also has a reference to Christ, to being a carpenter, and to being crucified. The speaker does not really compare himself to Christ; but the poem, nevertheless, provides its own kind of redemption in its acceptance of life for its own sake and on its own terms, making the poem itself a transformation achieved through love.

Dugan's poem was perhaps an extreme example of my thesis that love is the transformational power in art: love of life, love of this world, love of the exercise of a craft. To balance the effect, I turn in conclusion to another poem, one more familiar in its approach. The author of this poem is James Wright; the title of his poem is "A Blessing." I have chosen my examples from contemporary American authors to demonstrate that the powers we have been discussing are neither dead nor asleep. Here is "A Blessing":

Just off the highway to Rochester, Minnesota, Twilight bounds softly forth on the grass. And the eyes of those two Indian ponies Darken with kindness.

They have come gladly out of the willows

To welcome my friend and me.

We step over the barbed wire into the pasture

Where they have been grazing all day, alone.

They ripple tensely, they can hardly contain their happiness That we have come.

They bow shyly as wet swans. They love each other.

There is no loneliness like theirs.

At home once more,

They begin munching the young tufts of spring in the darkness.

I would like to hold the slenderer one in my arms,

For she has walked over to me

And nuzzled my left hand.

She is black and white,

Her mane falls wild on her forehead,

And the light breeze moves me to caress her long ear

That is delicate as the skin over a girl's wrist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>John Keats, "Ode to a Nightingale," in Major British Writers, 2:344, st. 6, line 52.

Suddenly I realize
That if I stepped out of my body I would break
Into blossom.<sup>37</sup>

The miracle is performed. That which was an ordinary experience of stopping to look at the horses has been transmuted into a lasting experience capable of moving us and those who will replace us. There is no doubt but that the experience has undergone sea changes during the process of transmutation. Such sea changes are the mark and the stamp of that mysterious power in life that wants to save something of itself from annihilation and so touches a plain object and, out of love, confers on it immortality. The transformational power of love manifest in art is miraculous because life is a miracle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>James Wright, "A Blessing," in *Poetry* 97 (October 1960-March 1961): 343; reprinted in *Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry*, pp. 1180-81. Used by permission.

## Christmas Voices

## Joseph's Christmas Eve

Seems almost Jahveh didn't want us here.

Feet growing sore enough to etch
In slow relief each rock and tree. Could I
Have doubts even now so great they'd stretch

The road like that? or drag us finally here
To where no door will close against
The cold, where (father no father) I've straw for ease
Of pangs—they seize her now!—and scents

Are those of barn and stall? The simple ass
That carried her deserves as much.
What word was that? Only a cry new born
And what a cry! So soon. The touch

Of Mary's breath tonight meant heaven's close.

And now that light above the ridge,
That choir, both softly swelling softly filling
As if with light and sound to bridge

The earth and sky. But look! They come to rest On Mary's berth, reflecting clear As though that manger were their source. It is: The Word himself, Jahveh, lies there.

## Christmas: 33 A.D.

He tells me that until he knows again
The splitting bud breaking into olive leaves
All earth will reckon time from that pre-dawn
Dawn when Joseph handed him to me
To dry him and to swaddle.

My soul doth magnify my son

Through three and thirty springs I've known Renewing warmth: each year of our Lord A year of my son.

Each year I know his gifts beyond the need Of gold or frankincense or myrrh.

The warmth has come again I know: the olive grows new leaves.

But now I shiver.

My soul doth magnify

Follow me, he said, but whither he goes we cannot. That ass he rode, no bigger than the one that brought us both To Bethlehem, walked this time on leaves of palm And flowered wreaths. But thorns were somewhere There. He knows as we can never know The measure of his creation. My soul contracts like drying olive leaves.

My soul doth magnify

I saw him born of me, of water and of fire. I feel again the pangs like hammer blows Intenser now than ever at his birth. Oh, what is being born Of thorns and cross and blood from pores? He's now I know at Gethsemane And people talk of crucify. He told his twelve the Son of man—my son—Is betrayed to be crucified.

## My soul doth magnify

"A sword shall pierce thy soul."
The pangs bring darkness to the earth
Yet something warms their very source.
What was it Nicodemus heard another night?
Who believes in him shall not perish, but have
Life. The pangs redouble and now I know
They'll stop not even with his death.
But they must mean—yes now I know they mean—
Eternal life is being born.

My soul doth magnify the Lord: my son.

## Christmas: 33 A.D.—II

Ah, where is my power now, my glory, my majesty?

Restrained here with all space open to me, but caught With all my longings focused down on Him.

My light passes through a prism

Too dark tonight for any rainbow gleam.

Where I am is Heaven, but Heaven tonight Is Hell. I felt it then—and knew I'd feel it now—When morning stars together sang And all my children shouted for joy of our coming Creation: Mine the spirit moving upon the waters, Theirs the coupling of flesh to spirit. Felt it when he said, "Send me."

Felt it again in all the joy of breathing
Spirit into dust of earth. And felt it when all
Around me rang those alleluias at His birth
(I knew this night must be). They'll ring again.
But now the hammers ring in hollow tones that make
Him sure. His blood pours where mine cannot.
And I can only stand and wait.

And Mary, Mother of my Son, my one begotten Son, How those blows and blood descend on her. No light can touch her now. And none goes out from me.

One eyelash twitch—and all Would change, the pain evaporate in floods of light, That soldier with the spear forevermore Transfixed. How can my eyelash stand the strain?

But no. That they be free my eye stays bare. Tonight I forsake Him. He hangs Alone.

And I remain alone—no beam from me can bear My love to Him. And all His pain thrusts up Into my heart.

"Finished!" The travail of earth has ended. The relief comes sharper and heavier than the pain. I live with Him below it all. A thousand years A day to God? This day and night I wait A thousand years.

But look! The rainbow light breaks through. His prison stone refracts His light—
My son reborn to me.
He brings my power and glory and majesty with Him: He brings my children home.

The Alleluias are my own.

-Marden J. Clark

## The Sting of the Wasp: Early Nauvoo Newspaper— April 1842 to April 1843

#### Jerry C. Jolley

The Wasp, an early Mormon periodical, was one of many small newspapers striving to make a place and a name in an era called by many the "golden age" of American journalism. Newspapers were the most popular of American reading materials in the 1840s; almost all growing frontier communities sought to establish a small press, and more populous areas often had a dozen or more. The boom of newspaper publishing throughout the country caused a jump from 800 such papers in 1830 to 1,400 in 1840.1

The motives behind the eager interest shown by the common man for newspapers in the 1840s were social, political, religious, and literary. One author has suggested that 89 percent of the white population of the country was literate in 1840.<sup>2</sup> While this estimate seems high, it does indicate that a large percentage of U.S. citizens created a market for cheap newspapers.

The average newspaper in the less populous regions was not only edited but written almost entirely by the editor, who was often poorly educated. This was an era of democratic agitation in which the primacy of the newspaper was virtually unchallenged. Frequently the editor or his financial backer established a newspaper with the specific purpose of expressing or suppressing a definite political, religious, or social view. Vicious libel was common.

Financial problems also occurred frequently, and many of the small town newspapers went under in their enthusiasm to corner unique events and extend their circulation.

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<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Riegel, Young America 1830–1840 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 409.

<sup>2</sup>Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Early America, 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1950–52), 1:447.

#### PURPOSE AND FORMAT

The first issue of the *Wasp* appeared on 16 April 1842. Its editor and publisher was William Smith, youngest brother of Joseph Smith, Apostle in the Mormon church, and Nauvoo city councilman.

