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Brigham Young University

STUDIES

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars



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Volume VIII

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Can God Be Pictured?*

TRUMAN G. MADSEN**

A little boy was hard at work with a crayon. "What are you drawing?" his teacher asked. "God," he replied. "Oh, but we don't know what God looks like." Still busy and without looking up he replied, "We will in just a minute."

On the picturability of God, Mormonism is with the little boy, though perhaps not with his picture. The rest of Christendom tends to agree with the teacher.

HOW IS CHRIST LIKE GOD?

MORMON: Catholic, Protestant, let me put the issue to you this way: Suppose the three of us were standing in the presence of the resurrected Christ. We each have modern cameras with quality lenses and filters. Would our photographs be adequate portrayals of God?

CATHOLIC: It depends on what you mean by "adequate" and "God." We would, at best, have only a surface glimpse of our Lord.

PROTESTANT: I am not sure I view the Easter event¹ just as you do. Anyway, your question seems strangely unimportant to me. What matters is whether we are "grasped" in the "faith-state."

MORMON: Already different perspectives are emerging. So let me announce where I am leading: Whatever is true of the appearance and nature of Christ as he stands glorified before us

*The content of the following dialogue is not invented. It is based on many actual discussions with esteemed figures in Catholic and Protestant circles and is an attempt to speak accurately for them. Its summary form has two main objectives: first, to highlight recent trends in official writing about God, and second, to show how the most fervently urged objections to Mormon teaching of Divine personalism turn, on closer analysis, into compelling thrusts toward it. The author will welcome comment from representatives of any and all faiths, especially critical comment. TGM

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¹The "Easter-event" and the phenomenon of the "Empty Tomb" are the focus of much Protestant discussion. Resurrection often means the "Resurrection-faith" of the early apostles. Catholic is committed to an actual resurrection but not necessarily a "physical one."

is true of the Eternal Father, not on the surface only, but in depth.

This is not to say, as I am often berated for saying, that the Eternal Father is exactly like mortal man. Rather, Jesus Christ in his perfected and picturable state is exactly and completely like the Father.

CATHOLIC: Oh, no! You are projecting your own finitude! My objection comes from Chalcedon: There were two natures in the one person of Christ—full humanity and full Divinity. Our camera would not reveal the hidden Divinity. You are making the appearance the total picture of God—a serious and heretical error.

PROTESTANT: I am less concerned than Catholic with the exact language of the creeds. Bultmann and others have moved us to a symbolic understanding of the Trinity.² And many now admit the old formulas are “weak and unintelligible.” But I, too, would object to your fastening on the Jesus of history as a veritable icon of the Divine.³ God is Ultimate Reality, hence, though personal, is not *a* person.⁴

MORMON: For both of you I have a question. If I ought to use personal imagery for Christ (because he is a person) and if I ought to worship him (because he is in every way worthy of worship), why not apply similar images to the Father?

PROTESTANT: You know very well. God is a spirit infusing yet transcending all things, therefore, cannot be spatialized. He is in all things, therefore, cannot be localized: he undergirds all that is, therefore, cannot be objectified.⁵

²See Rudolph Bultmann, *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. Hans W. Zartsch (S.P. C.K., 1954).

³Much Protestant writing distinguishes the Jesus of history from the Christ of Faith. The outcome of a century of biblical scholarship concludes we must be content to see Jesus through the eyes of the early Church, or not see him at all.

⁴Whether it is even meaningful to speak, as is common, of the ultimate as “personal” while subtracting from the term all the ordinary and even extraordinary qualities at the foundation of personality is a question rarely pursued but, obviously, critically important. Close analysis will show that usually what is meant is that we, as persons, have a personal relationship with God, who is not a person.

⁵Since Schleiermacher the idea of man’s “absolute dependence” has prevailed over “detached” or “spectator” observation. The core of religious caring and of the idea of holiness requires an ultimate, it is said; and to fix on any object of finite reality is idolatry. See John A. T. Robinson, *Honest to God* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1963), a popularization of Tillich.

OF MONOTHEISM AND EMANATION

MORMON: You have abandoned our original stance. We are in the presence of Christ. Clearly, *he* does not pervade all things. But each of us may very well be pervaded by the emanation of his, or if you like, *the* Spirit. Why, then, your fixation on the "Universal Spirit" to the exclusion and, in extreme forms, denial of personality?

CATHOLIC: Because, primarily, the moment you talk of singular personality, especially in incarnate person, you limit God.⁶ And if there is one thing the whole Christian tradition teaches, it is that God is not limited.

MORMON: If you mean by "limited" that he has boundaries and measurable, even sensuous qualities, true enough. But if you mean that *therefore* he is prevented from overmastering the universe—including Thomas' "Being" and Protestants' "power of being"—you are negating Christ's testimony: "All power is given me [not all power *is* me] both in Heaven and Earth." (Matthew 28:17) So with the Father.

CATHOLIC: But you do not face the implications of what you are saying. You are talking tritheism—three Gods. You are violating the great Nicean tradition of one substantial God of which I am chief custodian.⁷

MORMON: I must again question your time-honored abuse of "one" and "two." You have a two-ness, Father and Son, as Arius and Athanasius⁸ did, which even Protestant's metaphorical reading doesn't help much. Your "two" "participate" in one metaphysical substance, buttressed by Aristotelian definitions. But the "monotheistic" comfort is illusory. For, on your view, almost every attribute we discern in the present embodied

⁶The entire spectrum of Catholic and Protestant writing agrees on this notion of limit, from Billy Graham to the Jesuit Karl Rahner. See his *Theological Investigations*, trans. Cornelius Ernst (Baltimore, Md.: Helicon Press, 1961).

⁷The councils discussed "Modalism" (three functions) and "Subordinationism" (that Christ was somehow subordinate to God). See J. S. Whales, *Christian Doctrine* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1963), Chapter 5. No one considered whether Christ could be an individual, co-eternal, and yet have developed to become fully like the Father. The main issue, traditionally, is how God became *man*.

⁸Athanasius held that the Second Person of the Trinity was not only bodiless but so unlike man that his "self-revelation" was really misleading; his purpose was atonement else he would not have been incarnate in human form. See Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, viii.

Christ must be denied to the Father. You object, as if terrorized, even to admitting that the Father is associated with space and time. "Incorporeal, changeless, unconditioned" are your terms. It is "scandalous" in a technical sense that Christ was a particular.⁹

Who, then, has two Gods? You do. Different? They are radically dissimilar! Much of what inspires honor for the resurrected Christ elicits horror when directed toward God the Father, and this splits your allegiance.

CATHOLIC: Wait. Wait. *We* worship *both* Father and Son in hypostatic union.¹⁰ We do not fall into your logical net. We refuse it.

MORMON: You can say it as you can say "round-square." But you cannot *do* it anymore than you can make a "round square." It is not just a problem of logic, but a problem of action and aspiration. In action I cannot aspire, with say Thomas a Kempis, to become like Christ except by becoming *unlike* the Father. If, with some mystics, I aspire to union with the "changeless, unconditioned God," I am, no matter how you say it, downgrading Christ as an ideal and, if I understand you, attempting the impossible. But, don't you see, either Christ is the "express image of the Father's person" (Hebrews 1:3) whom we may fully emulate, or there is something more and higher. You can't have it both ways.

CATHOLIC: Christ is highest *for us*. But he does not exhaust God. Any way, you side-stepped the issue. What does *your* "two-ness" amount to? Answer my objection.

MORMON: Two separate persons are yet alike and in that sense "one"—perfected, glorified, celestial personalities. Christ is equal with God, as your creeds say. But he *became* so, as your creeds deny. I must say here that for a century it has been a ploy of our ill-wishers to disparage Mormons for "not believing in the Divinity of Christ." It turns out that we alone take seriously the full Deity that Christ achieved. He is not one aspect of the Divine, but now exemplifies through and through

⁹The "scandal of particularity" is a Platonic reaction. Divine individuality is lost in much Platonic and neo-Platonic thought.

¹⁰Some theologians hold that all three of the Godhead were somehow present in and yet not reducible to the person of Christ.

what it means to *be*, and not just partly to represent Divine nature.¹¹

WHERE LIES THE MYSTERY?

PROTESTANT: Oh, now please. The Trinity in the end has to be treated as incomprehensible. The paradoxes of the incarnation are paradoxes of faith. You lack a sense of mystery; the finite mind is helpless before the infinite.¹²

MORMON: Too often that is a double evasion; first because you don't really remain silent about God, and second because it suggests I alone profess to know more than can be known. But it is just the other way around. You and Catholic are the ones who impose a mass of alien and questionable categories upon the prophetic heritage.

Yet, if mysteriousness is the highest tribute we can tender the Divine, I submit that personality is, in all cases, more genuinely unfathomable. The elaborate subtleties of selfhood touch us and elude us at more points than all other sorts of reality combined. There is no superpersonal being. All the non-personal is subpersonal. Your own theologians have recently made this point,¹³ but you still have a fixation on *being* rather than on the far more profound *living*.¹⁴

I realize it startles you to be told the Hebraic insight has greater validity than the Greek, but your reversal is a philosophical prejudice which is detrimental to Christendom and even much modern Judaism.¹⁵

¹¹The most explicit Mormon statement on this theme is found in the Doctrine and Covenants 93:13-15. "He received not the fulness at the first."

¹²Much effort has been made to make Christ himself revelation. "Revelation essentially consists not in the communication of truths about God but in the self-revelation of the divine Personality," John Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God* (New York: Schribner's, 1939), pp. 175-177. See also John Knox, *Christ the Lord* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Company, 1945), and William Temple, *Nature, Man, and God* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935).

¹³Kierkegaard, for example, in his revolt against reason, held it was more difficult to describe one individual actor on a stage than to build up a whole system of ideas, abstractions, essences.

¹⁴Charles Hartshorne is, with a minority, influenced by Whitehead and has restored a notion of "process" compatible with "being" in the Divine nature. But his views are widely ignored. See especially his *Philosophers Speak of God* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

¹⁵The ancient Hebrews, who taught anthropomorphism, were reverent to the point of refusing to name the name of Deity. But the overlay of metaphysical reflection has often replaced Jewish personalism. See Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Between God and Man* (New York: Harper, 1959).

CATHOLIC: We are up against semantic blocks. You lack proper understanding of religious language. To avoid the extremes of negation, saying only what God is not, and of anthropomorphism, using human words to apply to the nonhuman God, we have one bridge left—analogy. We can speak only of similarity of relations.¹⁶ Now my question, Mormon: Do you really suppose any finite term or image, or, if you insist, picture, has a one-to-one application to the Divine?

MORMON: We are not discussing what we can *say* about God, but what we are to *think* about God. Therefore, I answer you "yes." What you can truly apprehend and picture of the Christ can be likewise, your word is "univocally," pictured of the Father. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. (John 14:9)

BUT IS IT BIBLICAL?

PROTESTANT: Oh, but this means unlicensed anthropomorphism—a God bearded and enthroned, one who has to wipe his eyes and blow his nose!

MORMON: A caricature! But such images are less in need of correction than many you recommend. Religiously it does not offend me that Christ wept, but does that a Prime Mover or First Cause cannot. The three of us will save much needless dispute if we stop defining the other man's terms.

PROTESTANT: Just the same, your writers do use finite terms that come dangerously close to blasphemy. In the name of the Bible I object to that practice.

MORMON: The Bible? Both Catholic and Protestant historians acknowledge that Trinitarianism as you and Catholic define it cannot be found in or even between the lines of the Gospels and Epistles. "The problems arose later," they say. Now I have no brief with progressive revelation. On the contrary I am rather alone in holding both to the necessity and actuality of modern self-disclosure of God. I cannot place similar confidence in retrogressive speculation.

¹⁶For the traditional notion of language see E. L. Mascall, *Existence and Analogy* (London: Longman's Green, 1949). Also, less difficult by J. V. Langmead Casserley, *The Christian in Philosophy* (New York: Scribner, 1951).

CATHOLIC: I admit historical conditioning,¹⁷ but that does not mean I endorse your position. Let's be more specific. If I follow you, you restrict "personality" to the human dimension, to selfhood and, as Protestant says, to crude materialism. A God the Father embodied?

IS THIS NOT MATERIALISTIC?

MORMON: Do you want to say Christ is not embodied now?

CATHOLIC: No. A glorious body is his. But not so the Father.

MORMON: Is Christ's body "crude" because material?

CATHOLIC: No.

MORMON: Here again is the division. You say a body is good and glorious for Christ, bad and unthinkable for the Father. Hasn't your own Teilhard de Chardin persuaded you of the possibility of a fusion of spiritual and material in all authentic persons?¹⁸

Here I can be bold. A glorified body, expands, increases, intensifies all the powers of the soul. To be "free" of a body, a body such as Christ's, is to be enslaved to a lesser order of existence. If this sounds revolutionary, it is because you disregard the central meaning of resurrection. I fear a misguided reverence for God, and, often, a despising of man has led you, finally, to deny bodies to both. What a travesty that makes of Christ and His mission!

CATHOLIC: Against both you and Protestant the Pope has recently reiterated the doctrine of the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist. Such a "body" must be metaphysical in a way that no finite "physical" body is.¹⁹

MORMON: Therefore you are obliged to ascribe capacities to a body that earlier Protestant was reserving for the "Universal

¹⁷See *Documents of Vatican II.*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S. J. (New York: America Press, 1966).

¹⁸Teilhard de Chardin, a paleontologist and a Catholic Jesuit who won the plaudits of Julian Huxley, maintains in his best-seller, *Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961) that the thrust of matter and life is toward "Christogenesis," the personalizing of the impersonal. But this thesis interferes with traditional Catholic dogma concerning creation, original sin, and the nature of man.

¹⁹Some Catholic progressives recently urged the Pope to endorse an "analogical presence" rather than the traditional "real presence." His refusal reflects an anxiety about too rapid and too extreme "reconstruction" in Church policy and practice.

Spirit." But that is beside the point. The point is you are locked-in to a pseudodivision of reality.

CATHOLIC: This much I can allow to you, the old Jansenist and Augustinian pessimism and dualism have been balanced now.²⁰

MORMON: Only halfheartedly. No papal encyclical and no Protestant journal has announced that matter is as sacred as spirit, that the two worlds are continuous, and that, in Joseph Smith's words, "All beings who have bodies have power over those who have not."²¹

CATHOLIC: That is going too far.

MORMON: Then Christ went too far.

WHAT MOVES THE HEART?

PROTESTANT: I detect a tendency in you to assume that your picture of Christ is motivating.

MORMON: Yes, powerfully motivating.

PROTESTANT: Well, I admit, indeed insist, that rich biblical language, such as "Lord," "Redeemer," "Savior," is to be retained in worship. So, in fact do Brunner and Tillich.²² Thus though the protestant principle finally "breaks" any worldly image, we can be motivated by the imagery without claiming, as you seem to, that it has a solid connecting link.

MORMON: Your view, and commendable tolerance, can become self-defeating, a plea for "fruitful illusion." Thus not only statements about Christ, but also Christ himself are viewed not as revelatory of God, but as "transparent to" God. From there it is an easy step, and what is to prevent it, to the view that

²⁰Augustine, partly no doubt due to his sympathy with neo-Platonic philosophy, tended to disparage the flesh and the world more than the more influential, for Catholic theology, St. Thomas Aquinas. But the Catholic still believes the "fall of man" was a wounding fall more than a "complete depravity" fall such as in Calvin.

²¹Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, compiled by Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1938), p. 181.

²²Emil Brunner, a German "neo-orthodox" theologian, deplored "the philosopher's God" who "simply allows himself to be looked at." Tillich too falls, or as I would say rises, into personalistic imagery. See Paul Edwards, "Tillich's Confusions," *Mind*, Vol. 74 (April, 1965), p. 192 ff; also *The Honest to God Debate*, ed. David L. Edwards (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963).

even if Jesus never lived it doesn't really matter.²³ Next, nothing matters. To this the most sophisticated answer is that, as Christ clearly exemplified, it makes a magnificent difference if the God you care for and pray to is there!

PROTESTANT: Your appeal to "differences" may be your undoing. Don't you see how easily you can distort the religious life? Everywhere are people who hear God called "Father." Immediately they transfer the trauma and misery of their childhoods with all-too-human fathers to their notion of God. The effect on worship and prayer, as any psychiatrist can tell you, is disastrous.²⁴ This is reason enough for careful theological correction of picture-thinking.

MORMON: You can't really mean what you just said. If a *picture* of a loving Father of whom Christ is a present prototype, moves you, then what of an actual one?

Look at the diagnoses of Jaspers, Unamuno, and various literary figures who describe the problem of modern man as depersonalization.²⁵ We have become things, objects to be manipulated, serial numbers. Renewal and reunion, they say, can only come when we find again the inward, distinctive, humane levels of sharing and communicating. Religion joins in the effort.

But how strangely opposite is your therapy when you turn to God. It is as if you had learned nothing from these writers. The plea for genuine intimate person-to-person relationships with God brings out the cry, "Oh, no! Recognize that God transcends all existence, that he, or should we now say 'it,' is beyond finite form or structure. Ultimate concern demands more."²⁶ Actually our ultimate concern reaches toward the intimate concern of a real, not a projected Father.

CATHOLIC: From my point of view, you are confusing philosophical ultimates and personal faith. I would not give up

²³Some, e.g. positivists, point out that this kind of theology is "compatible with any state of affairs"; hence it is neither true nor false, but simply meaningless. Others, e.g. pragmatists, prefer to say that if religious beliefs, though literally false, are functionally important, they should be permitted to flourish.

²⁴Psychoanalytic theory is actually "neutral" on the relevance of religious belief. But whether one follows Freud or not, there is much evidence of the impact of mortal fathers on one's religious conceptions.

²⁵Gabriel Marcel, a Catholic, has also been eloquent on this theme.

²⁶The phrase "ultimate concern" is Paul Tillich's. See his introductory volume, *Ultimate Concern*, ed. D. Mackenzie Brown (New York: Harper, 1965).

thinking of God in personal terms. Witness the great mystic works of St. John of the Cross, the devotional literature of Thomas Merton, and our art and liturgy.

MORMON: Yes, and you might also add the Catholic layman's interest in, and even preference for, the intimate saints and the Virgin. Likewise, Protestant hangs on to the personal pronouns "He" or sometimes Buber's "Thou" even in his technical writing.²⁷ But if both of you transcend these remnants of personalism in your theology, how can you seriously pray, sing, or even worship with them?

CATHOLIC: We must do so because it is the best we, being finite, can do.

MORMON: True. And for a reason—it is the best God can *be*.

CATHOLIC: Are you saying you cannot improve or refine your imagery?

MORMON: No. My images are not yet one-to-one because I am imagining what the prophets experienced. But some of your creedal ones are one-to-nothing. Mine can be revised and enriched by progressive unfolding and finally by communion face-to-face. But you want them "purified" by the categorical denial that God the Father *has* a face.

BUT SHOULDN'T WE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MYTH AND REALITY?

PROTESTANT: The more I listen the more I feel you are making some very questionable assumptions, apparently unaware of the great gains of recent discussions of myth and symbol.

MORMON: I'm glad you have said it so starkly. It reflects a strange misunderstanding.

Dymythologizing, to name one enterprise, reminds us that in this scientifically enlightened age we should make none of the "primitive" assumptions of the New Testament cosmology.²⁸ How cosmology relates to God is a puzzlement, since

²⁷Martin Buber, a brilliant Jewish philosopher, in *Ich Du* (I-Thou) protests defining man's relationship to God as an I-it or I-he relationship. See *I and Thou*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner, 1937).

²⁸Bultmann's effort to "demythologize" is an attempt to interpret the "myths," not necessarily fictions, of the New Testament in terms of their relevance to the modern "existential predicament" of man. See *Kerygma and*

others of your influential writers, such as Barth, Brunner and the Niebhurs, inveigh against "natural theology."²⁹ But in most instances they are not really "depicturing" the biblical message, but replacing images with images.

Robinson suggests we abandon our notions of God "up there" and "out there." For what? For the god "down there," "ground and power of being."³⁰ Here we are with a spatial image again. Catholic says "beatific vision" and seems to fancy a vortex of beautiful light rays. Some theologians prefer "spirit-itself," "love-itself."³¹ More images. Process philosophers talk of "creative force" or "principles of harmony."³² The radical and secular theologians prefer to redefine "God" as the name of man's love for other men.³³ Told to avoid any images or concepts at all, we squint our eyes and try to envisage a quality-less blur, itself an image. I conclude, therefore, that you cannot consistently be against pictures, but only against the Christ-picture.

And what has all this done for us? Some call it the "trivialization" of God. Some call it "death by a thousand qualifications," and Altizer and friends call it just plain death. But the

Myth. A lucid criticism is Ronald W. Hepburn, "Demythologizing and the Problem of Validity," *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*, ed. Flew and Macintyre (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1955).

²⁹See Karl Barth, "The Christian Understanding of Revelation," *Against the Stream* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1954); Emil Brunner, "The Natural Knowledge of God," *The Christian Doctrine of God* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950); and Reinhold Niebuhr, "Reinhold Niebuhr," *How My Mind Has Changed*, ed. Harold E. Fey (New York: Meridian Books, 1961). "Natural theology" is broadly the effort to gain access to the existence and/or nature of God by reference to natural world or natural reason. These writers argue this is impossible.

³⁰John A. T. Robinson, an Anglican theologian, has stirred up immense controversy (some of it second-handed through Bishop James Pike) in his widely-read *Honest to God*. (See footnote 5) He canonizes "being" and repudiates "person."

³¹Thus Nels F. S. Ferre, an intrepid critic of Tillich, claims Tillich, toward the end of his *Systematics* (and, it turned out, his life) wished to rewrite it entirely, substituting as the basic category "Spirit" instead of "Being-itself." But while Ferre himself refuses to retain person, preferring "The personal" in his latest book, *The Living God of Nowhere and Nothing* (London: Epworth Press, 1966), he retains Spirit, Life, and Love as "Primary descriptions" of God. He says, "God cannot even be personality in the sense of our knowledge of personality," because such a God would be "bound." (p. 23).

³²See John Cobb, *A Christian Natural Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), a reworking of Whitehead's religious thought.

³³See Thomas J. J. Altizer, *Radical Theology and the Death of God* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1966). A most perceptive criticism is Robert McAfee Brown, *The Meaning of the Death of God*, ed. Bernard Murchland (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

Mormon, immersed in the prophetic tradition, has held no funeral. For the prophets, such depersonalized gods never lived.

IS APPEARANCE REALITY?

CATHOLIC: There is another difficulty I have wanted to mention all along. You startle me with your confident objectivity. You are giving much too much validity to your apparitions. I warn you that what God is "experienced as" has little if any bearing on what God *is*. We make room, and some of your people don't seem to realize it, for visionary and dream experience like your Joseph Smith's. But that is secondary to sound rational metaphysics demonstrable by reason.³⁴

Some of our children, for example, start by "seeing" saints and the Virgin. At another stage of maturity they report impressions of Christ. But finally they become clear on First Principles, and they anticipate in abstract thought the pure, undifferentiated white light of the "beatific vision."

MORMON: The process of our maturation is just the reverse. We *begin* with the light and spirit that emanate from God. "To every man is given the light." Inferential knowledge develops. Then we grow to closer understanding and communion in the realm of "saints." But finally these preparatory experiences lead to the crowning presence of God. We do not thus "get beyond" personality, ours or his, but are transformed by him until we are capable of entering his presence.

BUT IS NOT THE DIVINE BEYOND VISUALIZATION?

PROTESTANT: That brings up another of your intolerable assumptions. Your discussion shows that by "pictured" you finally mean "visualized," as if someday we will really see, not just imagine. Now surely you will not say the invisible is visible.

