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## BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

Brigham  
Young  
University

## STUDIES

## Spring and Summer 1961

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University**

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Volume III

Numbers 3 and 4

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# *America and the Rational Road to Peace*\*

RICHARD D. POLL

On the assumption that neither human nature nor Providential design dooms man to nuclear destruction, inquiry concerning obstacles which bestrew the path to peace is necessary and proper, even urgent. The analysis which follows is hopeful. To the question—"Can reason prevent another general war?"—the answer is "Yes." Indeed, if the argument be limited to the present generation, "can" is to be interpreted in terms not of possibility but probability.

Such optimism amid the headlines on Communism, Castro and the Congo surely requires elucidation and defense.

One dictionary gives two relevant meanings for the word "reason": "Ability to think and draw conclusions" and "right thinking; good sense." There is a third definition which invites passing comment: "sanity." For if the men at the controls of the missile launchers take leave of their sanity, the right thinking and good sense of all the rest of us will avail little. It is assumed that defense arrangements both here and in other nuclear-armed nations are so structured that no *one* man's hitting the panic button can ignite the holocaust.

For those who recall that many past wars have been triggered by impulse or incident—a Hapsburg ambassador thrown out of a Prague window or a Hapsburg heir slain in a Bosnian street—attention is called to the fact that the last sixteen years have seen scores of threats, claims and deeds of violence which would have been cause for war in former generations. Yet the "hot war" withholds. Reason—"the ability to think and draw

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\*This paper is derived from a presentation on the Great Issues Forum at the University of Utah, February 24, 1960. The subject was "Can Reason Prevent International Anarchy?" and the other participant was Dr. G. Homer Durham, since appointed President of Arizona State University.



conclusions"—is the key to this remarkable change, and the change is pragmatic evidence for the proposition here advanced. If it comes, World War III will come deliberately, and because it will come deliberately, it need not and probably will not come in the predictable future.

The record failing to produce a significant war which lacked rational justification by at least one of the combatants, the argument which follows accepts Clausewitz's classic dictum: "War is a mere continuation of policy by other means." It further classifies the wars of history in terms of two major policy objectives: those to change existing power arrangements and those to preserve them. It asks, "What can be done to prevent such wars in the years ahead?"

Consider first the myriad wars for which the end of policy has been some alteration in the *status quo*. A piece of territory is coveted, and the owners refuse to sell or surrender. A commercial opportunity is monopolized, and the overtures of outsiders are rebuffed. A new creed is born, and peaceful proselytizing is deemed too slow. Existing power structures seem too confining for a nation aggressively led or newly come to strength. In short, an important ambition needs serving and war is judged the swiftest, the most efficient, or the only means to that end.

Such wars for land, loot, status or ideological hegemony are deliberately made. Assassination or other incident may precipitate them, but rational reflection antecedes the event and attends the choice of war. Jenkins' ear would never have gained immortality if British businessmen had not seen trading opportunities in a humbled Spanish empire. Zachary Taylor would not have led his men into ambush on disputed Texas ground if the vision of an American California had not captured the imagination of President Polk and an expansionist electorate.

Our own generation is witnessing the obsolescence of this type of war, at least insofar as relations among the major powers are concerned. War—nuclear war—is no longer a means to an ambitious or imperialist end, because no end short of national survival itself is worth the price of war. Most rational people thought this lesson had been made clear by World War I. That was the conflict which proved that no one really wins a general war. Unfortunately, all that it

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taught those sane and sober Germans who followed Hitler was that you win nothing in a war which you lose. World War II was only in part a madman's doing.

Hiroshima finally made the point. As motives go, fear is not praiseworthy, but it does influence policy. Men who "think and draw conclusions" dread the awful force of modern weapons, and their choices are limited by that fear. Men of good sense in Washington and Moscow, London and Peking know that hydrogen warheads and ICBM's have made traditional, Clausewitz-style wars for aggrandizement unthinkable among the major nations of the world. (Chinese conduct since Korea warrants their inclusion in the foregoing list despite their bellicose propaganda line. To the extent that the reported ideological split between the two Red capitals has substance and Mao is counting on World War III, the probability is still strong that by the time he develops the capacity to wage it he will discover that China, too, has a stake in preventing it.)

Parenthetically, what of limited, localized wars?

On insurrections and civil wars, with or without great power encouragement and support, fear of the atomic abyss has not yet imposed a ban. Nor are probing actions, like those recently on the India-China and Israeli-Arab frontiers, interdicted. Laos and the Congo witness that we are far from the abandonment of the politics of violence. However, the failure of the Sino-Russian adventure in Korea and the subsequent abstention by all the major powers from resort to substantial armed force against independent external targets is ground for hope. To the extent that "limited war" entails the risk that its acceptable limits will be transgressed, the nuclear inhibitor, fear, operates.

The role and the risks of limited war are worth much fuller treatment. However, the concern here is not with brushfires but continental conflagrations. If right thinking can avoid the latter, the firemen of the free nations and the policemen of the United Nations may be able to keep the former within tolerable bounds.

Turn now to the second class of wars, for which the end of policy is the protection of the *status quo*. A revolution in France threatens the monarchial order of Europe by example



and propaganda. A religious heresy in Germany takes such strong root that fire and the sword seem necessary. A vital segment of an imperial life-line is seized and British and French bombs rain on Cairo. Slav nationalism menaces the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany sees time running against the Triple Alliance, and Sarajevo becomes a *causus belli*. In short, a vital national interest is threatened, and war is judged the best hope, or the only hope, for its preservation.

This, the war born of desperation, is the greater threat to our generation, because if anything is likely to override the nuclear fear, it is another fear. Home, family, freedom, faith—these critically threatened, and reasonable men may be brought to the desperate decision that ICBM's are not, after all, the ultimate evil. The challenge to reason which confronts the growing number of nations with nuclear capability is to see that none of their number feels driven to this awful choice.

Since the Soviet Union, Britain, France, soon China, and eventually other states will share this capability and responsibility, there would seem to be some obligation to establish the probability that all these will meet the challenge. Space permitting, a case for each could be made. As for Britain and France, irrationality of the order of wholesale insanity would be prerequisite to their launching a nuclear war. The Soviet record of aggression and deceit is depressingly clear, but neither her gospel of world revolution nor her external power interests require an atomic offensive. The same is true of Red China, though the population explosion and the remembrance of an ancient East Asian empire create temptations for aggressive action which will only be resisted as long as it is clear that the price of yielding is too high even for a government which boasts two or three hundred million people to spare.

This analysis will focus on America, because her policy lies within our sphere of influence, her reason is our reason, and she is no less capable of failing the test than the others.

The danger that the United States will be accessory to a general war for the *status quo* lies in several directions, all discernible to good sense and avoidable by right thinking. Here are four which directly involve foreign policy:

1. There is the danger of doing too little.



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2. There is the danger of doing too much.
3. There is the danger of doing too little and then too much.
4. There is the danger of confusing success with failure.

The first, the doing of too little, is the most likely error.

The magnitude and the duration of the effort required to prevent a change of international power relationships incompatible with our vital interests may be greater than the American people will be willing to accept. Soviet Russia and Communist China, for reasons more imperial than ideological, will be exploiting areas of weakness for the foreseeable future. Tactics will vary, and a hopeful possibility is that they may not always support each other, but the pressure will continue, and where counter-pressure is insufficient, gains will be made. Overt war, for reasons suggested earlier, will probably not be used, but subsidies, subversion, propaganda and threats are potent weapons. It is conceivable that what Hitler called the "artichoke method" of conquest may in time strip so many leaves from the free world plant that exposed America must fight or be devoured. Since either option then would be disaster, the opinion is of minor consequence that a people who would permit themselves to be backed into such a predicament would probably surrender when the choice had to be made.

However, no greater ability to "think and draw conclusions" than Americans have already shown is necessary to avert this danger. Imagination, money, reasonableness, science, patience—these applied in a spirit of enlightened self-interest can bring such strength to the will to resist among free peoples as may in time transform an expedient "peaceful co-existence" into a durable *modus vivendi*. No more imagination will be required than launched the Berlin airlift or devised the Uniting for Peace Resolutions for the United Nations. No greater share of our national income will be needed than brought Marshall Plan recovery to Western Europe and today supports "ugly Americans" in many blighted regions of the earth. No more reasonableness is demanded than that which buried hatred of Japan and Germany in half a decade and now, with fingers crossed, explores disarmament possibilities

with the Kremlin and even faces the prospect of contact with Peking. No more scientific miracles must occur than made the lesson of Hiroshima possible, and the conquest of polio; as long as the "missile gap" means only that the other side can kill us three times while we are killing them twice, the greatest danger is not the prospect of attack.

No greater patience is required, either, than that which has borne us through sixteen years of unmatched stress with no more serious symptoms of irrationality than rock'n roll and McCarthyism. But patience is a perishable commodity, particularly with Americans. If so mental a phenomenon as reason may be said to have an Achilles heel, the American approach to the avoidance of war may be most vulnerable here.

Tired of the tension and the taxes, we may persuade ourselves that they are no longer necessary. Having survived so long without the dreaded World War III or the forcible Soviet move which would have provoked it, we may forget the relationship between the results of the policy of "containment" and its price. Seeing how amiable the "comrades" can be when the price of truculence is embarrassment in Hungary and failure in India, we may conclude that they can be safely left unwatched and unchecked. Impatient for the fleshpots of normalcy, we may abdicate the leadership which our country has creditably borne since the last great war.

The hopefulness that good sense will prevail against this temptation is based on the record. Three Presidents of varying politics and temperament and a decisive majority of Congressmen of both parties have seen the wisdom in sustaining the free world's ramparts, and the American people have approved. For all our materialism, moral flabbiness, status-seeking and payola, we have yet borne the inconvenience and expense of defensive commitments too far-flung and intricate for most of us really to understand. After sixteen costly and frustrating years, the country still assigns the tax-slashers and the get-out-of-the-world'ers to the eccentric fringe and willingly, even enthusiastically picks up the U. N. check for the Congo operation and enlists in Peace Corps to make the world safe for humanity.



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The danger that the United States will precipitate war by doing too much is remote but not to be ignored. Conceivably we could crowd the Soviet Union or China so closely and aggressively that they would judge war preferable to its alternative. To the extent that the "missile gap" is a significant factor, rash action by the United States or our major allies is particularly fraught with danger, for if Khrushchev and Company become convinced that war is inevitable, the pressure will be almost irresistible to wage it while that weapons differential obtains.

Convinced as we are of the purity of our motives, it is difficult to credit the possibility that Moscow and Peking regard us as a threat. Yet no day passes without expressions of the most hostile sentiment toward the Communist states by prominent Americans. Consider the post-World War I record of intervention and non-recognition, not blotted out by the marriage of convenience in World War II. To place our NATO, SEATO and Far Eastern bases in Soviet perspective, recall the indignation with which many Americans greeted the announcement that Red missiles would be tested in *our* Pacific Ocean. Moscow is no farther from Ankara than St. Louis is from Mexico City. Imagine our reaction to the establishment of a Russian military base in the Mexican capital or Havana!

This is not to object to the base in Ankara, or the Seventh Fleet in the Formosa Strait, or our Polaris submarines wherever they are. These are defensive measures and are not likely to be construed otherwise unless our basic policy changes. Assuming Russian rationality, a strong *deterrent* force in the free world reduces the temptation to consider war either for the alteration or the preservation of the Soviet power position.

The danger of doing too much lies in overestimating our strength and underestimating the strength and durability of our potential foes. This was rather more likely to occur before the recent satellite and missile revelations than it is now. But there are still among us those who hold that the Communist bloc is a hollow shell which will collapse under sustained and increasing pressure. For them a policy of defense is defeatist. Liberation is the goal, and political isolation, economic warfare and subversion are the methods.

Such talk of rolling back the Iron Curtain was the chief evidence cited by an Intourist guide in Moscow to prove that peace-loving John Foster Dulles was a "war-monger." Hungary showed how far the Kremlin would go to prevent the loss of a satellite; in this youth's opinion it was a justified defensive action. Surely it is not "right thinking" to expect that the Soviets will submit to the division of their empire or the subversion of their system without a fight.

One can feel profound sympathy for the oppressed in satellite Europe and South Africa and Franco's Spain and still regard their immediate deliverance as an infeasible goal for American foreign policy. To confuse the morally desirable with the politically possible is a natural error for a humane people, but it can bring disaster. Since amelioration of the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain is more likely to result from economic growth and the relaxation of international tensions than from external deliverance, a policy of reasonableness rather than belligerence may, in fact, be morally as well as politically sound.

The danger of doing too little and then too much stems from that natural, impulsive tendency of democratic peoples, Americans in particular, to go to extremes. Changes occur, problems arise, old techniques and remedies become obsolete. The process is continuous, and if we are fortunate, those whose responsibility is to watch the course of events perceive the new problems and devise approaches to them. But to the people at large, no problem is recognized until it has achieved spectacular, often ominous proportions, and then the reaction may be irrational. George Kennan puts it aptly:

. . . I sometimes wonder whether in this respect a democracy is not uncomfortably similar to one of those prehistoric monsters with a body as long as this room and a brain the size of a pin; he lies in his comfortable primeval mud and pays little attention to his environment; he is slow to wrath—in fact, you practically have to whack his tail off to make him aware that his interests are being disturbed; but, once he grasps this, he lays about him with such blind determination that he not only destroys his adversary but largely wrecks his native habitat. You wonder whether it would not have been wiser for him to have taken a little more interest in what was going



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on at an earlier date and to have seen whether he could not have prevented some of these situations from arising instead of proceeding from an indiscriminating indifference to a holy wrath equally indiscriminating!<sup>1</sup>

The possibility still exists of a sudden popular response to an international surprise, so violent as to destroy the peace. However, enough people besides professors are reading Kennan and his fellow pundits these days to sustain optimism. Aggressors necessarily have the initiative, and in our defensive role we have not always anticipated their moves in time to forestall them or to counter them effectively. But reason dictated the reaction to Greece and Berlin, Korea and Indo-China, Suez and Lebanon; the fiasco of our emotion-distorted China policy is an exception which only confirms the point, and the present approach to Latin America suggests that the key policy makers, at least, have not forgotten the lesson. In our now-customary assignment of international cleaner-upper, we have often used the wrong soap, or filled the tub too deep, or scrubbed too vigorously, or failed to look behind the ears, but so far we have not thrown out the baby with the bath water.

Point four—the danger of confusing success with failure—is typically American. We may be tempted to give up the responsibility of leadership and so immeasurably increase the risk of war because we expect too much. Sixteen years of military preparations and treaty-making find the Russians still there. Half a generation of taxes to support the United Nations and foreign aid have not purchased the love and cooperation of all the non-Communist peoples. Material exertions, yes, and idealism unparalleled in history have brought us no brighter prospect of relaxation than we faced in 1945. Surely we have failed.

The American reluctance to accept less than perfect answers has been attributed to many causes. Charles Marshall mentions our extraordinarily successful past and our faith in engineering, in laws, and in advertising. Whatever its cause,

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<sup>1</sup>George Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 65-66.



we react to imperfect solutions with dismay and sometimes a sense of betrayal. Marshall illustrates this delightfully:

I recall a story told in Mexico. A man heavy in need and great in faith wrote a letter asking for 100 pesos. He addressed it to God and mailed it. The postmaster had no idea how to handle the letter. He opened it, seeking a clue. He was touched by the man's story of need. He passed the hat among the postal employees. Thus 75 pesos were raised. These were placed in an envelope to await the return of the importuning man. A few days later he was back, inquiring for mail. He was given the envelope, opened it, counted the money and glowered. Then he went to the counter and scribbled out another letter. It read: "Dear God: I am still 25 pesos short. Please make up the difference. But don't send it through the local post office. I think it is full of thieves."<sup>2</sup>

The current tendency toward hysteria about the Communist menace illustrates the problem. A standard technique of the professional fear-mongers is to give statistical evidence that America's policy toward the World Communist threat has been a flat failure. In 1945 there were only 4,500,000 hardcore Communists in the world it is argued, and they controlled 180,000,000 people. Today there are 35,000,000 Communists and they control over 900,000,000 people. Land and souls have been brought under the Red yoke at the rate of 1,000 square miles and 130,000 people per day, day in and day out, year in and year out. Surely this is disaster!

Disaster it would be, if the Communists' gains had continued so uniformly and so long. But since the capture of China, the Red gains have in fact been limited. Indeed, since the Indo-Chinese settlement of 1954, not one square mile of territory has gone behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, unless one counts a few acres of Himalayan scenery whose occupation may prove a major diplomatic error for Mao Tse-tung. If real estate is what counts, the Indian state of Kerala and the tiny principality of San Marino are quantitative evidence which could be used to support the argument that the tide of the ideological struggle is turning.

Cuba, obviously, argues against so naive a conclusion and

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<sup>2</sup>Charles Marshall, "The Nature of Foreign Policy," *Department of State Bulletin*, March 17, 1952, 418.

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emphasizes that the techniques of "containment" do not suffice against poverty and oppression. But reactions in the U. N. and the Organization of American States, as well as in Washington, attest that the remedy for Castro is sustained, constructive action, not despair.

The equating of success with the abolition of trouble is understandable but unreasonable. It can imperil us in two ways. Despairing of results from our present essentially pragmatic approach to international affairs, we may retreat into our shell until the day when the power we fear stands athwart the world and bids us bow. Or, frustrated but less pessimistic, we may take arms against the sea of troubles.

With no more good sense than is required for imperfect husband and imperfect wife to live together in reasonable accord, Americans can accommodate themselves to a world in which millennial peace must await the millennium. With perspective and patience, we can allocate our great but not unlimited power among the tasks before us, resisting the temptation to shirk responsibility or the equally hazardous temptation to undertake too much. We can find encouragement in partial successes and face setbacks without loss of faith in our democratic way of life.

The record of the American people in producing and accepting rational approaches to the complex and formidable international problems of the atomic age is a creditable one. To erect effective barriers against a vigorous and unscrupulous imperialism while barred by moral and material considerations from using unlimited war as an instrument of defensive or revisionist policy is no mean accomplishment. The future need tap only those resources of right thinking which the American people have already shown that they possess for this argument to prevail. To the extent that the issue of war or peace lies within *our* determination—and to a very large extent it does lie with us—reason *can* prevent another general war.

## *On Belay*

DAVID EVANS

Three feet wide the ledge and above  
One, bound to me by a thousand deaths,  
Catclaws upon his universe. Balanced,  
Caught with nails, outcrosses Self  
Around the corners, clings firm,  
And moves from night.

Below,  
A rotting silence; and beyond,  
Pale haze.

A pause. The rope  
Swings slack, grows taut again  
And through my hands I feel once more  
His upward surge. No motion now  
Not guarded by my loins  
(God grant them fast)  
And the long cord spinning out  
all time.





# Religion and Economics in Mormon History

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

A number of students of Mormonism, particularly those who are non-Mormon, have found the most startling aspect of Mormonism to be, not the practice of plural marriage, not the belief in a highly personal God, not even the restoration of biblical Christianity or the *Book of Mormon* or the belief that Joseph Smith received visitations from Heavenly Beings, but the exaltation of economics and economic welfare into an important, if not indispensable, element of religious salvation. Scholars like Weber and Schmoller in Germany, Bousquet in France, Katherine Coman and Frederick Jackson Turner in the United States, have found the essence of Mormonism—or at least the essential contribution of Mormonism—to be in the elevation of economics into the sphere of religion and spirituality.<sup>1</sup>

Mormonism, according to these scholars, attempted to restore the condition of religion which existed among the early Christians, in which the church was integrated into the daily life of mankind. Religion, the Mormons believed, was not only "a matter of sentiment, good for Sunday contemplation and

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\*Some passages in this essay are taken with permission from Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, copyright, 1958, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College). Research for the article was done under a grant from the Utah State University Research Council.