William had definite ideas about the direction his weekly should pursue. The Wasp, according to its editor, would combat "the shafts of slander... foul calumnies, and base misrepresentations" of some public presses, and seek to "convey correct information to the world and thereby disabuse the public mind as to the many slanders that are constantly perpetrated against us." The choice of the name itself indicates that the Wasp would not hesitate to "sting" those who opposed the editor's views, particularly those distorting Mormonism and advocating hate and persecution against the rising city of the Saints. Nevertheless, while William was determined to provide a counterbalance to what he saw as an anti-Mormon crusade by other publications in the region, he was also concerned that he not appear too enthusiastic in his own efforts. "We shall always endeavor," he added in the first edition, "to act upon the defensive with our opponents, not upon the offensive."

In addition, the *Wasp* was to be a "public journal," ambitiously devoting its columns to the arts, sciences, literature, agriculture, trade, commerce, and the general news of the times, whether local, national, or international. This was to be done with the hope that it might be "subservient to the cause of humanity, justice, and truth."

The Wasp was not the only newspaper in Nauvoo. The Times and Seasons had been published since November of 1839. Taking note of this fact, William Smith observed in the first number that while "it is true the Times and Seasons is published in this place... it is being devoted exclusively to matters of religion and its size being quite limited, there can be no space found in its columns for the local and general news of the day."

Earlier attempts had also been made to publish a weekly similar to the Wasp. Don Carlos Smith, another brother to the Prophet Joseph Smith, had planned to publish a secular newspaper to be known as the News and, later, after that did not succeed, one to be known as the Nauvoo Ensign and Zarahemla Standard (the city of

<sup>3&</sup>quot; 'Introductory," The Wasp, 16 April 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Italics in all quoted material are found in the original.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;William Smith, "Proposal for Publishing the Wasp," Wasp, 16 April 1842, [p. 4].

<sup>6&</sup>quot;Introductory," Wasp, 16 April 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

Zarahemla was to be established across the river from Nauvoo).8 The second attempt also failed when Don Carlos died in the summer of 1841.9

The Wasp was issued weekly on Saturdays until 1 February 1843, when it came out on Wednesdays, with some few exceptions (such as when paper shortages occurred), until 19 April 1843. The four pages of the Wasp, printed on 11 x 16 inch sheets, were divided into four columns; and on the front page below the symbolic heading was the inscription "Truth Crushed to Earth Will Rise Again—Bryant." The printing offices were located "on the corner of Water and Bain Streets" in the same building which housed the offices of the Times and Seasons. The cost of the weekly was announced as follows: "Terms: \$1.50 invariably in advance."

#### REFLECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, AND LOCAL NEWS

Along with the purpose of disseminating the truth of Nauvoo to the world, the Wasp was established to bring the general news of the day from international, national, and local sources. Following similar practices of the times, the Wasp freely borrowed articles from other newspapers in the United States, including the Warsaw Signal, the Plain Dealer, Newark Advocate, New York Herald, and the Times and Seasons. News was also obtained from letters as well as overland and river travelers.

News from Europe was popular. The Wasp carried articles about European money markets, debates of the British Parliament, and items of social interest. One story in this last category, titled "Horrors of the English Collieries," treated the inhuman burdens of young children who were

placed in the coal mines at the age of six years; they are obligated to crawl on their hands and knees in the mud; and even at the tender age named, they are worked from eleven to fourteen hours a day. They are excluded from light.<sup>10</sup>

The Prophet visited the offices of the Wasp from time to time and Wasp news items are mentioned in Joseph Smith's history. One selection which received such notice was entitled "Awful Destruction of Life—Terrible Earthquake in the Island of St. Domingo."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51), 3:382; hereafter cited as History of the Church.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 4:393, 398-99.

<sup>10</sup> Wasp, 16 June 1842, [p. 1].

<sup>11</sup> History of the Church, 5:21; Wasp, 25 June 1842, [p. 1].

Most of the readers of the Wasp would have had great interest in national events, especially those dealing with U.S. expansion and politics. "For Oregon Territory" described the emigration of more than one thousand persons who planned to go to the Northwest, an area not yet U.S. territory. Preaders were kept up-to-date on continuing pitched battles with Mexico. The newspaper also published President Tyler's proclamation—"Protest of the President"—criticizing the House of Representatives for passing a revenue bill. 13

Local news amounted to nearly half the coverage on the four pages of each week's Wasp.

Scientific discoveries and inventions were no doubt among the most popular features. The planned construction of a flying machine was detailed under the title "Aerial Navigation," and Colt's underwater submarine battery (a type of mine) was discussed.<sup>14</sup> One article, reprinted from the *Philadelphia Ledger*, related the discovery of a "real" mermaid!

The present age exceeds all others in the extent and variety of its discoveries. . . . The greatest discovery yet made has still to be announced, and it is left for us to make the fact public. We have seen a Mermaid! Start not and curl your lips with scorn—though concerning a fish, it is not a fish story. We have seen the tangible evidence exhibited to our senses of the existence of that monster hitherto deemed fabulous by all the learned. . . . not in the alluring garb and seductive form represented in the picture books . . . the mermaid we saw has none of these attractions, but is as ugly a little monster as was ever seen, resembling more in appearance about the upper part of the body a mummified monkey than an angelic fish. . . This animal, fish, flesh, or whatever it may be, is about three feet long, and the lower part of the body is a perfectly formed fish. . . . It has perfectly formed breasts, arms, and hands, the latter resembling more the human hand more than a monkeys [sic], with white nails on the finger ends the top [of the head] is bald, but the sides are covered with hair . . . like the well trained ringlets of some fair damsel. The cheeks, eyes and lips bear a semblance to humanity. . . . The animal is now in charge of a gentleman at Jones' Hotel . . . though the owner has refused to exhibit it publicly. 15

Literary pieces and poetry were a must for every edition of the Wasp. Expository themes on the mind, the sexes, and the importance of motherhood were included along with serials and an occasional humorous article. Humorous items included "Lamentations of an Old Bachelor" or a little quip such as this:

<sup>12</sup> Wasp, 29 March 1843, [p. 1].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1842, [p. 1]; 1 October 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Ibid., 14 January 1843, [p. 2].

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 27 August 1842, [p. 4].

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"Did you pull my nose in earnest, sir?"
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Poetry was contributed by national favorites or local renowns such as Eliza R. Snow and Gustavus Hill.

The Wasp constantly reminded its readers that the Missouri persecutions were still fresh in the minds of the Saints and they would not tolerate this type of treatment again. The second editorial, for example, carried the heading "We Were Not the Aggressors" with another editorial titled "Unfair." Other articles made an attempt to set straight the erroneous reports of Mormon provocations. One such story was "Great News from the Mormons: Battle No. One!!" which disclosed a purported raging battle between the Mormons and the anti-Mormons.

Little of a religious nature was in the Wasp. A passing word of Joseph Smith's religious activities or legal battles, or an announcement of temple dues and construction progress appeared from time to time, but, for the most part, the Wasp left religious announcements to the Times and Seasons.

In an era when the telephone was nonexistent, a local newspaper was a valuable bulletin board. Emma Smith used the pages of the Wasp to request hymns, and Joseph used it to communicate orders to members of the Nauvoo Legion and announce public military displays. The Wasp mentioned the names of political candidates and the results of elections. A weekly announcement of births and deaths was carried.