MORMON: You and, even more, Catholic, though your theories prohibit visualization of Deity have worked hard to achieve just that, a striving that includes Michaelangelo, Blake, and Dali. We needn't argue the justification here. Someday maybe all of us will be able to recognize how much and how little difference there is between your "immaterial substance" and

³⁴See Gustive Weigel and Arthur G. Madden, *Religion and the Knowledge of God* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961).

my "refined matter." There are subtleties of soul, as well as of body, that no clumsy dualism can account for.

But even on your own premises you should not give up prematurely. Scientists tell me they "visualize" electrons even though they are unseeable. It is fashionable to talk of "models" of this unseen reality. These are not just useful fictions, but in some way they actually connect with or "reflect" reality.

All I need to say here is that since among the prophets there are genuine visions and visitations, I cannot honestly regard as conclusive the doubts of those who have had neither.

PROTESTANT: Let me issue my final admission and hesitation. My struggle to make sense of God in this new age may be awkward at times. But my motives are clear, as are Catholic's for all his strange "sacred traditions." We want to uphold the majesty and sacredness and grandeur of the Divine. The Absolute, admittedly slippery, is traditionally the most sublime.

MORMON: I raise a question about your Absolute, a question rarely spoken that afflicts the depths of man more than all secular attacks combined.

Why should an Absolute in power, plenitude of being, or whatever, create men so hopelessly unlike him? Why should I revere the so-called majesty and grandeur of a God who chose to place an everlasting gulf between his nature and mine, with whom I have and can have nothing in common except being?

CATHOLIC: The question is blasphemous. It shows an appalling irreverence, an incredible blindness to man's contingency. Here I contribute my witness: God's very nature forbids that he should have equals.

PROTESTANT: Finally, I believe the "Ultimate Reality," *is* gracious and fulfills man's quest for grace. But, again, I oppose any identification of the ultimate as *a* being.

MORMON: I witness in reply: God's very nature *requires* that he should have equals, sons becoming joint-heirs. Christ was the first to become fully like the Father. And he is the exemplar of *our* actual Divine possibilities. Thus I have left to the last the question that should have been first: Which God, or which picture of God, is most worthy of our all-consuming love?

Two poems by Martha Haskins Hume*

The Awakening

Somewhere between sleep and waking
a white hawk flies.

Through threshing wings of light
which blind and shake,
man knows he never dies.

Somewhere between sleep and waking
loves lies,

lies with a bruised beak raking
man as he rises into light,
the awesome quaking.

Solstice

Our love turns now upon its solstice,
halved by the blood's cacophony.
Where mind strips off the wry flesh poultice
we cling, encircled by love's strategy.
Smouldering in our mustard flower
we watch the leaves unfurl their banns.
Now must I run to stone-coiled precipice
of self, dim face which never scans—
before we are, I am.

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Authority Conflicts in the Mormon Battalion

EUGENE E. CAMPBELL*

The history of the Mormon Battalion presents an interesting study of conflicting military and religious authority. With the exception of the commanding officer, initially all of the members of the battalion were also members of the Mormon Church, and its officers were chosen by the Church leaders and were entrusted with religious leadership as well as military supervision of the men. However, it proved to be difficult to be a military officer and a "brother in the priesthood" at the same time, especially when the highest officers of the battalion were non-Mormon. Unfortunately for the Mormon officers, some of the enlisted men held a higher rank in the priesthood than they and gradually began to assert their religious authority over that of their officers. By the time the battalion was discharged, the men were badly divided. Some chose to re-enlist, some chose to follow their senior captain, but the large majority chose to follow the men who had emerged as their religious leaders.

When Captain James Allen rode into the Mormon camp in July 1846, he carried a letter authorizing him to enlist a battalion of five hundred Mormons and march them to California to join General Kearney in the conquest of that area from Mexico. This letter instructed Captain Allen to permit the enlisted men to choose their commissioned officers, subject to his approval, and these officers would be permitted to choose the noncommissioned officers, also subject to the commanding officer's approval.¹ This selection was carried out in typical Church fashion, however, for the Church leader Brigham Young said that "If the Brethren wished him to nominate men for officers he should select men of judgment, experience and faith who would take care of the lives of their men."²

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¹Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the March of the Mormon Battalion* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1885), p. 113.

²Frank Golder, *The March of the Mormon Battalion* (New York: The Century Company, 1928), p. 123.

It was voted unanimously that President Young and his council nominate the officers for the several companies as far as they thought proper.³ Thus, the men were committed to obedience to their officers on the basis of their selection by the Church leaders as well as by military commission.

Just before leaving Council Bluffs, the officers selected were gathered together for instructions and counsel by Brigham Young and other Church leaders. Tyler reported this meeting as follows:

On Saturday, the 18th of July, 1846, President B. Young, H. C. Kimball, P. P. Pratt, W. Richards, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff met in private council with the commissioned and non commissioned officers, on the banks of the Missouri River, and there gave us their last charge and blessing, with a firm promise that, on condition of faithfulness on our part, our lives should be spared, our expedition should result in great good and our names should be held in honorable remembrance to all generations. They instructed the officers to be as fathers to the privates, to remember their prayers, to see that the name of the Deity was revered, and that virtue and cleanliness were strictly observed. They also instructed us to treat all men with kindness and never take that which did not belong to us, even from our worst enemies, not even in time of war if we could possibly prevent it; and in case we should come in contact with our enemies and be successful, we should treat prisoners with kindness and never take life when it could be avoided.⁴

Henry Standage added some items of interest in his journal. He wrote:

President Young instructed the captains to be fathers to their companies and to manage their affairs by the power and influence of the Priesthood; then they would have power to preserve their lives and the lives of their companies and escape difficulties. The President told them he would not be afraid to pledge his right hand that every man would return, alive, if they would perform their duties faithfully, without murmuring and go in the name of the Lord, be humble and pray every morning and every evening in their tents. A private soldier is as honorable as an officer, if he behaves as well. No one is distinguished as being better flesh and blood than another. Honor the calling of every man in his place. All the officers but three have been in the

³Golder, pp. 123-124.

⁴Tyler, pp. 128-129. (Also "Journal History of Mormon Battalion," M.S., July 18, 1846, hereafter referred to as "J.H.M.B.")

Temple. Let no man be without his undergarment and always wear a coat and vest; keep neat and clean, teach chastity, gentility and civility; swearing must not be admitted, insult no man; have no contentious conversation with the Missourian, Mexican, or any class of people; do not preach, only where people desire to hear, and then be wise men. Impose not your principles on any people; take your Bibles and Books of Mormon; burn cards if you have any.⁵

Tyler quotes Brigham Young as saying, "not one of those who might enlist would fall by the hands of the nation's foes, and that their only fighting would be with wild beasts."⁶ Further instructions were given the officers and men by letter. In a letter dated August 19, 1846, President Young said, ". . . If you are sick, live by faith, and let the surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild foods as are at your disposal."⁷ On the following day another letter was received addressed to the men and officers of the battalion, and after repeating the counsel that the officers act as fathers to the men, "counseling them in righteousness in all things," they were also instructed to remember the ordinances in case of sickness.⁸ These instructions in regard to sickness and faith-healing resulted in a great deal of misunderstanding and bitter experience on the part of the men.

It should be noted that President Young addressed all of his letters to Captain Jefferson Hunt, senior captain of the battalion, even though one of the General Authorities of the Church, Levi W. Hancock, was a member of the battalion. Hancock, who was one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventies, had volunteered as a musician in Company "E." Despite his high position in the Church, Brigham Young seems to have ignored him as far as any assignment of leadership is concerned. It is true that Henry Bigler believed that Hancock and David Pettigrew had been appointed by Brigham Young to "counsel, advise, and act as fathers to the men of the Battalion,"⁹ and that Golder refers to Hancock in a footnote as "chaplain and one of the musicians of the Battalion."¹⁰ How-

⁵"Journal History of the Church," M.S., July 18, 1846. Hereafter referred to as "Journal History."

⁶Tyler, p. 118.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁸"Journal History," August 20, 1846.

⁹*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 44.

¹⁰Golder, p. 147.

ever, there is no reliable evidence that Hancock had any official appointment as spiritual leader. On the contrary, he is never mentioned by Brigham Young in his communications with the battalion, and he makes no claim for such office in his own journal. Further evidence may be seen in the fact that Jefferson Hunt conducted most of the meetings, and although he usually called on Hancock to speak, Hunt was in charge. President Young apparently expected the officers to take the lead in spiritual affairs as well as in military. Since "all but three" had been to the temple, it was presumed that the officers could care for the spiritual needs of the men.

Levi Hancock first began to show signs of leadership about a month after the battalion had left Council Bluffs. On August 20, 1846, he recorded the following:

About this time I saw D. B. Huntington who told me that some of the brethren had defiled themselves and that many witnesses had seen it with their own eyes . . . I concluded that I would ponder upon the subject and see if there couldn't be some measures taken that would prevent more of such troubles in camp[;] therefore I called upon Capt. Hunt and told him we ought to have some meetings and he then appointed me to take charge of the same and then call on brother Wm. Hyde and Tyler to assist me and father Petigrew [sic] to open the meeting. I talked to the battalion as well as I knew how. I told them that they must not swear [swear] and take the name of the Lord in vane [vain], and told them that he who had sined [sinned] to do it no more for a long time¹¹

Several other men recorded their reactions to the meeting, but Sergeant William Coray's account is given in greater detail than the others. He wrote:

Levi W. Hancock, who was the highest ecclesiastical authority in the battalion, at this time opened the meeting. Elder Tyler spoke, followed by Hancock, Hyde, and Capt. Hunt; the latter told his feelings at considerable length and

¹¹Levi Hancock, Journal 16a, M.S., approximately August 20, 1846.

The importance of this meeting in Hancock's mind as well as insight into his religious nature may be determined from the following item recorded in his journal:

. . . having an opertunaty [opportunity] now finish the recording of the operations of the spirit upon me on the 21st day of August at Hurricane Hill. I thought the Lord spoke to me and told me my sins were all forgiven and what was done at the meeting August 20th was according to his spirit which overjoyed me so that I lay sometime in the spirit praising my God who is so good and kind as to manifest himself to me in such a manner.

with great animation. He fairly laid the ax at the root of the tree and discountenanced vice in the strongest terms; which imported a good spirit to the battalion and checked insubordination materially. Captain Hunt advised the Captains of companies to get their men together frequently and pray for them and teach them the principles of virtue and be united with each other.¹²

Tyler and Standage also gave similar reports of this meeting. Standage included David Pettigrew in his list of speakers.¹³ One week following this meeting, the Journal History records that "the officers in command called upon Elders David Pettigrew and Levi W. Hancock to take charge of the spiritual affairs of the camp."¹⁴

Apparently there were no serious conflicts of authority during this first month. Hancock had used his own initiative in approaching Captain Hunt concerning the meeting, and Hunt and the officers had recognized the need when they asked Hancock and Pettigrew to act as "spiritual advisors" to the men. A few days after this important meeting, word was received that Captain Allen had died, and with his death came the beginning of conflict in the battalion.

Captain Allen had assured the Mormon leaders that if he should leave the battalion, the senior captain would have the right to command. Accordingly, Jefferson Hunt took over. According to Hunt's report of this incident, he called the officers together and assigned Captain Hunter and Lieutenant Dykes to investigate his right to command. Two days later Captain Hunter produced the law on the subject, showing that it was Hunt's right to command. The following day, however, Lieutenant A. J. Smith rode into camp, having been sent by the commandant at Fort Leavenworth to offer his services to lead the battalion. In a letter to Brigham Young, Hunt reported:

The next day Lieut. Smith came up and I was made acquainted with him; he soon told me he desired to lead the Mormon Battalion to Santa Fe, and referred to the benefits

¹²"J.H.M.B.," August 20, 1846.

¹³Golder, p. 148.

David Pettigrew, familiarly known as "Father Pettigrew," was one of the oldest men in the battalion, being then in his fifty-sixth year. He had served as a member of the Nauvoo Stake High Council and had a fine record of Church activity.

¹⁴"Journal History," August 27, 1846.

we should receive from having a U. S. officer at our head. I told him it might or it might not be so, but for myself I was willing to risk marching the Mormon Battalion myself to Gen. Kearney. I was, however, but one and could only act as such; if he wished, I told him, he could see all the officers together and lay the matter before them and if a majority of them wished that he should lead us to Gen. Kearney I would consent. Accordingly, I notified all the officers and they were present in the evening, when Lieut. Smith laid his propositions[:] if our battalion were gone ahead, that the provision master was not acquainted with any of our officers and if we should overtake him and make out a requisition he could not officially know us, inasmuch as we had neither commissions nor certificates that we were officers. Major Walker, the paymaster general, addressed us; he candidly advised us to let Smith lead us, referring to the many difficulties we should have to meet if we undertook to go by ourselves. Our pilot informed us that it was the intention of Col. Price, who we all knew was our inveterate enemy, to attach us to his regiment if we did not accept of Smith.

There was nothing said by our officers one way or the other in the presence of Smith and the other officers, save by Adjutant G. O. Dykes, who stated our inability to make out correct pay rolls and other documents now wanting without some instruction and gave his views in favor of Smith. I questioned Smith very closely on his intentions, if he calculated to carry out the designs of Lieut. Col. Allen, stating that I would, under no consideration, resign my command to him, if he did not intend to carry out these designs; he replied that such was his intention. When they were all through, I requested that Lieut. Smith, the paymaster, pilot and doctor should withdraw. I then told the officers that it remained with them, after hearing what they had, to decide the question. The matter was talked over a little, when Capt. Higgins moved that Lieut. Smith should lead us to Santa Fe, which was seconded by Capt. Davis and carried unanimously. Smith was apprised of this and took command the next morning.¹⁵

Unfortunately, Lieutenant Smith proved to be a harsh disciplinarian, and the men of the battalion blamed their officers for accepting him as their commander without putting it to a vote of the men.¹⁶

¹⁵Golder, p. 156. Letter from Jefferson Hunt to Brigham Young concerning Smith's appointment, dated Santa Fe, Oct. 17. (See B. Y. History, M.S., 1893, p. 393.)

¹⁶Tyler, p. 226.

Accompanying Smith was Dr. Sanderson, who had been appointed to the position of battalion surgeon by Colonel Allen before he died.¹⁷ This officer was the cause of much of the dissension in the battalion, and was thoroughly disliked by the Mormon soldiers. Part of his unpopularity came from the fact that he was a Missourian and from his constant use of vulgar and profane language. The main difficulty was his refusal to respect the Mormons' belief in faith-healing. Tyler reported that some of the men who were sick were being carried in a wagon purchased by Sergeant Thomas S. Williams, although they had neglected to report themselves to Dr. Sanderson. This led to a severe altercation involving threats of violence between Williams and the commanding officer. Because of this, Sergeant N. V. Jones went to Lieutenant Smith and told him that the soldiers were loyal and respected their officers, but that they had religious scruples against taking mineral medicine. Smith said that he was not aware of this and did not want to force the men to do something that was against their religious convictions. He turned to Adjutant Dykes and asked if Jones' statements were true. Dykes replied "that there were no such religious scruples and that the Church authorities themselves took such medicines."¹⁸

Later, Hunt had told the Colonel that it was "rather against our religious faith," but when Tyler went to Hunt and insisted that the colonel be made to know that it was against the faith of the men, and that the malpractices of Sanderson should end, Hunt said that such actions by Tyler would raise a mutiny and said that nothing more could be done.¹⁹

Dykes' unfortunate answer plus Hunt's refusal to press the issue made an almost intolerable situation for the sick men of the battalion and led to a further loss of confidence on the part of the men in their officers. Tyler appears to reflect the feelings of most of the men when he attributes the deaths of several men to the administrations of arsenic and calomel at the hands of Dr. Sanderson.²⁰

¹⁷B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), V, p. 106-107.

¹⁸Tyler, p. 145.

Dykes was regarded by the Mormon soldiers as the source of much of their trouble—see Tyler, p. 148 and Golder, p. 187.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 158, 163, 186, 274.

On October 3, another council of officers was called to consider the suggestion that the battalion be divided temporarily, sending the strongest men ahead to keep the battalion from being discharged and to permit the rest to follow as rapidly as they could. This proposition was approved, being opposed only by "First Lieutenants James Pace, Andrew Lytle, Samuel Gulley and, we think, Lieutenant W. W. Willis, with invited guests, Levi W. Hancock, David Pettigrew, Sergeant William Hyde and others."²¹ This indicates, once again, the unofficial position held by these two men. It also indicates the source of some of the trouble caused between the officers and men. Brigham Young had counseled the officers not to allow the battalion to be divided on any account, and Colonel Allen had promised that it would not be divided. These men opposed the separation on the grounds that it was against the counsel of the Church leaders. Lieutenant Dykes maintained that there was no time to call councils, and that President Young did not know their present circumstances.²²

A few days later, at the last crossing of the Arkansas, the problem of division became more severe when it was determined that those who had accompanied the battalion but were not actually enlisted should be sent up the Arkansas River to Pueblo, Colorado, after it was learned that there was a small colony of Mormons wintering there. Standage remarked that "the officers were consenting to almost anything that Lt. Smith our Tyrant would propose."²³

Later in Santa Fe, after a conference with Colonel Doniphan, commandant of Santa Fe, and Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, who had been appointed by General Kearney to lead the battalion to California, the officers of the battalion agreed to accept their offer to "send all the sick, together with the remaining women and children that belonged to the battalion, to Pueblo to winter, with an escort, and with the privilege in the spring of intersecting the main body of the Church, and going westward with them at government expense."²⁴ Accordingly, eighty-six men, together with the women and children (with the exception of the wives of five of the men),

²¹Tyler, pp. 157-158.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Golder, p. 165.

²⁴History of Brigham Young, M.S., p. 387.

marched to Pueblo under the command of Captain James Brown. Still later, after leaving Santa Fe, fifty-five more men were declared to be too sick to make the rugged march to California and were sent back to Pueblo under the command of Lieutenant W. W. Willis. This left approximately three hundred and fifty men who made the march to California. Each of these divisions eventually worked to the advantage of the battalion as well as the other people involved; but, at the time of the division, the end results could not be seen, and it appeared to the men that their officers had betrayed them.

While the influence of the military leaders was declining, the prestige of Hancock and Pettigrew, the religious leaders, was rising. They had encouraged the resistance to the doctor's medicine and had advised against dividing the battalion. A few days out of Santa Fe another crisis developed that greatly enhanced their position of leadership in the eyes of the men.

The battalion had passed the point in the Rio Grande Valley where General Kearney's force had turned westward toward California, and the men were becoming apprehensive about the possibility of being marched into Mexico rather than into California as they had been promised. Colonel Cooke had sent out guides who had returned with reports that there was no water between them and the Gila River, a distance of about a hundred miles. A council of the staff and captains of companies was called, and the decision was made to proceed along the road, which led in a southwesterly direction. Tyler, in describing the situation, says:

A gloom was cast over the entire command. All of our hopes, conversations and songs, since we left Nauvoo were centered on California; somewhere among that broad domain we expected to join our families and friends.

In this critical moment, brother David Pettegrew [sic], better known as Father Pettegrew, owing to his silver locks and fatherly counsels, and Brother Levi W. Hancock, went from tent to tent, and in a low tone of voice counseled the men to "pray to the Lord to change the Colonel's mind." Then they invited a few to accompany them to a secret place where they could offer up their petitions and not be seen by those in camp. That night over three hundred fervent prayers ascended the throne of grace for that one favor.

On the morning of the 21st, the command resumed its journey marching in a southern direction for about two miles,

when it found that the road began to bear to the south-east instead of the south-west, as stated by the guides. The Colonel looked in the direction of the road, then to the south-west, then to the west, saying, "I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California." He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness, "This is not my course. I was ordered to California, and," he added with an oath, "I will go there or die in the attempt!" Then, turning to the bugler, he said, "Blow the right."

At this juncture, Father Pettegrew involuntarily exclaimed, "God bless the Colonel!" The Colonel's head turned and his keen, penetrating eyes glanced around to discern whence the voice came, and then his grave, stern face for once softened and showed signs of satisfaction.²⁵

The battalion turned to the west and made their way to California, arriving in January 1847. Disciplinary problems on the long march as well as severe tests of physical endurance brought relations between the men and their officers to a breaking point. After reaching their destination, the battalion members were assigned occupation duty in various parts of southern California. An attempt was made to make a "spit-and-polish" military unit out of them and this added to the general dissatisfaction felt by the men. Standage expressed his feelings in the following way:

This is the closest place we have been in yet, to stand guard through the night and then be obliged to work on the fort through the day 10 hours, parade at retreat with our accouterments and do our own cooking, and especially as we can see no use of crowding business thus close. The fact is if our battalion officers who profess to be our brethren would act as fathers to us we could have easier times, but they seek to please the Gentiles and to gain favor at our expense.²⁶

Those who have been in the army know that soldierly grumbling at hardship and discipline is to be expected, but in this case the relationship between the men and their officers was slightly different. These officers had been selected by the leaders of the Church, and the men knew that they had been instructed to act as fathers to their men and to manage their affairs by the power of the priesthood. This rebellion

²⁵Tyler, pp. 206-207.

²⁶"Journal History," April 28, 1847.

against the officers was based on religious reasons rather than military discipline.

This division of opinion and loyalty came to a head when an attempt was made to get the battalion to re-enlist for another term. Colonel Stevenson,²⁷ in company with Captain Hunter, Sergeant Hyde, and Corporal Alexander, came from San Diego to Los Angeles on June 28, to try to get the battalion to re-enlist for six months, using a strange mixture of threats and promises, compliments and insults.²⁸ After listening to this speech the men were dismissed into the hands of their officers and were instructed by Captain Hunt to meet at a point a short distance from camp to discuss the problem. Captains Hunter, Hunt, and Davis, and Lieutenants Canfield and Dykes all spoke strongly in favor of the proposition.²⁹ Then David Pettigrew got the floor and said:

. . . that he thought it our duty to return and look after our outcast families; others could do as they thought best, but he believed that we had done all that we had set out to do, and that our offering was accepted and that our return would be sanctioned by the Church leaders.³⁰

The meeting was then adjourned because of the heat of the sun, and agreement was made to meet in the big tent at the fort at noon. Standage gave a detailed report of this meeting as follows:

This certainly is a very important crisis in the history of the travels of this Battalion of Latter-day Saints, everyone left to be led or walk by faith and the light of the spirit. None privileged to step forth and counsel us and our officers who were given to us as fathers during the service all seem to have run into many vices, except some. About 12 o'clock we met in the tent. Some spoke when it was agreed to appoint a committee to draft an article of writing, stating the terms on which the men would enlist. Captain Hunter, Captain Davis, and Father Pettegrew [sic] were chosen for the committee. As soon as the writing was completed we were again called together and the articles of agreement read. When several short speeches were made, some believing our mission ended the 17th of next month, and others the re-

²⁷Stevenson had succeeded Colonel Cooke when the latter went east with General Kearney. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 450.

²⁸Tyler, pp. 293-294, contains a fairly long summary of the speech.

²⁹"Journal History," June 29, 1847.

³⁰Tyler, p. 295.

verse. Among the speakers was Sergeant Hyde of B Company, who spoke to the point of returning . . . he believed that God was satisfied. Sergeant Tyler made some good remarks on the subject. Father Pettegrew seemed warm on the subject His remarks were truly applicable. Captain Hunter hinted that he had heard that there was a prophet somewhere in the camp, he believed among the privates; if so, he wished that he would come forth and give us the word of the Lord on the subject Brother Levi Hancock spoke from the door of the tent, said that he had never influenced the men against the officers, either publicly or privately (some remarks had been made by Captain Hunter believing that someone had been trying to set the men at variance with the officers). Lieutenant Lytle spoke, denying ever using an influence against the officers. Meeting dispersed, 15 or 16 names being obtained for re-enlisting, news taken to the Colonel stating terms &c. which was rejected.³¹

This meeting revealed at least two things: First, it showed that most of the men preferred to take the advice of Pettigrew, Hancock, Hyde and Tyler in preference to the senior officers. The general desire of the men to get out of the army probably had something to do with this. Second, it also indicated that the officers suspected Hancock, and possibly Pettigrew and Lytle, of influencing the men against them.