<sup>1</sup>Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London, 1930), p. 264, note 25; Albert Edgar Wilson, "Gemeinwirtschaft und Unternehmungsformen im Mormonenstaat," in Gustav Schmoller's *Jahrbuch fuer Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich* (39 vols.; Leipzig, 1877-1915), XXXI (1901), 1003-1056; G. H. Bousquet, "Une Théocratie Économique: L'Église Mormone," *Revue d'économie politique*, L (Part 1, 1936), 106-145; Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (2 vols.; New York, 1912), II, 167-206; and the following by a student of Frederick Jackson Turner: Dean D. McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1929).

intended for the sanctuary and the soul," but also had to do, as one of their leaders said, with "dollars and cents, with trade and barter, with the body and the daily doings of ordinary life."<sup>2</sup> "It has always been a cardinal teaching of the Latter-day Saints," said Joseph F. Smith, president of the church and nephew of Joseph Smith, "that a religion which has not the power to save people temporally and make them prosperous and happy here [on earth], cannot be depended upon to save them spiritually and exalt them in the life to come."<sup>3</sup>

Dean D. McBrien, who did a doctoral dissertation in the 1920's under Frederick Jackson Turner, made a special study of the Mormon *Doctrine and Covenants* and discovered that of the one hundred and twelve revelations announced by Joseph Smith, eighty-eight dealt partly or entirely with matters that were economic in nature.<sup>4</sup> Out of 9,614 printed lines in the Prophet's revelations, 2,618 lines, by actual count, treated "definitely and directly of economic matters." It was McBrien's conclusion that "Mormonism, though a religion, is largely, if not primarily, an economic movement, at least insofar as it offers to the world anything that is new." Reporters, both early and late, observed that the Mormon religion was concerned with the everyday duties and realities of life, and that church leaders were expected to minister not only to the spiritual wants of their followers, but to their social and economic wants as well. An 1837 editor, for example, wrote of the Mormons that there was "much worldly wisdom connected with their religion—a great desire for the perishable riches of this

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<sup>2</sup>"Religion and Business," *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), October 29, 1877.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph F. Smith, "The Truth About Mormonism," *Out West*, XXIII (1905), 242.

<sup>4</sup>Dean D. McBrien, "The Economic Content of Early Mormon Doctrine," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, VI (1925), 180. McBrien used the Lamoni, Iowa, 1911 edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants* published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Independence, Missouri. This resembles Salt Lake City editions but it is not identical with them. Brigham Young, incidentally, substantiates this finding. He stated: "The first revelations given to Joseph were of a temporal character, pertaining to a literal kingdom on the earth. Most of the revelations . . . pertained to what the few around him should do in this or that case . . . that they might begin to organize a literal, temporal organization on the earth." Sermon of January 17, 1858, *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., Liverpool, 1841-1886), VI, 171.



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world—holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of 'real estate, herds, flocks, silver, gold,' etc., as well as human beings."<sup>5</sup> And as late as 1904 Ray Stannard Baker wrote: "Mormonism is a broad mode of life, a system of agriculture, an organization for mutual business advancement, rather than a mere church . . . ."<sup>6</sup>

What is the explanation for this emphasis upon economics in Mormon belief and Mormon history? Why did the Mormons give more attention to temporal matters than most contemporary religions?

Some writers have seen the Mormon emphasis on economics as a heritage from Jacksonian times—a religious rationalization of Brother Jonathan, the Yankee. Mormonism, according to this view, was a kind of coalescence of those two early American philosophies, Puritanism and democracy. This was Ralph Barton Perry's interpretation. "Mormonism," he said, "was a sort of Americanism in miniature: in its republicanism, its emphasis on compact in both church and polity, its association of piety with conquest and adventure, its sense of destiny, its resourcefulness and capacity for organization."<sup>7</sup> Count Leo Tolstoi, of Russia, had a similar view. He told Ambassador White that "the Mormon people taught the American religion."<sup>8</sup> He added that he found a certain agrarianism in Mormon philosophy which attracted and delighted him. Above all, he said, "he preferred a religion which professed to have dug its sacred books out of the earth to one which pretended that they were let down from heaven."

To the devout Latter-day Saint, of course, a more likely reason for the Mormon stress on economics was the word of the Lord to their founding prophet, Joseph Smith. In response to the Prophet's entreaties, God is said to have revealed the following in 1830: "Verily I say unto you, that all things unto me are spiritual [presumably, even the 'temporal'], and

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<sup>5</sup>S. A. Davis in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, III (April 1837), 489-491.

<sup>6</sup>Ray Stannard Baker, "The Vitality of Mormonism: A Study of an Irrigated Valley in Utah and Idaho," *The Century Magazine*, LXVIII (1904), 174.

<sup>7</sup>Ralph Barton Perry, *Characteristically American* (New York, 1949), 97-98.

<sup>8</sup>*Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (2 vols.; New York, 1907), II, 87.

not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal."<sup>9</sup> Accepted by the church in the year of its founding as part of the revealed word of God, this doctrine implied that every aspect of life had to do with spirituality and eternal salvation. As interpreted by Joseph Smith's successor, Brigham Young, who led the church in the West for thirty years, this revelation meant that "in the mind of God there is no such thing as dividing spiritual from temporal, or temporal from spiritual; for they are one in the Lord."

We cannot talk about spiritual things without connecting with them temporal things, neither can we talk about temporal things without connecting spiritual things with them . . . . We, as Latter-day Saints, really expect, look for and we will not be satisfied with anything short of being governed and controlled by the words of the Lord in all our acts, both spiritual and temporal. If we do not live for this, we do not live to be one with Christ.<sup>10</sup>

Orson Hyde, one of Brigham's apostles, put the matter a little more bluntly. "When we descend to the matter of dollars and cents," he said in 1853, "it is also spiritual."<sup>11</sup>

An excellent example of the practical application of this philosophy was the occasion, in 1856, when a group of Mormon converts who had crossed the Plains with handcarts arrived at the mouth of Emigration Canyon while services were being held in the Old Salt Lake Tabernacle. Word was taken to Brigham Young, sitting on the stand, that these immigrants, cold, tired, and hungry, were about to arrive in the Valley. President Young arose and dismissed the congregation with the following words:

I wish the sisters to go home and prepare to give those who have just arrived a mouthful of something to eat, and to wash them and nurse them up. . . . Were I in the situation of those persons who have just come in, . . . I would give more for a dish of pudding and milk or a baked potato and salt, . . . than I would for all your prayers, though you were to stay here all afternoon and pray. Prayer is good,

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<sup>9</sup>*The Evening and The Morning Star*, I (September 1832), [2].

<sup>10</sup>Sermon of June 22, 1864, *Journal of Discourses*, X, 329.

<sup>11</sup>Sermon of September 24, 1853, *ibid.*, II, 118.



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but when baked potatoes and milk are needed, prayer will not supply their place.<sup>12</sup>

Whether the Mormon emphasis on economics was an outgrowth of prevailing intellectual trends, or of instructions that were handed down directly from God, however, there can be no doubt that it was strengthened and supported by the social and economic experiences of the early Saints. Extremely important were two early decisions. The first was that they would move their headquarters from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri. This meant that the leaders had to devise ways and means of helping their poor New York members to move westward. Thus, the church had to buy land and develop plans for city growth and development; and it had to initiate financial enterprises and industries to provide employment. Of necessity, the church's task could not end with the conversion of individual souls. As the germ of the Kingdom of God, it must organize its members, settle them, and assist them in building an advanced society. Ultimately, according to the theology, the church must usher in the literal and earthly Kingdom of God ("Zion") over which Christ would one day rule.

The second decision was that in which the church assumed responsibility for fighting persecution and for looking after the welfare of its persecuted members. These persecutions drove the group together, made the church a self-conscious nationalistic sect, necessitated frequent removals, and forced the church to organize for the moves and to start planning once more for the purchase of land and for the initiation of industries. Above all, persecution prevented the rise of individualism and removed the surplus wealth which distinguished the wealthy from the poor.

These experiences, and the social, intellectual, and religious origins of Mormonism, led to the development of a set of economic ideals and institutions which became a more or less permanent aspect of Mormon belief and practice, and gave the Mormon community a unique flavor in frontier America. The intimate association of religion with economic

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<sup>12</sup>Sermon of November 30, 1856, *Deseret News*, December 10, 1856.

activity produced a kind of community planning and community concern which made possible a more just and permanent society than existed elsewhere in the West. Many scholars, in recent years, have pointed out the importance of cooperative activity of this type in achieving and maintaining an advanced social economy. E. C. Banfield, of the University of Chicago, for example, who had previously studied southern Utah, recently made an on-the-spot study of a village ("Montegrano") in southern Italy. He found the extreme poverty and backwardness of this village to be primarily a result of the "inability of the Montegranesi to act together for their own good or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family."<sup>13</sup> He was struck with the contrast between "Montegrano" and the equally-large community of St. George, Utah, where, with far worse natural resources at their disposal, the Mormon settlers had achieved, through mutual aid and self-government, one of the most highly-organized societies in the West. Others have been similarly impressed with the advanced form of voluntary cooperation in the performance of public tasks in Mormon Country. Partly for this reason, a number of scholars and government officials from such countries as Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Israel, and Lebanon—countries whose geographic conditions are similar—have been studying Utah's early institutions to see what they can learn that might help them in developing and improving their own countries.

The point is that Mormon economic history, whether in the early years of combatting hostile humanity, or in the later years of combatting hostile nature, has been more or less an attempt to implement certain specific ideals. And because the Mormons believed that they had been divinely instructed to institute these ideals as a part of the restoration of the Christian Gospel, they have sought to achieve the ideals as a matter of religious salvation.

These historic Mormon economic ideals can be summarized, for convenience, under four headings: (1) Ecclesiastical promotion of economic growth and development, or what the

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<sup>13</sup>Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), 7-19, 37.



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Mormons called "building the Kingdom of God"; (2) ecclesiastical sponsorship of economic independence or group economic self-sufficiency; (3) the attainment of these goals through organized group activity and cooperation; and (4) the search for programs to achieve and maintain economic equality.

*Promotion of economic growth.* Under an early revelation, the newly-organized church initiated community economic activity by instructing the members to "gather" together in "Zion" to build the Kingdom of God and prepare for the Millennium. A September 1830 revelation stated: ". . . ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect . . . the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place, upon the face of this land . . ."<sup>14</sup>

This policy of "accumulating people" as a prerequisite to building the Kingdom was implemented in the 1830's and subsequent decades by the development of a large and highly effective missionary system, an overseas emigration service, and the establishment of a series of Zions or gathering places. Recent studies by Professors William Mulder, Philip Taylor, and Gustive Larson have described the system by which 5,000 European converts were assisted in migrating to Nauvoo, Illinois; the method by which the 25,000 persons in Nauvoo and vicinity were organized in 1846 to make the great trek to Omaha, Nebraska, and later to the Salt Lake Valley; the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, which directed the migration of European members to the Salt Lake Valley in the 1850's and 1860's; and the concluding phases of the gathering in the age of the steamship and railroad.<sup>15</sup> As the result of these activities and institutions, donations of Utah church members in the form of cattle, grain and other produce were converted into passenger fares, covered wagons, and oxen, and as much as \$10,000,000 was expended to assist some 80,000 persons to move to Mormon settlements in the West. This organization, which Katherine Coman called "the best

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<sup>14</sup>*The Evening and The Morning Star, loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup>William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, 1957); Philip A. M. Taylor, "Mormon Emigration from Great Britain to the United States 1840-70" (Unpublished Ph.D., dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1950); Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest* (Francestown, N. H., 1947).



system of regulated immigration in United States history," continued until disbanded by Congress in 1887.<sup>16</sup>

The newly-arrived converts and immigrants were first put to work building the Kingdom by means of a church public works system. Centering around Temple Square in Salt Lake City, the Church Department of Public Works undertook to provide employment for the immigrants during their first winter in the Salt Lake Valley, and at the same time add such useful structures to the commonwealth as roads, walls, meetinghouses, railroads, telegraph lines, canals, the Salt Lake Theatre, and the famous Temple and Tabernacle.

After this first winter of labor on church public works the new arrivals were dispatched in organized "companies" and settled in outlying agricultural villages. The property rights and holdings of these villagers were allocated and regulated in order to ensure the highest possible development of resources. The principle which governed here was the principle of stewardship. This was also the result of heavenly instructions in 1830, when the people were told: "Every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward . . . . And if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it into my storehouse."<sup>17</sup> In other words, the earth was the Lord's, and every man must consider his rights to land as "consecrated" for the building of His Kingdom on earth. Conditional upon use, property rights would not be granted or protected if the owner refused to utilize or develop the property. Indeed, the very first pronouncement of Brigham Young in regard to the government of the infant Mormon colony in the Salt Lake Valley included the following stipulation:

No man will be suffered to cut up his lot and sell a part to speculate out of his brethern. Each man must keep his lot whole, for the Lord has given it to us without price . . . . Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might

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<sup>16</sup>Coman, *op. cit.*, II, 184.

<sup>17</sup>*Doctrine and Covenants* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1835), 42:31-35.

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till as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it.<sup>18</sup>

This policy seems to have been rather closely adhered to. The speculative withholding of land from use was prohibited, and the purchase or appropriation of town lots for the sake of the increase in value was prevented. An example of ecclesiastical enforcement of this policy is told by Marriner W. Merrill, later a high church official, in his published diary. Upon deciding to venture on his own after a period of hiring himself out as a laborer, Brother Merrill, in 1854, located in the Salt Lake Valley some waterless land which was considered to be outside the margin of irrigation. In his words,

I found on further inquiry that Brother Goudy Hogan claimed the land. This tract of land contained 100 acres. I applied to Brother Hogan to buy his claim as he had plenty of land without it, and as it had cost him nothing I thought I was entitled to a portion of the public domain to build a home upon. Brother Hogan refused to sell or let me have the land or any portion of it, and I felt that he was selfish and did not love his brother as the precepts of the Gospel require. So I applied to the Bishop, John Stoker, but did not get any encouragement from him, he letting me think there was no water for the land and that it was worthless to me. But I did not view things in that light exactly, although I was not at that time acquainted fully with the importance of irrigation to mature crops. So I applied to the Territorial Surveyor, Jesse W. Fox, who was very kind to me and gave me all the information he could about the land, and even took me up to President Young's office to talk to him about it. President Young did not favor the policy of one man claiming so much land and directed the surveyor, Brother Fox, to make me out a plot of the land for the 100 acres and also to give me a surveyor's certificate for it. This was done, and on presenting my claim to Brother Hogan he was very angry and said many hard things to me. But he surrendered his claim and I was the lawful claimant of 100 acres of land by the then rules of the country.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>*William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City, 1921), p. 326; Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), III, 269.

<sup>19</sup>*Utah Pioneer and Apostle, Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family*, ed. Melvin Clarence Merrill (Salt Lake City, 1937), p. 36.



This policy seems to have been rather closely adhered to. forms of property—to money and heavy equipment and other capital goods. It was, for example, against church rules for a man to hoard money or property. Brigham Young said:

When we first came into the Valley, the question was asked me, if men would ever be allowed to come into this Church, and remain in it, and hoard up their property. *I say NO. . . . The man who lays up his gold and silver, who caches it away in a bank or in his iron safe, or buries it up in the earth, and comes here, and professes to be a Saint, would tie up the hands of every individual in this kingdom, and make them his servants if he could. It is an unrighteous, unhallowed, unholy, covetous principle; it is of the devil and is from beneath. . . . "I would disfellowship a man who had received liberally from the Lord, and refused to put it out to usury."*

"You know very well," he concluded, "that it is against church doctrine for men to scrape together the wealth of the world and let it waste and do no good."<sup>20</sup>

After the settlement of villages and the determination of property rights, the Saints were to proceed with the orderly development of local resources. This was a sacred assignment and was to be regarded as a religious as well as a secular function. One of the Articles of Faith of the church read: "We believe . . . that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory."<sup>21</sup> As explained by a leading apostle in an authoritative work, Latter-day Saints believed that the earth was under a curse and that it was to be regenerated and purified, after which war and social conflict generally would be eliminated and the earth would "yield bounteously to the husbandman. . . . The City of God would then be realized at last."<sup>22</sup>

This purification was not to be accomplished by any mechanistic process nor by any instantaneous cleansing by fire and/or water. It was to be performed by God's chosen; it

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<sup>20</sup>Sermon of June 5, 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, I, 252-255. Italics in original.

<sup>21</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* . . . (2nd ed.; 6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1946), IV, 541.

<sup>22</sup>James E. Talmadge, *A Study of the Articles of Faith* (19th ed.; Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 377.

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involved subduing the earth and making it teem with living plants and animals. Man must assist God in this process of regeneration and make the earth a more fitting abode for himself and for the Redeemer of Man. The earth must be turned into a Garden of Eden where God's people would never again know want and suffering. The Kingdom of God, in other words, was to be realized by a thoroughly pragmatic mastery of the forces of nature. An important early admonition to be industrious, and not idle, was supplementary to this belief.

Making the waste places blossom as the rose, and the earth to yield abundantly of its diverse fruits, therefore, was more than an economic necessity; it was a form of religious worship. As one early leader later wrote, the construction of water ditches was as much a part of the Mormon religion as water baptism. The redemption of man's home (the earth) was considered to be as important as the redemption of his soul. The earth, as the future abiding place of God's people, had to be made productive and fruitful and transformed into a virtual Garden of Eden. This would be accomplished, he wrote, "by the blessing and power of God, and . . . by the labors and sacrifices of its inhabitants, under the light of the Gospel and the direction of the authorized servants of God."<sup>23</sup>

When the Mormons reached the Great Basin, this concept stimulated tremendous exertion. "The Lord has done his share of the work," Brigham Young told them; "he has surrounded us with the elements containing wheat, meat, flax, wool, silk, fruit, and everything with which to build up, beautify and glorify the Zion of the last days." "It is now our business," he concluded, "to mould these elements to our wants and necessities, according to the knowledge we now have and the wisdom we can obtain from the Heavens through our faithfulness. In this way will the Lord bring again Zion upon the earth, and in no other."<sup>24</sup>

The acceptance of the principle of resource development explains the passionate and devoted efforts of the Mormon

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<sup>23</sup>"A Practical Religion," *Deseret Weekly* (Salt Lake City), October 16, 1897), p. 553.

<sup>24</sup>Sermon of February 23, 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 283-284.



people to develop the resources of the Great Basin to the full extent of their potentiality. While it was a sacred duty of Latter-day Saints to purify their hearts, it was an equally sacred duty for them to devote labor and talent to the task of "removing the curse from the earth," and making it yield an abundance of things needed by man. Devices for converting arid wastes into green fields thus assumed an almost sacramental character; they served to promote an important spiritual end.