An ever-increasing amount of advertising and industrial growth was evident as merchants used the newspaper to market their goods. One could find in the *Wasp* advertisements for such things as window sash, "Ready Made Coffins," hides and skins, book binding, smoking chimney repair ("No cure, no pay"), and Hiram Kimball's request for the contracting of one million bricks. 19 Produce and growing conditions were the topics of frequent reports. 20

Serious medical notices of that day would seem ludicrous now. Lozenges could be purchased for every ailment; and if one bought Dr. Sherman's Worm Lozenges, he could be sure of "the only infallible"

<sup>&</sup>quot;Certainly I did sir,"—(giving it another tweek.)

<sup>&</sup>quot;It's well for you —for I don't allow any body to joke me in that way." 16

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 30 April 1842, [p. 3]; 11 June 1842, [p. 3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Ibid., 23 April 1842, [p. 2]; 22 October 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Ibid., 27 August 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>This notice appeared in numerous issues; see, for example, ibid., 14 January 1843, [p. 3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>See, for example, the reports on crops, ibid., 20 August 1842, [pp. 2, 4].

Worm medicine ever discovered." Dr. Brink's services were advertised in this manner:

Dr. Brink is consulted in the most intricate and protracted cases of secret disease that require practical experience to insure success; every species and form of the disease must yield to his treatment . . . which is in all cases mild and soft. . . . will treat the disease upon the principle of no cure no pay.<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately, Dr. Brink was later taken to court and convicted of malpractice.

#### **EDITORIAL BATTLES**

Within a few weeks of the first issue of the Wasp's colorful career, William Smith locked his editorial column in direct battle with the Warsaw Signal, Sangamo Journal, and the Quincy Whig. While such feuds between editors are typical of frontier communities, few rivalries became as heated as the exchange between Thomas Sharp and William Smith.

Thomas C. Sharp edited the weekly Warsaw Signal, which was the successor to the Western World, founded by Daniel N. White in 1840. Warsaw was only a few miles from Nauvoo, and on at least one occasion Thomas Sharp apparently ventured to the growing Mormon town. Little is known of this particular visit, but Sharp is thought to have conversed with the Prophet and shared in a turkey dinner with him (William later referred to Sharp as the "turkey"). Thomas Sharp was unimpressed with Mormonism, and his early editorials took note of activities in Nauvoo but showed no open conflict with the Mormons. He soon fell into dire financial circumstances with his weekly, and the 12 April 1842 edition of the Warsaw Signal carried the announcement of the discontinuance of the newspaper. After reading the first edition of the Wasp a week later, however, he made a quick about-face, and in another week published another edition of the Warsaw Signal, which carried an article titled "Proposals for Continuing the Warsaw Signal."23

Sharp's ire, which later led to a vicious and relentless editorial war, may have been raised early on by Joseph Smith's cancellation of his subscription of the *Warsaw Signal* in 1841 and the accompanying letter in which the Prophet stated:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Ibid., 17 September 1842, [p. 3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Ibid., 2 July 1842, [p. 3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Warsaw Signal, 27 April 1842, [p. 2].

Sir—You will discontinue my paper—its contents are calculated to pollute me, and to patronize the filthy sheet—that tissue of lies—that sink of iniquity—is disgraceful to any moral man. Yours with utter contempt,

JOSEPH SMITH.

P.S. Please publish the above in your contemptible paper.

J.S.<sup>24</sup>

This letter was included in the Signal in a column prefaced "A New Revelation from Joe Smith." The Prophet's letter came in response to a column written by Sharp two weeks before which mentioned dissatisfaction among some of the new immigrants in Nauvoo.

Having felt the barbs of several of Sharp's columns months before the founding of the Wasp, William Smith began his regular attacks on Thomas Sharp from the Wasp's very first number. One of these articles, entitled "Nose-ology," attacked "Thom-ASS C. Sharp," asserting that "the length of his snout is said to be in the exact proportion of seven to one compared with his intellectual faculties, having upon its convex surface fourteen well developed bumps." William continued by explaining that these bumps signified fourteen traits, the first being "Anti-Mormonitiveness." 25

The weekly installments of this personal feud drew the attention of the neighboring *Peoria Register* and the *Sangamo Journal*, which, while initially criticizing the editorial battle, later joined the anti-Mormon bandwagon.

The Sangamo Journal had little to say about the Mormons until election time approached in July 1842, when it opened a full barrage claiming that the Mormon church was part of the Democratic political machine. The Sangamo Journal was strictly a Whig publication and motivated not so much by religious differences with the Mormons as by the political vote the Saints could wield. A five column spread was carried in the 8 July issue of the Journal, which "exposed" "The Mormon Plot and League, by which THOMAS FORD and JOHN MOORE hope to be elected Governor and Lieut. Governor of Illinois." Explaining the reason for the article, the editors proclaimed "it our duty to publish the documentary evidence . . . showing the dangerous nature of this corrupt and scandalous coalition."26 To add weight to its viewpoint, the Journal proceeded to disclose the John C. Bennett letters and account of corruption in Nauvoo. The Sangamo Journal far exceeded the Warsaw Signal in its praise of Bennett, describing his "known character for fearlessness in a cause he knows to be right." 27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Ibid., 2 June 1841, [p. 2].

<sup>25</sup> Wasp, 30 April 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Sangamo Journal, 8 July 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Ibid., 15 July 1847, [p. 2].

Striking back, William Smith published the Wasp's only extra, exposing John C. Bennett. Then in the following issue, William unleashed the bitterest comments of his Wasp career. In a column entitled "A Golden Iron Wedge Reward," he crisply stated:

Ran away from the State of Illinois, one *John C. Bennett* . . . recently a journeyman liar, slanderer and "discloser" for the Jack Ass of the Sangamo Journal. The said Sangomo [sic] Jack Ass having bargained with, or hired the said journeyman liar for a little state pap.<sup>28</sup>

The Quincy Whig also drew fire from William Smith for its suggestion that the Mormons leave the state.

The editorial feud changed course only when William Smith resigned his job as editor as a result of his election to the state legislature in the fall of 1842. The history of Joseph Smith notes under the date of 10 December that "in this day's paper, William Smith gave his valedictory, resigning the editorship of *The Wasp* to Elder John Taylor."<sup>29</sup> Like William Smith, John Taylor had little respect for Thomas Sharp. Indeed, Elder Taylor had referred to the *Signal* editor as "a violent, unprincipled man."<sup>30</sup> But unlike his predecessor, John Taylor was to take a more conservative approach with the *Wasp*, no doubt hoping to lessen the ill feelings mounting against the Mormons in Illinois.

Meanwhile, the Sangamo Journal had changed its emphasis to current events of local interest and hardly mentioned the Mormons for another few months. No longer feeling the "sting" of the Wasp, Thomas Sharp turned the editorship and publication of the Warsaw Signal over to Thomas Gregg, who not only leaned toward a more friendly policy with the Mormons but also changed the name of the Signal to the Warsaw Message. This lessening of animosity was welcomed by the Wasp, which expressed the following in its 19 April 1843 issue:

We should judge from the following paragraph from the Warsaw Message that the editors of that paper are about taking a different course towards the citizens of this place than taken by the editor of the Warsaw Signal.<sup>31</sup>

This cessation of hostility was only dimmed for about a year, however, after which Thomas Sharp regained the Warsaw paper, renamed it the Warsaw Signal, and resumed his tirade against the

<sup>31</sup> Wasp, 19 April 1843, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Wasp, 30 July 1842, [p. 2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>History of the Church, 5:204.

<sup>30</sup>B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church, 6 vols. (1930; reprint ed., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:219, 11.