In regard to Levi W. Hancock's activities, Tyler reported the following:

Brother Hancock was very zealous, and did his best to influence the men to live their religion taught under every circumstance. He was really deserving of much credit for the zeal and diligence he manifested in his missionary work among the brethren, but it was very apparent that some of the officers regarded his actions as officious, and entertained a feeling of jealousy towards him on that account. He, however, denied the imputation that he was prompted by any other than the purest of motives, and he retained the good feelings of the others and his influence among them, notwithstanding the prejudice that existed towards him among those few officers.³²

There is evidence, however, that Hancock did criticize the officers, even if he meant to do it in a spirit of kindness. Standage said that Lieutenant Holman had told him that Levi Hancock's course with the brethren would have led to an in-

³¹"Journal History," June 29, 1847.

³²Tyler, p. 266.

surrection had he not been checked.³³ More definite than that statement, however, is the report of a meeting held on February 15 by William Coray. It reads:

This evening Levi Hancock held a meeting at Lieutenant Dykes' quarters in which he stated that he hated to be under the necessity of telling the brethren his rights. He said, "The spirit of God should do it. Men have tried to take away my rights [meaning the captains] but I won't give them up to any man." He said that a number of the battalion brethren had met together and washed each other's feet, and annointed each other with oil, and that spirit of the Lord had testified to them that it was right.

In regards to preaching, "Brother Tyler is the man to preach to this battalion. I know it for it was revealed to me." After casting many insinuating remarks about the captains taking the lead when it was not their place, etc., he concluded by calling for an expression of the congregation whether Brother Tyler should preach next Sunday or not. . . . Wm. Hyde arose, stating that he had but little to say, but what he should say would be at the risk of all hazard. This was that Levi Hancock was his file leader and that he would obey his counsel, let the circumstances be what they may

In the meantime I sat still and listened to all that was said, but said naught myself. I found that Brother Levi and the captain who was present considered themselves insulted by having their appointment taken up before their time.³⁴

Coray said further that he did not know who was right, but he felt that both were wrong. He felt that Hancock had been wrong in stirring up enmity of the men against the officers, and that the officers had often been tyrannical and had set very poor examples for the men.³⁵

Part of Hancock's influence with the men seems to have come as a result of holding meetings with select groups in which the ceremony of washing each other's feet was practiced. Both Azariah Smith and Samuel Rogers reported such a meeting held on February 18, 1847, in which twelve men received the ordinance, and Rogers records meetings on Sunday, February 21; Wednesday, February 24; and Wednesday,

³³"Journal History," April 2, 1847.

³⁴William Coray, "J.H.M.B.," February 15, 1847.

³⁵*Ibid.*

March 11, in which a total of thirty-seven men participated in this ritual.³⁶

Hancock wrote a letter to Brigham Young in May giving him a report of his activities and feelings in regard to the condition of the battalion. Part of the letter read as follows:

. . . There has been some wickedness among some, but I called them together and talked as well as I could to them, and I warned them against swearing and cursing each other and fighting, as there has been all of this. Before I commenced this, I asked the Lord to direct me, and I called a meeting and asked if any man had anything against me; and if he had, to tell me then, so that I might repent. All hands said that I was clear from all, and that I had set a good example. I called on a man to come and wash my feet. He said that he would. I then washed his and he mine, and I said, "I forgive all men according to the revelations," and told them why I had done it, and how Jesus said: "If I have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." All hands then went to washing feet. I told them that they must stop swearing as they had done, and swearing has now become unpopular in this camp. But about this time, a jealousy arose among us; some of the officers said that there was a secret conspiracy in the camp. I then called on all the brethren to bear testimony that I had taught nothing but against wickedness, and that I had a perfect right to do it wherever I was in any part of the earth. I have nothing against them, anyhow; but there are many things that look strange to me and that I do not "comprehendo" as the Spaniards say. Brother Jones, Hulet and others can tell better than I can write. One thing is; some officers putting out their hands to stop the wages of others, as has been the case in this battalion, and then be so full of religion that they imagine they have never sinned in their lives.³⁷

The results of Hancock's activities became apparent as the time of their enlistment drew to a close. A few days before their discharge, Standage wrote:

Our officers are becoming more and more like men, giving us as many privileges as they can conveniently. They have not been more than half as strict for a few days past. In fact, they seem to realize that their power as military commanders will soon be gone, and that their influence will be gone too. Inasmuch as they know that there are men in

³⁶Samuel Rogers, Journal (Typescript), Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library.

³⁷Levi Hancock, Letter recorded in "J.H.M.B.," May 12, 1847.

this battalion who stand as high and much higher in the Priesthood, therefore it seems as though they wished to restore the confidence in some measure which they well know that has departed during the last 12 months. Brothers A. Lytle and J. Pace are appointed to lead back the Company to the Church, being the only two who have had respect unto the Priesthood of the Son of God, and acted as fathers to the brethren who were placed under them for twelve months.³⁸

According to Tyler, Lytle and Pace were elected by acclamation.³⁹ It is not known who nominated them, but there is quite a possibility that the accepted Church pattern was followed, and the nominations were made by the highest Church leader present, Levi W. Hancock. At least, four days after their release, Standage said:

This morning the Cap's [Captains] of 50s and 10s were nominated by Levi Hancock, Captain Pace and Lytel [sic] elected by the brethren and organization effected according to the pattern left for us for travelling purposes, also military, by our Prophet Joseph.⁴⁰

The long-awaited day of discharge arrived with the dawning of July 16, 1847. Azariah Smith gave the following word picture of this event:

At 3 o'clock P.M. the five companies of the battalion were formed according to the letter of their company, with A in front and E in the rear, leaving a few feet of space in between. The noterrious [notorious] Lieutenant A. J. Smith then marched down between the lines, then in a low tone of voice said, "You are discharged." That is all there was of ceremony of mustering out of the service this veteran corps of living martyrs to the cause of their country and their religion. None of the men regretted the Lieutenant's brevity; in fact, it rather pleased them.⁴¹

Standage adds that after their discharge by Smith:

Captain Davis marched company E after being mustered out into the Pueblo, under arms and gave the men as much wine &c as they could wish. He then delivered us into the hands of Lieutenant Pace, First Lieutenant, to march us back to the quarters, there to be discharged. Some remarks by

³⁸"Journal History," June 27, 1847.

³⁹Tyler, p. 293.

⁴⁰"Journal History," July 20, 1847.

⁴¹"J. H. M. B.," July 16, 1847.

Captain Davis, Lieutenant Pace, Lytel [sic], Levi Hancock, and Father Pettegrew [sic] when 3 cheers were given, and many left with animals they had purchased for a camping ground three miles up the San Pedro River.⁴²

By the time of their discharge the battalion had been divided into several factions. Twelve men had been chosen by General Kearney as an escort for him on his trip east, and left Los Angeles on May 13. Eighty-one men and officers had re-enlisted, three had died, one officer had resigned, and one man had been discharged and drummed out of camp. This left approximately 250 men who were planning to join the main body of the Church. Speaking of this group, William Coray said:

Meanwhile those who believed in the counsel of Brother Levi W. Hancock made preparations and started with him to meet the Church by way of Walker's Pass. Nearly 40 or 50 in company with Captain Hunt also marched for the Bay of San Francisco, expecting to hear from the Church in that place. . . .⁴³

The main body, then, chose to follow Hancock and Pettigrew. The fact that eighty-one re-enlisted and forty or fifty followed Hunt is indicative of the lack of unity within the group, but the religious leaders commanded the loyalty of a significant majority of the battalion members when their term of enlistment ended.

⁴²"Journal History," July 16, 1847.

⁴³"J. H. M. B.," July 16, 1847.

FIRST SNOW - LEONIA

An Etching

by

Mahonri Young

A Note on "First Snow-Leonia"

by Dale T. Fletcher*

"First Snow-Leonia" was produced in 1916, the year Mahonri Young began to teach at the Art Students' League in New York City. His reputation was well established by then. He had learned etching in the 1890's while working in the engraving department of the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Later he became the president of the New York Society of Etchers. In his lifetime he produced over 2,500 prints. He said of the artists of the Renaissance, "The pieces of the Great Masters are filled with things. They don't give you one glance. You get a glance and that's good, but you can read into them. They are full of all kinds of things." Much of his own work is just so.

A person today cannot help wondering whether Mahonri Young realized that the Renaissance master's faith in the value of things was dependent upon the authenticity of the church. Given the apostacy, when Renaissance man tried to marry medieval faith to classical reason, the inevitable offspring was doubt, which has grown and spread ever since. Thus, the understructure of art based on *things* was progressively knocked away until we come to the avant-garde painter of today, a self alone and *out there* is chaos, the blank wall where the truth is "less is more"—minimal art.

Good for the minimal artist! He sees it clearly. The world is in a desperate situation. The value of all things is in serious jeopardy. All sorts of frightful conclusions must be faced if the apostacy remains unremedied. False religions are an opiate. Reason in art is not rationally justifiable in this kind of predicament. Of course, most people are unaware of the predicament; and, if such a one is an artist, he might be just as apt to do one thing as another, following the fads, thinking it is all an exciting adventure. To this bottomless limbo the avant-garde painter prefers the wall.

Yet, thanks alone to the Restoration, Mahonri Young's faith in the value of *things* was justified after all.

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French Reaction to Shakespeare*

JOHN A. GREEN**

It is known that before and after Shakespeare's death in 1616, troupes of English actors often performed in Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and even Latvia. In Germany and Austria, particularly, where extensive research has been conducted, the bulk of the repertoires was Shakespearean. In France, however, investigation of early seventeenth-century material, published or otherwise, has yet to bring to light any mention of Shakespeare whatsoever. The only document of that time containing even the slightest allusion to what may possibly have been a performance of one of Shakespeare's plays is the journal of the first physician to the Dauphin at the court of Henri IV of France. The doctor recorded that, in September 1604, an English company of actors appeared at the Fontainebleau palace to amuse the Dauphin, then only three years of age. For two weeks afterward the young prince insisted on strutting around the palace dressed like the English comedians and saying "Tiph toph, milord." Some have speculated, since the publication of the journal in 1868, that the child was playing Falstaff saying "Tap for Tap, my lord," in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Act 2, Scene 1. Whatever the play was, the actors never finished. The record indicates that their performance broke up when the Dauphin ordered one of the troupe beheaded.

If Shakespeare was the author of the play performed in part before the young prince, none of the audience would have

*This paper, originally presented to faculty and graduate students of the various departments and sections of the College of Humanities, necessarily involved some popularization. Similarly the footnotes added for this publication, are intended essentially for the nonspecialist. In most cases, therefore, I have avoided referring to primary sources, which for this study too often involve holographic, foreign, scattered, or out-of-print materials, in favor of works currently available. I must recognize, at the outset, my debt to two contemporary scholars: Robert Wythe Cannaday, Jr., "French Opinion of Shakespeare from the Beginnings through Voltaire: 1604-1778," unpub. diss., University of Virginia, 1957 (394 pp.); and Helen Phelps Bailey, *Hamlet in France from Voltaire to Laforgue* [1730-1886], Geneva: Droz, 1964 (181 pp.). All quotes, unless otherwise noted, are from them; the translations are mine.

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cared. Writers received little credit for their work at that time. Indeed, it was not until 1625 that notices began to carry the name of the playwright.¹ And as far as Shakespeare is concerned, "no Frenchman [between 1604 and 1682] is known to have made any reference to him, or to any of his plays," writes Cannaday, "nor is there any concrete evidence of performances of his plays, or those of any other English playwrights, by actors of any nationality, in France." Nothing significant happened in 1682, either, except that a nobleman who knew no English mentioned a "Comédie de Henri VIII" in a letter. Three years later a relatively obscure author dropped the name of Shakespeare and twelve other English writers in two sentences on "English poets."

The general attitude of the French toward the English is probably summed up in a letter written about that time—at least during the reign of Charles II of England. The French ambassador at that court, in answer to a request from Louis XIV for the names of the most illustrious men in English letters, began: "It seems that the arts and sciences sometimes abandon one country to go and honor another. . . ." Now in the sciences, Harvey, as early as 1628, had discovered and published a treatise on the circulation of the blood, one of the greatest discoveries of medical science. It was rejected in France, however, *a priori*, partly because the word *circulateur*—even before 1628—had become synonymous with "quack," and partly because France, in the seventeenth century, wanted to influence more than to be influenced. "Presently," to return to the ambassador's letter, "they [the arts and sciences] have passed into France, and if any vestiges remain here, it is only through the reputation of Bacon, Morus [Thomas More], Buncanan [sic] and, more recently, of one Miltonius [John Milton] who has made himself more infamous through his dangerous writings than the executioners and assassins of their king."

Of all the countries of Europe, France knew less about England in the seventeenth century—and preferred it that way—than of any other major power. England had been the enemy during the "Hundred Years War." Her longbowmen had decimated the French nobility at the battle of Agincourt. Her

¹Gustave Lanson, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Tragédie Française*, rev. ed. (Paris: Champion, 1954), p. 55.

ecclesiastics had killed Joan of Arc. Her king had separated her from the Church. She had supported the Protestants against Cardinal Richelieu, and finally, in 1649, as the ambassador referred to in his letter, she had rebelled against the young Charles I, and beheaded him. Behind this general prejudice and ignorance, however, lie other facts that help to explain why Shakespeare remained unknown in France throughout the seventeenth century.

The development of the French theater, for example, begins to differ markedly, during the Renaissance, from that of the English. It had begun, in both countries, in the Church, then moved to the public square as the comic element, the crude, and the grotesque were introduced into the drama. Both countries eventually reacted against the excesses, but not at the same time, nor with the same intensity. The resistance in France was sudden, and forcible, sixteen years before Shakespeare was born; in England it began to develop about the time Shakespeare embarked on his career, but remained as an undercurrent until the Puritans came to power toward the middle of the seventeenth century.

The French parliament pronounced against the coarse humor and grotesque scenes of the Renaissance mystery plays in 1548 by decreeing the suppression of religious drama. During the next hundred years French critics and writers succeeded in eliminating other excesses. Consider, for example, the stage setting for a typical religious drama taken from a manuscript of 1547, only a year before parliament's restraining order. The audience had at once a view stretching from hell on the right to paradise on the left, with other *mansions* representing the cities of Nazareth and Jerusalem, the palace, the temple, and the *sea*—with a boat on it!—in between.² Some plays called for thirty and even forty *mansions*. With this type of staging, the action is described as simultaneous, rather than successive, making it possible for any number of mortals, of all ages and types, to appear together with beings from the lower regions and from the world above in dramas covering a decade, a century, or even—as in the *Mystery of the Old Testament*—four thousand years.

The gradual elimination of these excesses of time, place, and action began after 1548 as playwrights, under constant

²"Théâtre" (anon. art.), *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, VII, 988.

pressure from the critics, worked toward establishing simplicity and verisimilitude as guiding principles of an improved French theater. And, of course, refining the drama to exclude the coarse and the grotesque involved purifying and simplifying the language. At the beginning of the sixteenth century translators had been hard put to find French equivalents for the noble thoughts of the Latins. In less than a century, writes Lanson, invention and borrowing of words by all levels of society had swelled the vocabulary to the bursting point, spelling was chaotic, and grammar hopelessly cluttered.³

The greatest contributions toward refining the language of the poet were made by Malherbe about 1600, and by the literary salons after 1608. Malherbe, who established poetry, not prose, as the preferred form of literary expression in France for more than 200 years, followed the critics and writers of his time in that he strove for simplicity and the elimination of affectation or artificiality of manners, sentiments and style. He condemned the Renaissance poets for having given free rein to their imagination and emotions, and for having expressed personal sentiments in verse.

By 1625, when notices began to carry the name of the playwright, French theater had begun to attract people of quality, including ladies.⁴ No play of lasting merit had yet been written, and was not until 1636, but in that year Corneille's *Le Cid* "gave modern French drama its first masterpiece"⁵ and determined the form of French classical tragedy which Racine and his generation were to carry to perfection. That is, *Le Cid* established most of the guiding principles, at least for the theater, that critics, playwrights, and poets had begun to define in France sixteen years before Shakespeare's birth. After *Le Cid* the principles would stand unchallenged for another century and a half until Hugo and the Romantics, like the Middle Age and Renaissance playwrights before them, imagined a drama that again emphasized scenic art and an unrestricted vocabulary, and embraced everything, including the infinite.

³Lanson, "La Langue Française au XVIe siècle," in *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 16th ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1921), pp. 351-356.

⁴Lanson, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Tragédie Française*, loc. cit.

⁵Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Part V: Recapitulation, 1610-1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), p. 61.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, simplicity, refinement, and purity in French drama had developed from a matter of educated, artistic taste to a case of necessity. Special seats, located right on the stage, but at each side, gave the nobility an opportunity to display their fine manners and clothes to the rest of the audience and, in a poor performance or play, to trip the actors or interfere with the dialogue. France adhered to this extravagant custom, which Charles II took back with him to England when he came to power, until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁶ Until then, playwrights helped to solve the problem by reducing the number of characters, and their movements, to an absolute minimum, and by continuing to refine the language and the subject matter to the point that the distinguished stage audience felt more inclined to listen than to participate.

Just as Harvey's discovery, then, in 1628, could not penetrate into France because of the peculiar situation existing in the French medical profession, so the unique position of French theater and French society in general posed a formidable barrier in the seventeenth century to any extension of Shakespeare's genius or influence across the channel. Of course, the French medical profession eventually had to recognize the truth of Harvey's discovery, and Shakespeare did not remain unknown in France during the eighteenth century.

Toward the end of Louis XIV's reign, the state hovered on the brink of financial ruin, faith in the Church was wavering, and a quarrel had broken out as to which writers were superior, the ancients or the moderns. The greatest classicist writers modestly supported the ancients, but in a losing cause that stretched out over forty years. The moderns won, and those they defended, the most illustrious moderns among them, were caught, as the Church had been caught in its handling of Galileo and the Copernican theory, preaching false doctrine. Immediately, some thought of other comparisons to be made. While the long quarrel had raged, changing conditions in France had opened up all sorts of cultural and other exchanges with England. For example, a translation of Addison's *Spectator* appeared in 1714, "The first vehicle of Shakespearean influence in France." The abbé Prévost, returning home after

⁶"Théâtre," *loc. cit.*

several years in England, published a newspaper every Monday from 1733 to 1740 "with the avowed purpose of spreading knowledge of English literature." Voltaire, while reflecting the prejudices of Milords Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, whose pronouncements against Shakespeare are known to have exceeded a mere "Tiph, toph," unintentionally aroused the interest of all France in English literature, generally, and in Shakespeare, particularly. And, in 1746, La Place published an eight-volume edition of Shakespeare's works. It attempted to do justice both to Shakespeare and to French classicism—to the latter by omitting or giving short synopses of "monstrous" or objectionable scenes, and by rendering the rest into alexandrine verse, or prose. France read this first translation with enthusiasm.

In 1760, then, following the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, which Racine and Corneille had lost . . . while winning, an anonymous writer for the *Journal Encyclopédique* measured the best writers of France against those of England: Corneille vs. Shakespeare, and Racine vs. Otway. France had known less about England in the time of Corneille, and Racine, than about any other country in Europe, but less than half a century after the death of Louis XIV she was obsessed with Anglomania, and the two English writers were compared favorably with Corneille and Racine. Voltaire, who could not admit the inferiority of the French classicists without admitting his own, published, in pamphlet form, an *Appeal to All the Nations of Europe*, calling on all who could read "from St. Petersburg to Naples," to examine with him *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and Otway's *The Orphan*, to compare them with selected plays of the French writers, and then to decide which country had the superior theater.

But Voltaire could not stem the tide. In 1769 *Hamlet* was adapted for the French stage by Ducis, who literally worshiped Shakespeare. Since he knew no English, however, he was obliged to use, and trust, the La Place translation. Considering the changes he made to reconstruct the whole play in accordance with the conventions of French tragedy, he did not even need La Place. A list of names of the principal characters would have sufficed because Laertes was eliminated, along with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Fortinbras, the ambassadors to Norway, the strolling players, and the "monstrous"

gravediggers. Those left spoke alexandrine verse, and the dénouement was brought about without violence to the unities. Ducis recast Ophelia as "strong-minded, fearless, and aggressive." She loses her father, but not her mind. As for the Queen, she has but one thought: to make up for her crime. She was "an embodiment," says Bailey, "of remorse and retribution, certain to please an audience who expected tragedy to uphold virtue and draw a moral lesson." Diderot suggested that Ducis should quit playwriting and turn to copying letters, or composing official dispatches, but audiences applauded wildly, while ladies—no doubt with great propriety—swooned. It does not matter whether this polite society was applauding Shakespeare, or Racine and Corneille in disguise. They thought they were expressing approval of the Englishman.

In 1776 the first of Letourneur's twenty-volume prose translation of Shakespeare's works appeared, containing "a list of over 800 subscribers for more than 1200 copies." It was a singularly impressive list, headed by the king and queen of France, the king of England, and the Empress of all the Russias. It has been judged a good translation, but the prefaces and preliminary *discours* ran a sort of quarrel of the ancients and moderns in reverse. This time Corneille, Molière, and Racine became the ancients and the eighteenth-century writers the moderns. While the three ancients were lauded for their efforts, nothing at all was said about Voltaire or any of his contemporaries.

Voltaire, an old man, responded vigorously with a long "Letter to the Academy" which he hoped would be read in public session to serve as a lesson to the court and as a joint reminder to the Academicians of "the horrors of Shakespearean tragedy and the elegance of the French." D'Alembert did read a modified version of the letter to a closed session of the Academy but eventually had to inform Voltaire that it was futile to attempt to get official sanction for his own views. Two years later, in 1778, Voltaire died, and the man elected to replace him in the Academy was Jean-François Ducis.

At the end of the eighteenth century a revolutionary France, to use Danton's words, "flung at the feet of Europe's kings the head of a king."⁷ The Romantics soon believed that

⁷Quoted in *The Horizon Book of the Age of Napoleon* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1963), p. 21.

they had sent the heads of Corneille and Racine rolling after it, but at the beginning of the century, while Madame de Staël pleaded eloquently with French writers to begin to seek inspiration from Germany and England, and while Ducis successfully staged an adaptation of *Othello*—which eliminated Iago—and reworked *Hamlet*, Chateaubriand, one of the foremost precursors of Romanticism, spoke out sharply against the growing Shakespeare cult:

A people that has always been more or less barbarous in the arts may continue to admire barbarous works, and this is of no great importance; but I do not know how far a nation that has masterpieces in all genres can risk its morals. It is in this that the leaning toward Shakespeare is much more dangerous in France than in England. In the English, it is simply ignorance; in us, it is depravity Bad taste and vice almost always go together; the first is nothing but the expression of the second, as speech is, of thought.

As late as 1836 Chateaubriand dismissed *Hamlet* with one word, "bedlam," but his opinions had no more effect than those of Voltaire before him. The French had not seen the true Shakespeare once on the stage, but they thought they had, and nothing could oppose their imagination. Even those who had read Letourneur's translation understood very little except that Shakespeare was as free of the rules, and the unities, and all the rest, as the French revolutionaries had made themselves in 1789.

In 1821 another good prose translation appeared, this time by Guizot. The reception, at first, was a little cold, because England's part in the defeat and exile of Napoleon was still fresh in the public mind, but before long it was selling well, enough to justify a revised edition in 1860 which was still being reprinted in 1938.

During the 1820's two troupes of English actors performed Shakespeare in Paris. The first, in 1822, fared little better than the earlier troupe which had appeared before the Dauphin in 1604. On opening night a whole act of *Othello* had to be omitted, and two nights later the troupe was so pelted with apples and epithets that *A School for Scandal* never got beyond the first scene. It was the poor acting, however, not Shakespeare, that aroused the audience.