*Economic Independence.* The goal of colonization, of the settled village, and of resource development was complete regional economic independence. The Latter-day Saint commonwealth was to be financially and economically self-sufficient. A "law" of the church established this principle in 1830: ". . . let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands, . . . contract no debts with the world."<sup>25</sup>

This revelation appears to have been given much wider application than a literal reading of the original revelation would seem to justify. The Mormon people were asked to manufacture their own iron, produce their own cotton, spin their own silk, and grind their own grain. And they must do this without borrowing from "outsiders." Self-sufficiency was a practical policy, it was reasoned, because God had blessed each region with all of the resources which were necessary for the use of the people and the development of the region. As a result of the application of this principle, the Great Basin was the only major region of the U. S. whose early development was largely accomplished without outside capital.

The officially-sponsored projects to bring the goal of self-sufficiency closer to realization included the Iron Mission, consisting of about 200 families who devoted strenuous efforts to the task of developing the iron and coal resources near Cedar City; the Sugar Mission, in which several hundred people were united in the 1850's in an effort to establish the sugar beet industry in Utah; the Lead Mission, in which some

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<sup>25</sup>*The Evening and The Morning Star*. I (July 1832), [1].

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fifty men were called to work lead mines near Las Vegas, Nevada, to provide bullets and paint for the Kingdom; the Cotton Mission, in which more than a thousand families were sent to southern Utah to raise cotton, olives, grapes, indigo, grain sorghum, and figs; the Silk Mission, which involved the growing of mulberry trees and establishment of a silk industry in every community in the region; and the Flax Mission, Wool Mission, and even, it is somewhat surprising to learn, a Wine Mission.

It is to be emphasized that these were not the isolated and desultory efforts of private individuals experimenting, as Americans have always experimented, with new products; but part of a calculated campaign to achieve self-sufficiency in order to prepare for the Millennium. Many of Utah's industries received their impetus from this early idealistic motivation for an economically independent Kingdom.

*Unity and Co-operation.* The quality required to successfully execute the economic program of the church was unity and the accompanying method of organizing for the pursuit of economic goals was co-operation. The seminal revelation enjoining unity was given in January 1831: "I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine."<sup>26</sup> As one of the most outstanding and easily-recognized traits of the Latter-day Saints, this group spirit was induced partly by the belief that unity was a Christian virtue, and partly by the trying times through which members of the church were to pass in their efforts to establish an independent commonwealth. The symbols of unity were a strong central organization and self-forgetting group solidarity. The participants in the sublime task of building the Kingdom were to submit themselves to the direction of God's leaders and to display a spirit of willing cooperation. More than a term denoting willingness to work together harmoniously, co-operation was a technique of organization by which migrations were effectuated, forts erected, ditches dug, and mills constructed. Co-operation meant that every man's labor was subject to call by church authority

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<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, I, [5].



to work under supervised direction in a cause deemed essential to the prosperity of the Kingdom.

While unity and co-operation characterized the early church, it remained for Brigham Young to develop the technique of unified action and combined endeavor to its well-known perfection. It was his aim that the church come to represent one great patriarchal family:

I will give you a text: Except I am one with my good brethren, do not say that I am a Latter-day Saint. We must be one. Our faith must be concentrated in one great work—the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth, and our works must aim to the accomplishment of that great purpose.

I have looked upon the community of Latter-day Saints in vision and beheld them organized as one great family of heaven, each person performing his several duties in his line of industry, working for the good of the whole more than for individual aggrandizement; and in this I have beheld the most beautiful order that the mind of man can contemplate, and the grandest results for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God and the spread of righteousness upon the earth. . . . Why can we not so live in this world?<sup>27</sup>

Fortified by this conviction, he instituted countless programs to achieve unity and facilitate co-operation. These included co-operative arrangements for migration, colonization, construction, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, merchandising—and, in fact, for every realm of economic activity.

The Mormon passion for unity and solidarity, strengthened and tempered as it was by years of suffering and persecution, at once provided both the means and the motive for regional economic planning by church authorities in the Great Basin. The means was provided by the willingness of church members to submit to the "counsel" of their leaders and to respond to every call, spiritual and temporal. The motive was provided by the principle of oneness itself, which was regarded as of divine origin, and whose attainment required planning and control by those in authority.

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<sup>27</sup>Sermons of October 7, 1859; January 12, 1868, *Journal of Discourses*, VII, 280, and XII, 153.

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*Equality.* One final aspect of the church's economic program was that which pertained to justice in distribution. It should be obvious that development principles were the major emphasis of Mormon economic policy. In "working out the temporal salvation of Zion," to use a contemporary expression, the formulators of church policy centered primary attention on production and the better management of the human and natural resources under their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, early Mormonism, influenced by its own necessities and by the democratic concepts of the Age of Jackson, was distinctly equalitarian in theology and economics, and this had significant influences on church policies and practices in the Great Basin.

The Latter-day Saint doctrine on equality was pronounced within a few months after the founding of the church: ". . . if ye are not equal in earthly things, ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things. . . ." <sup>28</sup> There was an earnest and immediate attempt to comply with the spirit of this revelation. In May 1831, when the New York converts to the infant church began to arrive at the newly-established gathering place of Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith instructed that land and other properties be allotted "equal according to their families, according to their circumstances, and their wants and needs. . . . let every man . . . be alike among this people, and receive alike that ye may be one. . . ." <sup>29</sup> In a subsequent revelation to the Saints in Ohio the Prophet instructed: ". . . in your temporal things you should be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise, the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld." <sup>30</sup> When the stewardship system was tried in Jackson County, Missouri, similar instructions were given: "And you are to be equal, or in other words, you are to have equal claims on the properties, for the benefit of managing . . . your stewardships, every man according to his wants and his needs, inasmuch as his wants are just." <sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>*Doctrine and Covenants*, 75:1.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 23:1.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 26:3.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 86:4.



Although the goal of equality seemed to become less important with advances in well-being, the core of the policy was reflected in the system of immigration, the construction of public works, the allotment of land and water, and the many co-operative village stores and industries. In immigration, the more well-to-do were expected to donate of their means to assist in migrating the poorer converts of the church. In the construction of public works, again, those with a surplus were expected to contribute of their surplus; and land and water were parcelled out equally to all by means of community drawings.

But the influence of the ideal of equality was still wider; it led to several attempts to completely reorganize society and put economic affairs on the same basis as during the time of the early Christian apostles, of whom it was written in the *Acts of the Apostles*: "All that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men, as every man had need." Ideal or Utopian-like communities were attempted by the Latter-day Saints in Thompson and Kirtland, Ohio; Independence and Far West, Missouri; and in sixty or seventy communities in the Far West, from Paris, Idaho, on the North, to Bunkerville, Nevada, and Joseph City, Arizona, on the South. In general, these "co-operative communities," as they were called, were characterized by a high degree of economic equality, and while most of them lasted only a short time, their influence on Utah's institutions can be seen even today.

What has happened to these economic ideals? To some extent, of course, they still characterize Mormon goals. Through the Church Welfare Plan, Zion's Securities Corporation, the Presiding Bishop's Office, and various "church corporations" the church is still carrying out a mammoth program of development. In the Welfare Plan the attempt is still being made to achieve a workable amount of economic independence by a program of "taking care of our own." In the Welfare Plan, Labor Missionary Program, and in Mormon enterprises generally, a surprising degree of unity and co-operation is still being maintained. As for methods of financing,

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partly because of the highly progressive federal income tax, a satisfactory amount of equality is realized.

It would be fair to say, however, that the church would have been able through the years to go much further in achieving these goals if the federal government had not intervened to prevent it. There was, until the 1920's, a more or less consistent effort on the part of Congress and the national administration to force the Mormons to change some of their ideals and practices. To mention only the most important examples, there was, first of all, the dispatching of some 5,000 troops to Utah in 1857-1858 to put down the so-called "Mormon rebellion" and prevent any possibility of an independent Kingdom. There followed, in 1862, the Anti-Bigamy Act, which contained a clause disincorporating the Mormon Church and prohibiting it from owning more than \$50,000 worth of property, exclusive of meetinghouses, parsonages, and burial grounds. While this was thought to be unconstitutional (its constitutionality was later upheld), it tended to limit church-sponsored group economic activity. Then there was a series of hostile bills in the late 1860's and 1870's, some of which were enacted by Congress and some of which missed passage by narrow margins.

The most influential of all the "Anti-Mormon" bills was the Edmunds Act, passed in 1882, which, in essence, removed the government of Utah from the hands of the Mormons and placed it in the hands of a commission appointed by the national president. It was quickly followed, in 1887, by the Edmunds-Tucker Act, in which Congress provided for the confiscation of the properties of the Mormon Church. Eventually, church leaders found it necessary to give up the unequal struggle and attempted to bring their ideas and practices more into conformity with the prevailing sentiment of the federal Congress. National leaders and church leaders are said to have entered into a "compact." We do not know whether such a "compact" was actually made, but at least the agreement and actions which it is said to have involved did take place. In the supposed "compact," national leaders are said to have promised statehood for Utah provided three things were done: (1) Plural marriage was abandoned; (2) the



church political party was dissolved; and (3) the church dissolved its relations with the economy. Plural marriage, of course, was abandoned with the Manifesto of 1890; the Peoples' party was dissolved in 1891 and the people were divided between Republicans and Democrats; and the church began to take steps to withdraw from many of its economic activities.

However, in one of those strange coincidences of history, the panic of 1891 occurred, ushering in the severe depression of the 1890's. This depression lasted until about 1898. Utah, whose agriculture and mining were marginal, suffered perhaps more severely than any other state in the Union. Unemployment, underemployment, and low farm incomes were ever-present realities. Imbued with the idealism they had learned from Joseph Smith, church leaders decided to use whatever resources were at their command for the expansion and improvement of Utah's economy. As a result of their concerted efforts, many new and successful industries were initiated. With an investment of about \$500,000 the manufacture of sugar was initiated; another \$500,000 saw the initiation of the hydroelectric power industry in the West; some \$250,000 was expended on the development of a salt industry on the shores of Great Salt Lake. The Saltair recreation resort was constructed, as a means of providing employment; railroads were projected; canals were built; new colonies given a start—in short, everything possible was done to expand the economic base of the Great Basin and surrounding regions.

This was disturbing to national political leaders who, at the turn of the century, were composed of or dominated by industrial leaders—the so-called financial tycoons or "captains of industry." When Reed Smoot, an apostle of the church, was elected to the United States Senate, therefore, certain persons took advantage of the hearing into his fitness to serve to inquire into the relations between the Mormon Church and business in the intermountain region. Something like a fourth to a third of the testimony in the Smoot trial is concerned with the attempt to show that the Mormon leaders had broken the alleged "compact" and had continued to dominate the economy of the region, to the detriment of private

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enterprise. The trial embarrassed the church and was, in some respects, vicious, but it was clear that Apostle-Senator Smoot would not be seated and the investigation not concluded unless certain concessions were made by the church. It is during this period, then, that the church sold most of its business interests—and sold them primarily to eastern businessmen. Its interests in the sugar and salt industries, in railroad and hydroelectric power, its coal and iron lands, its telegraph system—its interests in these and other industries were sold to eastern capitalists. For at least a decade, Utah's economy came to resemble that of other states in the region—Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho.

Nevertheless, within the past two decades, national sentiment has been more sympathetic to church-sponsored endeavors. In recent years, with the Welfare Plan and other enterprises, the economic ideals of early Mormonism are once more reasserting themselves. Latter-day Saint leaders are confident that they are once more on their way toward the re-establishment of those institutions which are an essential forerunner of the coming of the Son of Man.



## *Exorcism*

CAROL LYNN WRIGHT

If I could place a tea cup over each  
Cricket that calls from the tall grass,

If I could blow out the stars, one by one,  
And then peel the moon from the sky,

If I could cast the scented breezes into  
A great well on the other side of the mountain—

Perhaps, then, I could walk into  
The night without you still beside me.



# *The Impact of Applied Science Upon the Utopian Ideal*

ARTHUR H. FRIETZSCHE

A great dream of the past four centuries—of the period which we think of as the “modern world”—is the vision of progress through the systematic application of man’s own powers. This application, to which I shall give, in desperation, the unsatisfactory title of “applied science,” is nowhere more fittingly expressed than in the series of Utopian fantasies which are a feature of the Renaissance.

One should not be surprised to find this so. Visions, dreams, ideals—all lead naturally to fantasy. For the Middle Ages, the ultimate dream was the perfect Heaven, as in the *Paradiso*, for example. For an age too impatient to wait for the *here-after*, the ultimate dream was the perfect *here*, often equated with the perfect state.

In the brief compass of the paper which follows, I wish to investigate the attitudes of these dreamers toward applied science, as displayed in various imaginary commonwealths. Relying upon three outstanding Utopian works, conveniently spaced across two centuries, I hope to demonstrate stages in the development of man’s hopes for, and feelings toward, applied science.

## *More’s Utopia*

Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) was not, of course, the first work to express the ideals which we now refer to as “Utopian.” Indeed, that it should have a classical progenitor (in this case, Plato’s *Republic*) is only to be expected, for its author is famed as one of the great English humanists. And *Utopia* is clearly the work of its period, the early humanistic period of the Renaissance. Primarily it is social commentary,

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the depiction of a near-perfect society of a nature which can fairly be labelled "communistic." In its aim and purpose, *Utopia* exhibits the same intellectual preoccupations which brought into being Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513), Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528), and Elyot's *The Boke of the Governour* (1531).

In pursuit of this near-perfect society, the author invokes the aid of what the Twentieth Century would call "science," although the Renaissance called it "natural philosophy." More sees no conflict between religion and science; in the observation of Basil Willey, "natural philosophy is considered, not as 'conjuring,' involving a pact like that of Faust and Mephistopheles, but something acceptable to God, and even as a part of religious duty."<sup>1</sup> As Ralph Richardson's Elizabethan translation of the *Utopia* puts it,

For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche out the secret mysteres of nature, they thinke themselves to receave therby not onlye wonderfulle greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and favour of the authour and maker therof.<sup>2</sup>

But this natural philosophy is to be turned to social ends; implicit in this work is the "concept that science can be responsible for human happiness."<sup>3</sup> In fact, More spends much more space in discussion of technology and applied science than in discussion of natural philosophy proper (though this should occasion no surprise, for technology has been well ahead of scientific theory throughout almost all recorded history). The passage quoted above is the heart of the only discussion of pure science in More's text, whereas the work abounds with practical applications of science: paper-making and printing, incubation, hospital operation, veterinary care, selective cattle breeding, even sanitation of abattoirs. If astronomy and meteorology enter this first Utopia, they do so because of their

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<sup>1</sup>Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. R. Richardson ("Everyman Edition"; New York: Dutton, 1910), p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>J. R. Adams, "The Social Responsibilities of Science in Utopia, New Atlantis, and After," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, X (1949), p. 387.

practical use in seamanship. Applied science is, therefore, in More's mind of great assistance to that long-time hope of humanity, the ideal commonwealth. And for centuries to H. G. Wells and after—Utopianism and applied science were to go hand-in-hand.

### Bacon's *New Atlantis*

The increasingly close relationship of the ideal commonwealth and applied science during the century following More is best illustrated in Sir Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, published posthumously in unfinished form in 1626. Bacon is still commonly thought of as a great prophet of theoretical, abstract science, for only in the past few decades have literary scholars been made properly aware of his deficiencies in this field.<sup>4</sup> His great bias is toward applied science, and his ideal commonwealth is both dependent upon it and ruled by it. We may well sympathize with him, for his vision was stimulated by the century of advancement in applied science and technology which had passed since the appearance of More's *Utopia*.

Bacon's preoccupation with "fruits" has not gone unnoticed among modern historians of science. Benjamin Farrington's book<sup>5</sup> is based largely upon recognition of Bacon's overwhelming interest in applied science. As A. Wolf notes, "Scientific knowledge was not valued by Bacon for its own sake, but as a potent instrument for improving the lot of mankind by means of inventions which might result from it."<sup>6</sup> Wolf is careful to point out that this utilitarian view was not foolishly shortsighted, and that Bacon favored "experiments of light" as well as "experiments of fruit." Nevertheless, Bacon's ultimate practical aims never wavered.

Farrington's words are direct and uncompromising:

The story of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) is that of a life devoted to a great idea . . . that knowledge ought to

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<sup>4</sup>For a succinct summary of Bacon's weaknesses as a scientific philosopher, see Charles Singer, *A Short History of Scientific Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 264-67.

<sup>5</sup>Benjamin Farrington, *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1951).

<sup>6</sup>A. Wolf, *History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (2nd edition; New York: Harpers, 1959), II, 634.



bear fruit in works, that science ought to be applicable to industry, that men ought to organize themselves as a sacred duty to improve and transform the conditions of life.<sup>7</sup>

"The final purpose of science was power over nature,"<sup>8</sup> although Bacon insists, in the *New Atlantis* as in many of his works, that pursuit of the knowledge of nature is a holy art, rather than an accursed one. Nevertheless, it is certainly true, as J. R. Adams indicates, that whereas applied science is employed in More's Utopia to bring about the highest moral and cultural benefits, in Bacon's Bensalem "man's vulgar wants are becoming insatiable," and applied science is being manipulated to supply them.<sup>9</sup>

Turning to the *New Atlantis* itself, I began to make a list of instances of the use or influence of applied science, and quickly covered four pages with subject titles alone, beginning with the use of fresh fruit as a preventative of scurvy and continuing through the long discourse on Salomon's House. Much has been made of this institution as a model for the Royal Society of a later generation,<sup>10</sup> but we must not forget that its activities are practical to the extreme. Indeed, the last stages of the filter through which every idea passes are technical editors ("compilers," Bacon calls them) and men who are devoted to the practical application of the discoveries made through research. These "fruits" are intended to justify the dominance of science in Bensalem. Bacon, in propagandizing his dream of the future (for the *New Atlantis* was intended to spur the British imagination toward realizing that dream), writes of discovery in science, but invariably stresses the practical application of the discovery.

The *New Atlantis* can be faulted as a document of scientific philosophy: the idea of "progress" in its modern sense is missing (although the possibility of regress is admitted), and

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<sup>7</sup>Farrington, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science* (2nd ed. rev.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1959), II, 294; see also II, 286; and Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 242, 254.

<sup>9</sup>Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

<sup>10</sup>See, for instance, Farrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

so is a true understanding of scientific method. But as a vision of what science applied to the problems of common life can do for man, it has few rivals in its time. It is a vision of both hope and faith, setting the stage for the achievement which would turn vision into reality.

### Swift's *Voyage to Laputa*

To move forward another century, into an Age of Reason, is to witness the waning of those hopes and the withering of that faith. The third book of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1727) employs the assumptions and devices of the Utopian pattern for anti-Utopian ends. The plausible arrival at an undiscovered land, the unflagging travel, the acute observation, the implied comparisons, and the carefully explained departure are all part of the Utopian tradition, and all are as evident here as they are in the other three voyages of Gulliver. But the third voyage is a voyage to a land where science has gone wrong and reaped evil instead of good.

Gulliver enters that land of which Bacon had received only a Pisgah view, the land ruled by science. Scholars have assumed that the science which dominates Laputa and its environs is theoretical or abstract science, but it would be equally easy to call it applied science misapplied; most of the experiments described are intended by their "projectors" to be of useful application; the error lies chiefly, we see, in the practicability of the application. Laputa is a land of advanced science, but it is also a barren waste.