Mormons. Sharp's bitter resentment of the Saints eventually led him to advocate their extermination. His declaration, which appeared in the pages of the *Warsaw Signal*, asserted that

War and extermination is inevitable! CITIZENS ARISE, ONE and ALL!!!—Can you stand by, and suffer such INFERNAL DEVILS! to ROB men of their property RIGHTS, without avenging them. We have no time for comment, every man will make his own. LET IT BE MADE WITH POWDER AND BALL!<sup>32</sup>

#### CHANGE OF NAME AND PHILOSOPHY

Although the Wasp had lost much of its "sting" with the resignation of William Smith, it endured in size and name until the completion of its first year of publication in April 1843. The suggestion for a change of name and policy for the Wasp came from James Arlington Bennett of New York. Mr. Bennett had practiced law and written some textbooks in New York and was a man of some wealth and influence.<sup>33</sup> He had on occasion corresponded with Joseph Smith and published letters in some New York papers championing the Mormon cause. In one of his letters to the Prophet, he wrote the following in reference to the Wasp: "I don't like the name. Mildness should characterize everything that comes from Nauvoo; and even a name, as Peleg says in his ethics, has much influence on one side or the other."34 Joseph, perhaps worried by the aggressive nature of the Wasp, agreed to the change, and plans were announced to rename it the Dove of the West and publish it in the Mormon community of Keokuk, Iowa, across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo.<sup>35</sup> This plan was never implemented, however, and the Wasp continued under the less militant John Taylor until April of 1843. By March of 1843, Joseph Smith had selected the new name that the Wasp would receive in April. The Prophet's history records the following: "Gave the following name to the Wasp, enlarged as is contemplated—The Nauvoo Neighbor, our motto, 'The Saints' Singularity is Union, Liberty, Charity."36

The Nauvoo Neighbor was to have not only a larger size but also a new philosophy. The prospectus of the Neighbor printed in advance stated that the Wasp, "partaking so much of the nature of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Warsaw Signal, 12 June 1844, [p. 2]; see also Robert B. Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 308.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>John J Stewart, Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing Co., 1966), p. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>History of the Church, 5:114.

<sup>35</sup>Stewart, Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet, p. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>History of the Church, 5:304–5.

industrious bee, . . . has gathered honey from every flower, and its pages are now read with interest by a large and respectable number of subscribers." Indicating the course the new paper was to take, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*'s first editorial announced:

We now, according to promise, present our young friend before the world in his new dress and with his new name. . . . Relative to the course that we shall pursue, we shall endeavor to cultivate a friendly feeling towards all, and not interfere with the rights of others, either politically or religiously.<sup>38</sup>

It is impossible for us who live 140 years after the advent of the Wasp to understand its full impact on Nauvoo and surrounding areas. To those not enthusiastic with the Mormon community and challenge, the Wasp may have been seen only in the manner described by this disgruntled contemporary: "For illiterate and vulgar abuse, and silly nonsense, [it] had seldom been excelled." To the Mormons and their friends, it was probably considered a necessary means of expounding Mormonism, countering defamation, and educating and informing a thriving frontier town. In any case, it was a colorful voice in a troubled land.

Nauvoo Neighbor, 3 May 1843, [p. 2].
 Thomas Gregg, The Prophet of Palmyra (New York: John B. Alden, Publisher, 1890), p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Wasp, 5 April 1843, [p. 1]; also in 12 April 1843, [p. 1], and 19 April 1843, [p. 2].

# **Book Reviews**

LEVY, LEONARD W. Treason against God: A History of the Offense of Blasphemy. New York: Schocken Books, 1981. 432 pp. \$24.95.

Reviewed by Malcolm R. Thorp, associate professor of history, Brigham Young University.

Leonard J. Levy's *Treason against God* is a study of the suppression of the freedom of religious expression from ancient Greece to 1700. This is the first of a projected two-volume work; the second volume will continue the story within the Anglo-American legal tradition to the present. Professor Levy is a well-known authority on American legal history. His study of the *Origins of the Fifth Amendment*<sup>1</sup> was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1969.

The crime of blasphemy in the Judeo-Christian tradition is first identified in Exodus 22:28, where it is written, "Thou shalt not revile the gods." The details of how blasphemers were to be treated came to Moses somewhat later (Lev. 24:10-26) when he sat in judgment over an unknown man accused of reviling against God. On this occasion, Moses judged that "he that blasphemeth the name of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him" (verse 16). Levy argues, however, that the offense was rarely punished in Old Testament times. But, after the death of Christ, when the Christian church came to a position of political dominance in the late Roman Empire, there followed long centuries of persecution of those who deviated from established Christian norms. During this time, the definition of blasphemy was extended to include not only verbal defamation of deity but also the holding of heterodoxical opinions.

Levy's study is a serious, thought-provoking work that provides useful insights into the history of blasphemy. The theme of this volume is provided by the question: If vengeance belongs to Providence, why invoke the criminal law for such offenses? For Levy,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Leonard W. Levy, Origins of the Fifth Amendment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

the answer is found in the Christian hierarchy's dogmas concerning salvation—that is, entrance into the kingdom was at stake. In addition, it was believed the blasphemy (as well as the more general charge of heresy), if allowed to go unpunished, would threaten the moral fabric of both church and state. "But," Levy asserts, "persecutors acted out of choice, not necessity, because Christianity . . . also yielded a tradition of toleration" (p. 332). The numbers of fissions in matters of belief throughout the Christian past stemmed, he feels, from the innermost depths of consciousness, and as time progressed the blasphemy/heresy persecutions came to be viewed as a threat to the wellspring of religious creativity. That it was necessary to espouse toleration was recognized in England in the seventeenth century as "the incertitude of things" in matters of faith (to use Locke's famous phrase). It was finally realized that religious liberty eventually was possible for none unless it became possible for all.

The major problem with *Treason against God*, however, is the book's polemical quality. This is apparent in the chapter on the "Trial of Jesus," which undoubtedly will be controversial. To Levy, the sources of early Christianity are anti-Semitic, and there was a conspiracy to blame the death of Jesus on the Jews. Thus, he feels, the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin was nothing more than a myth carefully perpetrated by the writers of the synoptic gospels for propaganda purposes. Levy relies heavily on the arguments of Rudolf Bultmann and other radical exponents of Form Criticism<sup>2</sup> without carefully weighing all of the possibilities concerning the trial of Jesus. Many scholars would argue that the Marcian account of the trial is among the oldest historical materials in the text, and the story cannot be as easily dismissed as Levy would have us believe. He asserts that the Jewish elders could not have accused Jesus of blasphemy because the definition in Exodus 22:28 did not fit the case. Blasphemy, he writes, "was a very special crime to Jews: it was cursing God by name or, in the laxest Old Testament view of crime, denying Him or His attributes, honors or powers' (p. 54). According to Levy, Jesus' claim in Mark to have been the Son of God would not have fit this definition. Although there are important legal problems connected with the Sanhedrin trial, Levy's dismissal of the trial as unhistorical seems a harsh judgment. For example, it is plausible that the High Priest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Form Criticism, a critical approach to the understanding of the texts of the New Testament advocated by Rudolf Bultmann and his followers, attempts to ''liberate'' the biblical message from the mythological language in which it is expressed. The Form Critic school is generally skeptical about the possibility of understanding the historical Jesus (see Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, 2 vols. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955]).

made a legal blunder in tearing his clothes (the sign that blasphemy had been committed) when Jesus affirmed that he was Christ, "the Son of the Blessed" (Mark 14:61–63). Moreover, it is curious that Levy seems not to have examined the arguments of some scholars that Deuteronomy 17:12 was at issue: "And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die." At any rate, Levy has not solved the legal questions raised in the Marcian account of the trial, nor has he considered all of the relevant alternatives to his explanation of events.