Before the second troupe's appearance one last famous comparison was made between Racine and Shakespeare. Stendhal thought Racine a great writer for the court of Louis XIV, but reminded his contemporaries that the whole of the *ancien régime* had been swept away, and that any modern imitation of him was simply out of place with nineteenth-century audiences. Shakespeare, not bound by the unities, or by slavery to alexandrine rhyme, offered a better model. For a year or two, with the support of Lamartine, Stendhal assumed the role of a leader among the younger writers. He was fifteen or twenty years older than most of them, however, and by 1827 they had grouped under Hugo. In that year, when Hugo wrote his first play, *Cromwell*, centering about the man responsible for beheading Charles I, but so vast in its scope it could not be staged, Stendhal was a loner, and the preface to *Cromwell* served as a manifesto of the Romantic school, with Hugo, not Stendhal, at the head.

In the same year, 1827, the second troupe of English actors—this one talented—arrived in Paris. The effect they had on the audience may be judged from the reaction of but one young romantic, Alexandre Dumas:

They announced *Hamlet*. I was familiar only with Ducis' version. I went to see Shakespeare's . . . I also saw Romeo, Shylock, William Tell, and Othello. I read, I devoured everything in their repertory, and I recognized that, in the world of the theater, everything emanated from Shakespeare, just as in the world of reality everything emanates from the sun; that no one could compare with him for he was as dramatic as Corneille, as comic as Molière, as original as Calderón, as much a thinker as Goethe, and as passionate as Schiller. I realized that his works, alone, contained as many types and personalities as the works of all others combined. I recognized, lastly, that he was the man, next to God, who had created the most.⁸

It was probably after the publication of Stendhal's essay on *Racine and Shakespeare*, or after the 1827 performances, that the cartoon "Racine's wig" appeared in Paris. It shows the younger generation, grouped under the banner "Long live Shakespeare," setting fire to the wig, while the classicists,

⁸Quoted by Elliott M. Grant, in "The Theater from 1800 to 1830," *Chief French Plays of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1934), p. 3.

flourishing their own banner "Long live the three unities," are trying to extinguish the flames.⁹

Even though Romanticism began to wane after 1844, Shakespeare remained popular. Dumas, for example, established the Théâtre Historique in 1847 for the express purpose of presenting Shakespeare in French. What he did with the Bard, however, indicates how shallow his understanding really was, or how little theater audiences had changed in spite of Romanticism. For *Hamlet* he used a new translation by Meurice, but it was all in alexandrine verse, and Dumas personally arranged the scenario, omitted a few scenes, altered passages as he saw fit, and followed Ducis in devising a dénouement calculated to suit French taste better than the original would have done. In answer to Dumas, the *Comédie-Française* revived the Ducis version and continued to play it until 1852.

In 1864, Hugo, to promote his son's new, eighteen-volume translation of the complete works, rated Shakespeare as highly as Dumas had after the visiting English troupe's successful performances in 1827. Meanwhile, actors and poets had become obsessed with Hamlet, suffering with him on stage and off. This particular mania lasted until the turn of the century, and although in some individuals the madness had little or nothing to do with Shakespeare, still it sprang from a general desire to penetrate and understand the English playwright. Some of the foremost poets and writers were caught up in it, including Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Laforgue, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, and Paul Bourget. For Jean Moréas, there were only two subjects of conversation: his own poems and *Hamlet*.¹⁰

Against two translations of Shakespeare's works in the eighteenth century I count seven in the nineteenth, and eventually, in 1899, a French stage performance of *Hamlet* followed Shakespeare rather than Ducis or Dumas. Sarah Bernhardt had commissioned Marcel Schwob to give her a new, accurate and faithful translation for the stage. Sarah had played Ophelia some years before in a production that folded almost

⁹This cartoon is reproduced by Gustave Lanson and Paul Tuffrau, in *Manuel Illustré d'Histoire de la Littérature Française* (Boston: Heath, 1953), p. 541.

¹⁰Arthur Symons, *Colour Studies in Paris* (New York: Dutton, 1918), p. 193.

as soon as it began. When Schwob completed his prose translation, based on the Oxford text, Sarah, at the height of her career, used it to launch her own theater in 1899. This time she played Hamlet, and with such success that she took the production to London. The critics were far from kind but, undaunted, she moved to Stratford-on-Avon for the Shakespeare festival. Here, agree her many biographers, her performance was a sheer delight.

Georges and Ludmilla Pitoëff used the Schwob translation to score a similar success before audiences all over France and Belgium in 1927 and 1928, and the Comédie-Française produced it in Paris from 1932 to 1934.¹¹ André Gide, a friend of Schwob's who never cared for the latter's translation, published one of his own in 1945 that has been played. The Schwob translation has not been performed since, although it was republished twice in the 1950's.

There have been two more French translations of Shakespeare's complete works in this century, I believe, the latest a twelve-volume bilingual edition by Leyris and Evans around 1964. There are few educated people in France today who have not heard of Shakespeare, whereas every semester I meet American college students who have never heard of Corneille, Molière, or Racine.

French literary critics and historians would be willing, I believe, to write in the name of Shakespeare at the top of the list of the world's greatest writers, but between him and the next English writer on that list, I think they would be inclined to propose the names of their three great classicists, and probably those of Hugo and one or two other later poets. Shakespeare is today played or translated with some regularity and commendable fidelity in France, about every decade, but Racine, Corneille, and Molière have come back into the picture. They are performed every year.

¹¹Information in a letter to the author from Geneviève Delune, librarian at the Comédie Française, April 18, 1959.

Before the Sepulchre

CLINTON F. LARSON*

Characters:

Mary Magdalene	Centurion
Martha	A Soldier
Mary, Martha's Sister	Pontius Pilate
Joseph of Arimathea	

(Scene: The garden before the tomb into which Jesus has just been taken. The entrance to the tomb is open. Joseph is near Mary Magdalene, who is weeping. Martha and Mary are going in and out of the tomb with vessels and cloths, apparently engaged in preparing the body of Jesus for burial. The Centurion and the soldiers are loitering nearby.)

MARY. Thank you, Joseph.

(She continues weeping; Joseph comforts her.)

JOSEPH. I had thought to be his disciple,
But now he lies broken in his tomb, and whatever we do
Is an apology before the power of death.

MARY. I weep for him,
As if the Dead Sea brims in my eyes.

JOSEPH. Where is the silver light
Of the eternity in his word?

MARY. It lies with him as broken
As he. Joseph, the nails in his hands and feet
As he would writhe against them for the freedom
From anguish! His pain is in my eyes
And in the bosom of death, the white valley of the future
Where the great birds wheel.

JOSEPH. I face the problem
Of death because I was dead before him, or as if dead.
I could not be sure of him!

MARY. If the sky would shake again
And lend me its dark terror, I might die open
As the cross.

*Dr. Larson, professor of English at Brigham Young University, has written many poetic dramas on religious themes.

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

159

JOSEPH. I sought him as would Pilate, who washed
His hands in the disgrace of his duty to an emperor!

MARY. May I go to him?

MARTHA. Not now. He is not ready.
The thorns and blood remain. I cannot pick or wash them away
He has hung so long.

MARY, MARTHA'S SISTER. I cannot see them through my tears
And the darkness of the tomb.

(Martha and Mary enter the tomb.)

JOSEPH. And the darkness in me
Is the stone of my faith.

(He removes an imaginary cup from his robes.)

He said, "Drink this
In remembrance of me," and what it was I drank I knew not,
Except that I knew I walked with him in the vale
Of his witness. Though I was last to drink,
Beyond the door, I felt him then, departing. It was the hour
Of his last ministry, before the trials and Gethsemane.

MARY. May I see it?

(She reaches for the imaginary cup.)

MARY. May I hold it where his hands touched?
*(The Centurion approaches as she takes the cup. He is mawkish
to hide a psychosis of confusion and despair.)*

CENTURION. Enough of this bleating and weeping. Is he
locked in?

Is he anointed and sanctified?

JOSEPH. Not yet, not yet prepared.

CENTURION. Has he ascended to his father, wherever that
may be?

JOSEPH. Not yet.

CENTURION. A complication. Another problem too difficult
To mention. Again: women, will he rise again
On the third day?

JOSEPH. Some say he will.

CENTURION. Faith calls
Like voice from on high to attend this fantasy of Judea.

I was not talking to you. But for your information,
And before those of you who wish to bear witness,
I tell you God is dead!

(He laughs sardonically.)

I do not know why
You carry on so, mewling and whimpering here.

MARY. The nail in his feet that I have washed with my tears!

CENTURION. I myself fixed the nail for his relief
That he might stand on it to catch his breath.

MARY. *(As if holding the cup in front of her)* This in re-
membrance of him.

CENTURION. Devotion, devotion.

I wish I were as attractive alive as he is dead.

Cannot I convince you, woman? Mary, weep over me.

(He seizes the imaginary cup.)

Or shall I weep the dregs of my soul into this,
That all may have a sacrament of me, arisen
To this occasion that he may not arise, now or ever,
Even on the third day? You see, I dutifully observe
And acknowledge all superstition, well equipped, as I am,
In emptiness. God is dead! If you think
That there is anything here, or there,

(Pointing to the sky)

that cares

One whit for you or for a bevy of oracles,
You have collapsed into the mire of your own innocence!
I drink the very air in this cup as a testament
To the vacancy that is Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.

JOSEPH. Give me that!

(He seizes the cup.)

He touched it with the nearness

Of love.

CENTURION.

Quick as a seizure of remorse.

(He draws his sword.)

JOSEPH.

Pilate gave me

Leave to carry him here and care for him
Without this annoyance.

CENTURION.

Politicking in behalf

Of the indigent dead, eh? Roman against Roman

Because peace is more convenient than war.

I do not understand this ritual

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

161

Or this traffic in and out of the sepulchre.

The crucified should be left in the fields.

JOSEPH. The issue is that he *will* arise from death.

CENTURION. Like a will o' the wisp, a vapor over the sea?

JOSEPH. Like the nativity of the morning star. This I know
In the witness of Mary's tears!

CENTURION.

You are not sure?

(Joseph recoils from this probe.)

Ah! God is dead! If he was so holy, why did not you

Cry out to join him in his ecstasy? Drink it up.

You did not join him. Now you will never know

If his word about mansions in the sky has substance

Or even illusion.

SOLDIER.

Sir, is it time for our relief?

CENTURION. Do you have a sun dial on your head?

SOLDIER.

No, sir.

CENTURION. Soldier, Marcus, you are most annoying. Do not
offend me

Without offering an escape from your baying

Ignorance. How should I know?

SOLDIER.

But . . .

CENTURION.

Do you suppose

There is a Roman legion to back you up?

SOLDIER.

No, sir.

CENTURION. Your only alternative is to be pleasantly like stone,
Attentive to my need that you remain utterly silent.

Stand up there, by that stone, close your mouth,

And think of the inspiration of a warbling thrush.

(The soldier moves to the position. The Centurion orates.)

Now, it may be that these people are somehow right.

That fellow whom we hung on the cross might be

Play-acting in there. With all this attention

He might, even now, show a little life.

After all, we did not break his legs,

And anyone can recover from a puncture.

(Mawkishly, in an attitude of supplication)

"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Again, "I thirst," and yet again, "Father,

Into thy hands I commend my spirit." Again, the martyr,—

And the disciples will gather like a storm of gnats

Around him, and yet another cult will arise
 Through spontaneous generation, and I, I will be
 Squire to it. Not that, I guarantee not that!
 I am going to go in there and dismember this Jesus
(Brandishing his sword)

And strew him over the countryside so generally
 That even the census-takers will have a difficult time
 Remembering him!

(He swaggers into the tomb.)

MARY. *(In grief)* My Lord!

*(There is a moment of silence; then Pontius Pilate enters.
 Stains on the back of his robe suggest the veronica.)*

PILATE. *(In an emotional suspension)*

Is this where he was laid?

JOSEPH. He rests in the sepulchre.

PILATE. And you and these women attend him?

JOSEPH. Yes.

But the Centurion is inside, he said to dismember
 The body of our Lord.

PILATE. Is it there, indeed?

JOSEPH. Yes.

PILATE. And he has not risen from the dead?

JOSEPH. No.

PILATE. It is my dark fear that he will rise, again
 In his innocence.

(His hands work as if he is washing them.)

My judgment stands in my white mind
 As if it were all I ever knew. I see him in there
 Under the tilted head of my Centurion, like alabaster,
 Serene and spiritual, as if alive. They stare
 At each other until a snake slips into my conscience
 That I have laid him there to still his innocence.

MARY. *(Falling on her knees before him)*

Sir, in the power of Rome, keep him for us, or restore him.

PILATE. I am not that power of heaven and earth of which
 he spoke,

But only that of my Centurion.

(Calling)

Centurion, here!

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

163

(Nothing happens.)

He is caught up in my vision of death, that masterpiece
Of my furling mind that lies pierced in his hands, arms,
And feet . . . Centurion, it is I, the vessel of our emperor!
. . . whose wounds fill with a transparency of water
That washes them. I am the vessel of his cleanliness,
Driven with wind.

(Nothing happens. Joseph leaves.)

Or is my Centurion caught up in an ecstasy?
Sepulchre, sepulchre, mouth of my meaning,
Where is he? My days condemn
My knowledge of The Word that fell back
Against the tree, groaning the contrition of my power.
For the third time, Centurion!

(The Centurion appears, stark and silent.)

And then the sure
Against the true, groaning the contrition of my power.
Knowledge attends me that The Word is dead,
Taken in grace.

MARY. I have wept for him
Who said, "I am that I am, the Son of Man."

PILATE. The epithet is in me that I have killed the world!
Centurion, what did you see?

CENTURION. *(Ashen)* I went in
To cut his flesh, ligament from bone, but his face
Was a mask of his awareness of me!

The world
Before me has a gray and zealous skin to satisfy
My hand that touches it. The light has fled
That I have seen him living on the hill! There,
In the rainbow of evening, in the sixth hour
After noon, the spiral of God touched me, shivering
In the darkness.

PILATE. Ah, God. I am the warm denial,
The knowledge of facts. Women of Jesus,
Judge and spare me! Touch me who have touched him
In the urgency of frankincense and myrrh.

(The women approach him.)

Take your hands,

Let me

(He holds each successively.)

whose palms are torn
 With your devotion. Women of God, what was
 Your love that you care for him now? What do you do?
 Will that love raise him from the dead? And was he
 Really not an imposter, but the Son of God?

CENTURION. Sire, my God! . . .

PILATE. The tongue of my blasphemy!
 I am caught in the fork of time, the decision
 Of good or ill is the volume of the sky, and I am
 The serpent's tongue that I did not quite know
 That I would kill the one who could not die,
 And now I tremble that he lives to look at me
 In the immortal eyes of men and my Centurion!
 Centurion, it is a blasphemy that you should live
 After seeing him. Take your sword and give me
 Your escape, here for my expiation.

CENTURION. My sword,
 Here?

PILATE. Here, for the honor of Rome, for we have failed.

CENTURION. *(Looking at his sword)*

The voice of my commander typically in command,
 And my peace in this. But now I know the vale
 Beyond the pain of my reality where this is seen
 As a key to a fantasy of eternal terror.

PILATE. Give yourself the terror, for me.

CENTURION. How may I do this to atone for my sin?

(A ghastly play begins, of the Centurion placing the point of his sword against various parts of his body: his thigh, stomach, neck, forehead, and eyes.)

My eyes,
 That I may not see again!

(But finally he puts the hilt to the ground and his palm above the point.)

MARY. No! No!

That will not bring him to us again, or give us peace.

CENTURION. Yes, this is the way.

PILATE. Blood on your hands for his?

(Rubbing his hands)

You are a just man; that is, you know justice.

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

165

CENTURION. I shall drive my palm against this point.
(His movement is excruciatingly slow, but then he drives his palm against the point. The point emerges bloodless. He cries in pain.)

Here is the point of my suffering, bloodless.
 I cannot bleed!

MARY. He wept in the garden
 His tears of blood that we might be saved.

PILATE. Our flesh against the blade, the blade
 Erect through it.

MARY. The cross held him . . .

PILATE. Caressing his agony. Centurion, what do you feel?
 Remission?

MARY. The desolation of his love that he lies
 In the sepulchre, the stone of his sacrament.

CENTURION. Yes. It is not worthy.

PILATE. You are perhaps correct.
 I am a hypocrite in this matter. My mind stands back
 In a pallor of velvet quiescence. I am never quite involved.

MARY. The legion of terror has taught you this duty.
(She withdraws to the sepulchre with Mary and Martha and enters.)

PILATE. The duty I pay my conscience that does not breathe,
 But hangs still as a hive of thought, buzzing.
 I sometimes cannot believe myself. Mary of Magdala,
 Do not withdraw!

CENTURION. *(Stricken, but ironic)* And I am the evidence of
 discipline,
 The carnage of your sickness?

PILATE. Well said, Centurion.
 You are my ritual and my declamation. Scream.

(The Centurion gives a slight cry. He lifts his hand and the sword falls away.)

It does not seem possible to equal the agony
 Of the crucified.

(The Centurion grasps his palm.)

JOSEPH. *(Entering with the Holy Grail)*
 Here is the real cup. He drank from this cup
 And spoke of a redemption that would come

If we should remember him.

(To Pilate)

Do you wish to drink?

I drank from the cup.

PILATE. *(Pointing)*

Hold it under his hand.

Perhaps he will learn to bleed and suffer. Help him!

JOSEPH. What has happened here?

CENTURION.

I am the specimen

Of my Roman discipline. Repentance is not in me,

For I have failed before the lordship of pain,

Pilate, who washes his hands of everything!

PILATE. You are the vessel of my mockery. I tried,

Having also failed. I of course must keep up appearances.

CENTURION. In my appearance before Caesar he shall hear

Of this!

PILATE. And I shall reply how you were caught up

In the religious antics of Judea and how it was

That the heat affected you. Are you too a king

Of the Jews? What is the burden of sin you bear?

CENTURION. You forced me. You commanded me.

PILATE.

I do not play God.

I am not God. No one will believe you. Besides,

You did it willingly, to atone for some sin,

The details of which escape me now.

CENTURION.

My humor is

That I wish to die.

(He sits, to gain equanimity.)

PILATE.

My social hero, how commendable.

A purpose. The maimed and indigent thrive with purpose.

JOSEPH. My Master wished to live . . .

PILATE.

A slight difference.

JOSEPH. . . . But he gave himself.

PILATE.

Not so unusual, the usual

Pretense.

(Mockingly judicious)

And will he live?

JOSEPH. *(Looking at the Grail)* Have you seen a shadow

Cast against a flower, the color darkening,

Or at evening when, lightless and its color gone,

But sure as memory?

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

167

PILATE. Wondrous. A way of speaking.

JOSEPH. But you knew?

PILATE. Yes—that he was God. Just as surely
As I know that he is in that sepulchre.

JOSEPH. Then why
Did you give him over to the executors of death?

PILATE. The security of the State?

JOSEPH. No. I cannot believe
A political gesture from you.

PILATE. Then such trouble
Diverts my eyes, that I would wish his people to have
A god devoid of purpose that I might enjoy
The pleasures of my office and that I might be seen
In the habit of Roman supremacy.

JOSEPH. (*Looking at the cup*) Possibly.
But you said that he was god.

PILATE. An office by its nature
Eternally greater than mine?

JOSEPH. Yes. What is the reason?
He drank from this to save us from our sins.

PILATE. All right! To fulfill his destiny—to make him
The god he is! I am your Christian—saved in eternity,
For I have given him his fulfillment, that he could rise
Above all, even above the Roman state!

JOSEPH. Eternal Rome—
The virtue of creating him as God.

PILATE. The ultimate
Safeguard of your loyalties.

JOSEPH. And yours.
PILATE. Yes.

I am so accustomed to the balances of power
As to recognize how here we could have the wave
Of insight to reshape destiny beyond the time of Rome.

(*He goes to the Centurion.*)

I do not recognize such virtue in this.

(*He pats the Centurion's head.*)

His devotion
Is confused—not the velvet fire of the women who attend god.
And though god is dead, his spirit is not! It will thrive.

JOSEPH. You are as Judas, who could say the same thing!

PILATE. No. My motive is pure. I do not need the material
reward.

Moreover, I did not betray god. He was brought before me.
He was a just man, and his justice will prevail.

If he were truly God—that is to say, personally divine,
Personally eternal—then my position might admit to danger.

CENTURION. (*Crying out*) My reprisal! My vengeance!

PILATE. Yes, of course.

I am the natural man. Jesus. Jesus will insure
The good of the natural man, bringing him out of himself
Into the glories of god. The salvation of man is
Supremely important to me.

JOSEPH. Then you are the contingency
Of pure mind and purpose in behalf of men.

PILATE. Yes.

And this is my holiness, my Christianity, the unanimity
That will forget the suffering of Jesus for more important
Matters, with which he would have ultimately agreed.
The personal god is dead; hence, the ministrations of the women
Who were here. He is now eternal, as we have desired him
To be.

JOSEPH. Hypocrisy! You still wash your hands of him!

PILATE. And you are wrought up with petty concerns which
ignore

The supremacy of God.

(*Mary Magdalene emerges from the sepulchre, Mary and Mar-
tha behind her.*)

MARY. He is broken as the vine is broken
Stretched against the wall of pain. He is caught in pain,
In the death that came upon him. I could not bear
To touch his face, the mask that says again,
"It is finished!"

JOSEPH. I shall take the cup out of this land,
Where it can be better taken for his virtue.

MARY. Centurion,
You are in pain, the same pain.

CENTURION. But I live, for my sacrifice
Is not worthy!

MARY. May we both cry our devotion as we would
From the well of being.

BEFORE THE SEPULCHRE

169

PILATE. And if you weep, where is the poise?

JOSEPH. Her love is the thoroughness of her being.

MARY. In the sunlight

Of joy I wept for him, the savior out of the cloud of light

That lifts my eyes. I followed him from the river

To the sea, through the villages of his witness,

Where he spoke of manna and the touch of palms

Waving with the wind. In the visions of twilight

When the dust arose to surround his witness

I fled to him, with my scarf in my hands

Like my love, that I would touch his feet

When they would come to rest before me,

When he would look down at me with his steady love.

(She turns her hands open, and they are tinged with blood from her ministrations.)

And I took his feet in my hands, for they

Had walked through the visions of the earth for him

To find me, and he raised me to him and kissed me

With aura of forever in his eyes.

PILATE: *(Stricken)* This is the personal God

Of which she speaks! Joseph, I have prepared a pinnacle

Over the chasm that seethes the red and gold of sullen hell!

I am the inch away from her devotion that makes of me

The pretender, the image of the shaken stick twining

Into the serpentine guess of his divinity.

JOSEPH. She held him in her hands

As I offer you this cup, in remembrance of him.

(He offers the cup to Pilate.)

PILATE. I am the hour of law in the azure eyes of God,

Whom I did not see, though he stood before me

In the grandeur of his being.

(He cries in anguish.)

I did not come to him!

He came to me, to bring me before the countenance of men,

For me to speak the breadth of my knowledge of him,

And I failed him in my pettiness! I could not see,

And whatever I do becomes the voice of my malice against him,

The outrage of my denial! How close I have come to him

In my design, so close that I might have been

As she before him, at his feet!

(He takes the Centurion's sword, turns away, and brandishes it.)

Here is the point that slides
Through me and begs my recognition of it, that this
Is my offering. God, that I shall live with it
Because I offered you the point of my discretion
As you raised yourself upon a nail to keep your life!
God, behold Mary, who holds you in her arms,
In whom you shall ascend to the glory of your offering!

(Mary opens her arms and, with her breath caught, heart-brokenly, by the poignancy of her anguish, walks forward, as if offering the dead body of Jesus to all who might accept him. Pilate is facing the tomb, the veronica on his robe now quite apparent. The spiritual, unseen voice of Mary Magdalene says, with great compassion—)

I am here, waiting for you,
Asking for you to come,
But not as you are in your fame
But as the hurry of leaves, forgotten.