As a work of literature, the account of their third voyage has been violently, and I think rightly, criticized. Nicolson and Mohler have shown<sup>11</sup> that the objects of Swift's satire are not drawn from literary antecedents but from contemporary science. Yet the satire is overly topical, ill-organized, and intemperate. "About science abstract and applied, Swift knows nothing. He merely falls in with the fashion among the wits

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<sup>11</sup>Marjorie Nicolson and Nora N. Mohler, "The Scientific Background of Swift's *Voyage of Laputa*," *Annals of Science*, II (1937), 299-334, reprinted in Marjorie Nicholson, *Science and Imagination* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 110-54.



of guying the virtuosi; the energy of his original mind is not engaged."<sup>12</sup>

Even though Swift was unlearned in science, the very existence of the fashion of satirizing scientists is significant, as is Swift's willingness to join in with it. There is, generally in the period, a "disenchantment with man's accomplishment."<sup>13</sup> H. T. Pledge sums up the situation in this manner:

. . . during the first two-thirds of the 18th century, "applied science," as we understand it, was undergoing a period of discouragement after the bright promise of the previous century. The great primary advances of the time, in textiles, in metallurgy or iron and steel, in power, were inventions, not scientific discoveries. Even Watt was as much a mechanic as a scientist.<sup>14</sup>

It is true, admittedly, that much of Swift's criticism in *Gulliver's Third Voyage* is not directed at applied science *as method*; it is directed at the misapplication of science toward impractical, even base ends. The apologist for science may be quick to point out that a method is only a means, and cannot be proclaimed at fault if it is applied for unworthy ends; but the moralist is equally quick to indicate that scientific method does not contain within itself any corrective, or any protection against misapplication, and may therefore be considered potentially evil. Immorality and amorality may be distinguishable in principle, but in practice they can (and do) bring about the same vicious effects. Needless to add, this is essentially the modern predicament.

It appears to me that Swift's revulsion is based on what he took to be the testimony of a century of scientific endeavor that man is fundamentally a moral and social creature, and that preoccupation with the "things" of science (such as seen in Bacon's *Bensalem*) leads to neglect of man's proper concerns. As Bacon foresaw, science can lead to vast improvement in man's surroundings, but Swift now saw that such im-

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<sup>12</sup>John Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: a Critical Biography* (New York: Noonday Press, 1955), p. 332.

<sup>13</sup>Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels, etc.*, ed. W. A. Eddy ("Oxford English Authors"; New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. iii.

<sup>14</sup>H. T. Pledge, *Science Since 1500* (New York: Harpers, 1959), p. 101.

provement can prove embarrassing or even dangerous without corresponding refinement in man, the "projector" of science. This idea is one which might logically be expected in Swift, of course, but it is also close to the foundations of the entire Age of Reason. The "things" of science might serve well as objects for satire, but "the proper study of mankind is man."

Surprisingly, Swift's attitude is in many ways a return to the premises which underlie the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, and is a counter-attack upon the "reaction toward natural ethics"<sup>15</sup> so apparent in Bacon. The truth seems to be that, different as the personalities and social attitudes of Swift and More evidently are, their preoccupation with human morality is enough to unite them on a sweeping range of issues, and to place them in opposition to Bacon's unquestioned materialism. Like More, Swift believed that the quest for a better society was essentially a quest for better *men* rather than for better *things*; if this belief is correct, the recognition is merely hindsight on Swift's part, but foresight on More's part.

### *The Modern Predicament*

It is not my intention to extend the brief time allotted to me and carry this survey of the impact of science on the Utopian ideal onward through the two-and-a-half centuries which separate us from *Gulliver's Travels*. It is enough to say, I believe, that the lines of issue had been drawn. Scientific prophet has since alternated with moralist; Utopia has succeeded anti-Utopia and has been succeeded in turn. If we have had our Bellamys, our Butlers, and our Holbergs, we have also had our Orwells and our Huxleys. If we have heard *News from Nowhere* and been whirled through the *Time Machine*, we have also catapulted through space with Captain Stormfield and suffered through a *Year Nine*. And so it must be, as society perennially vacillates between emphasis on man's innermost hopes and emphasis on man's outward accomplishments. As our hopes and fears emerge, they

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<sup>15</sup>Joyce O. Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), p. 151.



will continue to do so in the form of Utopias and their darker shadows.

When Sir Thomas More launched his *Utopia* on the troubled waters of the Renaissance, he could not have foreseen where the currents of time would carry it. Within a century, a form which had first been employed as a vehicle for the propagation of humanistic ideals was to be usurped to serve the ends of the scientific visionary. And in another century, the same form was to be used to carry a message which mocked science, applied and abstract. In following the treatment of applied science in Utopian literature, we catch a glimpse of the split which was to widen into the "two-culture gap" afflicting society in our own day.

# James Joyce at 71, Rue Du Cardinal Lemoine

DOUGLAS KENT HALL

(and the Pope's manners were so like Mr. Joyce's, got that way in the Vatican, weren't like that before)

Ezra Pound, Canto XXXVIII.

It was Ezra Pound who finally succeeded in bringing James Joyce back to Paris to complete *Ulysses*. After a meeting in Desenzano, Italy, in June of 1920, Joyce consented and moved his family from Trieste to Paris, where with the help of Pound he found a small partly furnished flat in which he and his family could live. Pound was a seemingly untiring supporter of the Irish writer, and, like many others, he felt that in Paris Joyce was in his own element. It is curious to think of the two poets together, each a Homerean, but schooled in opposite extremes of the Greek spirit: Pound patterning his *Cantos* after an esoteric thread of meaning he had raveled from the *Odyssey*, and Joyce trying to faithfully recreate the myth block by block, each artist piously questing in the world of his craft.

Pound gave help in money, moral uplift, and valuable introductions. The following selection from one of Pound's unique and humorous letters is a testament of his interest:

Hope to forward a few base sheckles in a few days time. Wall, Mr. Joice, I recon' your a damn fine writer, that's what I recon'. An I recon' this here work o' yourn is some carncarned litterchure. You can take it from me, an' I'm a jedge.<sup>1</sup>

Pound set out to promote James Joyce in Paris. He introduced him to anyone of literary significance or influence with whom he could obtain audience. One happy meeting

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<sup>1</sup>Patricia Hutchings, *James Joyce's World* (London: Hethuen and Co. Ltd., 1957), p. 118.



was with the French writer and translator Valery Larbaud, who had by that time rendered Butler, Grey, and Whitman into French. Through this meeting and a subsequent reading of Joyce's work, Larbaud became one of his most ardent admirers.

Valery Larbaud had read what had been printed of *Ulysses* in *The Little Review* and Joyce lent him part of the book not yet in print. Miss Beach transmitted Larbaud's enthusiastic comment. '*C'est Marveilleux! Aussi grand que Rabelais. Mr. Bloom est immortal comme Falstaff.*'<sup>2</sup>

Joyce's association with the Frenchman made it possible for him to obtain the use of his rez de chaussée flat at 71, rue du Cardinal Lemoine. And the period he spent there, from June to September of 1921, was one of the most turbulent he had experienced to that time. He had come to think that everything had finally turned against him. Only a few copies of his books had ever found sale, he had constantly to struggle for enough money to continue writing, and his vision was greatly impaired by what he termed "syncopic" attacks. And in addition, Joyce suffered from the criticism that had grown out of some of his personal peculiarities. At the beginning of his occupancy at 71, rue du Cardinal Lemoine, he wrote to Miss Harriet Shaw Weaver, recounting bits of hearsay that had circulated about him:

. . . My family in Dublin believe that I enriched myself in Switzerland during the war by espionage work for one or both combatants. . . . The general rumour in Dublin was (until the prospectus of *Ulysses* stopped it) that I could write no more, had broken down and was dying in New York. . . . In America there appear to be or have been two versions: one that I was an austere mixture of the Dalai Lama and sir Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Pound described me as a dour Aberdeen minister. Mr Lewis told me he was told that I was a crazy fellow who always carried four watches and rarely spoke except to ask my neighbor what o'clock it was. . . . One woman here originated the rumour that I am extremely lazy and will never do or finish anything. (I calculate that I must have spent nearly 20,000 hours in writing *Ulysses*.) A batch of people in Zurich

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<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 131.

persuaded themselves that I was gradually going mad and actually endeavoured to induce me to enter a sanatorium where a certain Doctor Jung (the Swiss Tweedledum who is not to be confused with the Viennese Tweedledee, Dr Freud) amuses himself at the expense (in every sense of the word) of ladies and gentlemen troubled with bees in their bonnets.<sup>3</sup>

It had been seven years since the publication of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. *Ulysses* had by this time become an exorbitant undertaking which somehow seemed to tax his entire system, and, with the sudden and prolonged eye attacks (Joyce's letter to Robert McAlmon reads: "The attack lasted about an hour."<sup>4</sup> And a letter three days later to Miss Weaver reads: "The attack lasted about two hours."<sup>5</sup>), his health was gradually slipping away. Near the conclusion of the letter to Miss Weaver, dated 24 June 1921, Joyce reveals to her how complex and formidable the composition of *Ulysses* had been:

The task I set myself technically in writing a book from eighteen different points of view and in as many styles, all apparently unknown or undiscovered by my fellow tradesmen, that and the nature of the legend chosen would be enough to upset anyone's mental balance. I want to finish the book and try to settle my entangled material affairs definitely one way or the other (somebody here said to me: 'They call him a poet. He appears to be interested chiefly in mattresses'). And, in fact, I was. After that I want a good long rest in which to forget *Ulysses* completely.<sup>6</sup>

With so much work being done on Joyce at the present time, with so many interpretive studies showing the different influences of phases of his life on his work, it seems odd that there would be a paucity of material concerning his life at Larbaud's flat. I would suggest that it was during these last weeks of work that Joyce really subjected himself to the full burden of his novel; it was during this time that the pains of creation were the greatest. He was still writing, rewriting,

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<sup>3</sup>Stuart Gilbert, *The Letters of James Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), p. 166.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 167.



and correcting the long, intricate work he had taken up seven years earlier. The prospect of bringing *Ulysses* to its conclusion had possessed him. He was working under this pressure, with the additional irritation brought on by his eye attacks. On the seventh of August, he wrote to Miss Weaver a letter in which he seems resigned that in *Ulysses* his only fruition would come from a sense of accomplishment:

I am now advised to go to Aix-les-Bains but am in Ithaca instead. I write and revise and correct with one or two eyes about twelve hours a day I should say, stopping for intervals of about five minutes or so when I can't see any more. My brain reels after it but that is nothing compared with the reeling of my readers' brains. I have not yet recovered and I am doing the worst thing possible but can't help it. It's folly because the book will probably not repay a tithe of such labour. The subscriptions have been rather slow and poor and now seem to have come or be coming to an end.<sup>7</sup>

Joyce not only demanded a lot of himself, as the above passage reveals, but of his friends and associates as well. His ubiquitous mind sought material from various, seemingly unrelated sources. In his letters he invariably requested copies of books or some other information, which he somehow managed to mold into the texture of *Ulysses*. One example of his utilization of this ruck is found in the *Ithaca* episode under the heading: "Catalogue these books."<sup>8</sup> It was his peculiar genius to compile the objects and incidents of the common man's life, and all of the trivia that he amassed fitted together like a jigsaw puzzle with a multiplicity of pictures possible, providing one was willing and patient enough to work them out. Anything seemed to have some place. In a previously uncollected letter to the American writer Robert McAlmon, he wrote:

If you ever find anything relating to what I am doing throw it into an envelope and perhaps it will go into the stew.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup>James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1946), p. 693.

<sup>9</sup>Letter to McAlmon, Paris, September 3, 1921 (Brigham Young University Library).

Miss Sylvia Beach had introduced McAlmon to Joyce that summer. And Joyce described him to Frank Budgen as, "I found him very simple and decent. He admires *Ulysses* very much so that can set you off."<sup>10</sup> It was for Joyce a lucrative friendship. "He [McAlmon] generously advanced Joyce about \$150 a month during 1921 to tide him over until *Ulysses* appeared, and he did not care whether repayment occurred or not."<sup>11</sup>

Valery Larbaud continued his interest in Joyce's writing. Later in the summer, he wrote requesting that the remaining part of the novel be sent on to him. He must have understood Joyce's shortage of money (and who didn't?), for he also sent along his own stamped return envelopes. Joyce's reply to his letter, undated (but probably late in July or early in August), follows:

*Cher Larbaud: J'ai bien reçu les enveloppes mais je n'ai jusqu'ici rien à y mettre. Mlle Monnier m'a parlé de votre impatience de lire le dernier épisode. Mais il y en a deux, Ithaque et Pénélope. . . . Ithaque est très étrange. Pénélope le dernier cri. Vous m'avez demandé une fois quelle serait la dernière parole d'Ulysse. La voilà: yes. Autour de cette parole et trois autres également femelles l'épisode tourne sur axe. Il n'y a que huit phrases dont la première contient 2500 paroles.*<sup>12</sup>

As if an ominous shadow had begun to move across the finished manuscript of *Ulysses*, Joyce's eyes and nerves got increasingly worse.

On my way back from the Gare du Nord a filthy rat ran by me. I was on the lookout for unpleasant news but it happened otherwise. . . . I have given up the 16 hours a day work on *Ulysses*.<sup>13</sup>

The reason for cutting his working time, which he mentions in the above letter, was a collapse that he suffered at the Alhambra Music Hall, where he had gone with his son, Giorgio, and Robert McAlmon. Some days later, he wrote McAlmon:

<sup>10</sup>Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford Press, 1959), p. 528.

<sup>12</sup>Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 170.



Since that collapse I have knocked off about 10 hours a day, work 6 and 4 walking. I feel much better now.<sup>14</sup>

On two instances at the end of his occupancy at 71, rue du Cardinal Lemoine, he mentions that he is hunting a place along the bank of the Seine from which to cast the body of Bloom. He seemed to realize that *Ulysses* had not presented all of its problems in the writing, but it is almost certain that he never comprehended then all of the trouble that was to come.

Meanwhile walking along the Seine I look for some spot where I might catch hold of Bloom and throw him into the bloody lea (pron. 'lay').<sup>15</sup>

And the same despondent statement, somewhat more embellished, appears in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver:

Since then I have been training for a Marathon race by walking 12 or 14 kilometres every day and looking carefully in the Seine to see if there is any place where I could throw Bloom with a 50-lb. weight tied to his feet.<sup>16</sup>

Contrast the above two passages with the following, which Joyce wrote to Frank Budgen on Michaelmas of the previous year:

Are you strong on costume? I want to make *Circe* a costume episode also. Bloom for instance appears in five or six different suits. What a book!

I hope you are working well. Got notice to quit this matchbox and am running about looking for a flat. Hell! I must get *Circe* finished and Eumeus underway before I move anywhere. Mind those Yahoos!<sup>17</sup>

But even during his period at rue du Cardinal Lemoine, Joyce could thrust himself above his difficulties and write of them in the same cogent manner that he wrote fiction. His letters are carelessly molded miniatures of *Dubliners*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegan's Wake*; they are at once brilliantly conceived, sparkling from beginning to end with that particular kind of

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<sup>14</sup>Brigham Young University Library, to McAlmon.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 148.

Joycean movement, while they mirror deeply his most poignant feelings. He wrote them hurriedly but with a sort of uncanny ability to shift from one frame of mind to another. In them we detect that his private artistic censor, which was never too exacting, was in full operation.

Larbaud returned to Paris some time in the forepart of October and Joyce moved his family to 9, rue de l'Université. And before he was fully settled, he wrote Miss Weaver that *Ulysses* would be completed in three weeks. Difficulties altered the date of publication until his birthday, February 2, 1922. And as he had in part foreseen, the hardships of writing were only preliminary. Ten years and two months later he wrote to Mr Bennett Cerf:

It is therefore with the greatest sincerity that I wish you all possible success in your courageous venture both as regards the legalisation of *Ulysses* as well as its publication and I willingly certify hereby that not only will your edition be the only authentic one in the United States but also the only one there on which I will be receiving royalties.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>James Joyce, *Ulysses* ("The Modern Library"; New York: Random House, 1934), p. xvii.



# *The Climate of Singing*

BESSIE F. COLLINS

In the deep dark of every man  
 A poet lies,  
 A sport of singing in the memory,  
 (As ancient seed waits in forgotten tombs,  
 To wake to sun and rain and earth,  
 As if the centuries had never been  
 Conceived.)  
 A poet lies there waiting  
 For the elements,  
 The essences,  
 The synthesis of time and place,  
 The alchemy that bursts the shield  
 Of slumbering,  
 And pushes up into a blaze of words.

And though a slave can feel the words  
 Surge in his breast,  
 Most drown in tears,  
 And those that reach the light,  
 Bloom pale and brittle through the links of chains.  
 Where freedom is the poet leaps

With a glad quickening into full life,  
 The tongues he speaks uncountable  
 As feathers of a flock of birds,  
 Or sequined scales of fish;

And if his words must weep they lave  
 His brother's wounds;  
 His laughter is a moon that shimmers fear,  
 Compassion from his pen is bread and salt.

Where freedom is  
 A peon rises to etetrnity  
 Celebrating love.

# Mormon Bibliography

## 1960

RALPH HANSEN

Beginning in April, 1960, the Brigham Young University Library in association with the libraries of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake Public Library, Utah State Historical Society, and the Utah State University Library commenced compiling and publishing a semi-monthly bibliography of writings on Mormon subjects entitled *Mormon Americana*. This bibliography was all-inclusive and reported periodical articles and pamphlets as well as references to books which contained only short sections on Mormon subjects.

From this bibliography we have selected titles which should be of interest to L.D.S. scholars. The books listed are primarily works of nonfiction and are limited to publications related to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Significant regional and state histories in areas where the Mormons are important have been included. Publications of the federal government and the State of Utah have not been included.

For a more comprehensive listing the reader is referred to the publication *Mormon Americana* filed with the participating libraries.

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# Joseph Smith and the Millenarian Time Table

RICHARD LLOYD ANDERSON

"Of that day and hour knoweth no man" (Mt. 24:36), though claims to date the millennial coming are no historical rarity. In the past year newspapers carried stories of more than one group which separated itself to await the appointed day. Failures become miscalculation or misdefinition to persistent believers—and illusion to others. Joseph Smith joins the ranks of discredited visionaries in current publications reaching various intellectual levels. But the image is not a true one. Corrective historical analysis is not only in order, but also a word to those accustomed to dismiss him under the rubric of millennialism. A recent article of widely influential Protestant distribution does essentially this: "Like leaders of other groups in the early nineteenth century, Smith believed that Christ's coming was imminent, 'even 56 years should wind up the scene.'"<sup>1</sup>

This statement of Joseph Smith, made on the occasion of choosing the Twelve on February 14, 1835, has been given more direct treatment. Most elaborate is a curious exposé, Harrison's *Mormons Are Peculiar People*,<sup>2</sup> in which no less than fifty-seven false prophecies of Joseph Smith are formally listed. With minor exceptions this parade of instances is a redundant application of three techniques: making ultimate promises immediate, precluding human agency by affixing total responsibility on the author of the revelations, and giving relative statements of time absolute value. The last method well

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<sup>1</sup>Wesley P. Walters, "Mormonism," *Christianity Today*, V, No. 6 (December 19, 1960), 9. The prediction appears in Joseph's Smith's *Documentary History of the Church* (hereafter D.H.C.) II, 182. Full title of the current edition, cited herein, is *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (2d ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1946-50).