Throughout the book there are errors of fact and interpretation. John Calvin, for example, is portrayed as the religious and civil "dictator" of Geneva who was personally involved in a number of heresy cases. Calvin's power, however, was limited to that of persuasion, as he was insistent on the absolute separation of church and state. English Puritans are depicted as narrow-minded fanatics who, if they had been given the chance in the early 1630s, would have remodeled the Church of England into "the image of Calvin's Geneva" (p. 194). Theologically, according to Levy, the Puritans differed from Archbishop William Laud in their "obedience to the letter of the Mosaic law" (p. 194)! Indeed, much of what Levy says about the Puritans is out-of-date since William Haller's seminal studies on Puritanism in 1938.<sup>3</sup> Many such errors reflect a certain abrasiveness as well as a degree of unfamiliarity with the history of the Christian tradition.

Levy candidly states that his sympathies lie with Arian and Unitarian beliefs and with the Christian victims of the Christian persecutions. In this regard, the book is written with both compassion and conviction. Unfortunately, however, Levy's study does not go as far as one would hope. Perhaps what is most lacking is a treatment that is sympathetic to all the participants in Christianity's long struggle against heterodoxy. This would include the persecutors as well as the victims. Such an approach might well have opened new insights and, in the process, revealed hidden dimensions of this facet of human misunderstanding. Although the book is written in a lively manner, Levy's study is altogether too close to being a secularized, twentieth-century rendition of a *Book of Martyrs*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

<sup>4</sup>John Foxe's Book of Martyrs has been through numerous editions, both in Foxe's lifetime and since, the earliest appearing in 1559.

LONG, E. B. The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. 289 pp. (plus index). \$17.95.

Reviewed by Eugene E. Campbell, professor of history, emeritus, Brigham Young University.

Asserting that a study of the American Civil War without reference to the vast western frontier would be "an incomplete account of that struggle" (p. xi), Professor Long has produced a detailed account of Mormon attitudes and activities during that tragic conflict in an effort to "fill in the gap" left by many Civil War histories as well as volumes on the American West. He recognizes that a "vast and controversial literature, most of it almost fanatically polarized" (p. xii), has been written about the Mormons; and he has made a serious attempt to produce an objective, unbiased study, letting "the participants speak their minds as much as possible" (p. xii) by liberal use of direct quotations from letters, newspapers, government reports, and speeches. This method has resulted in both strengthening and weakening his volume, for although the author has achieved the desired objectivity, his numerous, lengthy quotations detract from the readability and literary quality of the book.

Many of the quotes are from the Mormon leader, Brigham Young, and from the Union military commander in the region, Patrick Connor. These two men "overshadowed all other men in Utah Territory and in the Rocky Mountain West of the 1860s" (p. xi), and their conflicting views and actions are the central focus of Professor Long's study. Brigham Young felt that there was no need for General Connor, nor his troops, to guard the overland mail and telegraph lines, and the Church leader regarded Connor's building of Camp Douglas on a bench overlooking Salt Lake City as a threat to the Mormon capital. President Young also believed that the Civil War was God's punishment to an evil nation and was pleased that the Mormon people were far removed from the conflict. General Connor was convinced that Salt Lake was a "community of traitors, murderers, fanatics and whores" (p. 101) and that it represented a threat to the success of the Union cause. He also believed that the Indians in the region were dangerous enemies and he concentrated his energies on controlling these two forces. The results were tragic for the Indians and annoying to the Mormons. His principle contribution to the area was to foster the development of Utah's precious mineral deposits as a means of attracting non-Mormons to the Territory. The number of non-Mormons who came was not sufficient to solve "the

Mormon problem," but the mining developments had a profound impact on Utah's subsequent history.

Professor Long has chosen to follow a chronological account, giving almost a day-by-day description. For example, chapter V is entitled "Indians, Militia and Apostates" and covers the different events occurring in the spring and early summer of 1862. Chapter VI, "Crossing the Jordan," details Connor's entry into the Territory with his California Volunteers in the fall of 1862. Chapter VII, "Tragedy on Bear River," describes the massacre of the Bannock and Shoshoni Indians early in 1863. Long then devotes a chapter to a variety of events in the spring of 1863, followed by another chapter on "Indians and Governors." A topical approach, in which he discusses the entire Indian problem and policies, might improve his presentation.

The book is remarkably free of errors, although there are a few minor ones. He overestimates the population of Camp Floyd and adjoining Fairfield (p. 7) by 3,000 people, and he confuses the location of Cedar Fort (not Fork) with that of Cedar City (p. 175).

Professor Long has not plowed new ground in this study, for much of the material has already been published in Utah Historical Quarterly articles such as Gustive Larson's "Utah and the Civil War" and Leonard Arrington's "Abundance from the Earth: The Beginning of Commercial Mining in Utah," as well as in Brigham D. Madsen's study of the Northern Shoshoni in Cache Valley.3 Long's principle contribution is the detail he supplies, based on a careful study of the documents available, especially Connor's Camp Douglas newspaper, the Union Vedette. The final chapter, "The Saints and the Union Endure," is a thoughtful, balanced summary of both the Mormon and the federal government point of view in which Long sees two strong, opinionated men opposing each other, especially with words, but men realistic enough to work out "unwritten and sometimes subtle compromises" (p. 273). Long feels that "both men deserve much credit for avoiding the armed conflict that would have been disastrous to both Church and state" (p. 273).

The University of Illinois Press continues to publish quality books on various aspects of Mormon history, and Professor Long's study is worthy of inclusion in the growing list. Students of both Civil War and Mormon history will find it interesting and enlightening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Gustive Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1965): 2. <sup>2</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, "Abundance of the Earth: The Beginning of Commercial Mining in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1963): 192–219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Brigham D. Madsen, The Northern Shoshoni (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 1980).

ROYLANCE, WARD J. Utah: A Guide to the State. 2d ed. rev. and enl. Edited by Eugene E. Campbell. Salt Lake City: Utah, a Guide to the State Foundation and the Utah Arts Council, 1982. 779 pp. \$22.50 hardbound. 506 pp. paperback tour guide only. \$8.95.

Reviewed by Leonard J. Arrington, Lemuel H. Redd Professor of Western History and director of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

In 1941 the Work Projects Administration Writer's Project put together *Utah*: A Guide to the State. Because of the splendid writing of Utah historian Dale L. Morgan and others, it stood as one of the finest historical, literary, and geographical introductions to any state. More than one history professor used it as a text in university-level Utah history classes.

Ward Roylance, who served for many years with the Utah Travel Council, has spent the past several years bringing this outstanding guide up to date. He has retained the lyrical descriptive phrases of the earlier volume and, with the assistance of Eugene Campbell, emeritus professor of history at BYU, has added a brief account of Utah's history since 1941 as well as modernizing the tour guide to indicate new freeways and highways. With the help of Margaret Lester, longtime curator of photographs at the Utah State Historical Society, he has incorporated several hundred new photographs. The result is a volume that summarizes the state's history, presents practical tours with full descriptive information, and is also a display item with numerous maps and lovely photographs, thirty-two in color. It will be useful to carry in a glove compartment as one travels up and down the state. The book can be read for information or personal pleasure.