There! The tumult of going
Tilts on the threshold of sound—
As if your voice, hints of the coming
Foliage of thorns.

The night bristles the whispering
Vengeance of giving the power
Rising like the delicate hand
For the nail. The list of the head

For God, you listen to hymns
Crackling for flame, but calm
As the woodsman sleeping.
You follow the coming pain.

I am here, waiting for you,
When the obsession is over
And left in the leafless tree:
Where are the turning and fleeing

That are ever the finished God?

I am here, waiting for you,
Under the tree, waiting for the touch
Of its leaves.

Prolegomena to Any Study of the Book of Abraham

Hugh Nibley*

On November 27, 1967, the Metropolitan Museum of Art presented to the Church as a gift certain Egyptian papyri once owned and studied by the Prophet Joseph Smith. This was a far more momentous transaction than might appear on the surface, for it brought back into play for the first time since the angel Moroni took back the golden plates a tangible link between the worlds. What we have here is more than a few routine scribblings of ill-trained scribes of long ago; at least one of these very documents was presented to the world by Joseph Smith as offering a brief and privileged insight into the strange world of the Patriarchs. It was such a strange world that the Egyptologists who were asked to express their opinions of the Prophet's teachings could only snort and sputter with disgust. And they will probably do the same again, for the Lord plainly does not intend to let the matter rest there.

It is almost certain that having the papyri waved under our noses will have somewhat the same effect on LDS educators that the success of the first Sputnik had on American education in general. Through the years, it will be recalled, the educationists could always reassure themselves: "Since the public is paying our way, if the public is satisfied with what we are doing, that is all that counts—and the public had better be satisfied, because after all we are the experts!" With no one to call them to account, the schoolmen had a nice thing going, until out of the dark blue came the ominous little bip-bips. In the same way a few faded and tattered little scraps of papyrus may serve to remind the Latter-day Saints of how sadly they have neglected serious education. There is no shortage of people publishing books and articles, holding learned symposiums, and giving classes and lectures in the mysteries of the Pearl of Great Price, but the precious papyri

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themselves, the subject of so much wise discourse through the years, are greeted with an abashed silence. It is said that when the Chinese in their first naval encounters with Europeans found their ships no match for steamboats, they proceeded to erect funnels on the decks of their junks, in which they would burn straw, thus rivaling the formidable appearance of the enemy. The mock steamboats no doubt satisfied the Chinese and made a fine impression as long as they did not have to come up against real steamboats, and such has been the way of our Mormon scholarship, assiduously aping the learning of the world in its safe and comfortable isolation. It would have been possible through the years to have obtained from time to time the services of the world's best Egyptologists and archaeologists for but a fraction the cost of, say, a local billboard campaign to add luster to the image of the University. Not only has our image suffered by such tragic neglect, but now in the moment of truth the Mormons have to face the world unprepared, after having been given a hundred years' fair warning.

We cannot evade our responsibility by calling for caution. If you want to be cautious, forget about the Book of Mormon, forget about the Pearl of Great Price! Once you have accepted Joseph Smith's interpretations of the Facsimiles in the latter you have thrown caution to the winds, and you had better start thinking of some defense—for in making those interpretations the Prophet challenged the world to do its worst, and through the years the leaders of the Church have accepted without qualifications the proposition that if the world can prove Joseph Smith mistaken we shall have to accept its findings. Wholly committed and given fair warning, the Mormons have deserved even the unfair verdict that the world passed against them and the Prophet in 1912, when eight professional scholars condemned Joseph Smith's interpretations of the Facsimiles as utterly absurd; for had any of the Saints during the past century ever taken the pains to check up on the actual state of Egyptian studies in the world, it would have been an easy thing to show how abysmally inept the performance of Dr. Spalding's panel of experts really was.

The deciphering of hieroglyphics has always been a favorite playground for those seeking a shortcut to Faustian celebrity. Even the great Leibniz was convinced that he had dis-

covered the key to Egyptian in Armenian, and a long procession of lesser lights in the days before Joseph Smith had come up with their various solutions and each in his time has been duly discredited. The most remarkable of these was the learned Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680),¹ who deserves mention because his name has often been mentioned in studies of Joseph Smith. Indeed, when some of the Egyptologists who condemned the Prophet in 1912 later talked things over among themselves in Chicago, they came to the conclusion that Smith could best be explained as another Athanasius Kircher, and some Egyptologists (notably E. A. W. Budge) even maintained that Joseph Smith actually got his ideas in the Book of Abraham from Kircher. But if Joseph Smith ever saw one of Kircher's books on Egypt, which is doubtful since even in his day those books had become exceedingly rare collectors' items, and if he had been able to read Kircher's awkward Latin, his own ideas must have borne some resemblance to those of Kircher—which they do not. Actually it would be hard to find a more complete contrast between any two men than between these two.

To be brief, Kircher from first to last had everything going for him. Hailed as the prodigal of the age, he received the almost universal support and applause of the learned of all lands, including even America, and the substantial assistance of Popes and Emperors. From the age of thirty to the end of his long life he was completely free to devote himself to study without interruption, and was never denied anything he asked for. So far this hardly suggests the career of Joseph Smith. Kircher's life, according to his biographers, was completely uneventful, "laborieuse et banale," and though he got off to a flying start he was soon overcome with "disgust and lassitude" and, unable to abide the criticism that was inevitably aimed at his claims to omniscience, became a misanthrope and recluse.² Even less like Joseph Smith.

But what of his work? Of the forty-four learned volumes that came from his pen, nothing remains that is considered to be of the slightest use of anybody! Of his numerous works on

¹P. Marestang, "Athanasie Kircher," *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. 28 (1906), pp. 22-36, also in Vol. 30 (1908); and J. Janssen, "Athanasie Kircher 'Egyptologue,'" *Chroniques d'Egypte*, Vol. 19 (1943), pp. 240-247. See also R. C. Webb, *The Improvement Era*, Vol. 16 (1913), pp. 1088-89.

²Marestang, *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. 28. pp. 23-25.

Egyptology the greatest, the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, a work in four folio volumes on which he spent more than twenty years of hard work, is, to quote his biographer, "folie"—in it all conceivable types of information "jostle each other in complete confusion. We look in vain for any overall plan, order, or logic to the work as a whole. After careful study, one finally comes to the conclusion that a vain desire for erudition and a truly infantile display of scientific learning were all that guided the pen of Kircher."³ Against all this we have the Book of Mormon, composed with a vocabulary of only 3000 words, making no attempt to be profound or clever, but a miracle of clarity and condensed coherency. Kircher, to be sure, was, like Joseph Smith, deeply religious, but again with a diametrically opposed orientation; for while Kircher never allowed that a single syllable of the Bible could possibly be the subject of any questioning whatever, Smith shocked the world not only by adding scriptures to the Bible, but by declaring that the Scriptures are marred by the mistakes of their human custodians, even the first verse of the Bible having been altered by "some old Jew without any authority." And while Kircher quite wrongly claimed a perfect knowledge of many exotic languages, while the world stood by and applauded, Joseph Smith made no secret of his fallibility and claimed to know no language but English. Finally, in the few cases in which Athanasius Kircher was proven right—no matter how he managed it—he has been given full credit for his performance, while Joseph Smith in the many, many cases in which he scores a direct hit (again, no matter *how*) is never given any credit whatever.

The example of Kircher is less significant for the light it throws on Joseph Smith than the warning it provides for the youth of Zion, who have been only too prone to follow Kircher instead of Smith both in their scholarly and their religious procedures. In the first place, because Egyptian is written in pictures, the custom has been quite general, ever since Horapollon introduced it in the 5th century, of seeking the key to hieroglyphics in attributing a symbolic interpretation to each of the little pictures and then fitting the symbols together to make a kind of sense out of them. That was Athanasius Kircher's method, and through whole decades he toiled away

³*Ibid.*, p. 31.

with vast patience and finesse establishing subtile and profound connections between the little images in the inscriptions. With deep logic and method (after all, he was a Jesuit), he worked out every point and when he was through was able to view the results of his work with immense satisfaction: after all, if hundreds of individual figures in an inscription make good sense independently, and then fit together in a pattern that makes perfectly good sense as well, then surely that cannot be an accident—the chances against such a perfect coincidence of figures and meanings by mere accident are infinitesimal. One has seen the same logic applied in our own day to dubious, damaged, scanty, and isolated figures on New World surfaces, which have been duly declared to be Egyptian glyphs and interpreted by the Kircher method, with the added element of phonetic manipulation as the final touch to this intriguing fun-game. It is strange how those who will hastily excuse themselves from sitting down to a brief examination in elementary Egyptian—say five English-to-Egyptian sentences and vice versa—will hold forth with professional assurance on the meaning of Egyptian cryptograms of the most abstruse and difficult sort. Here let Kircher be an example and a warning to us all.

Even more dangerous was Kircher's habit of giving heartfelt thanks to God for inspiring him in the perpetration of his philological horrors. This kept him going for years—but it was really a form of cheating. The student who tells me that if I refuse to accept his inspired interpretations of the Facsimiles, or the Anthon transcript, or of Book of Mormon geography, or Indian glyphs I am holding in contempt the doctrine of continued revelation is cheating too, just as is the one who accuses me of denying the power of prayer when I give him the "D" he deserves instead of the "A" he prayed for. What these people forget is that revelation is nontransferable. If I dream that my great-grandfather lived in Halifax, that may assist me substantially in my genealogical researches, but the Genealogical Society will not be in the least interested in my dream, not because they do not believe in revelation, but because they know that a man's revelations are strictly his own affair: many a revelation has led to documentary proof in genealogy, but Salt Lake is interested only in the documents. Kircher used the appeal to divine aid as a shortcut, to spare

him the work he could have done himself but didn't. If there is any moral principle that is highly characteristic of Mormonism it is the doctrine that God expects us to exhaust the resources at hand before appealing for supernatural aid: Joseph Smith, our greatest prophet, in his short lifetime exerted himself strenuously to learn what he could of Hebrew, Greek, and German. If he was not immune from studying the hard way, why should his present-day followers seek religious shortcuts to omniscience as did Athanasius Kircher?

Which brings us to the subject of Joseph Smith's Egyptian Grammar, because a surprising number of people have recently undertaken studies of that remarkable work. This writer, however, has never spent so much as five minutes with the Egyptian Grammar, and does not intend to unless he is forced to it. When parties in Salt Lake procured and reproduced photographs of this document, they advertized it with the usual sensationalism as a "Hidden Document Revealed. Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar suppressed for 130 Years Now Comes to Light. This document proves that Joseph Smith did not understand Egyptian and that the Book of Abraham was a work of his imagination!" Joseph Smith never pretended to understand Egyptian, nor that the Book of Abraham was a work of his scholarship: if this document as advertized proves anything it is that some people will go to any length of skulduggery to make a case out of nothing. For if the so-called Alphabet and Grammar were meant as an inspired communication it would have been published as such, not "hidden" or "suppressed for 130 years." It was hidden and suppressed for the same reason that Brigham Young's laundry lists are hidden and suppressed, because it was nobody else's business. Let us allow Joseph Smith at least for the time being the luxury of a moment of privacy, of a little speculation on his own there on his hands and knees in the front room of the Mansion House, with papyri spread out around him on the floor. The fact that he kept his notes strictly to himself is evidence enough that they were his own private concern and were never meant as a message to the Church.

This is a very important point. The whole attack against the Book of Abraham in the past has been based on the perfectly false principle that whatever a prophet does must be of a supernatural nature and whatever he says must have the

authority of scripture, and that hence if a prophet ever betrays the slightest sign of human weakness or any mortal limitation he must necessarily be a false prophet. This silly doctrine is a projection of the deeply-rooted sectarian belief that since the Bible is inspired by God there cannot conceivably under any circumstances whatever be the slightest suspicion of a flaw or inaccuracy in its pages; in other words, whatever God has anything to do with must necessarily be absolutely perfect. It was precisely his rejection of this view that brought the wrath of the Christian world down upon the head of Joseph Smith in the beginning. The sectarian world has never been able to see how it is possible to have revelations and still learn by trial and error: If Brigham Young experimented with silkworms and sugar beets, they argued, doesn't that prove he is a false prophet? Because aren't prophets infallible, and don't they know everything? Why experiment, then? The Pearl of Great Price itself admirably illustrates the issue. The Facsimiles now in use are extremely bad reproductions, far inferior to the first engravings published in 1842. Am I, then, as a member of the Church bound to consult the present official edition and that only, and regard it as flawless, bad as it is, because it is the official publication of the Church? Who is responsible for the present state of the book? In 1903, James E. Talmage, appearing before a senate investigating committee explained:

Mr. Worthington: . . . Let me ask you particularly about the Pearl of Great Price. Have you had anything to do with the revised edition of that work?

Mr. Talmage: I made the revision. The last edition of the Pearl of Great Price, one of the standard works, as it now appears, has been revised by me in this way: The matter has been compared with the original manuscripts, and the division into chapters and verses, and the references given are my own.⁴

The senators wanted to know just how much authority Dr. Talmage carried in his own inspired writings and he told them:

Mr. Worthington: Let me ask you about . . . the *Articles of Faith*. You say you were authorized by the high church officials to prepare such work . . . and it was approved by a committee of high officers of the church, appointed by the presidency. Is that work, or anything in it, binding upon any member of your church?

⁴*Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections . . . in the Matter of the Protests Against the Hight of Hon. Reed Smoot . . . to hold his Seat*, (Washington, D.C.:U.S. Government Printing Office (1905), Vol. 3, p. 5.

Mr. Talmage: Oh, in no sense.

Mr. Worthington (referring to earlier remarks of Talmage): It would have to be submitted to the church conference and adopted by them before it would bind any Mormon?

Mr. Talmage: Most assuredly . . .

Mr. Worthington: Is there any publishing house authorized to publish works and send them out, which works bind the church as an organization?

Mr. Talmage: No such publishing house could be named . . .

Mr. Worthington: The *Deseret News* has been spoken of here frequently as the organ of the church. Has anybody in your church the power to put in the *Deseret News* anything which is not in the standard works, that shall bind the people of your church, if it has not first been approved by the people?

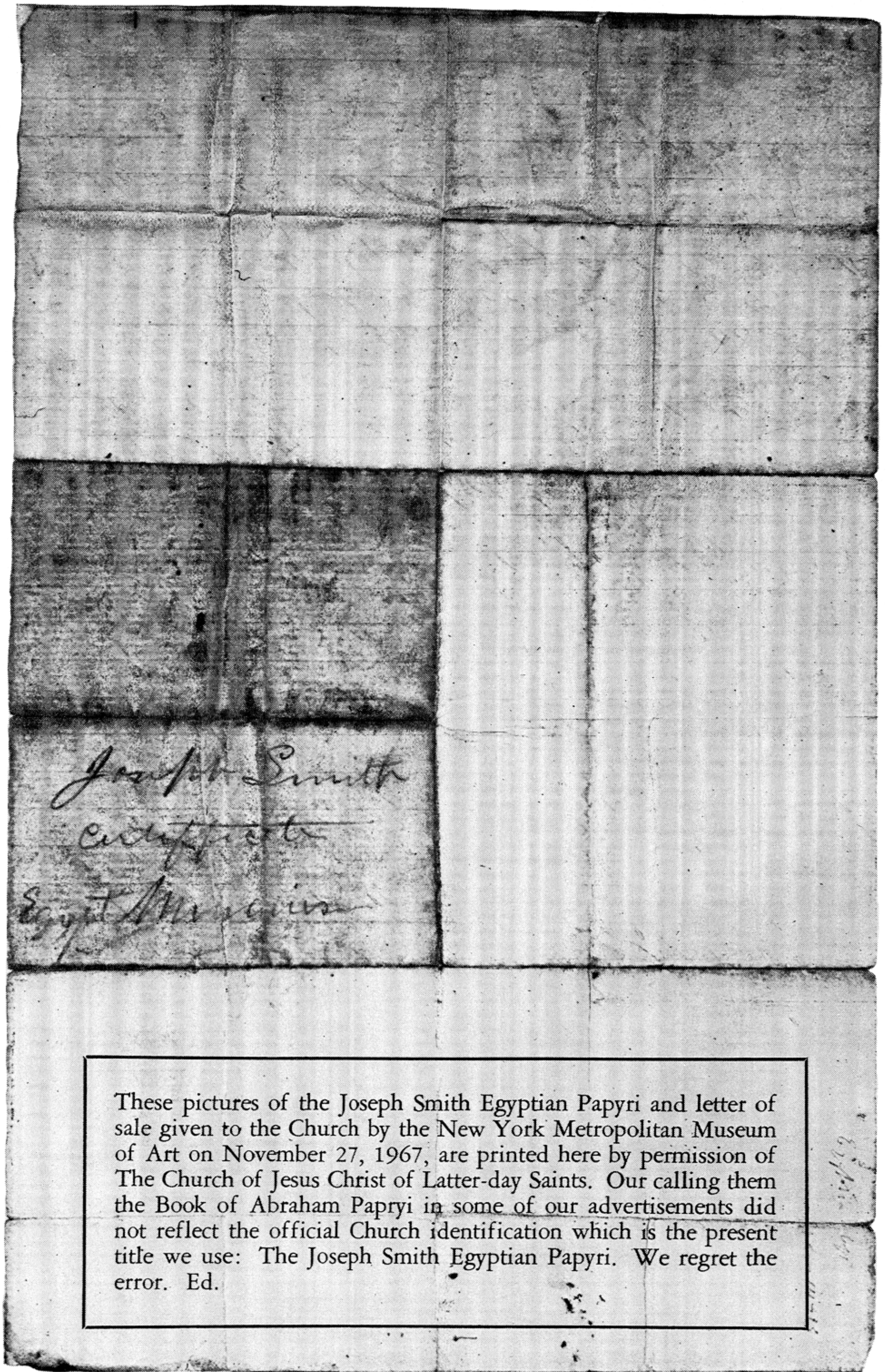
Mr. Talmage: No one, not even the president of the church. . . . No one could make anything binding by simply publishing it in the *Deseret News*, or any other medium, or any other form.⁵

From this it should be perfectly clear to all that no one is bound by anything outside of the four standard works, and that to make an issue of the so-called Egyptian Grammar is to insist on a doctrine of infallibility that is diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Church.

Now to the papyri pictured in this special section of *BYU Studies*. These accompanying photographs convey their own message. Like the three Facsimiles which have been thrust on the attention of the learned world for nearly 130 years, they are anybody's game. If contemporary Egyptologists have anything to say about them, we eagerly await their comments. Today, however, the literal translation of any Egyptian religious text tells no more about what was really going on than the conversion of an exceedingly technical scientific explanation into mathematical symbols would enlighten the mind of one completely ignorant of science and mathematics.

Leading students of Egyptian religion assure us that all these years during which we have been translating a set of symbols into a mechanical jargon, we have really had no understanding whatever of the real nature of the symbol or the meaning of the jargon. Any serious study of the Book of Abraham Facsimile must take it up from there.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.



Photographically reduced from the 7 1/2" x 12" original

125

Cairo city May 26 1840
 I have certifies that we have sold
 to Mr W. C. Smith from Egyptian
 Mummies with the records of them
 These Mummies were obtained from
 the catacombs of Egypt six feet
 below the surface of the Earth by
 the Antiquarian Society of Paris
 & forwarded to New York purchased
 by the Missioner Prophet Joseph
 Smith at the price of twenty four
 hundred dollars in the year eighteen
 hundred thirty five they were highly
 prized by Mr Smith on account
 of the importance of the record
 which attached to ^{the} ~~the~~ heart of
 which was found enclosed ⁱⁿ one
 of the Mummies from translations
 by Mr Smith of the Records these Mumm-
 ies were found to be the family of
 Pharo King of Egypt they were
 kept exclusively by Mr Smith
 until his death & since by
 the Mother of Mr Smith notwithstanding
 sundry we have had repeated
 offers to purchase which have
 invariably been refused until her
 death which occurred on the
 fourth day of ~~May~~ last this month
 of 1840
 L. C. Bidamon
 Hancock & Co 315 N. 2nd Emma Bidamon ^{wife of}
 Joseph Smith ^{son of}

125 8/3

Nauvoo city May 26th/56

This certifies that we have sold
to; Mr A Combs four Egyptian
Mummies with the records of them
Thes Mummies were obtained from
the catacoms of Egypt sixty feet
below the surface of the Earth. by
the antiquarian society of Paris
& forwarded to New York & purchased
by the Mormon Prophet Joseph
Smith at the price of twenty four
hundred dollars in the year Eighteen
hundred thirty five they were highly
prized by Mr Smith on account

which attached ~~to~~
of the importance ^ of the record
accidentally the breast of
which were ^ found enclosed in ^ one
of the Mummies. from translations
by Mr Smith of the Records these Mum-
mies were found to be the family of
Pharo King of Egypt. they were
kept exclusively by Mr Smith
until his death & since by
the Mother of Mr Smith notwiths-
tanding we have had repeated
offers to purchase which have
invariably been refused until her
death which occured on the
fourteenth day of ~~May last~~ this month

Nauvoo


L. C. Bidamon


Hancock


co Ills may 26 Emma Bidamon (former wife
of Jos. Smith)
Joseph Smith (Son of Jos
Smith)


(Type in parentheses was written in pencil. The rest of the letter was written
in ink.)





1. 


 2. 


 3. 

 4. 

5. 

 6. 