<sup>2</sup>G. T. Harrison, *Mormons Are Peculiar People* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1954).



matches the lack of sophistication claimed by the author for Mormons. Promises that "the hour is nigh" and "I come quickly" are now discredited in Harrison's perspective of history, despite Joseph Smith's express words that millennial events "are now nigh at hand"—"speaking after the manner of the Lord."<sup>3</sup> Distortion is carried further; in spite of citation of correct explanatory sources, "even fifty-six years should wind up the scene" becomes number seven in the list of "false prophecies": "According to Joseph Smith, Christ's second coming should have taken place no later than February 14, 1891."<sup>4</sup>

### *General Context*

"Even fifty-six years should wind up the scene" is unequivocal in time; the question is quality. That is, clearly here is an estimated time of arrival—but did Joseph Smith intend it as human opinion or divine revelation? He had room in his philosophy for both, and a by-product of treating the issue is an important insight into his theory of revelation. The Mormon founder, as should be known, was unwilling to glorify every utterance—even serious ones—with the label of divine direction. He avoided cheapening revelation by too extensive an application. Those about him very well knew that he did not take himself this seriously; the visitor typically had to be corrected: It caused offense to have a sight-seer remark upon introduction that Smith "was nothing but a man, indicating by this expression, that he had supposed that a person to whom the Lord should see fit to reveal His will, must be something more than a man."<sup>5</sup> Converts arriving at Nauvoo were not indoctrinated with infallibility; "I told them I was but a man, and they must not expect me to be perfect . . . ."<sup>6</sup> And Joseph

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<sup>3</sup>*Doctrine and Covenants* 63:53 (hereafter D. & C.). Those who think Mormons ignorantly literal in reading their own millennial writings should see D. & C. 64:23—"Behold, now it is called today until the coming of the Son of Man . . ."—and an apostle's conclusion from it: "I know when he will come. He will come *tomorrow*." Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, ed. Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), III, 1.

<sup>4</sup>Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Materials in which Joseph Smith explains himself become "False Prophecy Number 56" (D.H.C. V, 336, cited Harrison, 166) and "Foul Ball Number 2" (D.H.C. VI, 254 cited Harrison, 169).

<sup>5</sup>D.H.C. II, 302.

<sup>6</sup>D.H.C. V, 181.

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Smith records a private conversation "with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that 'a prophet is always a prophet'; but I told them that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such."<sup>7</sup> Both elements were summarized in a near valedictory to the saints: "I never told you I was perfect; but there is no error in the revelations which I have taught."<sup>8</sup>

For the observation that "even fifty-six years should wind up the scene," there is abundant and consistent evidence to determine whether Joseph Smith considered the statement guesswork or revelation. First, the Biblical mandate for agnosticism on exact time was reiterated and reinforced in his revelations and speeches: In 1831, four years before the prediction in question: ". . . the day or the hour no man knoweth . . ."; ". . . ye know neither the day nor the hour." The same year, to missionaries to the "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing" (Shakers): ". . . the hour and the day no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor shall they know until he comes."<sup>9</sup> In 1839 (regarding millennial judgments): "I know not how soon these things will take place . . ."<sup>10</sup> Joseph Smith was not simply agnostic on the precise moment within a definite time scheme, but admitted lack of knowledge to formulate any date with assurance. Not only do the foregoing disclaimers mean "I don't know how soon"—but also "I don't know how far away" is the Second Coming. The Prophet reiterated through revelation before 1835 that the date of the millenium was unobtainable. Therefore, one would have to show that his "fifty-six year" statement was intended as a revelation revoking former ones in order to classify it as more than a public speculation.

The second reason that the 1835 remark is merely opinion appears in Joseph Smith's critique of the Adventist William Miller, who had calculated the time of Christ's return as 1843. Miller's errors were two. As just discussed, setting any time exceeded human ability:

Jesus Christ never did reveal to any man the precise

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<sup>7</sup>D.H.C. V, 265.

<sup>8</sup>D.H.C. VI, 366.

<sup>9</sup>Respectively, D. & C. 39:21, 133:11, 49:7.

<sup>10</sup>D.H.C. III, 391.



time that he would come. Go and read the Scriptures, and you cannot find anything that specifies the exact hour He would come; and all that say so are false teachers.<sup>11</sup>

Second, Millerite predictions are wrong because they substitute a calendar of time for a schedule of events. The Prophet reports a lengthy discussion of the issue with a group of eastern inquirers:

I showed them the fallacy of Mr. Miller's *data* concerning the coming of Christ and the end of the world . . . I told them the prophecies must all be fulfilled; the sun must be darkened and the moon turned into blood, and many more things take place before Christ would come.<sup>12</sup>

Joseph Smith actually had a historian's sense of world movements and some idea of the time it takes to bring them about. An aura of artificiality surrounded Miller's date, which ignored what had to take place on this earth before heaven could impinge upon it.<sup>13</sup> These events not only included divine judgments, but world events—the gathering of a great and prosperous people dedicated to the Lord,<sup>14</sup> the establishment of a Jewish nation,<sup>15</sup> and, among other things, the institution of Christian cooperation.<sup>16</sup> The Lord could not possibly come be-

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<sup>11</sup>D.H.C. VI, 254.

<sup>12</sup>D.H.C. V, 272. On this occasion Joseph Smith evidently suggested that the Bible could give insight to a correct millennial time, and he rationalized his date of 1890 by the Scriptures in public discourse (D.H.C. V, 336). However, the former instance really claims the need of revelation in correctly assessing Biblical predictions chronologically, a concept that seems obviously to apply to the latter case. These traces of Biblical time prediction are occasional methods of communicating millennial convictions, not sources.

<sup>13</sup>A more practical man is looking at the ivory tower in the following journal entry: "*Monday, April 6 [1843]*—Miller's day of judgment has arrived, but it is too pleasant for false prophets." D.H.C. V, 326.

<sup>14</sup>D. & C. 49:24-25; for source collections of overview see Alma P. Burton, *Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1956), chs. 7, 11; Daniel H. Ludlow, *Latter-day Prophets Speak* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1948), chs. 22-26.

<sup>15</sup>D.H.C. V, 337. This point alone is enough to explode Alice Felt Tyler's overdrawn identification of Mormons with radical millenarians: ". . . like the Millerites, the Mormons had as their chief drawing card the belief that the world was whirling to a speedy destruction in which only the Saints would be saved." *Freedom's Ferment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), p. 95.

<sup>16</sup>See D.H.C. V, 499: "Christians should cease wrangling and contending with each other, and cultivate the principles of union and friendship in their midst; and they will do it before the millennium can be ushered in and Christ takes possession of His kingdom."

## JOSEPH SMITH AND THE MILLENARIAN TIME TABLE 59

fore all these developments occurred, the Mormon Prophet always insisted. No event was an absolute moment in his scheme, and it is a mistake to insist that the climax, Christ's appearance, was subject to more than an estimate.

*Statements of Time*

"Even fifty-six years should wind up the scene" was one of Joseph Smith's free comments, and he left numerous incidental remarks on the source of the idea. In an 1842 review of religious experiences was recounted "the voice of God in the chamber of old Father Whitmer . . . and at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."<sup>17</sup> About this time the Prophet disclosed through this means a limited but definite insight into the Second Coming:

I was once praying very earnestly to know the time of the coming of the Son of Man, when I heard a voice repeat the following: "Joseph, my son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years old, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man; therefore let this suffice, and trouble me no more on this matter." I was left thus, without being able to decide whether this coming referred to the beginning of the millennium or to some previous appearing, or whether I should die and thus see His face. I believe the coming of the Son of Man will not be any sooner than that time.<sup>18</sup>

Three conclusions appear in comparative analysis: 1) It is a significant coincidence that Joseph Smith would reach eighty-five on December 23, 1890, and that the 1835 statement (adding "fifty-six years") would give February 14, 1891. Both opinions obviously derive from the same line of thinking.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, later explanations of the premises for an estimate of 1890/1 are vital in understanding how the 1835 remark of "fifty-six years" must be taken. 2) What revelation communicated in predicting the time of the millennium is not much. The over-all frame of reference of thorough agnosticism as to specific date is preserved, in spite of the divine voice. Joseph Smith felt certain of the experience but at a loss to apply its

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<sup>17</sup>D. & C. 128:21.

<sup>18</sup>D.H.C. V, 324 (D. & C. 130:14-17).

<sup>19</sup>Specific mention of 1890 appears at D.H.C. V, 336.



meaning. He speculated on possible alternatives without suggesting any method for choosing among them. 3) However, one—and only one—inference from the voice he thinks valid; on any alternative the millennial coming “*will not be any sooner than that time.*”

This single conclusion applies no less to the 1835 remark about “fifty-six years.” All of Joseph Smith’s time statements refer to the identical period as a possible date of advent. And all of his discussions that raise the issue give the close of 1890 as the *earliest* time of the Second Coming. Shortly before death the Prophet responded to the Millerite revised calculation (October 22, 1844):

But I will take the responsibility upon myself to prophesy in the name of the Lord, that Christ will not come this year, as Father Miller has prophesied . . .; and I also prophesy, in the name of the Lord, that Christ will not come in forty years; and if God ever spoke by my mouth, He will not come in that length of time. Brethren, when you go home, write this down, that it may be remembered.<sup>20</sup>

As if this were not adequate, there is a third public discourse (referring again to the “voice”) which concludes: “I prophesy in the name of the Lord God, and let it be written—the Son of Man will not come in the clouds of heaven till I am eighty-five years old.”<sup>21</sup>

Reiteration of this unequivocal proclamation would better grace a footnote, were it not for persistent misunderstanding of the 1835 observation, “even fifty-six years should wind up the scene.” Harrison prefers to construe the words of the Mormon founder in the face of clear explanations: “Joseph Smith . . . definitely set the time limit for Christ’s return as *not later* than February 14, 1891.”<sup>22</sup> That interpretation would be one alternative if the 1835 statement stood alone. However, Joseph Smith’s “no sooner” cannot historically become Harrison’s “no later.” Because the opinion appears once without a complete review of its basis does not entitle a commentator to ignore restatements of the same opinion together with full qualifica-

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<sup>20</sup>D.H.C. VI, 254.

<sup>21</sup>D.H.C. V, 336.

<sup>22</sup>Harrison, *op. cit.*, xi, italics added; cf. 114.

## JOSEPH SMITH AND THE MILLENARIAN TIME TABLE 61

tions. There is a procedural difference between history, which tries to understand its subject, and debate, where rules encourage attack on inadequate communication.

*Revelation and Speculation*

Joseph Smith openly prophesied that Christ would not come until the end of 1890 but confessed his data inadequate for further insight. But this prophet of the latter-days was far too involved to reserve comment altogether. However, readers should see the clear line (in this case) between his stated revelation and avowed mortal opinion. The April 2, 1843 summary is agnostic: "I was left thus, without being able to decide whether this coming referred to the beginning of the millenium or to some previous appearing, or whether I should die and thus see His face." This version was followed in a few days by a spontaneous description less carefully expressed:

Were I going to prophesy, I would say the end would not come in 1844, 5, or 6, or in forty years. There are those of the rising generation who shall not taste death till Christ comes.

I was once praying earnestly upon this subject, and a voice said unto me, "My son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years of age, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man." I was left to draw my own conclusions concerning this; and I took the liberty to conclude that if I did live to that time, He would make His appearance. But I do not say whether He will make his appearance or I shall go where He is. I prophesy in the name of the Lord God, and let it be written—the Son of Man will not come in the clouds of heaven till I am eighty-five years old.<sup>23</sup>

Note that the term "prophesy" is reserved specifically for the single ambiguous assertion that could be made from religious experience—a coming after his eighty-fifth year. But Joseph Smith rarely answered "no comment" to questions from others or himself. In this case he went beyond his own stated revelation "*to draw my own conclusions concerning this. . .*" However, personal reflections are expressed strongly and hesitatingly, since he could not logically infer that the voice even

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<sup>23</sup> D.H.C. V, 336.



related to the Second Advent. With an emotional set of millennial expectation he pressed beyond his own data to surmise, "I took the liberty to conclude that if I did live to that time, He would make His appearance." On his own facts, the "rising generation" sentence lies within the same area of personal conjecture.

Here is the final and conclusive reason why "even fifty-six years should wind up the scene" of 1835 is more accurately classed as speculation than revelation.<sup>24</sup> Accepting scripturally enjoined agnosticism (and rejecting a millenarian timetable), Joseph Smith claimed a single revealed insight into the millennial hour—there would be no coming until he had reached eighty-five. This alone was labelled prophecy, though on occasion he opined that the millennium would arrive soon after the end of 1890. Such latter remarks must be correctly classified as admittedly fallible inference. In spite of the strongest interpretation of the 1835 prediction, the recorded equivalent exposes doubting reconsideration right after the opinion. ("... I took the liberty to conclude that if I did live to that time, He would make His appearance. But I do not say whether He will make his appearance or I shall go where He is."<sup>25</sup>) Here lies

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<sup>24</sup>Fawn M. Brodie sees the distinction: "And although Joseph never officially forecast the exact year of the Second Advent, he once ventured to suggest that 'even fifty-six years would wind up the scene,' " *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 102. Mrs. Brodie's version of the 1835 statement substitutes "would" for "should" and fails to disclose the Prophet's agnosticism on Christ's coming. Serious errors appear in alluding to blessings given at the occasion the quoted statement was made and the following days. Joseph Smith is made author of promises of Christ's coming within a lifetime, which contradicts both the official account (D.H.C. II, 187, 189, 194) and Heber C. Kimball (cited D.H.C. II, 188). Mrs. Brodie's footnote (p. 102) also misleads in claiming wrongly that promises were deleted in subsequent D.H.C. editions, an unjustifiable exaggeration of some textual problems.

As to the "millennial spirit" she describes, without doubt the Prophet's opinion contributed to the zeal of some promises relating to the Second Coming. However, it must be faced that in form many of these are what a lawyer would call "precatory"—that is, requesting a blessing rather than promising it.

<sup>25</sup>D.H.C. V, 336. Since Joseph Smith had publicly expressed premonitions of early death prior to both conditional predictions (made in April, 1843), it is far from clear that he expected to live until 1890. Note that appearance in life, not reunion in event of death, is conditioned upon life to eighty-five. The third alternative, expressed in the more temperate and reflecting statement on April 2 but not repeated on April 6, is "some previous appearing," evidently of the type described by Joseph Smith at D.H.C. I, 5, 247; II, 380, 436.

## JOSEPH SMITH AND THE MILLENARIAN TIME TABLE 63

the insight to his theory of revelation—the agent has exceeded his instructions with full disclosure. In historical accuracy, before one can detect a “false prophecy” in Joseph Smith, it must be shown that he intended a prophecy. In application, the outspoken founder of Mormonism scarcely left intention in doubt. What is not revelation, like *dicta* of a court, may be of value, but it is not to be confused with official decision.

*Mormon Millennialism*

Juxtaposition of Joseph Smith’s millennial pronouncements shows that he did not seriously attempt to forecast a date. Others did, and if a man is judged by the historical company he keeps, widespread classification of Mormonism as a “cult” brings no honor to its founder. Not only is it done by responsible theologians,<sup>26</sup> but serious historians. The wildly emotional frontier world, on this view, produced “anti-Masonry, millennialism, spiritualism, Mormonism, and a score of fervent and often rabid causes . . . .”<sup>27</sup> But Mormonism is no congenial bedfellow here. Although the issue merits full discussion, comment on the millennialism sponsored by Joseph Smith can scarcely be avoided.

Richard Niebuhr sees the germ of the distinction that ought to rehabilitate Mormonism from incarceration with the cults. The life expectancy of a radical sect was not long in the ebb and flow of “the excitable atmosphere of nineteenth-century America,” but the Latter-day Saints prospered: “One such group, that of the Mormons, under able leadership, was able to survive and to form a really distinct and important religious denomination.”<sup>28</sup> In addition to its heavenly vision, it is not

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<sup>26</sup>*Christianity Today*, V, No. 6 (Dec. 19, 1960) is devoted to “Christianity and Modern Cults,” of which Mormonism leads the list numerically; see editorial comments on the rise of “non-Christian American cults” (p. 20).

<sup>27</sup>Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1960), p. 335; the statement prefaces the account on Mormonism in the chapter, “The Emergence of Religious Cults and Movements.” Alice Felt Tyler, e.g., makes the same association (v. *supra* at n. 15) with great lack of insight and evidence, though she acknowledges that Joseph Smith’s teaching was not “so immediate in pledge of a more glorious day as Millerism . . . .” (*op. cit.*, p. 86).

<sup>28</sup>H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1960), p. 160.



generally appreciated that long before the pragmatic Brigham Young, Mormonism had its feet firmly on earth.

"Basically Joseph's was not a revivalist sect. Although he followed some of the revivalist patterns, he appealed as much to reason as to emotion . . . ." <sup>29</sup> But men are inveterate sorters—further thinking responsibility ends with quick disposition into some ready-made slot. Mormonism, with points of contact in many directions, is particularly vulnerable to being too easily typed. Be that as it may, belief in a millennial era ought not associate Joseph Smith with intellectual and emotional excesses of millenarian contemporaries whom he criticized and declined to emulate. "The *Book of Mormon* is millennial, but it is calm in its hopes, and neither it nor the movement to which it gave rise ever suggested anything like Millerite enthusiasm." <sup>30</sup>

From the beginning under Joseph Smith the Latter-day Saints were millenarians with a difference. The first angelic announcement heralded "the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah . . . that a people might be prepared for the Millennial reign." <sup>31</sup> No passive, dependent waiting for a sensational outcome ever preoccupied those who accepted the message of Joseph Smith. Latter-day Saints rallied to a platform of achievement, not a millenarian timetable. "Though Mormonism, like other adventist faiths, was a millennial proclamation, a warning . . . it was also a program to deal with these eventualities." <sup>32</sup> Concurrent with prophecy and anticipation came a plan of preaching, gathering, building, and educating, whose spirit can be caught from the First Presidency's message in 1840 "To the Saints Scattered Abroad"; "The work which has to be accomplished in the last days is one of vast

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<sup>29</sup>Brodie, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>30</sup>Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 35.

<sup>31</sup>D.H.C. IV, 537.

<sup>32</sup>William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 19. Cf. p. 21: "While other millenarians set a time, the Mormons appointed a place."—p. 23: "What for other millenarian faiths marked the end, for the Saints was just the beginning."—and p. 25, observing that Mormon periodicals reflected "a sober and practical economics that once more distinguished the Saints from the adventists of the time . . . ."

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importance, and will call into action the energy, skill, talent, and ability of the saints, so that it may roll forth . . . ."<sup>33</sup>

Far from being a symptom of radical emotionalism, Mormon millennialism took stock of the future but lived very much in the present. Therefore, the sociologist can discern here "a strong motive in Mormon constructive efforts"; intense millennial beliefs, in spite of usual connotations, "have been integrated into the general framework of Mormonism in such a way that they always arouse enthusiasm for preparation."<sup>34</sup> It is easier to see the social dimension with demonstrated excellence in co-operative endeavor than consequences in individual lives. But these were equally important and related in the scheme of the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

When I contemplate the rapidity with which the great and glorious day of the coming of the Son of Man advances, when He shall come to receive His Saints unto Himself, where they shall dwell in His presence, and be crowned with glory and immortality; . . . I cry out in my heart, What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness!<sup>35</sup>

In Joseph Smith's program the invitation is not to dream about the date, but to labor for the event. He instilled into the Latter-day Saints the double ability to visualize a millennial reign and yet to work patiently for it. This was not later rationalization based on exploded prophecies, but the deliberate, consistent program from the outset. The Prophet disassociated himself from the easy, fanciful millenarianism of his environment. However, many contemporaries made the same erroneous classification as later polemicists and historians. For instance, an editor felt that "Joe Smith has met his match at last"

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<sup>33</sup>D.H.C. IV, 185: cf. the similar conference appeal of the Presidency: ". . . let every man, woman and child realize the importance of the work, and act as if success depended on his individual exertion alone . . ." (D.H.C. IV, 214).