Those who expect *everything* in one book will, of course, be disappointed. It does not carry a full political history of the past forty years; for that one should turn to Richard Poll, *Utah's History*.<sup>2</sup> It is not a geographical atlas; for that purpose one should use the beautiful and informative *Atlas of Utah*.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it, strictly speaking, a popular history and geography textbook; for such a textbook one should continue to use George Ellsworth's *Utah Heritage*.<sup>4</sup> But this is an impressive volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Utah: A Guide to the State, comp. the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah (New York: Hastings House, 1941).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Richard Poll et. al., *Utah's History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

<sup>3</sup>Atlas of Utah (Provo and Ogden, Utah: Brigham Young University Press and Weber State College, 1981).

<sup>4</sup>George Ellsworth, Utah's Heritage, rev. ed. (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1977).

The book is divided into two parts: "Part 1. Utah's Background" and "Part 2. Touring Utah's Highways and Sideroads." The first part, "Utah's Background," consists of 268 pages that discuss the "Natural Scene" (40 pp.), the "Historical Scene" (70 pp.), the "Economic Scene" (52 pp.), and the "Cultural Scene" (97 pp.). Perhaps because of the interests of the donors and advisors, the most complete of these is the "Cultural Scene," which is especially good on "The Arts" (69 pp.); there is even a separate index for this section.

As an example, the "Historical Scene" section contains 14 pages on Indians and archeology, 34 pages on Utah's history before state-hood, and 22 pages on history after statehood. Those who think these treatments are inadequate should be reminded that there is much on Indians, archeology, and Utah's history in the cultural chapters and also in the discussions of sites and attractions in the tour guide portion.

Part 2, featuring a tour guide of Utah's highways and sideroads, begins with an introductory section (30 pp.) which discusses seasons and climate, events, travel tips, museums and exhibits, state parks, and national forests as well as providing a reading list. There is also a section of 90 pages describing each of the national parks, national monuments, national recreation areas, and national historic sites. This will be particularly helpful for both Utahans and "outside" travelers.

The guide outlines eleven tours, with an average of about 35 pages on each. The longest of these, as one would expect, describes attractions in the Salt Lake Valley—"Great Salt Lake Country—East." The tour descriptions include geographical details and sights of interest, plus some history, local folklore, and interesting facts. For example, few travelers in Utah have visited Bluff, in the extreme southeastern part of the state. There are more than three pages on the history and local color connected with this seldom-visited out-of-the-way place. Important books or articles about localities and their monuments, attractions, and personalities are often mentioned, and quotations from these are frequently included. In the case of Bluff, there are such selections from David E. Miller's Hole-in-the-Rock and Hoffman Birney's Zealots of Zion.

The selections from the 1941 *Guide* are clearly indicated, and these add both literary color and historical instruction to the volume. It is no disrespect to Ward Roylance to say that his prose is not quite

up to the standard set by Dale Morgan in the 1941 production. Roy-lance's style is concise, clear, and informative; and his tour guide is enlightening and instructive. But he is not Dale Morgan.

Funding for the book came from the Utah Arts Council and the Utah Travel Council and from the generous donations of Sam and Lila Weller of Zion Book Store, Zeke and Kay Dumke, George and Gene Hatch, Joseph and Evelyn Rosenblatt, Obert C. and Grace Tanner, and the Michael Foundation. The design and editorial work are primarily the result of the efforts of Keith Montague and Mary Ann Payne.

According to Edward L. Hart, member of the Utah Arts Council Board and emeritus professor of English at BYU who wrote the foreword, "Funds accruing to the Foundation from the sale of the guidebook will be managed for the sole purpose of republishing it when a new edition is needed" (p. x). In the meantime, we can be grateful to the donors and sponsors who made possible this handsome, informative, and useful revision and enlargement of the landmark original edition. Thanks to all of the participants, the impressive volume is a bargain.

# Index

Volume 22, Nos. 1–4
Winter, Spring, Summer, Fall 1982
Compiled by
Gary P. Gillum
Harold B. Lee Library
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## **AUTHORS**

- Allen, James B., ed., "Historians Corner," 86, 357
- Arrington, Joseph Earl, "Panorama Paintings in the 1840s of the Mormon Temple in Nauvoo," 193
- Arrington, Leonard J., Review: Roylance, Ward J., *Utah: A* Guide to the State, 502
- Avery, Valeen Tippetts; Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach; and Newell, Linda King, "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," 87
- Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach; Newell, Linda King; and Avery, Valeen Tippetts, "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," 87
- Britsch, R. Lanier, Review: Clement, Russell T., comp., Mormons in the Pacific: A Bibliography, 251
- Brown, S. Kent; Griggs, C. Wilfred; and Hansen, H. Kimball, Review: Lefgren, John C., April Sixth, 375
- Campbell, Eugene E., Review: Long, E. B., The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War, 500

- Cannon, Donald Q., "Licensing in the Early Church," 96
- Cannon, Kenneth L. II, "A Strange Encounter: The English Courts and Mormon Polygamy," 73
- Cartwright, James F., "John M. Bernhisel Letter to Brigham Young," 358
- Clark, Marden J. "Christmas Voices," poems, 483
- Collings, Michael R., "Pre-Visions of the Restoration: The Poetry of Henry Vaughan," 279
- Cook, Lyndon W., "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," 47
- Davies, J. Kenneth, "Reaganomics and the Supply-Side: A Rationale," 425
- Duvall, Scott H., "Mormon Bibliography 1981," 227
- Ellsworth, Richard G., "Golgotha's Dawn Comes Ever Slow," a poem, 214
- England, Eugene, "The Dawning of a Brigher Day: Mormon Literature after 150 Years," 131

- Griggs, C. Wilfred, "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," 259; Brown, S. Kent, and Hansen, H. Kimball, Review: Lefgren, John C., April Sixth, 375
- Gunter, Patricia E., "Judah," a poem, 106
- Hall, Randall L., "The Bier of Autumn," a poem, 466; "Fire in Winter," a poem, 108
- Hansen, H. Kimball; Brown, S. Kent; and Griggs, C. Wilfred, Review: Lefgren, John C., April Sixth, 375
- Hart, Edward L., "Home and Office," a poem, 487; "The Transformations of Love," 467
- Heiner, Ronald A., "The Necessity of a Sinless Messiah," 5
- Hildreth, Steven A., "The First Presidency Statement on MX in Perspective," 215
- Howe, Allie, "Resurrection," a poem, 212
- Jessee, Dean C., "Lucy Mack Smith's 1829 Letter to Mary Smith Pierce," 455
- Jolley, Jerry C., "The Sting of the Wasp: Early Nauvoo Newspaper—1842 to 1843," 487
- Jones, Helen Walker, "Accountable Emily," a poem, 46
- Larson, Clinton F., "Bronze Rubbing," a poem, 454; "Leaving Sunday School," a poem, 226
- Madsen, Carol Cornwall, "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?" 161
- Matthews, Robert J., "The New Publications of the Standard Works—1979, 1981," 387
- Maxwell, Neal A., "In Memoriam: Henry Eyring 1901-1981," 3
- Newell, Linda King; Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach; and Avery, Valeen Tippetts, "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," 87
- Olsen, Steven L., Review: Foster, Lawrence, Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Cen-