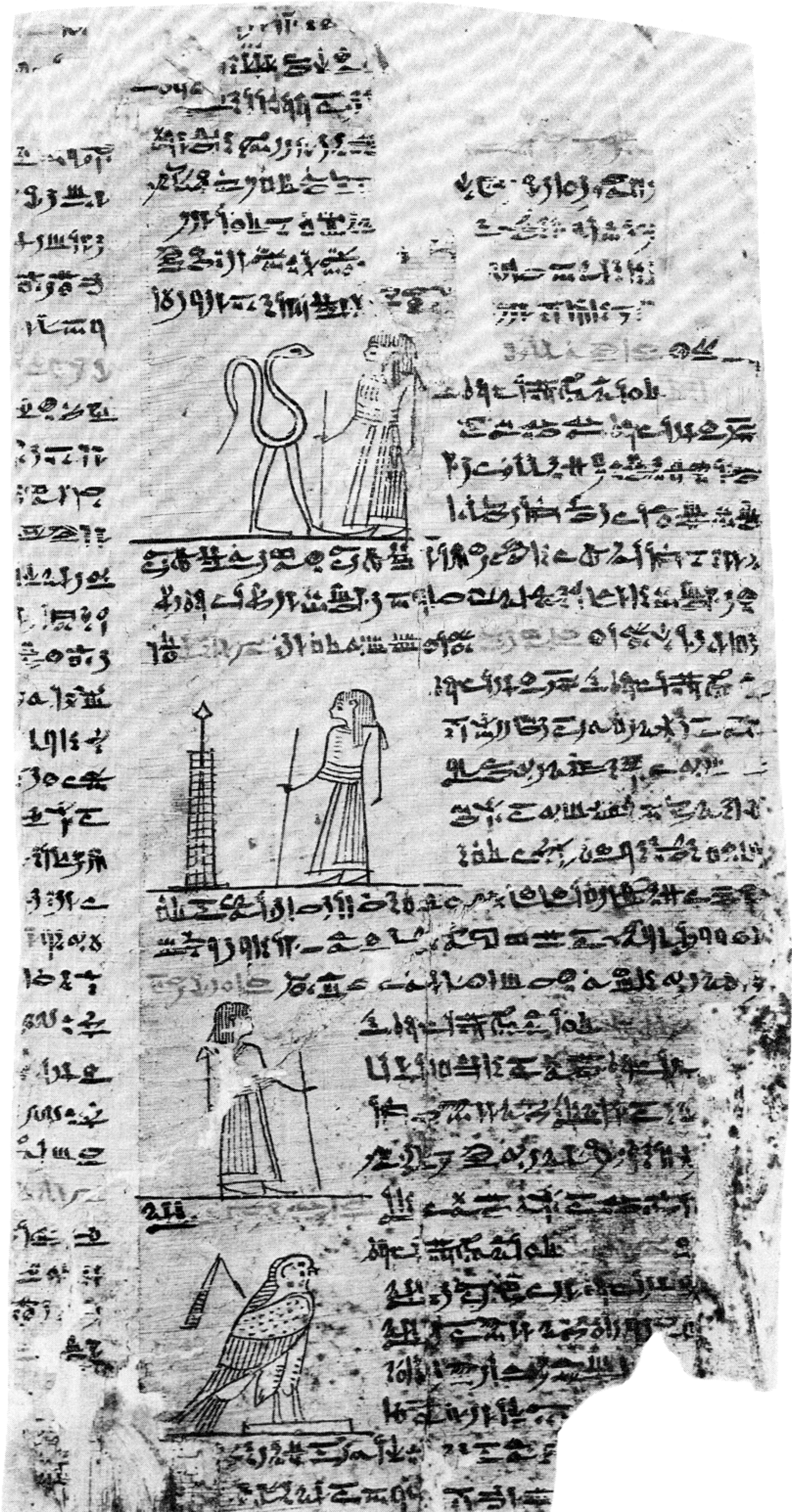
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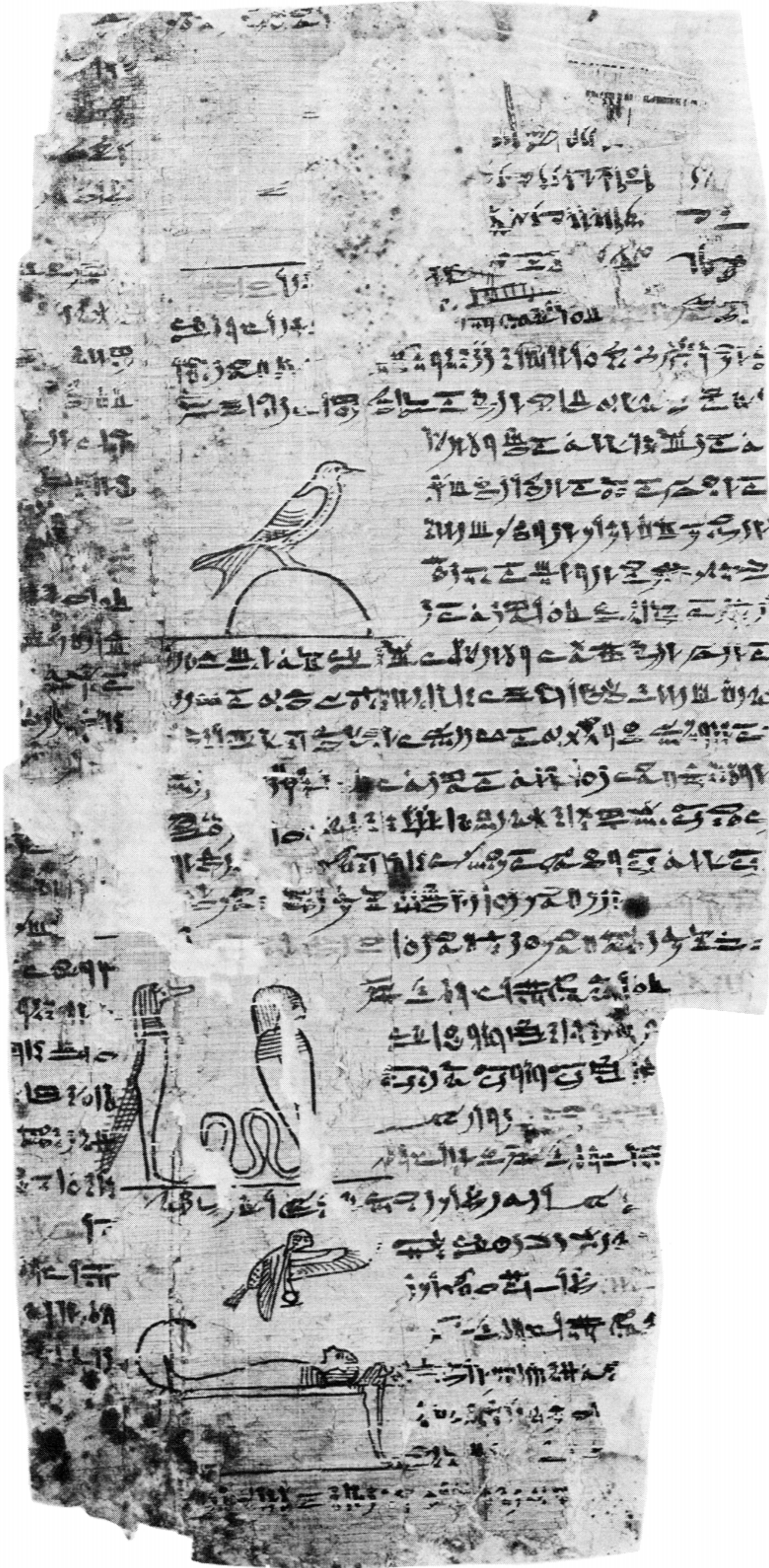
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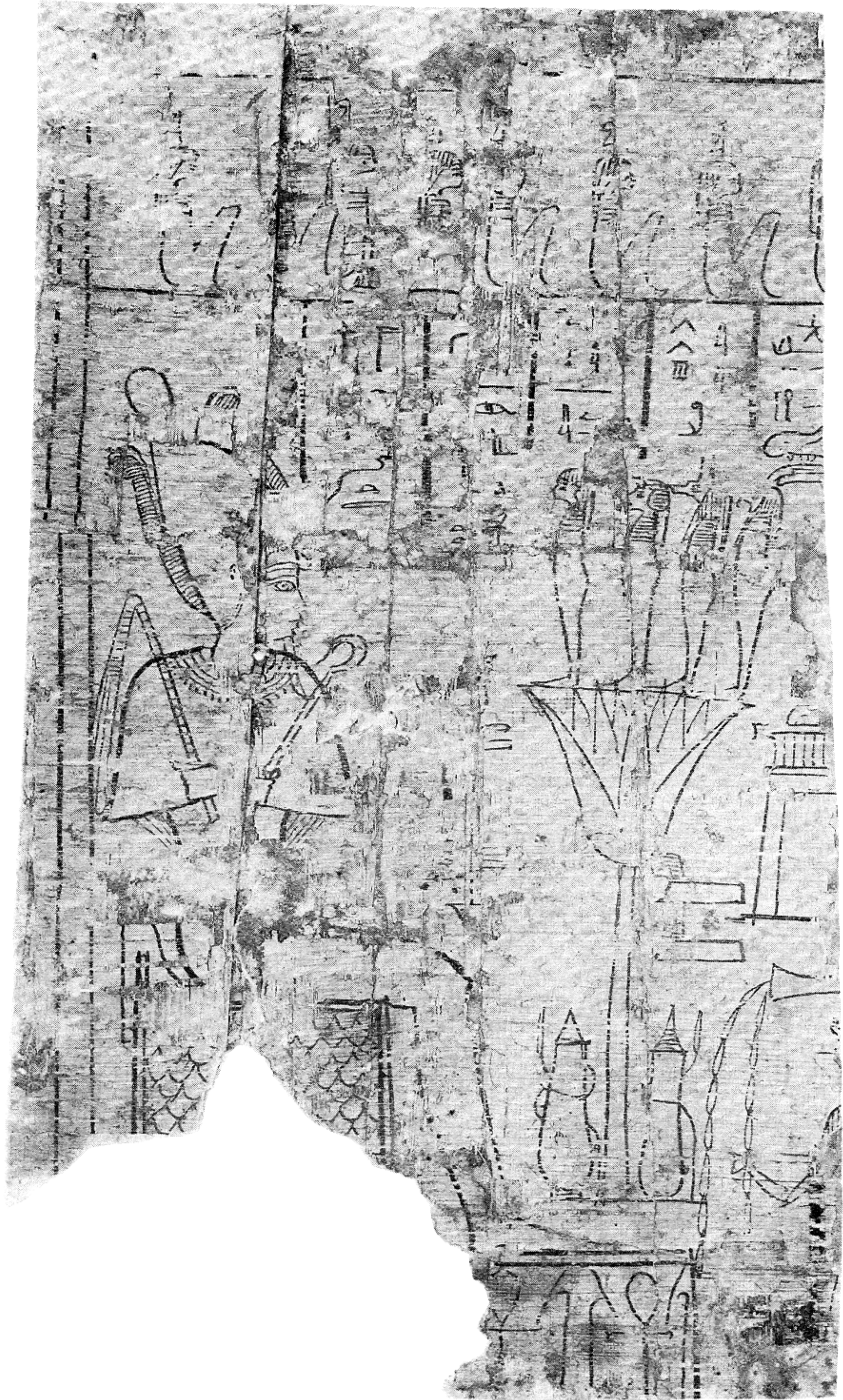
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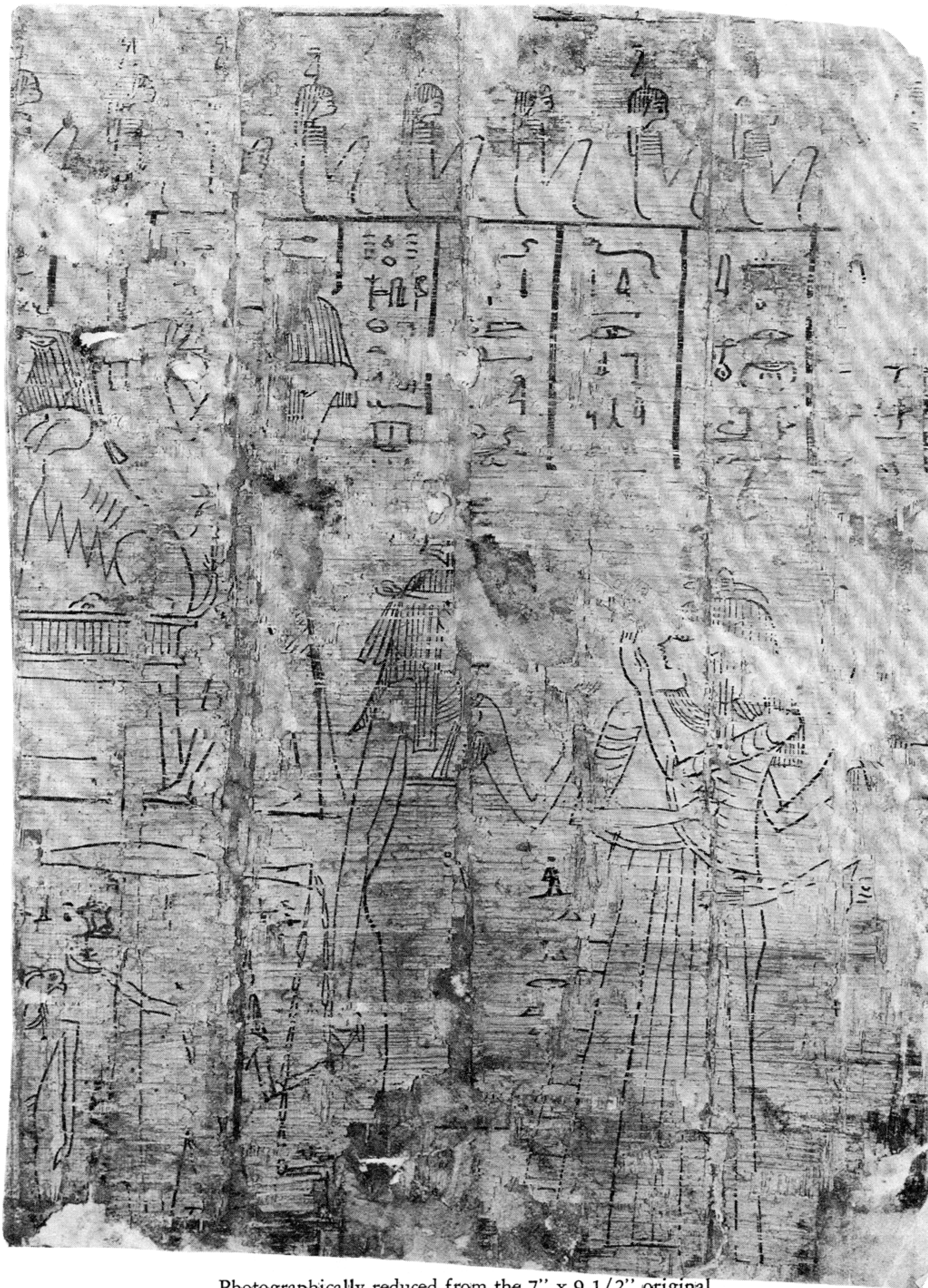
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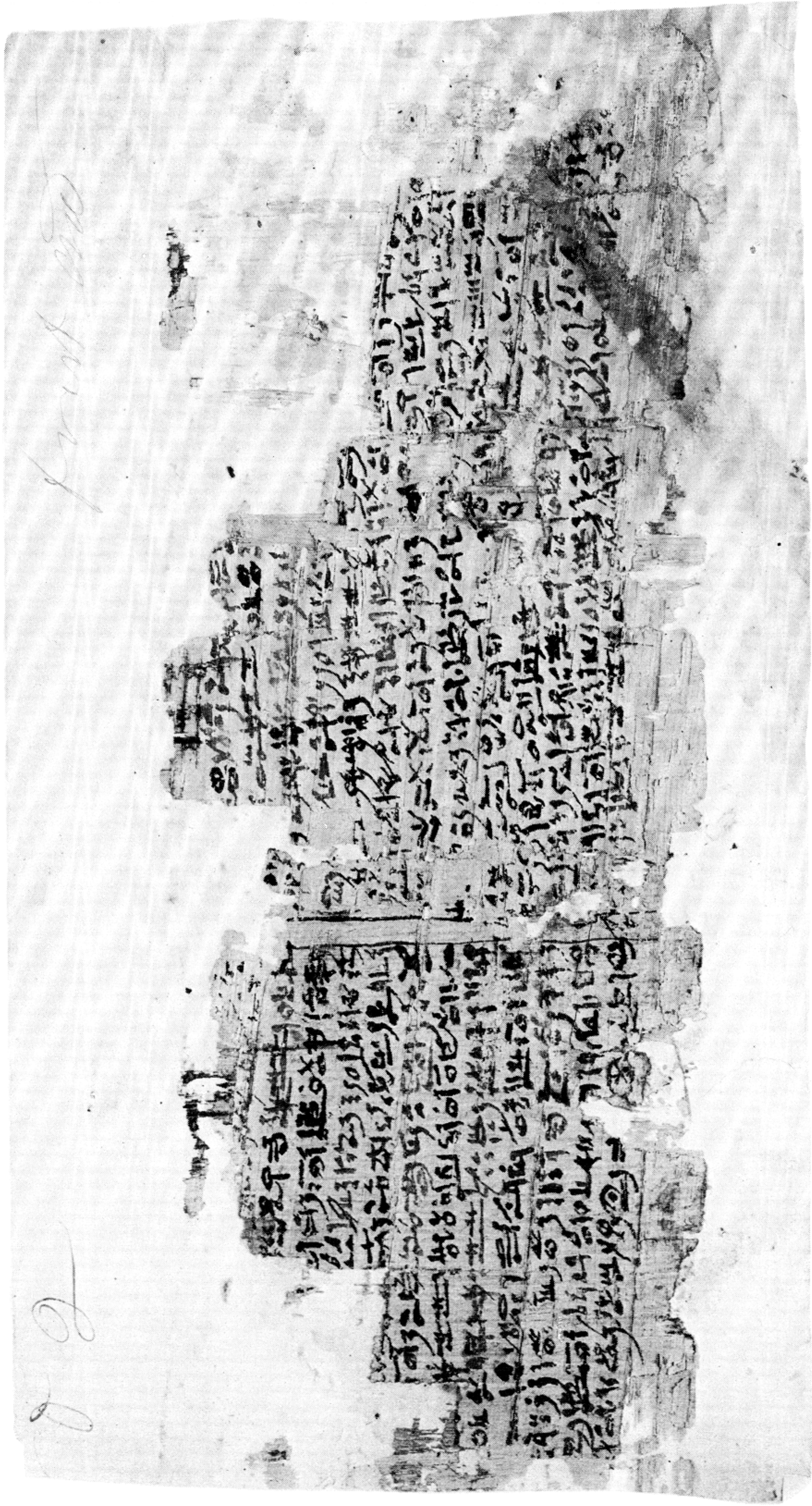
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Photographically reduced from the 6" x 10 1/2" original



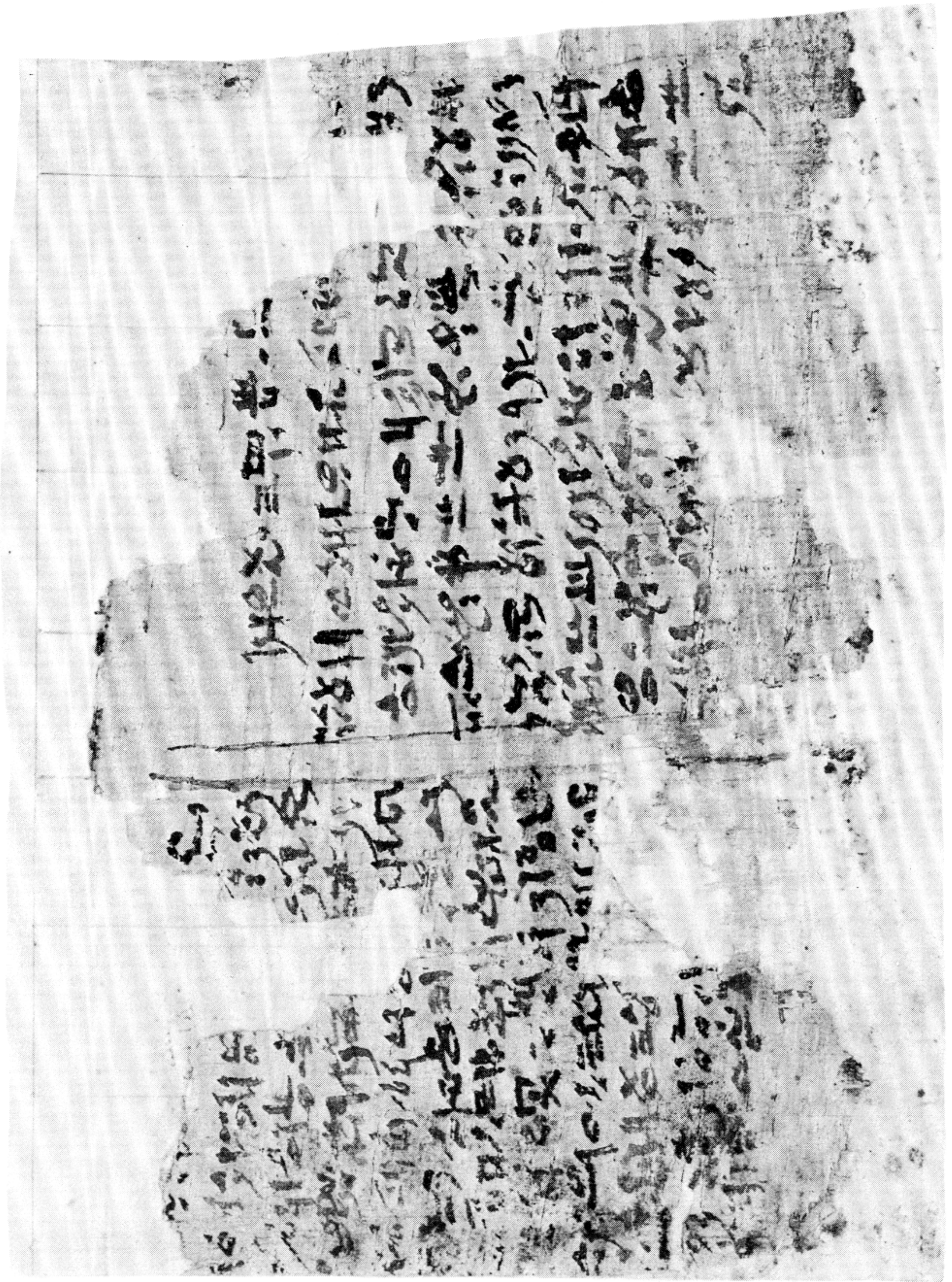
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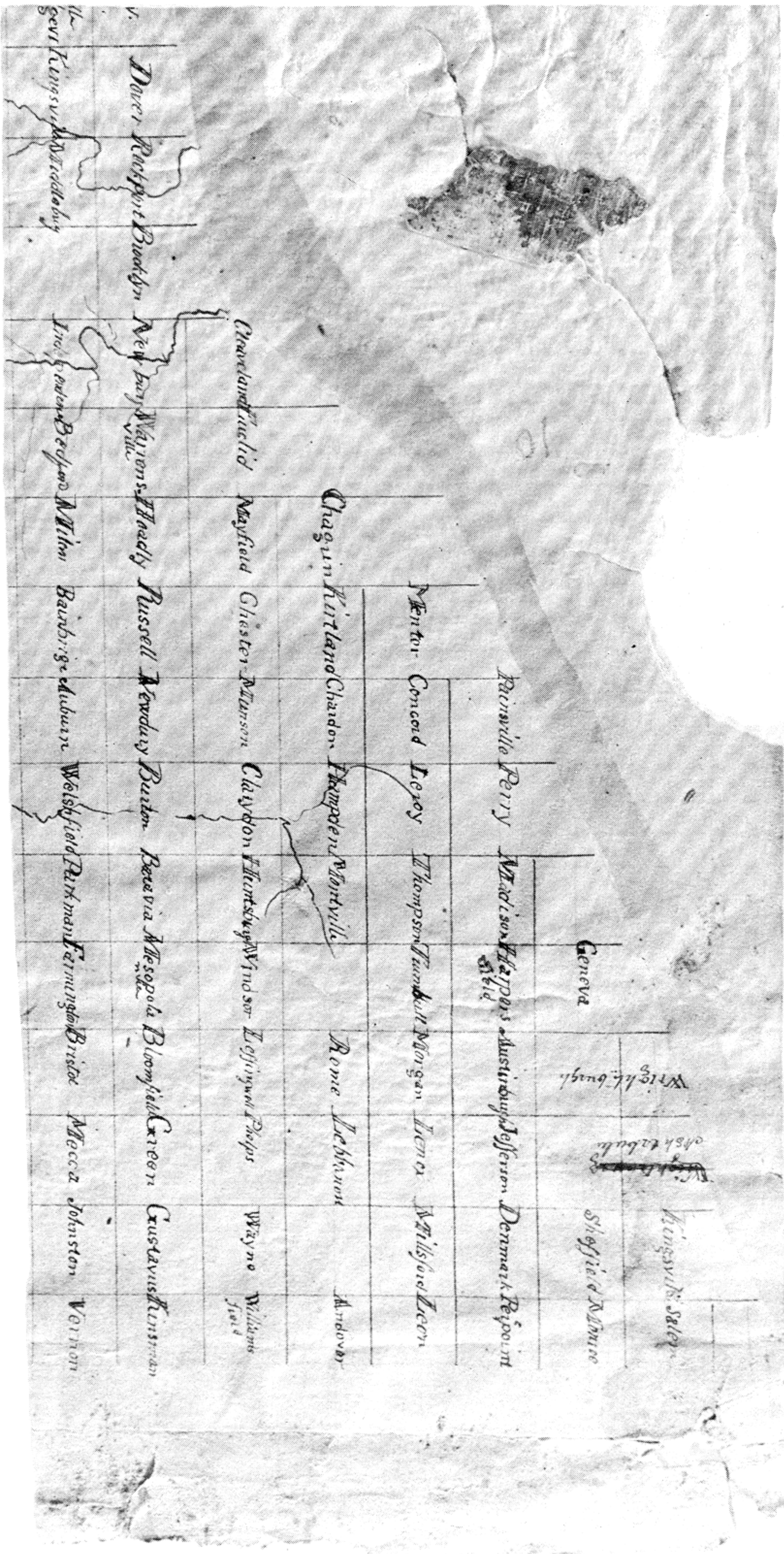
Handwritten cursive script, likely Hebrew, located on the left side of the page.