<sup>34</sup>O'Dea, *op. cit.* p. 137; cf. Hyrum L. Andrus, "The Second American Revolution: Era of Preparation," *Brigham Young University Studies*, Autumn 1959-Winter 1960, 79.

<sup>35</sup>D.H.C. I, 442; cf. D. & C. 38:8: ". . . he that is not purified shall not abide the day."



in Cyrus Redding, who reported seeing "the sign of the Son of Man." The reply was both cutting and official. It is Joseph Smith's parting of the ways with millenarians who failed to sense the patterns and processes of history to be:

But I shall use my right, and declare that, notwithstanding Mr. Redding may have seen a wonderful appearance in the clouds one morning about sunrise (which is nothing very uncommon in the winter season), he has not seen the sign of the Son of Man, as foretold by Jesus . . . . Therefore hear this, O earth: The Lord will not come to reign over the righteous, in this world, in 1843, nor until everything for the Bridegroom is ready.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>D.H.C. V, 291.

# *The Demands of Aesthetics Upon Religious Art*

MELVIN RADER

There is a natural affinity between religion and art, but if they are to be happily joined, each must retain its distinctive virtue. Both art and religion can bind men together into a spiritual community, and they can do so the more effectively if each lends its strength to the other. But the religion must be sincere and deeply felt and the art must be aesthetically sound.

There are many definitions of religion and these vary widely. The definitions stress various factors—feeling, action, belief, cult, art and ritual. All of these factors are involved in religion, but it is necessary to see how they fit together. Most authorities agree that the binding force is the sense of sacredness, or as some would prefer to say, of holiness. The attitude of sacredness is a complex sentiment—something of a blend of wonder, awe, gratitude, and tender admiration. It is as distinctive as the sense of beauty, marking off the field of the religious as definitely as beauty marks off the field of the aesthetic. To substitute mere intellectual conviction or moral rectitude is to rob religion of its psychological core.

Robert H. Lowie, in his book *Primitive Religion*, maintains that the feeling of sacredness is evoked primarily by abnormal stimuli—the mysterious, weird, extraordinary, or supernatural. While admitting that the sense of astonishment is at the heart of religion, I believe that more is involved in religious experience than blank wonder and awe. There is also the feeling that what is deep and mysterious within oneself is akin to what is deep and mysterious in the object. "What is that," St. Augustine asks, "which gleams through me and smites my heart with-

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out wounding it? I am both a-shudder and a-glow. A-shudder, in so far as I am unlike it, a-glow in so far as I am like it." The unlikeness lends to religious experience its note of dread, but the likeness lends the note of tender exaltation. Toward sacred objects we generally feel a fundamental bond of community.

The need for communion and self-transcendence springs largely from man's solitariness. In the little span between birth and death, each of us experiences the poignant fact of being confined within his own skin and limited by his isolated individual selfhood. Each tends to feel small and insignificant and powerless before the vast immensity of nature. Especially in moments of crisis, every man, like a shipwrecked Robinson Crusoe, wants to escape from the little island of his own ego. Religion is the return from solitariness to community—it is man's endeavor, by an inward personal adjustment, to make himself at home in the world. By cultivating the religious sense of community, he escapes from his loneliness and self-alienation.

If I have interpreted religion correctly, it is not difficult to understand its affinity with art. As Shelley, in his *Defense of Poetry*, has declared:

The great secret of morals is love; or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasure of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry ministers to the effect by acting upon the cause.

Shelley's contention, that artistic imagination is the great means of uniting human beings, is far more profound than the notion so prevalent in our scientific and technological civilization—that aesthetic sensitivity is a mere "frill," a secondary and cloistered virtue.

Art is not a delicate specialty on the margin of life but a necessity at the very center. It is an indispensable instrument for cultivating the sense of community. It breaks down the spiritual walls between human beings, while enhancing their individual-

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ity and free creativeness. All non-artistic modes of communication fail to portray adequately the inner man—his desires, hopes, misgivings, his joys and sorrows. These subjective states, in their uniqueness and inaccessibility, constitute the most private part of man's being—they are not open to inspection and are least amenable to scientific description. The inmost core of personality would remain hidden and incommunicable if it were not for artistic expression. By means of art, the inner solitudes flow together and men are united in a spirit of appreciation.

The artist not only discloses his own moods but transcends his merely private feelings. In the deep recesses of his mind, he is in touch with the instinctively common part of man's nature—with the values that are not peculiar to him as an artist nor to one man or a few, but are basic in the emotional experiences and secret longings of most human beings. If it were not so, art could not serve as the language of all humanity—a way of communicating across all the barriers of time and place. The works of all ages and countries—Gothic counterpart, Egyptian sculpture, Chinese landscape, Mayan temple, English poetry, and American novel—bear alike the spiritual imprint of humanity. In the realm of art the whole world is kin.

As master of spiritual expression, the artist can express religious emotions and intuitions with incomparable vividness. Hence it is no accident that religion has found its fullest expression in art, and that so much of the world's great art is religious. The emotion of sacredness cannot be expressed in the language of science, nor in the prosaic language of common speech. Without art, religion is inarticulate. But without religion, art would lack its most potent themes. Art raised to its highest power is almost identical with religion grasped in its inmost truth. At their point of union each is at its best, art losing its frivolity, and religion surrendering its literalness and dogmatism.

By religion men seek to relate themselves to their fellow-men, their universe, and their gods. Because religious art springs from the search for such relationships, it belongs to the community rather than to the single individual. One of its



prime functions is to hold the group together in harmony. Thus the arts of religion are closely allied to the arts of the community, symbolizing as they do the thoughts and feelings of kindred spirits. Religion, I have maintained, is essentially communal, and art as a mode of spiritual communication intensifies the bonds of community.

Some rationalistic or puritanical thinkers have denied the religious relevance of artistic imagery. They would scale religion down to abstract conceptions and moralistic practices. Others demand that religious groups unite on some single, eclectic, washed-out formula that tries to sum up the truth in all particular faiths. But without its particularistic elements, a religion is too disembodied and colorless to excite vivid conviction. The concrete image, as in the story of Job or the personality of Buddha, is more unforgettable than the mere abstract precept. Seeking to arouse, to stimulate, to inspire, religious art appeals to man's feeling through the rich, vivid color of stained glass, fresco, or oil paint; through the exalted musical harmonies of the cantata or the mass; through the restless aspiring arches and buttresses of a Gothic cathedral or the delicate perfection of a Greek temple; through the austere stone gods of Egypt or the attenuated, spiritual figures of El Greco. Symbolic imagery has always been the content and poetry the language of religious thought. No abstract distillate is a satisfactory or possible substitute. In the very nature of religion the particular must be kept together with the universal, but the image or symbol need not be interpreted with the superstitious literalism of the fundamentalist. What the religion of the literal-minded adds to the artist's is a limited apprehension, which takes factually what he meant ideally, and degrades into superstition what in his mind was a true interpretation upon a symbolic plane.

Yet it is possible to exaggerate the interdependence of art and religion. Not all good art is religious, nor is all religious art good. For art to be excellent, it must meet the standards of aesthetic merit. For example, the medium chosen should be appropriate, and its expressive values should be effectively exploited. The sensuous and material qualities of the work of art—such as colors, shapes, textures, motions, sounds—should

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be employed with a keen appreciation of their unique qualities and expressive power. All representational details or symbolic meanings should contribute to a well-knit and articulate whole. The style should be sincere, original, and richly expressive, and the form should harmonize all the constituents into a total organic unity. Religious content, however well-intentioned, cannot redeem a work of art that is defective in these aesthetic respects.

Likewise religion can be good or bad, wise or foolish, and no artistic skill can redeem cheap, or insincere, or shallow religious attitudes. Whitehead has said: "Religion is force of belief cleansing the inward parts. For this reason the primary religious virtue is sincerity, a penetrating sincerity." Religion must be deeply and sincerely felt if it is to inspire great art. During many centuries religion has stirred the human imagination with extraordinary depth and force. But there have also been many failures—works that are insincere, or weakly sentimental, or narrowly doctrinaire, or merely conventional, or exceedingly superficial. The weaknesses of religion become more apparent when they are objectified in art.

Also it must be said that art has its own wide and autonomous province. Art is art, and it is not morals or religion or propaganda. Its standards of technical excellence are its own, and its subject-matter is as wide as human thought and experience. The realms of nature and fantasy are open to the artist, and there he may wander free to select and idealize and portray what he will. There are some earnest idealists, such as Tolstoy, who would forbid, if they could, all art that does not contribute to the religious and moral ideals which they have in mind. Tolstoy took the extreme stand he did partly because he appreciated so vividly the power of art to mold human character. The noble ideal to which he wished to dedicate art, the universal brotherhood of man, is the more moving because, in his own life, he tried with such intense conviction to abide by it. But on the basis of this standard he would ban most of the great art-masterpieces of the past as too secular or non-moral. An art-standard that would exclude the plays of Shakespeare, the music of Mozart, or the painting of Cezanne, is intolerable.

To conclude, art and religion must not be confused, and



each has its own standards of worth. Nevertheless, religion would be infinitely poorer without art to give it form and vividness; and art has often been lifted to a plane of greatness by the grandeur and universality of the religious values that it expresses. Religious art is best when it expresses no narrow and partisan spirit. To be sure, many descriptive works of art, such as paintings, are expositions of religious dogmas, but if they are great it is not for this reason. On the other hand, too much of our contemporary art is trivial because it lacks the breadth and intensity of the best of religious art. The greatest art is the consecration of our deepest convictions, and contains the truth of our most stirring visions.

# *The Articles of Faith-- Composer's Commentary*

MERRILL BRADSHAW

As one might expect, the basic desire of almost any composer beginning a new work is to create a good work which will give some meaningful experience to his audience. From this point he begins, and to this point he relates every decision he makes about every note he writes before it finds its way into the final copy. The criteria he uses in making these decisions are crucial to the work of art at every stage of its existence, and they determine the final character of the work. This paper is an attempt to recall, after the fact, just which criteria were significant in the decisions I made in setting the text of "The Articles of Faith" to music.

Before the idea of this work became sufficiently well defined to have a title and a text, it existed as a rather vague urge to create a good "L.D.S." work of art. In trying to bring this urge into sharper definition, I found myself comparing the artistic characteristics of works previously done by Mormon composers with religious works of art in general. Even now, more than a year after making the comparison, I feel that the image of Moroni trumpeting the message of the restoration to the world represents the character of most of what has been done by L.D.S. composers. To be fair to other L.D.S. composers I must point out that I find no problems with this type of music. I believe that much of our Mormon heritage is bound up in the proselyting of the Gospel. That our composers should be attracted to it is only natural. But deep down inside me was the secret desire that we should also try to depict some of the more intimate experiences of Mormonism. There are emotions in Mormon experience that belong in the heart rather than on the mouthpiece of a trumpet, emotions beclouded by tears in the eyes and fire in the breast until words become sacrilege and actions fumble awkwardly through their embarrassment at their own inadequacy. Other religions have given birth to



profound expressions of their most personal, sacred yearnings; should not Mormonism also be represented in its intimate, contemplative aspects?

I began searching for a text that would serve as a vehicle for such a work—a text which represents ideas about which good Mormons have deep personal convictions. I do not recall just when the idea of using “The Articles of Faith” merged with the original urge to create. For years I had been thinking of doing a setting of that text especially after I discovered so many fine settings of the “Credos” of other churches in the music literature of the past. Somewhere along the line the urge to create met the idea of “The Articles of Faith,” found it compatible and joined with it.

Another series of thoughts had direct bearing upon this work. Often, we mistake rather shallow imitations of emotion for the real thing. There are images and clichés which have become popular as means of stimulating what I call “pushbutton emotions.” Someone sings about “mother” in sweet harmonies and we feel a twinge of emotion because we love our mothers. Someone holds up a picture of a baby and we simulate feelings of tenderness. It is good that we love our mothers and feel tenderness about babies, and to use the images of these things is certainly legitimate. Like most sacred things, however, these images lose a lot of their meaning when they are used so often that they become stereotyped. The habitual sentimental responses that accompany such images get in the way of more specific emotions that a composer wishes to depict. Some composers, especially those in the areas of popular and commercial music, play upon the trite sound image because it evokes automatic responses which are entirely predictable and thus useful for popularity and commerce. In any case, the use of images which are such common coin tends to dilute the intensity of the emotion that is evoked; and the composer trying to depict profound, sincere feelings avoids them.

The results of all of these considerations are that I rejected use of outside materials and old clichés in my piece even though such things might have guaranteed me an immediate appeal. Sections from hymns and other known Mormon songs were excluded because they have their own imagery and evoke

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their own feelings which could block the emotions I wanted to depict in my own music. I decided against using poetry to extend the text in favor of the scriptures since the scriptures seem to me to be more solemn and directly personal as to belief. Lastly, I selected the medium of unaccompanied choir as being most fitting for the type of expression I had in mind. Chorus, orchestra, soloists, and narrators in a grand combination seemed somehow incongruous with the personal nature of the idea. I wanted the intimacy of the pure sound of human voices blending together in the expression of some of their deepest convictions.

Having discarded the above methods of making the music attractive to the layman, I felt the need of something that would establish a bond between his experience and my expression. There are some influential people in the Church who seem to have difficulty accepting music for its own value and who discount the value of the artistic use of religious materials unless there is a proselyting end to be served. I sensed a need to provide some extra-musical substance to the piece to give such people something which might lead them to understand the musical values for what they are. Thus I began searching for symbols—symbols in sound which would supplement the meaning of the text and help tie the piece together. I felt that my music's bond with the listener could be established through sincere expression of the emotions underlying the text.

Words and music have had rather interesting relationships in the history of Western art music. Perhaps one of the earliest types of musical symbolism was the medieval practice of using portions of the liturgical chant of the Catholic Church to emphasize religious references in nonliturgical music. Often these parts of the chant were so well hidden that the meaning of their appearance in the music remained a mystery to all except the composer himself and those to whom he chose to reveal his secret. This symbolism functioned in a rather elementary way: the melody of the chant was already endowed with rich associations in the experience of all church goers; these associations were brought to mind by introducing the chant in a new situation. Such symbolism has continued in use down to the present day. Examples of it in more familiar types of music



might include the *Cantus Firmus* techniques of Renaissance composers, the Choral Preludes in the music of the Baroque Era, and the quotations of folk music in the Romantic Period such as the "Gaudeamus Igitur" in Brahms' *Academic Festival Overture*. This type corresponds in some ways to the use of "common coin" clichés which I had already rejected in my work. Effectively handled, of course, this type of symbolism is very moving.

The Wagnerian *Leitmotif* represents another type of symbolism somewhat related to the earlier one. In this technique special music is composed to represent the different characters and objects that have significance to the plot of the *Musik-drama*. As these characters and objects appear in the unfolding of the plot, their special music appears with them to help the listener musically recognize who or what they are and what type of significance they have in the given situation. The *Leitmotifs* are varied, developed, superimposed, etc., as the mood of the particular moment requires. The new element here is, of course, that instead of using music with pre-existent associations, Wagner and his followers have created the original association and used the music whenever that association was to be called to mind. This type of symbolism, used subtly, appeals to me as a device pregnant with meaningful possibilities in a work such as mine.

A third type of musical symbolism consists of using special characteristics of the musical language itself to represent the emotional significance of extra-musical concepts. The typical "happy" major mode and "sad" minor mode associations represent a somewhat superficial application of this type of symbolism. The shifting of modes and chord qualities in Schubert's art songs would be a more subtle example. The accompaniments for romantic art songs are alive with excellent examples of this type. Bach's use of sharply descending skips in the melodic line depicting such words as "falling" or "death," diminished seventh chords on ominous words of the text, and such other "word painting" devices give further illustration. When used in good taste, this type of symbolism also has great appeal to me.

It should be obvious that all of these types of musical

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symbolism have meaning only as we give meaning to them. There is no inherent verbal meaning in music. Verbal meanings come about because of associations which we make between the meaning of the words and the character of the music or because of previous contacts with symbolic associations in similar music. Some distrust of musical symbolism has been expressed because the symbols often have to be explained to be understood, as witness this article. This distrust really begs the question. No one can deny that these associations are extra-musical. But it is possible to treat them in an artistic fashion. Any union of words and music must come to terms with verbal meanings in one way or another, and the manner in which this union is achieved is a matter of artistic importance as well as a subject for discussion and speculation.

The first act of symbolic significance in this composition was the division of the text into homogeneous sections corresponding to a formal plan for the music. The analysis of the text revealed a natural grouping into a symmetrical pattern. Article One stands alone as the fundamental basis of the whole doctrine expressed in the other twelve statements. Articles Two and Three are conveniently grouped together since they discuss the principles which form the basis for our salvation from sin. Articles Four through Ten enumerate the details of doctrine which emerge from the first three. Articles Eleven and Twelve express civic responsibility and religious freedom as elements of a good Christian life. Finally, Article Thirteen recounts the ideals of personal conduct which are derived from a dedication to the principles of the preceding statements. Thus these thirteen statements trace the course of our belief from its foundation of faith in God, through the philosophical basis of our salvation, through the organization and doctrinal details necessary for attaining that salvation, to our attitude towards the beliefs and organizations of our fellow men, and finally to the ideals of spiritual and moral strength which such beliefs require of us. As the musical form developed, Articles One and Thirteen gave me an opportunity to frame the whole work with movements of a deeply personal, spiritual quality. Articles Two and Three are paired with Articles Eleven and Twelve to form an inner circle of music concerning the somewhat social



aspects of belief, the second movement touching our relationship with God, and the fourth our relationships with our fellow men. The dogmatic core of the doctrine is the substance of the third movement. This grouping gives a symmetrical pattern of 1,2-3,4-5-6-7-8-9-10,11-12,13 to the way in which the statements are fitted into the musical form of the work. I should mention that this organization of the verbal content of the work was only partially conceived before composition was begun. The later parts emerged rather slowly as the work took shape.

I might also mention that this intellectual, symbolical side of the composition seemed to go on consciously in parallel to the musical side and, for the most part, rather independently, although some conscious coordination of the two areas of thought was necessary. In setting up symbols for specific concepts in the work, the methodology was rather indefinite in one sense, but quite exacting in another. First, the text was analyzed rather carefully for associations of ideas between sections. Then some tentative musical ideas were sketched for some of the more prominent themes which seemed to recur. From that point, a rigorous methodology was abandoned and the direct association was left to the subconscious and the inspiration of the moment of composition. As a result of this, and as a result of my usual practice of trying to become saturated with the materials of which a given piece is built (in this case the symbolic thematic materials), I am still discovering relationships which have symbolical significance more than nine months after completing the work.