- tury, and Kern, Louis, An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community, 109
- Ostler, Blake, "Clothed Upon: A Unique Aspect of Christian Antiquity," 31
- Paul, Robert, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 333
- Rasmussen, Dennis, Review: Seltzer, Robert M., Jewish People, Jewish Thought: The Jewish Experience in History, 125
- Rees, Robert A., "In St. Paul's Cathedral," a poem, 84
- Riggs, Robert E., Review: Fox, Frank W., J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years, 113
- Searle, Howard C., "Authorship of the History of Brigham Young: A Review Essay," 367
- Sherlock, Richard, Review: Gillespie, Neal, Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation, 119
- Thorp, Malcolm R., Review: Levy, Leonard W., Treason against God: A History of the Offense of Blasphemy, 497
- Tobler, Douglas F., Review: Matheson, Peter, ed., The Third Reich and the Christian Churches: A Documentary Account of the Christian Resistance and Complicity during the Nazi Era, 252
- Tullis, F. LaMond, "Early Mormon Exploration and Missionary Activities in Mexico," 289; "Reopening the Mexican Mission in 1901," 441
- Walker, Ronald W., "B. H. Roberts and the Woodruff Manifesto," 363; "The Challenge and Craft of Mormon Biography," 179; Review: Kimball, Stanley B., Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer, 121
- Welch, John W., "The Narrative of Zosimus and the Book of Mormon," 311

## **TITLES**

- "Accountable Emily," a poem, by Helen Walker Jones, 46
- "Authorship of the History of Brigham Young: A Review Essay," by Howard C. Searle, 367
- "B. H. Roberts and the Woodruff Manifesto," by Ronald W. Walker, 363
- "The Bier of Autumn," a poem, by Randall L. Hall, 466
- "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," by C. Wilfred Griggs, 259
- "Bronze Rubbing," a poem, by Clinton F. Larson, 454
- "The Challenge and Craft of Mormon Biography," by Ronald W. Walker, 179
- "Christmas Voices," poems, by Marden J. Clark, 483
- "Clothed Upon: A Unique Aspect of Christian Antiquity," by Blake Ostler, 31
- "The Dawning of a Brighter Day: Mormon Literature after 150 Years," by Eugene England, 131
- "Early Mormon Exploration and Missionary Activities in Mexico," by F. LaMond Tullis, 289
- "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Linda King Newell, and Valeen Tippetts Avery, 87
- "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not a Woman and Sister?'" by Carol Cornwall Madsen, 161
- "Fire in Winter," a poem, by Randall L. Hall, 108
- "The First Presidency Statement on MX in Perspective," by Steven A. Hildreth, 215
- "Golgotha's Dawn Comes Ever Slow,"

- a poem, by Richard G. Ellsworth, 214
- "Historians Corner," by James B. Allen, ed., 86, 357
- "Home and Office," a poem, by Edward L. Hart, 440
- "In Memoriam: Henry Eyring, 1901–1981," by Neal A. Maxwell, 3
- "In St. Paul's Cathedral," a poem, by Robert A. Rees, 84
- "John M. Bernhisel Letter to Brigham Young," by James F. Cartwright, 358
- "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," by Robert Paul, 333
- "Judah," a poem, by Patricia E. Gunter, 106
- "Leaving Sunday School," a poem, by Clinton F. Larson, 226
- "Licensing in the Early Church," by Donald Q. Cannon, 96
- "Lucy Mack Smith's 1829 Letter to Mary Smith Pierce," by Dean C. Jessee, 455
- "Mormon Bibliography 1981," by Scott H. Duvall, 227
- "The Narrative of Zosimus and the Book of Mormon," by John W. Welch, 311
- "The Necessity of a Sinless Messiah," by Ronald A. Heiner, 5
- "The New Publications of the Standard Works—1979, 1981," by Robert J. Matthews, 387
- "Panorama Paintings in the 1840s of the Mormon Temple in Nauvoo," by Joseph Earl Arrington, 193
- "Pre-Visions of the Restoration: The Poetry of Henry Vaughan," by Michael R. Collings, 279

- "Reaganomics and the Supply-Side: A Rationale," by J. Kenneth Davies, 425
- "Reopening the Mexican Mission in 1901," by F. LaMond Tullis, 441
- "Resurrection," a poem, by Allie Howe, 212
- "The Sting of the Wasp: Early Nauvoo Newspaper—April 1842

- to April 1843," by Jerry C. Jolley, 487
- "A Strange Encounter: The English Courts and Mormon Polygamy," by Kenneth L. Cannon II, 73
- "The Transformations of Love," by Edward L. Hart, 467
- "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," by Lyndon W. Cook, 47

### **BOOK REVIEWS**

- April Sixth, by John C. Lefgren, reviewed by S. Kent Brown, C. Wilfred Griggs, and H. Kimball Hansen, 375
- Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation, by Neal Gillespie, reviewed by Richard Sherlock, 119
- Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer, by Stanley B. Kimball, reviewed by Ronald W. Walker, 121
- J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years, by Frank W. Fox, reviewed by Robert E. Riggs, 113
- Jewish People, Jewish Thought: The Jewish Experience in History, by Robert M. Seltzer, reviewed by Dennis Rasmussen, 125
- The Journal of Brigham, by Leland R. Nelson, comp., reviewed by Howard C. Searle, 367
- Mormons in the Pacific: A Bibliography, by Russell T. Clement, comp., reviewed by R. Lanier Britsch, 251
- An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community, by Louis Kern, and Religion and Sexuality:

- Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century, by Lawrence Foster, reviewed by Steven L. Olsen, 109
- Religion and Sexuality: Three
  American Communal Experiments
  of the Nineteenth Century, by
  Lawrence Foster, and An Ordered
  Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in
  Victorian Utopias—the Shakers,
  the Mormons, and the Oneida
  Community, by Louis Kern, reviewed by Steven L. Olsen, 109
- The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War, by E. B. Long, reviewed by Eugene E. Campbell, 500
- The Third Reich and the Christian Churches: A Documentary Account of the Christian Resistance and Complicity during the Nazi Era, by Peter Matheson, ed., reviewed by Douglas F. Tobler, 252
- Treason against God: A History of the Offense of Blasphemy, by Leonard W. Levy, reviewed by Malcolm R. Thorp, 497
- Utah: A Guide to the State, by Ward J. Roylance, reviewed by Leonard J. Arrington, 502

## **SUBJECTS**

Altamirano, Ignacio Manuel, and the Church in Mexico, 294 Anointings, according to apocryphal literature, 34 Apostasy, and the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 281; and William Law, **4**7 Art, transformation in, 467 Articles of Faith, 1981 edition, 421 Astronomy, and the birth of Christ, 378 Atonement, necessity of, 5; parable, 19; poem, 214 Authenticity, tests for, 261 Award, history, announcement of, 250 Axiomatization, applied to the Atonement, 5 Baptism, according to apocryphal literature, 35; poem, 46 Bernhisel, John M. letter of 1850 to Brigham Young, 358 Bible, 1981 edition, 390 Bible dictionary, in LDS Bible, 392 Bibliography of Mormon literature, 157 Biebuyck, Emelio, and colonization in Mexico, 299 Biography, history and criticism, 179 "A Blessing," by James Wright, 481 Book of Abraham, 1981 edition, 418 Book of Mormon, 1981 edition, 393; and the Lucy Mack Smith letter, 458; and the narrative of Zosimus, 311; as an ancient book, 259; in Mormon literature, 145 Book of Moses, 1981 edition, 417 Book of the Dead, and the Book of Mormon, 273 Christ, atonement, necessity of, 5; date of birth, 375 Christian churches, and Nazism, 252 Christianity, and the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 281 Christmas, poems, 483 Clark, J. Reuben, biography, 113