Handwritten cursive script, likely Hebrew, located on the left side of the page.

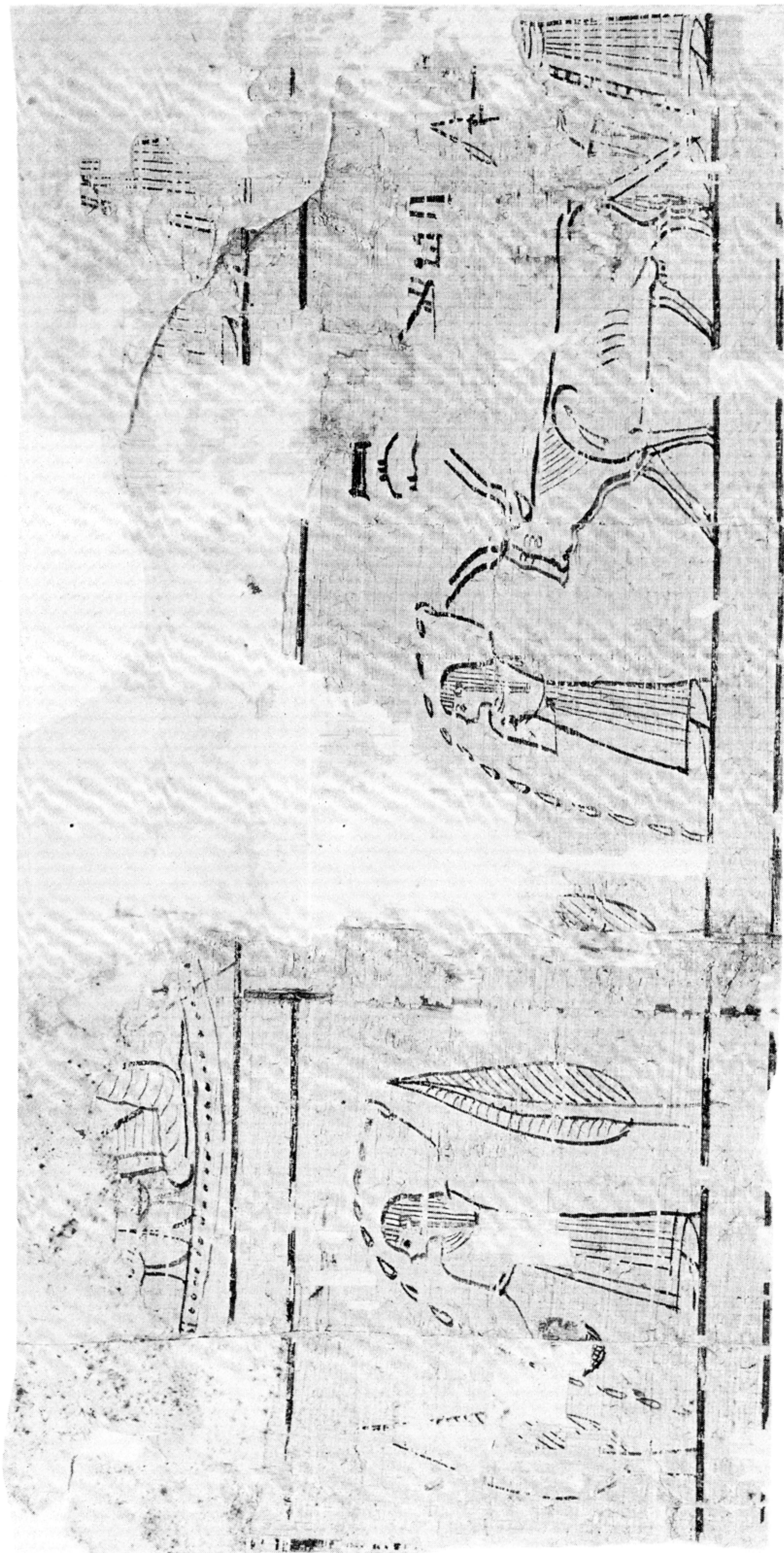
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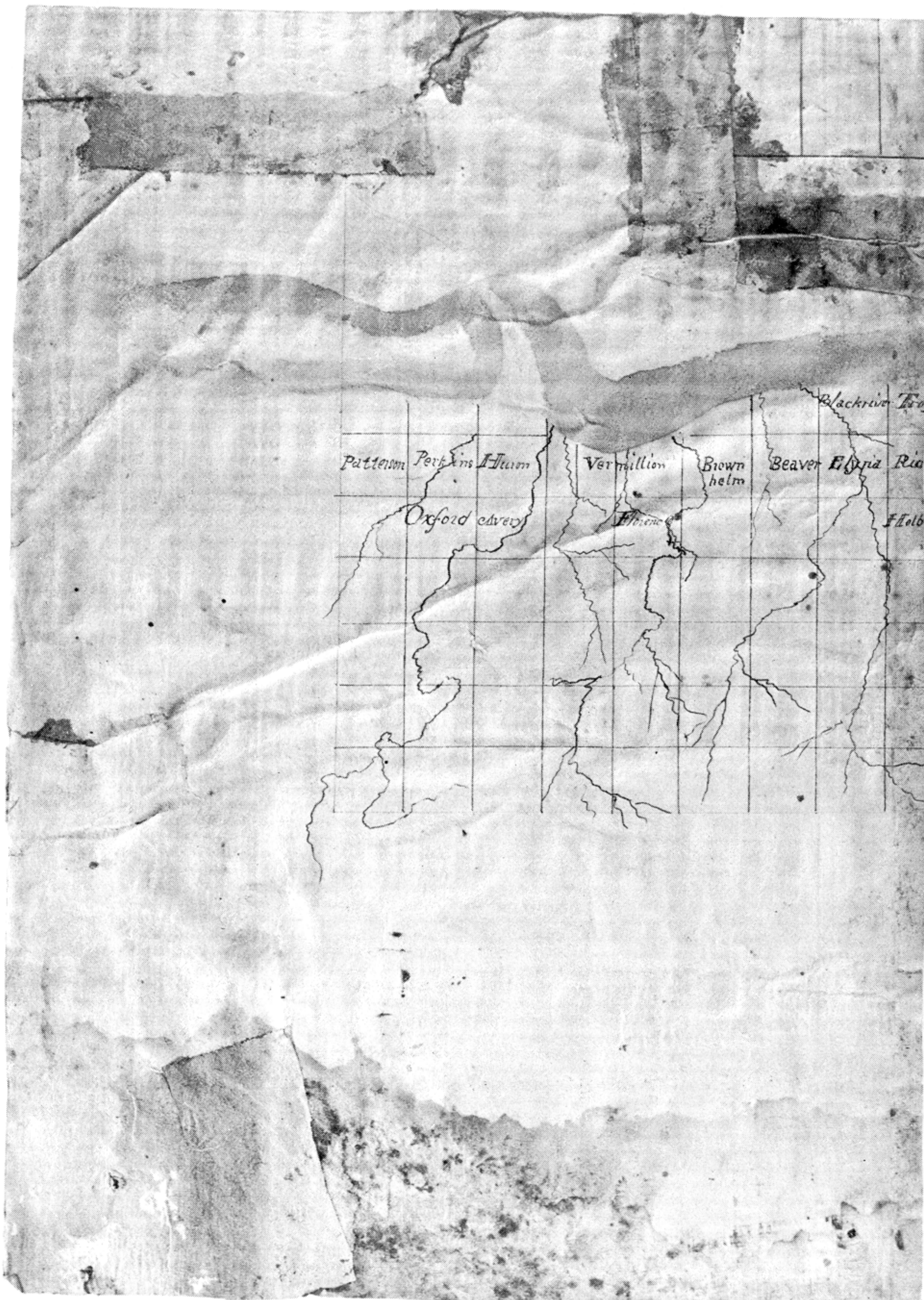
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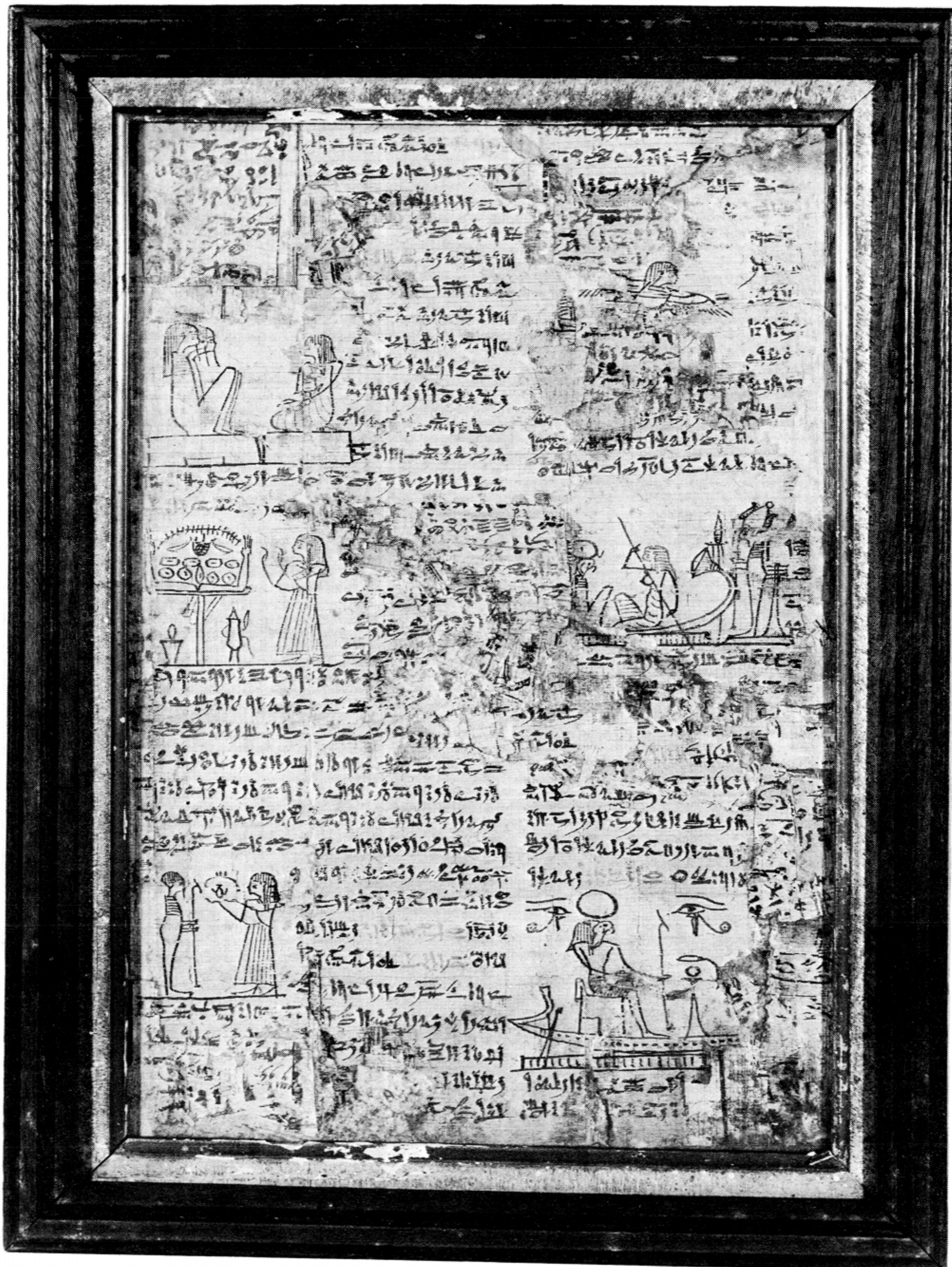
Markings on the backing of the fragment opposite



Photographically reduced from the 10 1/2" x 5" original



Markings on the backing of the fragment opposite



Photographically reduced from the 10" x 13" (frame O.D.) original



Photographically reduced from the 6" x 6" original

Joseph Smith and the Lebolo Egyptian Papyri

JAMES R. CLARK*

The eleven fragments of Egyptian papyri returned to the Church by gift from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art on November 27, 1967, have had a long and eventful history. Just what that history was before their discovery in 1818-1821 by Antonio Lebolo is not certain. Whether these particular fragments were once in the possession of or inscribed by Abram-Abraham, Prince of God and Father of the Faithful, has not been determined. What can be traced is their general movements after their discovery by Lebolo.

In the opinion of Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, the man who rediscovered them in the Metropolitan Museum, it is quite certain that they are genuine and authentic ancient Egyptian papyri. A world-renowned authority on ancient documents, Dr. Atiya is convinced that these fragments were once part of the collection of Egyptian papyri which were "in the possession of Joseph Smith."¹

Dr. Hugh Nibley has been asked to discuss the fragments as Egyptian documents for this special section of *BYU Studies*, and I have been asked to comment on the history of their original discovery by Lebolo and their transmission over the past 146-149 years, as far as we know the story. At the outset it is important to point out that the collection of four mummies and several papyri that came into the hands of Joseph Smith in July, 1835, were part of a large collection of Egyptian artifacts gathered between 1817-1823 by Antonio Lebolo, a Piedmontese adventurer, who died in 1823.

NEW FINDINGS ON THE LEBOLO MUMMIES

Recent research in Italy indicates that portions of the Lebolo collection are presently in the Museo Egitto in Turin, Italy, and

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¹Personal interview by the writer with Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, University of Utah Intercultural Education Center, December 13, 1967.

that there is a monograph written in 1824 about that collection by Giulio di San Quintino, the curator of that museum in the 1820's.²

The monograph notes that San Quintino spoke personally with Lebolo about his discovery, and that he also used some of Lebolo's notes in preparing the monograph. It was San Quintino's belief that the tomb Lebolo entered was not that of a single family or even of a single dynasty since not all the mummies found there were of the same family and evidence suggested that the tomb had had repeated use over a considerable period of time.

By combining information from the monograph and from Dr. Curto, the present director of the Museo Egitto in Turin, it is possible to make some identification of eight of the original eleven or twelve mummies which made up the Lebolo find and to trace their disposition. The Museum in Turin currently holds four mummies from this collection:

- (1) A baby named Petemenofi who died August 27, AD 123
- (2) A woman named Bonanno
- (3) A sister to the above Bonanno
- (4) A second sister to Bonanno³

San Quintino's monograph lists the names and tells of the disposition of four or five more mummies of that collection:

- (1) A man named Petemenone who died June 2, AD 116. This mummy was sold by Lebolo to Frederic Cailliaud (1787-1869), a French traveler and mineralogist. It went to the Paris Museum in 1824, and has been the subject of several articles, notably by Letronne and Champollion.
- (2) A child called Tfute who died January 15, AD 127. This mummy Lebolo sold to Giovanni d' Anastasi [also spelled Athanasi] (1799-1837+). A detailed description of this mummy was published in 1823 by George Frances Gery (1795-1854) for the Egyptian Society of London.
- (3) A female named Senchosis who died March 11, AD 146. This is one of two mummies Lebolo sold to Baron Heinrich Carl Menu Minutoli (1772-1846), a Prussian

²Leslie W. Bradshaw, "The Lebolo Mummies in the Turin Museum, Italy," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology*, No. 101 (May 1, 1967), pp. 2-4.

³*Ibid.* Brother Bradshaw, an LDS missionary in Italy, interviewed Dr. Curto at the Museo Egitto in Turin. He noted that Dr. Curto dates the Lebolo find in 1818. (p. 2)

military officer. It is reported that these two mummies were lost at sea off the coast of Africa during transport to Europe.

- (4) A man named Sotero. It is known that Lebolo had this mummy in his possession in Trieste, Italy, shortly before his death in 1823.⁴

Thus we see that most of the mummies in the Lebolo find were sold while they were still in Africa or Europe. Of the remaining three or four, Leslie W. Bradshaw writes:

Nothing is mentioned by San Quintino concerning the remaining three mummies of the original 11 or 12; consequently we have no names or dates. If we assume that Lebolo kept these three in his possession until a later time, then they, together with that of the man named Sotero . . . could have been the four received by Michael Chandler at New York City. . . .⁵

This summary and conclusion by Bradshaw are interesting in light of a postscript to Oliver Cowdery's letter to William Frye published in the *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, December, 1835:

You will have understood from the foregoing, that eleven mummies were taken from the catacomb, at the time of which I have been speaking, and nothing definite having been said of their disposal, I may with propriety add a few words. Seven of the said eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler's visit to this place, with a small quantity of papyrus, similar (as he says), to the astronomical representations, contained with the present two rolls, of which I previously spoke, and the remaining four by gentlemen resident here.

Many of us who have been following the history of the Lebolo collection for some years had assumed that the sale of the seven mummies to "gentlemen for private museums" had been transacted by Chandler in the United States. Bradshaw's research, however, would seem to indicate that only four mummies from the Lebolo find ever came to America and these came into the possession of Joseph Smith. But this does not take into account the claim that Dr. Samuel George Morton

⁴Giulio di San Quintino, "Interpretazione e Confronto di Una Billinque Inscrizione Che Sta Sopra Una Mummica Egiziana del R. Museo di Torino," *Lezioni Archeologiche*, 1824, as cited by Leslie W. Bradshaw above.

⁵Bradshaw, "The Lebolo Mummies," p. 5.

purchased a female mummy from Lebolo's heirs in Philadelphia in 1833.⁶

Joseph Smith's own statement on that portion of the collection which Michael Chandler brought to him identifies his source as a Lebolo heir but at a later date than 1833.

On the 3rd of July, [1835] Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphic figures and devices. . . . (DHC 2:235)

WHAT WERE THE POPYRI?

Several of the Saints in Kirtland purchased the mummies, and then as Joseph Smith commenced the translation of some "characters of hieroglyphics," he and his two scribes, W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery, "found that one of the rolls *contained the writings of Abraham*, another *the writings of Joseph of Egypt*, . . ." (DHC 2:236; italics mine) For the remainder of the month of July, 1835, he was "continually engaged in translating an alphabet to the Book of Abraham, and arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language as practiced by the ancients." (DHC 2:238) No further journal entry regarding his work with this collection of popyri occurred until October 1, 1835, when he indicated that with Phelps and Cowdery he was once more at work on the "Egyptian alphabet," and they had "the principles of astronomy as understood by Father Abraham and the ancients unfolded to our understanding." (DHC 2:286)

Between October 1 and December 31, 1835, there are fifteen individual entries in Joseph Smith's journal referring to the popyri, the mummies, and/or the records. Six of these entries call the popyri "Egyptian records." Six additional entries refer to the collection as "ancient records" or "records of antiquity." In another entry he calls them simply "the papyrus." Only in one entry does Joseph Smith refer to them as "sacred records." The important point here seems to be that while in July, 1835, Joseph Smith referred to one roll as containing "the writings of Abraham" and "another the writings of Joseph of

⁶David C. Martin, "A Lebolo Mummy Found in Philadelphia," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology*, No. 101 (May 1, 1967), p. 5.

Egypt," in subsequent references during the three month period when he was working most intensively with them he spoke of the papyri simply as "Egyptian records" or "ancient records." These numerous entries should at least raise a caution against any assumption that the entire collection of papyri that Joseph Smith had was exclusively the record of Abraham and Joseph. The fact that these two documents were considered most important by the Prophet may have led to that faulty assumption. Certainly the interest was (and is) high in whatever association Abraham and Joseph had with the papyri. By reminding everyone that the Bible tells us that neither Abraham nor Joseph was left buried in Egypt, Joseph Smith put down a rumor that was spreading in October, 1835, even in the public press,⁷ that in his collection he had the mummified bodies of Abraham and Joseph. Then on December 31, 1835, he wrote the following in his journal about the mummies in his possession: "Who these ancient inhabitants of Egypt were, I do not at present say." (DHC 2:348)

SIMILAR DESCRIPTIONS

Joseph Smith's description of the records of Abraham and Joseph is very close to Dr. Atiya's description of fragments from the Metropolitan Museum. Joseph Smith said:

The record . . . is beautifully written on papyrus, with black, and a small part red, ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies—hieroglyphics, etc.; with many characters like the present (though probably not quite so square) form of the Hebrew without points. (DHC 2:348)

Dr. Atiya described the eleven fragments found in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art as inscribed principally with black ink made with "soot and glue," one of the two ancient methods of making ink for inscribing papyrus and the more permanent of the two methods.⁸

NON-LDS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PAPYRI

On January 30, 1836, Joseph Smith showed the "record of Abraham" to a number of visitors, among them his Hebrew

⁷*Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register*, St. Louis, Missouri, October 12, 1835.

⁸Interview with Dr. Atiya, December 13, 1967.

teacher, Rabbi Joshua Seixas, who "pronounced it original beyond all doubt." (DHC 2:388)

In 1837 a Mr. William S. West, who was not a follower of Joseph Smith but was conversant with what was being said about him and his possession of the "Egyptian mummies and records," wanted a first-hand look at these mummies and documents. He visited Kirtland, Ohio, and later published a report of that visit in a sixteen page pamphlet. West says of the collection:

The Mormons have four mummies, and a quantity of records, written on papyrus, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, which were brought from the Catacombs near Thebes, in Egypt. They say that the mummies were Egyptian, but the records are those of Abraham and Joseph, and contain important information respecting the creation, the fall of man, the deluge, the patriarchs, the Book of Mormon, the lost tribes, the gathering, the end of the world, the judgement, &c., &c. . . .⁹

He also indicated that information was given him while at Kirtland that the papyri were in fragments because:

. . . These records were torn by being taken from the roll of embalming salve which contained them, and some parts entirely lost. . . .¹⁰

Samuel Woolley, in a diary entry in 1838, claims the distinction of helping to transport the mummies and papyrus from Kirtland, Ohio, to Far West, Missouri, when Joseph Smith moved Church headquarters there.¹¹

In 1840 Joseph Smith had settled at Nauvoo, Illinois, and was receiving numerous interested visitors. One such visitor became the anonymous author who wrote in the *Quincy Whig*, published in nearby Quincy, Illinois, the following interview with Joseph Smith:

It was a beautiful morning towards the close of April last, when the writer . . . accompanied by a friend, crossed the Mississippi river, from Montrose (Iowa), to pay a visit to the prophet. . . .

After he had shown us the fine grounds around his dwelling; he conducted us, at our request, to an upper room,

⁹William S. West, *A Few Interesting Facts Respecting the Rise, Progress, and Pretensions of the Mormons*, (Warren, Ohio: 1837).

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Unpublished diary of Samuel Woolley in the possession of the Woolley family in Cardston, Alberta, Canada.

where he drew aside the curtains of a case; and showed us several Egyptian Mummies, which we were told that the Church had purchased, at his suggestion, some time before, for a large sum of money.

The embalmed body that stands near the centre of the case, said he, is one of the Pharaohs, who sat upon the throne of Egypt; and the female figure by it is probably one of the daughters. . . .

He then walked to a secretary, on the opposite side of the room, and drew out several frames, covered with glass, under which were numerous fragments of Egyptian papyrus, on which, as usual, a great variety of hieroglyphical characters had been imprinted.

These ancient records, said he, throw great light upon the subject of Christianity. They have been unrolled and preserved with great labor and care. My time has been hitherto too much taken up to translate the whole of them, but I will show you how I interpret certain parts. There, said he, pointing to a particular character, that is the signature of the patriarch Abraham.