As each specific situation developed in the composition and the problem of expressing each part of the text loomed before me, I had constant recourse to the thought, "How do I, as a thinking, feeling Mormon, convinced of the truth of these statements, feel in my inmost self as I contemplate their significance?" Sometimes the answer was an overflowing of ideas and emotions which translated themselves almost without effort on my part into musical entities. Other times there was no answer because of various factors. Perhaps the significance of a given phrase had not yet become a part of what I felt. Perhaps the phrase had no significance for me when it came up

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for treatment. Perhaps at the time *nothing* had enough importance to matter and compositional activity had to be postponed. But eventually, after rest, study, contemplation, and sometimes prayer, each concept submitted—or rather, I should say I submitted to each concept's demands—and the music was written.

As an example of the way in which these themes and symbols work in this piece we can trace some of the symbols of the first movement through their appearances in the other movements of the piece. In developing a theme for the "Father" section of the First Article, I sensed two emotions: the sincerity of belief and the fundamental nature of God, the Eternal Father. The sincerity aspect has manifested itself in the theme as a half-step upper neighbor on the word "believe." This melodic configuration can be detected in the beginning theme of every movement of the work (with appropriate symbolic significance). The ascending perfect fifth with its strong roots in the overtone series of nature and its strong tendency to organize the chaos of sounds into tonal communities around a central tone seemed especially well suited to the expression of the nature of God. The combination of these two ideas into a musically satisfying theme took several days of fussing, stewing, and working. It finally materialized as presented here:



We be- lieve in God the e-ter-nal Fath-er

Figure 1. Father's Theme.

This theme was set in a rather austere style to give expression to the sense of mystery that seems to surround the Father. By this I do not mean mystery in the medieval sense, but rather in the sense that we have less direct contact with Him than with either of the other members of the Godhead, and we know less about Him. In developing the section of the piece that deals with Him, I felt that the few words devoted to our state-



ment of belief would become monotonous if repeated too many times without some contrast. Musically, too, long passages in imitative counterpoint lose interest unless treated in a unique way. Not wanting to interfere with the mood of austerity by introducing a spectacular effect, I chose to trope the text with phrases descriptive of the Father and to set these tropes to solid, wide-spaced, full-sounding chords sung pianissimo at intervals through this section.

In treating the Son musically, I felt the need for some relationship between His theme and that of the Father. This I achieved by using the same perfect fifth interval in a prominent part of the theme. This time, however, it is used in descending rather than ascending motion and is filled in by a descending scale line. Here again tropes were used for variety's sake.



Figure 2. The Son's theme.

The theme of the Holy Ghost is harmonic rather than melodic and consists of a series of chords in descending sequence over an ascending bass. The associations having to do with the Holy Ghost descending from above while we rise to meet Him are not disallowed, but the real reason for using the harmonic theme is that harmony can permeate the whole texture of a section without seriously altering the basic character of the melodies of the voices involved. Thus, the Holy Ghost theme can dominate a part of the piece without eliminating the thematic associations of the voices combining to make up the chords. This perhaps parallels the way the Holy Ghost works in real life. One more reason for this choice is that it has a reverent mood about it, especially when it is presented in the Renaissance style of the first movement.



Figure 3. The Holy Ghost's theme.

The Father's theme and the Son's theme are treated imitatively in fugatos with the tropes interrupting at various intervals. The Holy Ghost theme is presented in its chordal aspect with its trope. Then all three themes are joined together into one phrase summing up the musical material of the whole movement. Symbolically, the separate presentation of the themes corresponds to the Mormon concept of the individual personalities of the members of the Godhead. The unification of the three themes at the end indicates how we conceive of the unity of the Godhead: each member (theme) separate with his own attributes, yet all united in action and purpose (into one phrase). Intentionally, the contrapuntal combination of the themes was avoided since this device has been used by many composers to symbolize the orthodox Christian belief in the Trinity.

The themes of Christ and the Holy Ghost carry over directly into the second movement. The listener will perceive the use of the Son's theme at the words "and not for Adam's transgression" indicating Christ's part in relieving mankind of the burden of the Fall. Its reappearance on the words "through the atonement of Christ" was inevitable. The theme of the Holy Ghost also recurs with both original and inverted contours. His functions in the lives of men, bringing them to salvation, are indicated by using His theme wherever "obedience" is mentioned. In the closing measures of the movement His theme occurs again, intertwined with the "snake-like" theme which was used to depict sin and punishment in the somber section at the



beginning of the movement. It will be noticed how the harmonic nature of the Holy Ghost theme alters the musical significance of the "sin" theme from dissonance treated rather indiscriminately in the beginning to consonance and carefully controlled dissonance in the setting of "by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel."



a) "Sin" theme.

b) Modification by Holy Ghost Theme.

Figure 4

To try to trace all of the themes through all of the movements would take more time and space than are available here. I shall mention, therefore, only a few appearances of the Holy Ghost theme in the remaining movements and leave the association that may be made between the Holy Ghost and the specific subject mentioned up to the reader who has struggled this far. Inevitably the theme is used in Article Four's setting at the words "for the gift of the Holy Ghost." But, where the

## ARTICLES OF FAITH—COMPOSER'S COMMENTARY 83

gifts of the spirit are mentioned in Article Seven, the association is perhaps not as clear because of an intervening concept. When the words "Baptism by immersion for remission of sins" were set, the Holy Ghost theme was adapted to a falling contour in all voices to symbolize "immersion." It is this form of the theme which is used to set the articles dealing with the gifts of the spirit. There are both musical and doctrinal reasons for this. Musically, the need for recapitulation was impelling. Doctrinally, this brings both baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost into association with the gifts of the spirit since they normally follow both ordinances. The sections dealing with the scriptures are also set to a modification of the Holy Ghost theme. This time the contrary motion aspect of the theme was chosen to represent the inspiration of the Holy Ghost needed in both the writing and interpretation of the scriptures. When the *Book of Mormon* is mentioned as being the "word of God," the Holy Ghost theme occurs in its original form to indicate the fact that we consider the inspired translation of that book to have made it even more reliable as God's word than the other scriptures.

In the fourth movement, the Holy Ghost theme again occurs in another guise on the words "of worshipping Almighty God." And in the fifth movement, the whole middle section "We believe all things, we hope all things . . ." is set to a prayer-like adaptation of the Holy Ghost theme as a plea for inspiration in realizing the lofty ideal enumerated in the Thirteenth Article.

The style of writing of each of the different movements was also chosen with some symbolic significance. The first, having to do with the inherent spiritual qualities of belief in God, copies the polyphonic style of the Renaissance. The Renaissance composers achieved perhaps the most profound spiritual emotions in their music of any composers of any period. I have adapted the style to the freer tonal relationships of twentieth century music but have attempted to retain the purity of texture and movement offered by pure counterpoint. The sections about the Son are somewhat freer in their treatment than those concerning the Father, but the essential contrapuntal nature of the movement is retained. The Holy Ghost



portion of the movement leaves the contrapuntal style but stays with the Renaissance "familiar" chordal style.

In the second movement the style of writing is very free and dissonances are used, especially in the opening section, in very unorthodox ways. The choice of a twentieth century style for this movement was influenced a good deal by the idea that sin, punishment, and obedience are problems of our time as much as of any period in the world's history.

The third movement of my setting treats the more dogmatic portions of the text. Inasmuch as the Middle Ages represent the time when religious dogma held its greatest power and the scholasticism of these centuries represents the most dogmatic form of learning, I turned to the style of that time for this movement's main themes. Parallel fourths and fifths, "empty" sounds, triple rhythm in the patterns of the old rhythmic modes, and the rather free use of dissonances on weak beats are characteristic of large sections of this movement. Other sections where some of the more spiritual dogmas are mentioned return to techniques of the first movement.

The fourth movement is a fanfare, declaring our right to worship as we please. The dissonance treatments and the use of "bare" fifths brand this as music based upon the fanfares of either the fourteenth or the twentieth centuries. The calming of the mood and slackening of brilliance in the middle section give a less pretentious mood to go with the idea of "being subject."

The fifth movement uses monophony for the beginning and ending sections because monophony seems to me to convey a simple sincerity that cannot be obtained with more complex textures. When the second voice enters under the opening melody, the new voice hardly restrains the motions of the first; and both retain their own integrity until the cadence. The middle section is for male chorus, so written to produce rich contrast with the rather austere sincerity of the single lines preceding and following. The echoes of the Holy Ghost theme can be heard in these prayerful chords. The single line at the close is unpretentious, not given to preaching, but humbly pedging the search for that which is "virtuous, lovely, of good report, or praiseworthy."

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All of these styles and ideas have been blended together and modified by several factors. The first is my personal style of writing and my idea of what good, modern music for unaccompanied voices should sound like. Second come the limitations and strengths of the a cappella style, the fancied and real problems of the singer who must hear the sound in his head before he sings it. The interplay of motives in the musical fabric caused reciprocal modifications between themes. Thus, I am sure that no one would mistake my first movement for sixteenth century counterpoint or perhaps even recognize the influence.

Neither am I convinced that everyone will fathom the significance of each one of these devices—and they are merely devices—as the piece is performed. Nor do I feel it is necessary that people consciously recognize these relationships and symbolical meanings. But I have felt that even though no one sees the meaning of any of these symbols, they have been instrumental in determining the final character of the work, a character which has been determined by the structure of the symbolism. And, finally, there is the cautious hope that the listener will, at least instinctively, sense the sincerity and depth of feeling that led to the use of these techniques.

My goal has been to construct a good piece of music that flows well and expresses some of my conceptions of "The Articles of Faith." All of the ideas that have been mentioned in this résumé have been used (plus many others) since they have contributed to the attainment of this goal, and many ideas have been rejected since they have hindered it. This goal has been the controlling factor in every choice. The first performance of the work will tell whether I have succeeded in reaching the ideals that led to my setting of "The Articles of Faith."



Reverently *p* We be - lieve in God the E - ter - nal

*p* Simply We be - lieve in God the E - ter - nal fa - ther. We be - lieve in God th'E - ter -

Fa - - - - - ther. We be - lieve; - - - - - in God - - - - - th'E - ter - nal

- nal Fa - - - - - ther. We be - lieve in God th'E - ter - nal be - lieve in

We be - lieve in God th'E - ter - nal Fa - - - - - ther

We be - lieve in

We be - lieve in

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Fa - ther. We be - lieve in God th'E - ter - nal Fa - ther. We be - lieve in  
 God th'E - ter - nal Fa - ther. We be - lieve in  
 God the Fa - ther We be - lieve in God — the Fa - ther. We be - lieve in  
 God th'E - ter - nal Fa - ther. We be - lieve in God  
 (Two voices to a part) (all) We be - lieve in God th'E - ter - nal Fa - ther.  
 God Man of Ho - li - ness is his Name  
 - lieve in God. Man of Ho - li - ness is his Name  
 - lieve in God Man of Ho - li - ness is his Name  
 in God Man of Ho - li - ness is his Name



*mp* Unis. The E - ter - - - - - nal Fa - ther. We be - lieve in the E -

All Altos *mp* We be - lieve in God the

All Tenors *mp* We be - lieve in God the E - ter - - - - - nal Fa - ther, Fa - - - - - ther.

All Bass *mp* We be - lieve in God the E - ter - - - - -

ter - nal Fa - ther. Man of Coun - sel is his Name, End - less and E -

Fa - - - - - ther. Man of Coun - sel is his Name, End - less and E -

Man of Coun - sel is his Name, End - less and E -

- nal Fa - ther. Man of Coun - sel is his Name, End - less and E -

2 voices to a part

*ppp*

ARTICLES OF FAITH—COMPOSER'S COMMENTARY 89

ter - nal is his Name. *(all)* We be-

ter - nal is his Name. We be-lieve in God the E-ter - nal Fa-ther, we be- *(all)*

ter - nal is his Name. We be-lieve in God the E-ter - nal Fa-ther, we be- *(all)*

Name *(mm)*

-lieve in God the E-ter - nal Fa-ther. And in his Son Je - sus *Piu Mosso*

-lieve in God the E-ter - nal Fa - ther. *Unis. f*

-lieve in God the E-ter - nal Fa-ther. And in his Son Je - sus *Unis. f*



Christ; His on-ly be-got-ten Son; Who was in the bos-om of the Fa-ther

Christ

Christ, His on-ly be-got-ten Son; And in his

Who was in the bos-om of the Fa-ther

Detailed description: This system contains the first two systems of a musical score. The first system has a vocal line with lyrics 'Christ; His on-ly be-got-ten Son; Who was in the bos-om of the Fa-ther' and a piano accompaniment. The second system continues with a vocal line 'Christ, His on-ly be-got-ten Son; And in his' and piano accompaniment. The piano part features a prominent bass line with chords and moving lines.

ev - en from the be-gin-ning And in his Son Je - sus

And in his Son

Son Je - sus Christ And in his Son Je-sus Christ.

Ev - en from the be-gin-ning, in his Son Je-sus Christ, Je-sus Christ And in his

And in his

Detailed description: This system contains the second two systems of the musical score. The third system has a vocal line 'ev - en from the be-gin-ning And in his Son Je - sus' and piano accompaniment. The fourth system continues with 'And in his Son' and piano accompaniment. The fifth system has a vocal line 'Son Je - sus Christ And in his Son Je-sus Christ.' and piano accompaniment. The sixth system has a vocal line 'Ev - en from the be-gin-ning, in his Son Je-sus Christ, Je-sus Christ And in his' and piano accompaniment. The seventh system continues with 'And in his' and piano accompaniment. The piano part continues with complex harmonic textures and a strong bass line.

## ARTICLES OF FAITH—COMPOSER'S COMMENTARY 91

Christ a lamb with-out blem-ish, with-out spot,

Je - sus Christ a lamb with-out blem-ish with-out spot,

Son Je - sus Christ.

A lamb with-out blem-ish with-out

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

Who was fore-or - dained be-fore the foun-da-tion of the world; and

spot, Who was fore-or-dained be-fore the foun-da-tion of the world; and

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*



in the Ho - ly Ghost, who bear-eth re-cord of the Fa - ther and  
Ghost  
in the Ho - ly Ghost, who bear-eth re-cord of the fa - ther and  
Ghost

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom two are piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "in the Ho - ly Ghost, who bear-eth re-cord of the Fa - ther and Ghost" for the first vocal line, and "in the Ho - ly Ghost, who bear-eth re-cord of the fa - ther and Ghost" for the second. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *mp*.

*p* Simple and Straight forward  
son. We be - lieve in God, the E - ter - nal Fa - ther, and in His  
son. We be - lieve in God, the E - ter - nal Fa - ther, and in His

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom two are piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "son. We be - lieve in God, the E - ter - nal Fa - ther, and in His" for the first vocal line, and "son. We be - lieve in God, the E - ter - nal Fa - ther, and in His" for the second. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *f*.

## ARTICLES OF FAITH—COMPOSER'S COMMENTARY 93

Son Je - sus Christ. And in the Ho - ly Ghost.

Son Je - sus Christ. And in the Ho - ly Ghost.

The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first two systems are vocal parts (Soprano and Alto) with lyrics. The next two systems are vocal parts (Tenor and Bass) with lyrics. The final system is piano accompaniment. The score is in a key with one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and a 7/8 time signature. Dynamics include *pp* (pianissimo) and *ppp* (pianississimo). The lyrics are: "Son Je - sus Christ. And in the Ho - ly Ghost." The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand.



## *Frontier 1961*

WINONA F. THOMAS

Being an egoist, I made a chart  
And planned a new frontier. The world, my dream,  
Began, a fetus, secret and apart  
And fed in rhythm from creation's stream.  
It grew in size held by a twisted skein  
Of bland inertia, till, with solemn rite,  
I gave it birth with travail and much pain  
And breathed life into it and gave it light.

Its swift expansion subjugated me.  
As it pushed contours into outer space,  
I sought for meaning and reality  
And knew its needs were discipline and grace.  
I gave it life but not a moral soul  
And now I plead with God to take control.



# Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*: The Idea as Morality

A. WILBER STEVENS

I wish to regard *Tender is the Night*<sup>1</sup> as a crucial novel, not in terms of its being the last completed long work of Fitzgerald which can be judged in reference to the directions his writing was taking, nor merely as the traditional dualistic object lesson (*Commerce vs. Art*) which plagued a large part of Fitzgerald's career. *Tender is the Night* has often been made, and well made, into a sort of critical whipping boy as far as that anomalous figure, the American expatriate writer, is concerned. My purpose is one of seeing *Tender is the Night* as a problem in the conflict of values.

Professor R. P. Blackmur has said that "Fitzgerald made of his morality a screen for his self-love."<sup>2</sup> This may well be true. But I do not think that such a habit was distinctive only to Fitzgerald. Indeed, to some degree, I find that the practice obtains in the work of most relevant creative artists. Among the critics I find that the "screen for self-love" is projected with surprising frequency when the subject at hand is the work of Fitzgerald himself. I know of no American writer about whose work the critical words have been so diffuse, nor about whose literary intentions the critical revival meetings, introspective analyses and soul-satisfying obituaries have been so rhetorically misleading. For Fitzgerald is a writer whose work seems to demand to be talked *about*. Ironically enough, Fitzgerald's major victory over those who comment with impressive bravado toward the point is that Fitzgerald himself was the best critic of his own work.

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<sup>1</sup>F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night* (New York: Bantam Books, 1951), based on the original edition published by Charles Scribner's Sons (New York, 1934).

<sup>2</sup>R. P. Blackmur, "The Politics of Human Power," *The Lion and the Honeycomb*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1955), p. 39.



Once we acknowledge this rather elusive condition we can understand, as most certainly Fitzgerald understood, that Fitzgerald's peculiar and far from romantic "tragedy" was his constant critical self-entrapment *during* his lifetime. His letters and his notes reveal that he knew when he was failing and what he was failing at. Perhaps, then, his worst enemy was not, as many critics would have it, subjective carelessness or a determination to run constantly with the young eagles, but rather the merciless objectivity which he imposed upon those pieces of writing in which he truly believed.

It is unfortunate, also, that many of the enterprising and often valid insights concerning Fitzgerald's work (especially in regard to *The Great Gatsby* and *Tender is the Night*) stem from a desire on the part of the critics to make didactic points which have nothing to do with the revelations present in the novels themselves. Much of the criticism of Fitzgerald is oblique in the same way that much of the criticism of Henry James has been oblique. Essential to the tonic qualities of much cogent contemporary criticism is the need for hierarchy, and certainly both James and Fitzgerald provide this need. But valid hierarchy is too often accepted in a grudging fashion by contemporary critics, and on these embarrassingly "democratic" occasions the "American" thing to do is to *punish* that sense of superiority which is, of course, a necessary integer to a legitimate hierarchical aesthetic. Thus, we find ourselves in the age of the bugs in the see-saw. Historical critics affectionately spank Fitzgerald in terms of his lack of responsibility. Analytic critics see him in terms of the qualitative failure of sensibility in most of his work. Fitzgerald himself perhaps would sit ambiguously between the two forces. Finally, I detect an ill-concealed air of sullen resentment against Fitzgerald's love of a precarious gentility. This resentment which is full of "psychological perceptions" fails to conceal what in many cases actually amounts to an envy of the often whimsical search for distinction inherent in Fitzgerald's life and work. Fitzgerald's peculiar kind of honestly romantic gentility is often a bit foreign to many of those to whom gentility is a method of criticism rather than a way of life. Especially is this true on the part of some writers for *The Partisan Review* whose gray, gay

notes from the underground betray a rather frenetic eagerness both to glorify and to exploit Fitzgerald's ambition and failure in the fortifying terms of an *acquired attitude* toward literature, an attitude which stems from literary models not often endemic to the American novel or American writing. This critical practice, of course, does not confine itself to the treatment of Fitzgerald. It directs itself toward a certain kind of microcosmic limitation which places American literature in a most special and most un-resilient frame of reference, where it can be prodded for certain intrinsic properties and *used* in professional conversations in which criticism, no longer vis-à-vis with the secular rationalization of politics, arrogates the province of imaginative literature.