Colonization, in Mexico, 289

Communitarianism, and the Church in Mexico, 301 Creation, and Charles Darwin, 119 Darwin, Charles, and creation, 119 Diaz, President Porfirio, and the Mexican Mission, 443 Dissent, and William Law, 47 Doctrine and Covenants, 1981 edition, 401 Dream of Lehi, and the Book of Mormon, 274 Dugan, Alan, "Love Song: Thou,'' 479 Economics, and President Ronald Reagan, 425 Egyptian funerary literature, and the Book of Mormon, 272 Employment, and economics, 427 Endowments, according to apocryphal literature, 31 Equality, men and women in the Church, 176 Eve, according to Emmeline B. Wells, 175 Eyring, Henry, in memoriam, 3 Faith, and biography, 190 Family history, and biography, 187 Feminism, and Emmeline B. Wells, 166 Fiction, and biography, 181; Mormon, 131 First Presidency Statement, MX, 215 Forgeries, and historical authenticity, 261 Funerary literature, and the Book of Mormon, 272 Garments, according to apocryphal literature, 31 Genealogy, and biography, 187 Gold plates, at the time of the Book of Mormon, 262 Heterodoxy, religious, 497 History, announcement of award, 250; and biography, 183 Hitler, Adolf, and the Christian

church, 253

Home literature, and pure writing, 142
Hyde, John, and plural marriage, 74
Hyde v. Hyde, and the trial of plural
marriage, 73

Inflation and economics, 427

Ivins, Anthony W., and the Mexican Mission, 441

Jesus Christ, atonement, necessity of, 5; date of birth, 375

Jewish thought, book review, 125

Jones, Daniel W., missionary work in Mexico, 289

Jorgensen, Bruce W. "A Litany for the Dark Solstice," 152

Joseph Smith Translation, in LDS Bible, 391

Josephus, Flavius, and the birth of Christ, 376

Justice, and the Atonement, 6

Keynesian economics, and President Reagan, 425

Kimball, Spencer W., on Mormon arts, 154

King James Version of the Bible, 1981 edition, 390

Language, and Mormon literature, 136 Larson, Clinton F., "To a Dying Girl," 151

Law, William, causes of his apostasy, 47

Lehi, and the narrative of Zosimus, 314 Lewis, Henry, and panorama paintings of the Nauvoo Temple, 202

Licensing, of priesthood offices, 96 Life, and transforming art, 476

"A Litany for the Dark Solstice," by Bruce W. Jorgensen, 152

Literature, Mormon, 131

Love, and art, 476

"Love Song: I and Thou," by Alan Dugan, 479

Manchester (New York) Library, and Joseph Smith, 333

Marriages, and plural marriages, 78 Messiah, as sinless sacrifice, 6

Mexican Mission, 1875 opening of, 289; 1901 reopening of, 441

Mexico, early missionary activities, 289 Missionary work, in Mexico, 289, 441 Mississippi River, panorama paintings, 193

Mormon literature, bibliography, 157 Mysticism, and the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 279

MX missile basing, First Presidency statement, 215

Name of God, as a key word, 43

Narrative of Zosimus, and the Book of Mormon, 311

Nauvoo, and the Wasp, 488

Nauvoo Temple, panorama paintings of, 193

Near Eastern culture, and the Book of Mormon, 271

Newspapers, and the Wasp, 487

1 Nephi, and the narrative of Zosimus, 314

Nuclear arms race, and the MX missile, 215

O'Connor, Flannery, and Mormon fiction, 134

Orphism, and gold plates, 262

Panorama paintings, and the Nauvoo Temple, 193

Peace, and MX missile basing, 215 Pearl of Great Price, 1981 edition, 417

Personal essays, and Mormon literature, 153

Pierce, Mary Smith, letter from Lucy Mack Smith, 455

Plural marriage, and B. H. Roberts, 363; and William Law, 63; in England, 1866, 73

Poetry, the creative process of, 470; on the Restoration, 279; transforming power in, 467

Polygamy, and women's suffrage in Utah, 165

Pomarede, Leon de, and panorama paintings of the Nauvoo Temple, 200

Preexistence, according to apocryphal literature, 31; in the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 284

Priesthood offices, licensing of, 96 Prophets, on war, 215

Reagan, President Ronald, and economics, 425

"Religion" by Henry Vaughan, 283

Religion, and sexuality, 109; as perceived by Adolf Hitler, 253 Religious toleration, 497

Religious values, and biography, 190 Repentance, a requirement of mercy, 14

Restoration, and the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 279

Resurrection, and the Atonement, 10; poem, 212

Rhodakanaty, Plotino, and the Church in Mexico, 295

Roberts, B. H., and the Woodruff Manifesto, 363

Sacred vestments, according to apocryphal literature, 31

St. Paul's Cathedral, poem, 84

Sangamo Journal, and the Wasp, 493 Scriptures, 1979 and 1981 editions, 387

Self, and Mormon literature, 147 Sexuality, and religion, 109

Sharp, Thomas C., and the Wasp, 492

Sin, and the Atonement, 10

Smith, Emma Hale, relationship with Eliza Roxcy Snow, 87

Smith, John Henry, and the Mexican Mission, 444

Smith, John Rowson, panorama paintings of the Nauvoo Temple, 193

Smith, Joseph, Jr., and authenticity of the Book of Mormon, 259; and Lucy Mack Smith, 455; and Mormon literature, 146; and the Manchester (New York) Library, 333; and the poetry of Henry Vaughan, 280; and William Law, 56

Smith, Lucy Mack, letter to Mary Smith Pierce, 455; and authenticity of the Book of Mormon, 259

Smith, Morton, and tests for forgeries, 261

Smith, William, and the Wasp, 488 Snow, Eliza Roxcy, relationship to Emma Hale Smith, 87

Social programs, and economics, 434 Sorenson, Virginia, and Mormon fiction, 148 Standard works, 1979 and 1981 editions, 387

Statehood, Utah, and 1850 letter of John M. Bernhisel, 358

Stewart, James Z., and missionary work in Mexico, 293

Stockwell, Samuel B., and panorama paintings of the Nauvoo Temple, 196

Suffrage, and women in Utah, 161 Sunday School, poem, 226

Supply-side economics, agenda, 436 Taylor, John, and missionary work in Mexico, 296

Temple work, for the dead, 7

Tenney, Ammon M., and the Mexican Mission, 443

Thatcher, Moses, and the Church in Mexico, 297

"To a Dying Girl," by Clinton F. Larson, 151

Topical Guide and Concordance, 1981 edition, 391

Transformation, and art, 467

Tree of Life, ancient parallels, 270; modern parallels, 259

Trejo, Meliton, and missionary work in Mexico, 293

Utah statehood, and the 1850 letter of John M. Bernhisel, 357

Vaughan, Henry, poetry, 279

War, and MX missile basing, 215

Warsaw Signal, and the Wasp, 492 Wasp, Mormon periodical, 487

Wells, Emmeline B., biography, 161 Whipple, Maurine, and Mormon fiction, 148

Woman's Exponent, and Emmeline B. Wells, 162

Women, suffrage in Utah, 161

Woodruff Manifesto, and B. H. Roberts, 363

"The World," by Henry Vaughan, 281

Wright, James, "A Blessing," 481

Writings of Joseph Smith, 1981 edition, 418

Yaqui Indians, and Mormons in Mexico, 293

Young, Brigham, 1850 letter from John M. Bernhisel, 358; exploration in Mexico, 289; histories of, 367 Zosimus, and the Book of Mormon, 311

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1, 1