*Tender is the Night* opens up to this reader the very real conflict between the omniscience of ideas and the many-patterned search for morality which prophetically characterizes this age in which there is the confusion between criticism and creation. In essaying a study of this novel, I intend to show that we can find posited the problem which arises when the major compelling factors which motivate character spring mainly from drives which are essentially intellectual. Certainly Dick Diver is Fitzgerald's attempt to represent a *thinker*. *Tender is the Night* then, is not simply a "hangover" novel subject to the rather soapy romantic considerations which have been given it in terms of Fitzgerald's life. Poetry reveals insight, drama energizes it, fiction exploits it. It was in the process of exploiting insight (in the best sense) that Fitzgerald was able to distinguish himself, especially when the fountainhead of these insights was not contingent merely upon his own personal neurotic preoccupations.

For in *Tender is the Night*, we are confronted with the spectacle of abstract intellectual entities crushing against the concrete realities of self-discovery. We find that the objective act, conceived through discipline of mind and fidelity of purpose, does not always result in wholeness of heart. For Fitzgerald, the intellect too often is the loser in the arena of morality. Ideas and morality, like truth and goodness, do not always become one.



## II

Let me immediately present concessions. *Tender is the Night* is, at times, a hasty book in terms of realized form. It is a grab-bag of proud fact and misdirected fancy; some of its most enlightening insights are obscured by a clumsiness of narrative detail, especially in the latter sections, some of which savour of stylistic exhibitionism or self-righteous journalese. Professor Mizener<sup>3</sup> and others<sup>4</sup> have been able to tell us much about this novel. Sadly enough, for this reason the informed reader too often approaches *Tender is the Night* as a museum rather than as a book. So let it be conceded at the outset that the virtuosity of *Tender is the Night* is often superseded by the panic and anxiety of its author, and that the occasional pathetic insistence "to tell all" denies the book an eventual completeness.

My remarks are based primarily on the original version of the novel as published in 1934. I have read with care the so-called "final version" edited with great skill and sympathy by Malcolm Cowley.<sup>5</sup> Presumptuous as this may seem, and with an apparent disregard for Fitzgerald's own wishes toward the novel as based on his re-arrangement of page order in the Princeton University copy, I do not feel that the value of *Tender is the Night* is necessarily benefited by the revised edition. For what has transpired in Fitzgerald's re-arrangement and Mr. Cowley's emendations and recording of errata in the original text is simply a shift in chronology which does not, to my mind, change the intrinsic character emphasis of the novel. Indeed, as my analysis will imply, the original version, while perhaps revealing (and Fitzgerald's mistakes are so incautious that they are almost beguiling) the writer's unevenness, with chunky precocity, does manage to retain a greater variety of aesthetic distance in terms of the refractive power brought to bear upon the complications of character. Mr. Cowley feels that the writing of the Rosemary section [in the original ver-

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<sup>3</sup>Arthur Mizener, *The Far Side of Paradise*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951).

<sup>4</sup>Alfred Kazin (ed.), *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Man and His Work*, (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1951).

<sup>5</sup>F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night*, with the author's final revisions prefaced by Malcolm Cowley, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

sion] "seemed to be of a lower level of intensity than the story of a hero's decay as told in the last section of the novel."<sup>6</sup> To me, the original Rosemary section is epiphanous and self-contained almost to the extent of constituting a novella in itself (and was indeed subjected to closer scrutiny on Fitzgerald's part than the other sections) and serves to highlight for us not simply a traditional tale of degeneration in the twenties, but to act as a cold contrast to the ensuing action. The Rosemary section is correlative to and prophetic of the disaster of values in flux.

To discuss the three major characters of *Tender is the Night* is to assess three kinds of American commitments to knowledge. The American movie star, Rosemary Hoyt, is typical of the American as careerist, curiosity seeker, and opportunist. Her viewpoint enables the reader to see the European scene as an "American" might see it. She has come to the Riviera to rest following the shooting of a picture and also to make solid her contacts with American movie executives abroad. Fitzgerald makes of her naiveté a watchful weapon. "Her face was hard, almost stern, save for the soft gleam of piteous doubt that looked from her green eyes."<sup>7</sup> Her vision is enhanced in terms of irony by the fact that she is the Hollywood star ("Daddy's Girl") observing the scene which Dick and Nicole Diver inhabit as *another* kind of wonderland. Carefully she watches the Divers and their friends on the beach:

Even in their absolute immobility, complete as that of the morning, she felt a purpose, a working over something, a direction, an act of creation different from any she had known. Her immature mind made no speculations upon the nature of their relation to each other, she was only concerned with their attitude toward herself—but she perceived the web of some pleasant interrelation, which she expressed with the thought that they seemed to have a very good time.<sup>8</sup>

Her inevitable love for Diver is based on the aura of perfection which she feels emanates from him. Her mother, Mrs. Speers, encourages Rosemary's affection, regarding the love as an almost professional project to be chalked up to "experience."

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<sup>6</sup>Cowley, p. XVII.

<sup>7</sup>*Tender is the Night* (Bantam Book), p. 26.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.



Sexuality is energy which produces results through talent. Mrs. Speers tells her daughter: "Wound yourself or him—whatever happens it can't spoil you because economically you're a boy, not a girl."<sup>9</sup> The philosophy of Mrs. Speers is confirmed later on in the book after a conversation with Diver: "So long as the shuffle of love and pain went on within proper walls, Mrs. Speers could view it with as much detachment and humor as a eunuch."<sup>10</sup>

Of course, Rosemary does not appreciate or even comprehend Diver for the quality of his introspection or for the latent sense of discovery inherent in his personality, or really for any part of his actual intellectual makeup. To her, he is a concept, a quantity, a special by-product. "Now—she was thinking—I've earned a time alone with him. He must know that because his laws are like the laws Mother taught me."<sup>11</sup> Interestingly enough, Rosemary is the only major American character of the novel to emerge unscathed and to a great extent emotionally untouched. Fitzgerald takes care to point out that after the affair between Diver and Rosemary is consummated, later in their friendship, there is no mutual realization of "love." For Rosemary, love is perhaps another conquest. For Diver it is one more step to spiritual disillusionment. Rosemary Hoyt perceives intelligently the "game" of love. She is able, in spite of the tugs at her natural sentiment (which sentiment incidentally is her major box office commodity), to make the proper divisions between emotion and reality.

The character of Nicole Diver, who is not as overtly presented as might be expected, is used analogically throughout the book as a means of representing the guilt, the madness, and the development of decay curtaining all the major scenes. In depicting Nicole, Fitzgerald has managed to overcome the temptation to present simply a one-dimensional version of his own life with Zelda Fitzgerald. Nicole's schizophrenia keys for us the various degrees of psychological strain impressed upon the action of the novel. Her breakdown at the conclusion of Book I and her "cure" toward the end of Book III comprise

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<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 39.

the two major internal structural climaxes of *Tender is the Night*. Here, Rosemary watches Nicole shop: "She illustrated very simple principles, containing in herself her own doom, but illustrated them so accurately that there was grace in the procedure. . . ." <sup>12</sup> Later on, when she is with Dick at his clinic in Switzerland, we are able to see the disjunction of her values in repose:

The people she liked, rebels mostly, disturbed her and were bad for her—She sought in them the vitality that had made them independent or creative or rugged, sought in vain—for their secrets were buried deep in childhood struggles they had forgotten. They were more interested in Nicole's exterior harmony and charm, the other face of her illness. She led a lonely life owning Dick who did not want to be owned. <sup>13</sup>

Her spiritual rootlessness, aberrated already by an incest trauma, thrusts her into a marriage in which father and lover are joined in a pattern of despair. To be free, she must destroy, and there is money and "logic" for the destruction. To be free, she must hate, and she must resent all the places

where she had played planet to Dick's sun. . . .she knew at last the number on the dreadful door of fantasy, the threshold to the escape that was no escape; she knew that for her the greatest sin now and in the future was to delude herself. It had been a long lesson, but she had learned it. Either you think—or else others have to think for you, and take power over you, pervert and discipline your natural tastes, civilize and sterilize you. <sup>14</sup>

Her greatest enemy, then, was the pure intelligence which her husband represented. And Nicole's activities and drives were certainly not based on any concept of or devotion to ideas. It was Dick's mind that she was never truly able to buy, and, realizing this, she fought him "with empty receptacles of her expiated sins, outrages, mistakes." <sup>15</sup> And won. With the death of all the fathers, the new plane of understanding becomes passion.

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<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 330.



Fitzgerald readers, some of whom have the same avidity as stamp collectors, have often remarked on Fitzgerald's intellectual limitations. Certainly, these limitations existed. I believe, however, that Fitzgerald's major preoccupation as a serious writer went in the direction of regarding mind as essentially a kind of energy. Throughout *Tender is the Night* there is evident a judgment of the quality of minds. Abe North is treated sympathetically, because at least he has at one time realized intellectual distinction. Fitzgerald, as omniscient narrator, paints the writer McKisco contemptuously. McKisco, we feel, is one of a large breed to whom critical ideas are so many merit badges. McKisco is a bird of prey, scratching for what he cannot define.

While Dr. Diver's moral defeat is to some extent overromanticized, there can be no doubt that Fitzgerald uses Diver as the protagonist in a novel which is concerned primarily with ideas.

Diver is the most sporadically conceived character of *Tender is the Night*, a condition which can be attributed to the irregular composition of the book from its original inceptions in other versions with other protagonists through its serialized form in *Scribner's Magazine*, into its final published appearance in 1934. In terms of character, Diver is less distinctly delineated than the other major characters. Again, we can blame not only the intrusion of autobiographical interpolations on Fitzgerald's part, but also a certain indecisiveness in the projecting of a picture of mind in the process of self-evaluation. Diver, for instance, differs from Gatsby, not only because he is *really* an intellectual, but because of his infernal vacillation of spirit. He does not know what he wants. In his family and in his training, he has, we are told, been given all the codes and all the answers. And yet the world of troubles in which he moves turns out to be a relative world in which the formulae conflict and bring forth answers which are neither in the books he knows and the psychological pamphlets he has written, nor in the recesses of the spirit which lie in American graveyards abroad, or by the side of his father's grave in America. He is unable to equate his passions with his actions. Symbolically enough, in his attempt to "eliminate himself," and do the

right thing by Nicole, he must love her as a doctor (the love of "truth") and *then* as a man; but the two states of love are profoundly separated. This divorcement of the intellect from the action, of the peripheral emotion from the internal reality of hard knowledge, is a recurring malady of which certainly Fitzgerald was aware. Diver's truth, which he failed to define, was an impossible truth for him. The repository of *his* true dream is in myth and in the absolute, but as a man of science, albeit a man of good will, of charm, of personal ebullience, of brotherhood, he still cannot place his trust in the absolute. This is not only the dilemma of the scientist. It is the dilemma of the artist to whom final commitment can seemingly only mean resignation. In Dick's resignation, in his forsaking of the Riviera with its inhabitants sleeping "late in darkened rooms upon their recent opiate of dawn," he enters into that limbo of puzzled reflection which characterizes the inability to derive creativity from experience.

It may be, as has been suggested, that Fitzgerald was playing a trick on us<sup>16</sup> by placing his "hero" in a kind of withholding, sterile relationship to everyone around him. I don't regard this as a trick as much as a totally conceived device on Fitzgerald's part. For certainly, Diver's isolation provides for us Fitzgerald's opportunity to make moral judgments throughout the novel. Constantly, as the man of ideas, he is asked to become a man of morality, and in the Italian taxi-driver episode, which comprises Dick's lowest fall into moral desolation, we see acted out for us the violent consequences of the critical mind at loose ends, within a pattern of values which are essentially alien, and which are based on emotion for the sake of emotion. Dick's fate is inevitable, when he realizes that his intellectual standards and values are essentially static and capable of being concretized only within their own boundaries. "Dr. Diver's profession of sorting the broken shells of another sort of egg had given him a dread of breakage."<sup>17</sup>

The link between idea and morality is pride. Dick's pride is shattered, not by any realization of having sold out to the Warren millions (whose millions are no better or no worse

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<sup>16</sup>D. W. Harding, "Mechanisms of Misery," in Kazin, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>17</sup>*Tender is the Night* (Bantam Book), p. 195.



than anybody else's millions), but from his realization that he has been unable to effect a ratio between the responsibility of ideas and the responsibility of action.

His marriage on the rocks, his best friends dead to him, he arises in the middle of the night to rescue an old friend and her Lesbian acquaintance, Lady Sibly-Biers, from the French police in Antibes

He got up and, as he absorbed the situation, his self-knowledge assured him that he would undertake to deal with it—the old *fatal* [italics mine] pleasingness, the old forceful charm, swept back with its cry of "Use me!" He would have to go fix this thing that he didn't care a damn about, because it had early become a habit to be loved, perhaps from the moment when he had realized that he was the last hope of a decaying clan.<sup>18</sup>

Fitzgerald's introspective intensions in *Tender is the Night* do not deprive the novel of a rewarding dramatic impact. The purposes of this essay have not permitted me to include some of the most telling scenes of the book. Perhaps, however, I have shown the challenge which Fitzgerald was attempting to meet by suggesting to the reader that the *idea* of action, or to phrase it differently, the weight of mind, cannot in itself, be divorced from moral considerations. Richard Diver attempted to rely on ideas as the bases of his moral conduct. His failure brings to focus the fact that the division of idea and morality can lead only to defeat. Fitzgerald knew well that victory of manner was commonly available to many. He also knew, that for him, wholeness of mind found its basis through a surrender to absolutes.

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<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 331.

## *Special Feature* \*

Professor Thomas E. Cheney  
Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah

Gentlemen:

We are somewhat surprised at the notoriety given to the Fife Mormon Folksong Collection (in the Library of Congress) in the Autumn, 1960 issue of *Brigham Young University Studies*. Little did we think sixteen years ago when we set out with an antiquated portable disc recording machine to collect folk songs in Utah that within a few years the results of our work would receive the acclaim of folklorists throughout the land, or be subjected to microscopic viewings of ballad scholars in our intermountain universities. Folklore is indeed made about folklorists just as it is collected by them!

We hasten to agree with you that the Fife Collection falls somewhat short of the ideal goal, which would be to assemble a corpus of recordings of sufficient breadth, scope, and quality that a definitive work could be prepared on Mormon folk music based thereon. It surprises us that you seem to have expected so much from our modest collection since we have never pretended that it was either exhaustive or "critical."

From the beginning of our collecting experience we have adhered to the principle of collecting almost everything offered us, since the ultimate determination of value of any particular item is exceedingly difficult to make while in the field. We have felt it a duty to let the repertoire be established

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\*This letter from Dr. Fife contains his comments on an article by Thomas E. Cheney, "Mormon Folk Song and the Fife Collection," which appeared in the Autumn 1960 issue of *Studies*. Professor Cheney's article, in turn, was a response to Dr. Fife's earlier article, "Folk Elements in the Formation of the Mormon Personality," which appeared in the Autumn, 1959 - Winter, 1960 number of *Studies*.



by the singers and not by the collector. We take no manuals of folk song with us. We do not ask whether or not the song in question is a folk song, and we do not encourage rehearsals prior to recording. If a person who seems to be of the folk has the song in his repertoire, we believe it is worthy of recordings.

We are also aware that Mexican folk songs collected in Southern California and a child of a Navajo Mormon convert singing "Jesus Loves Me" in Navajo are not in the Mormon folk song tradition. Our interest in folk song has never been limited to Mormon materials. When a field collector sends items for deposit in the Library of Congress, they are placed in the public domain, and any citizen may order copies as desired. We were given no opportunity to withdraw from the collection recorded, items which seemed not to fit. We are also aware that a song like "Come, Come Ye Saints" has had its tradition largely inside the walls of Mormon chapels. Yet are not the relationship of religious and secular music of some importance, and might it not be of interest to an ethnomusicologist to be able to compare singing styles of groups who render indiscriminately the hymns of the Church and the stark ballads of cowboys and outlaws?

We hasten also to advise you that the items which are in the Library of Congress do not represent our entire collection. Since about 1953 we have not deposited materials there, although our collection has continued to grow. The Library of Congress items may represent as much as half the total Mormon collection, but contains none of our manuscript materials and none of our items gleaned laboriously from esoteric published sources. Moreover, you have a serious misapprehension about the services which the Library of Congress is prepared to render for ballad scholars. The staff of the Folk Music Division of the Library of Congress has no ethnomusicologists and no professional folklorists. When an order is sent in for a collection, it is reproduced disc by disc from a field collection without editing. Since this material is in the public domain, the collectors, for obvious reasons, are not allowed to edit it. It might have been useful to have written us prior to ordering the entire collection. We could at least have sent you our

own catalogue so that you might have chosen the items you need for your particular interests. You could also have avoided the duplications of identical songs, although we feel that if the ethno-history of any given song is ever to be written, it will not be based on single appearances but on renditions from many different singers from widely separated areas. In our cowboy collection we have as many as two hundred different recordings of a single song. Obviously there is a great deal of duplication. The important point for the field collector, however, is that *at the moment of collecting* he is not in a position to decide which are the significant items and which are trivial.

May we venture now to reassess somewhat more objectively the stature of the Fife Collection and the role it may have played in the stimulation of interest in Mormon folk song. Of the collections made in Utah, we may dispense rather rapidly with the work of John Lomax, which represented less than a score of songs revealing none of the components of Mormon culture except polygamy, and this viewed through the eyes of non-Mormons. We may also dispense rapidly with the work of Levette J. Davidson of Denver University and of Mrs. Olive Burt of Salt Lake City whose collecting seems to be limited largely to journalistic sources. The collection of Lester Hubbard is undoubtedly of great consequence. It has not, however, been made available for study by other scholars. Some important field work was done by Hector Lee and his assistants in the active days of the Utah Humanities Foundation. The University of Arizona has important field recordings of Mormon folk songs. More recently we are aware that some younger people have been doing important work, though the results of their work have not been brought to the attention of the general public, or their recordings made available. Hence, with its limitations, the Fife Collection still seems to remain the most significant body of material available to the public for the study of the ethnic music of the Mormon people.

During the last decade, when there has been a surge of interest in folk song, the Fife resources have been the only ones available to professional folk singers and to the recording industry. Hence the few commercially available recordings



of Mormon folk songs have derived from or been notably influenced by our collection. These include a long playing record in the Encyclopedia Britannica's collection of Historical American Songs (sung by Burl Ives), the singing of L. M. Hilton for Ethnic Folkways, and the pressed recording of Mormon folk songs issued for the Fife collection by the Library of Congress.

Your critique of our collection leads to one obvious conclusion: that no *critical* collection of Mormon folk song has yet been made, unless it is the forthcoming work of Professor Hubbard of the University of Utah. The Fifes have never had any intention of preparing such a collection, since our efforts are engaged in a much broader field—the preparation of a critical and variorum edition of cowboy and western songs—in which the Mormon folk song tradition will play a small but meaningful role.

We wonder if you have not been a bit like the miner who came out of the shaft with a beautiful diamond which he threw away because it had not yet been cut and polished?

Cordially,

Austin E. Fife

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