The importance of this published interview, historically, is that it shows Joseph Smith ready to identify one of the four mummies as a pharaoh or King of Egypt, that it confirms West's statement that the papyri were in fragments, and that it notes these fragments had been put under glass and mounted in frames. As the reader may see from the pictures in this issue, one of the fragments of the Metropolitan Museum collection is in a wooden frame under glass and certain others, notably the one that Joseph Smith apparently used for the reproduction of Facsimile No. 1 might well have been in such a frame formerly since its present width corresponds with the width of the frame surrounding the framed fragment. There is also a painting in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City which shows Joseph Smith's mother seated in a chair, presumably in her home, and on the wall in the background is a similar frame with a drawing of Facsimile No. 1 under glass.

PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Two years later, in 1842, when Joseph Smith was ready to begin publication of his translation of portions of these Egyptian records, he assembled a staff in the *Times and Seasons* office to assist him. Wilford Woodruff was the business manager and John Taylor the assistant editor; Joseph Smith took

over the editorship of the periodical specifically to supervise the publication of his translations of these ancient records. Reuben Hedlock was instructed to prepare the woodcuts for the illustrations (facsimiles) to accompany Joseph Smith's translations.

Joseph Smith published the first installment of his translations from the Egyptian records in the March 1, 1842, issue of the *Times and Seasons*, along with Facsimile No. 1 as an illustration called for in the text. Entries in Joseph Smith's journal for March, 1842, indicate that he continued to translate and revise the manuscripts of the translation even while they were being published. The entire contents of the present Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price with its three facsimiles had been published by May 16, 1842. In February, 1843, John Taylor, the new editor of the *Times and Seasons*, promised his readers that Joseph Smith would furnish subscribers "with further extracts from the Book of Abraham," but circumstances and the violent death of Joseph Smith on June 27, 1844, prevented the fulfillment of that promise.

LETTER OF SALE IDENTIFIES PRESENT PAPYRI

The letter of sale that accompanies the Metropolitan Museum fragments throws new light on the disposition of the mummies and papyri after the death of Joseph Smith. Much of this story I had already reconstructed from other sources available to me in 1955. I summarized this research on pages 146 to 163 of *The Story of The Pearl of Great Price* as follows:

Of the four mummies and two or more rolls of papyrus acquired by Joseph Smith in 1835, the St. Louis Museum acquired two mummies and *perhaps* a part of the papyrus in 1856. [These were later sold to the Chicago Museum in 1863.]¹²

The newly found letter fixes the date of May 26, 1856, for the sale of the "four Egyptian Mummies with the records of them" by "L. C. Bidamon, Emma Bidamon, Joseph Smith [III]" to a Mr. A. Combs. This letter substantiates much of our earlier research, and it shows that the general opinion that Joseph Smith's mother had "sold the relics sometime before her

¹²James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), p. 162.

death"¹³ to have been in error. The current information gives us a new view of Lucy Mack Smith because it shows that she steadfastly refused to sell them while she lived. It now appears that the collection of mummies and papyri that were once in the possession of Joseph Smith was not divided up until after it left the Smith family because it was sold to Combs as a collection.

It seems that it was split up shortly after Combs bought it because the published catalogs state that the St. Louis Museum acquired only two of the four mummies also in 1856. The disposition and whereabouts of the other mummies and the additional fragments of papyri not in the Metropolitan Museum gift are still subjects open for research. It is evident that as important as this "find" is, and I would not depreciate its importance or significance in any way, it is only a very small portion of the collection once in the hands of Joseph Smith.

The known history of the fragments we now have was printed in the December 2, 1967, *Church News* announcement of their being given to the Church. Apparently what Combs did not sell or otherwise dispose of went to his housekeeper, then to her daughter, Mrs. Alice C. Heusser, who first drew the Museum's attention to the papyri in 1918. Her husband, Edward Heusser, sold the fragments to the Museum in 1947, where they had lain until Dr. Atiya saw them.

It is still too early to offer any real assessment as to the significance of this gracious gift by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Church. A detailed study of the fragments and research on new leads must be done before we could do more than agree with Dr. Atiya and President N. Eldon Tanner that finding and receiving these papyri fragments are exciting and deeply gratifying to us all.

¹³*Ibid.*

The Road to Carthage Led West

KENNETH W. GODFREY*

There was no one reason for the Mormon-Gentile difficulties in Illinois. In order to adequately determine each pretense relating to the perplexities of the situation, every individual would have to be interviewed in depth regarding his motives for acting as he did. Because the difficulties commenced one hundred and twenty-eight years ago and concluded seven years later, the task, even if desirable, is impossible. However, enough newspaper accounts were written, sufficient diaries and journals preserved, ample letters inscribed and official documents retained that some fairly accurate conclusions can be postulated. That Mormons and non-Mormons were unable to dwell in peace is due to a combination of many factors which, when clearly delineated, reveal that conflict was probably unavoidable, and perhaps inevitable. Those factors which brought about the arrest of Joseph Smith and his confinement in the jail at Carthage, two years later culminated in the expulsion of the Saints from Illinois and their migration to the Great Basin. Thus it will become apparent that even though geographically Carthage was east of Nauvoo the road to Carthage, at least for the Mormons, led west.

Illinois, like other frontier states, had a tradition of lawlessness, and extra-legal groups banding together for a common goal were not uncommon. Elijah P. Lovejoy, for example, in 1838, was taken from his home and killed by a band of men who found his opinions on slavery unacceptable.¹ Joseph Smith's views regarding the Nauvoo Charter, marriage, practical politics, economics and religious doctrine were offensive to many of the Illinois citizenry. The precedent having been established with the murder of Lovejoy, it was comparatively easy to collect a "mob," which delighted in punishing individuals thought to be skilled in circumventing the law.²

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¹John L. Harr, "Law and Lawlessness in the Lower Mississippi Valley," *Missouri Historical Quarterly* (April, 1962), p. 51.

²*Quincy Whig*, July 25, 1840.

Rumors that Nauvoo was the headquarters of a "den of thieves," the center of a counterfeiting ring, and a city filled with ruthless lawbreakers, led to outbreaks against the Saints living in settlements surrounding the Mormon stronghold. It is almost true to say that the Mormons were accused of committing every crime that occurred in Hancock County. Frequently, thieves were apprehended, and on at least two occasions these culprits confessed that they were Mormons acting under specific instructions from the presidency of the Church.³ Vigorous denials by Mormon leaders went unheeded for the most part, and people believed that the Church sanctioned theft if part of the booty were turned over for use in promoting the aims of that organization.⁴ In spite of instruction from the General Authorities condemning such conduct, other "Mormon" lawbreakers seem to have engaged in thievery, believing that such activities were justifiable if committed against Missourians.⁵ Gentiles frequently retaliated, increasing suffering on both sides. These eruptions resulted in Mormon opposition to such illegal Gentile activities producing even greater problems.⁶

The assault on the life of ex-Governor Boggs was used against the Saints; and the fact that the assailant was never apprehended played into the hands of those antagonistic toward the Church, enabling them to continually cast suspicion upon the character of Joseph Smith with little fear of contradiction. That the culprit was not captured also caused many individuals to seriously question the Prophet's moral character. Apparently a large number of people were convinced that he had ordered "the destroying angel" to attack Boggs in fulfillment of an alleged public prophecy which otherwise might not have come to pass. That Porter Rockwell, after al-

³B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), III, 114. *The Wasp*, March 29, 1843.

⁴H. M. Woodyard, John W. Ousby and others to Lilburn W. Boggs, July 24, 1840. Found in the Missouri Historical Society Library, Independence, Missouri. Charles P. Kane, "The Christian Church of Springfield, Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1907), p. 304. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, August 18, 1841. T. W. Nixon to Brigham Young, February 14, 1844, found in the unclassified letter file, Library of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter referred to as the ULF.

⁵George R. Gayler, "A Social, Economic and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois, 1839-1846." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Indiana, 1965), p. 52.

⁶*Millennial Star*, September 1842. *The Wasp*, July 31, 1840.

most eight months' imprisonment, could not be convicted even in a Missouri court for the most part went unnoticed, and law-abiding citizens, morally indignant because of the Prophet's supposed disregard for life, believed themselves ethically justified in actively working outside the law in an attempt to punish Joseph Smith.⁷

Newspaper articles written by men such as Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, intensified public resentment against the Prophet and his people. Joseph Smith was said to be an unscrupulous, vile, deceiver of men. Attempts to capture and forcefully return him to Missouri caused the Mormon leader to extend the jurisdiction and power of the Nauvoo City Court, which gave rise to the accusation that he was using this judicial tribunal to circumvent legally constituted authority. The Saints believed that being tried in the Nauvoo municipal court was the only way he could receive a fair verdict and prevent designing men from taking his life. Thus, an institution, which was for the Mormons a symbol of American legal fairness, became in the eyes of many Gentiles an illegal method of frustrating justice.⁸

Americans were for the most part decidedly opposed to large standing armies. Thus, many citizens in Illinois viewed with abhorrence the growing might of the Nauvoo Legion. Each muster, parade, or mock battle caused speculation regarding the ultimate design of its leaders. Rumors accusing Joseph Smith of calculating an attack on Texas, Mexico, Missouri, and even the United States itself, were incessantly printed in newspapers and disseminated by word of mouth throughout the country.⁹ Some individuals believed the Nauvoo Legion would have to be destroyed before it had grown so strong that opposition to it would be unthinkable. Citizens living in Missouri were especially fearful that the Mormons

⁷*Missouri Reporter*, February 5, 1847. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, May 15, 1842. *Quincy Whig*, May 21, 1842. *Iowa Hawkeye*, May 26, 1842. *Native American Bulletin*, July 14, 1842. James H. Hunt, *A History of the Mormon War* (St. Louis: Ustich & Davis, 1844), p. 296. Monte B. McLaws, "The Attempted Assassination of Missouri's Ex-Governor, Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review* (October 1965).

⁸James LeRoy Kimball, Jr., "A Study of the Nauvoo Charter 1840-1845," (Master's Thesis, University of Iowa, August 1966). *Lee County Democrat*, September 2, 1843; Josiah Lambourn to Brigham Young, January 28, 1845, ULF; *Bloomington Herald*, July 5, 1844.

⁹*Cillicothe Intelligencer*, July 1, 1843; *The Freeman*, July 23, 1842; *Lee County Democrat*, May 14, 1842.

would assault their homes and cities in retribution for the losses they had suffered in that state in 1837 and 1838. At least a few Missourians attempted and apparently succeeded in animating some Illinois citizens whom they united with in actively opposing The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹⁰

As Nauvoo expanded economically, cities surrounding the Mormon capital shrunk. Such mercantile centers as Warsaw, once a thriving riverport town, suffered in the midst of an economic depression which was believed to be aggravated by the commercial activities of Mormons in Nauvoo. The Saints were accused of promoting immigration, frequently resulting in poor converts arriving in the Mormon capital which tended to lower the economic level of Hancock County. They were also accused of promoting trade only with themselves and of striving to become a self-sufficient community that thought little about their nonmember neighbors. Published accounts, relative to building a dam across the Mississippi River, increased the jealousy of other communities and caused certain individuals to actively contend against the Saints.¹¹

Because of its rapid growth, both physically and economically, Nauvoo was considered by a number of observers to be the most prosperous community in Illinois. Its economic success was magnified when compared to depression-wrought cities in the remainder of the state. Yet many Church leaders, taking advantage of the new national bankruptcy law, declared themselves insolvent. That Joseph Smith allegedly transferred property to friends and almost all his remaining land to the Church caused considerable negative comment, and many people seemed certain that he was deliberately attempting to circumvent the spirit of the law and thus avoid the payment of legally contracted debts. Those holding mortgages or notes signed by Church leaders were wrought up in their feelings and demanded payment but were checked by the law. The Prophet and others justified themselves by contending they had lost land and property in Ohio and Missouri for which they had received no remuneration and argued that if the Missourians

¹⁰Joseph E. Arrington, "Destruction of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo," *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society* (1947), p. 415. *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 10, 1844. *Logansport Telegraph*, July 30, 1842.

¹¹*Davenport Gazette*, June 15, 1842; *The Wasp*, February 6, 1842; *Times and Seasons*, February 1, 1841.

would pay the \$300,000 owed to the Saints, they would gladly pay their obligations; but since no one seemed ready to make reimbursement there was little they could do but declare themselves bankrupt. Still, many people seemed certain that somehow leaders of the Church were not as honorable as they might have been in meeting their financial obligations. One report even stated for fact that Joseph Smith had amassed a fortune of just short of a million dollars. With this kind of publicity circulating it is not difficult to see why economics was at the root of some of the Saints' problems in Illinois.¹²

Certain Mormon doctrines, not thought to be compatible with the American religious tradition, also caused conflict in Hancock County. Many Americans were trinitarian in their concept of God, though they frequently declared in their creeds that God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Ghost were three persons in one substance; yet they were said to be not three gods but one God. It is true that a few Americans, such as Thomas Jefferson, believed this doctrine was a numerical impossibility; still most Christians were content to leave the complexities of the three-in-one doctrine for the theologians to unravel. Thus when Joseph Smith publicly preached the unusual plurality of gods doctrine and declared that God was once a man, many individuals thought his teachings blasphemous.¹³ This provided them with a moral justification for opposing the Mormon leader. Such doctrines as the gathering, scriptural authenticity of the Book of Mormon, the Hebraic chosen origin and quality of the American Indian (taught soon after the Black Hawk War), the secret nature of the temple ceremony, and the temple itself, all caused the various people to actively oppose the Saints. Even the Prophet's own followers found some of his teachings to be more than they could accept

¹²Joseph Smith to H. R. Hotchkiss, May 13, 1842, located in Illinois State Historical Society Library; Charles Ivins to Hyrum Smith, August 22, 1842, ULF; *Bloomington Herald*, December 10, 1841; *The Illinoian*, August 14, 1841.

¹³*The Western Atlas and Saturday Evening Gazette*, August 4, 1841; Henry Caswell, *Mormonism and Its Author* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851), pp. 4-5; John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Dispersion of the Mormons* (London: Arthor Hall and Company, 1849), p. 6; Henry Mayhew, *Life Among the Mormons* (New York: Hurst & Co., 1850), p. 376; B. G. Weidgill to Joseph Smith, May 29, 1844, ULF; Report of S. W. Richards to Brigham Young, February 10, 1845, ULF; Pastoral Letter of Bishop Chase, January 3, 1843, found in the Illinois State Historical Society Library, Springfield, Illinois.

and caused them, in part at least, to declare he was no longer a prophet of God.¹⁴

Because polygamy was unannounced yet practiced, credence was added to John C. Bennett's claims that spiritual wifery was practiced by the Saints. When others published accounts of the existence and practice of plural marriage in Nauvoo, even more suspicion was cast upon the Prophet's character. Men repeatedly charged the Mormon leader with attempting to seduce women in Nauvoo. Nancy Rigdon, Martha Brotherton, Robert Foster, William Law, and Francis Higbee published affidavits accusing Joseph Smith of engaging in immoral activities.¹⁵ Charges and counter-charges were publicly presented and people seem to have been led to conclude that where there was so much smoke, a genuine fire must be smoldering.

Joseph Smith was perhaps not as perceptive in the selection of friends and subordinate leaders as he might have been. At first, at least, a pretended friend, forceful leader and prominent citizen, John C. Bennett, for example, after his immoral activities were exposed, became a dedicated enemy, a vigorous antagonist, and an effective inciter of public sentiment. He accused Joseph Smith of being immoral and contended that he was no longer suitable to receive communication from God.

With the founding of Nauvoo a new group of men replacing the Whitmers, Oliver Cowdery, and Thomas B. Marsh became prominent in the Mormon hierarchy. Besides Bennett, William and Wilson Law, William Marks, Robert Foster and others influenced the Prophet and seemed to be the most eminent figures in the Mormon capital. They were strong-willed, active, energetic individuals who, after 1843, opposed Joseph and Hyrum in almost everything they attempted to do. In the spring of 1844 they came out in open, unreserved opposi-

¹⁴*The Painesville Telegraph*, September 13, 1841; *Fort Madison Courier*, November 13, 1841; *The People's Miscellany and Illinois Herald*, July 27, 1842; *The Western Atlas and Saturday Evening Gazette*, February 20, 1841.

¹⁵For information regarding plural marriage in Nauvoo see Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *The Historical Record*, VI, May 1887, 219; *The Warsaw Signal*, April 25, 1844; Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, July 1, 1911, copy in possession of the writer; Private Journal of Joseph L. Robinson, copy in possession of the writer; Martha Hall to her mother, June 16, 1844; Narrative of Mrs. Franklin D. Richards, found in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; Memories of Harriet Decker Young, found in Allen Gerber Collection, Brigham Young University; Diary of Eliza R. Snow, found in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; Diary of Mary N. Barzee Boyce, found in the Allen Gerber Collection, Brigham Young University Library.

tion to the Prophet's economic policies, his secret marriage system, his so-called dictatorial powers, and many of his more radical religious doctrines. Several of these men lectured against Mormonism and met with Mormon-haters, attempting to advance their own designs and to oppose those of the Prophet.¹⁶

Organizing together with others in Nauvoo until their group had a membership of approximately two hundred,¹⁷ these excommunicated leaders held their meetings and formulated plans to take the Prophet's life. That he was spared was largely due to the courage of the "nightwatch" who constantly guarded his home and person and to the loyalty displayed by two youths who attended the meetings of this group and reported its activities to Joseph Smith. Following their excommunication many of the "conspirators" organized together to form a new church actively attempting to win Mormon converts.

A large number of people believed the charges leveled against the Prophet by former members of the Mormon hierarchy and seemed to have become convinced that the Saints were a group of unlearned, licentious dupes, unable to think for themselves, following blindly a religious dictator who violated the separation of church and state, religious liberty, economic freedom, private property, and the sacred structure of society itself—the family. It is almost impossible to lay too much stress on the part these former Mormons played in arousing people against the leaders of the Church and actively engaging in anti-Mormon activities themselves.

Numbers alone dictated that the Saints would be a political power in Illinois. They used this puissance to elect their friends and vanquish their antagonists. Joseph Smith declared that he cared not a fig for Whig or Democrat, and served notice that Mormons would disregard party labels and cast their ballots for candidates who would actively encourage programs beneficial to the Mormon people.

The Whigs, by 1841, began to denounce the Saints and their leader publicly because aspirants who received the Mormon vote almost always seemed to wear the Democratic label. Re-

¹⁶Journal of William Clayton, no. 28, p. 18, original in the Library of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City, Utah; Document of D. B. Huntington, ULF; *Alton Telegraph and Democratic Review*, July 30, 1842; Dr. Robert Foster to Joseph Smith, July 16, 1842, ULF; *Davenport Gazette*, July 21, 1842.

¹⁷Horace Cummings, "Conspiracy in Nauvoo," *Contributor*; Diary of James Flanagan, August 1, 1843, original located in the Library of the Church Historian; *Iowa Standard*, October 19, 1843.

peatedly Whig newspapers denounced this attachment the Saints seemed to have for Democratic candidates and accused Mormon leaders of involving themselves in "unholy alliances" with that party. Finally Whig leaders met with anti-Mormon Democrats and others who disliked the Saints' political power, and within a few days the birth of the Anti-Mormon Party became a reality. Politics thereafter were largely conducted on the basis of a candidate's being for or against the Saints. Leaders of the Church attempted to minimize the growing number of Mormon voters and even made serious efforts to camouflage the baptism of two county commissioners. When anti-Mormon candidates for the most part defeated their pro-Mormon opponents in 1841, some observers believed Mormon political power had been greatly exaggerated. Yet immigration by August of 1842 augmented the Mormon population in Hancock County so that by voting solidly for the same candidates the Saints were able to dominate the politics of that region. After the death of Snyder, the Democratic candidate for governor, the Whigs charged that Judge Thomas Ford was not only the Democratic nominee for the state's highest office but the Mormon candidate as well. The Democrats retaliated by declaring that the Whig standard-bearer, Joseph Duncan, had sought for and failed to receive Mormon support, and this was the reason for the Whig outcry of supposed "righteous indignation." Duncan had obtained the services of Joseph Smith as his Nauvoo real estate agent in an attempt to garner the Mormon vote, causing Democratic leaders to accuse him of using unethical campaign practices. The "disclosures" of John C. Bennett probably caused Duncan to deliver a series of mildly anti-Mormon discourses toward the end of the campaign which probably cost him the support of many Saints. However, Judge Ford would have won the election without a single vote from a Latter-day Saint. Still, disgruntled Whigs and anti-Mormons in Hancock County seemed to have believed that the Saints were the source of all the political ills that could be imagined. Following the 1842 election the Anti-Mormon Party was formally revived, after suffering what was thought to be an untimely death subsequent to its success in the 1841 election. This party proved ultimately to be one of the most decisive forces in causing the death of the Mormon Prophet and the migration of large numbers of his followers to the Great Basin.

When Church leaders learned through a series of letters that the leading candidates for the presidency in 1844 would not seriously consider nor actively strive to achieve financial compensation for the Saints in payment for personal deprivations accrued while living in Missouri, Joseph Smith was sought out and nominated for the office of president of the United States. In collaboration with W. W. Phelps and John M. Bernhisel, he wrote a platform frequently referred to by Mormons as being one of the most statesman-like documents constructed since the farewell address of George Washington. Non-Mormons were not as complimentary, and the Prophet's "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States" was called by one newspaper reporter, "A conglomeration of hope mingled with fear that would agitate the whole nation and cause the earth to quake and the sea to heave beyond its bounds." Yet a careful examination of Joseph Smith's political thoughts reveals that it is difficult to demonstrate effectively that he was a uniquely different political theorist. For the most part his concept of government was not a "conglomeration of hope mingled with fear" nor was it "incomprehensible"; on the contrary, it represented the main current of early nineteenth-century American political thought. However, his platform, energetic campaign, and seeming earnestness in doing all he could to acquire the nation's highest office aroused the public against him. Meetings were convened, arguments presented, conclusions reached and individuals selected to prevent the Prophet from ever taking the oath of office, should he by some miracle be elected. It is highly probable that in spite of the determined efforts of "ordained" political campaigners, the Mormon leader would not have received a single electoral vote. That Mormons were aware of this is indicated by the careful examination of documents and instructions given to Lucian Woodworth (incorrectly referred to by Dr. Robert Bruce Flanders as being a non-Mormon), wherein he was to negotiate a treaty with Texas and Mexico for land between the two countries so that the Mormons could establish an independent nation of their own.¹⁸ Plans were also underway, should Woodworth fail, for a general migration to the West.

Antagonism toward the Mormon Prophet was further incited when it was correctly rumored, that he had been or-

¹⁸George Miller to the *Northern Islander*, June 27, 1855.

dained "King over the Immediate House of Israel" by the Council of Fifty.¹⁹ This action was wrongly interpreted by non-Mormons to mean that he was going to attempt to overthrow the United States government by force. In reality the Prophet was establishing a political organization that would remain in effect in a state of limbo until commanded by Christ to function as an aid in ushering in the millennial reign of the King of Kings. Still newspapers and tracts repeatedly charged that the Prophet conducted himself like a dictator and that his actions were not only treasonable but a violation of the constitutional principle that church and state should be disassociated. Thus, his kingly ordination only incensed the populace, and his untimely death became even more inevitable.

The Prophet's mayoral order, with the consent of the city council, to destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor* became the immediate excuse to stamp out his life. That he was opposed to freedom of the press was the moral justification for legal action against him and his brother. Even though the council's decision had precedence in United States and English legal history, as has been so effectively demonstrated by Dallin Oaks in terms of the historical situation in which it was rendered, the order to destroy this anti-Mormon newspaper was certainly a mistake. Thomas Ford ordered the Mormon leader to appear in Carthage for trial and gave personal assurance that he would be safe. But following his arrival in what was probably the predominant anti-Mormon city in the state, the governor found himself powerless to placate the mob that had gathered in the guise of the state militia. Ford traveled to Nauvoo, and before his return to the county seat the deed was done and the Mormon prophet was a memory that would grow and increase in significance with the passage of time.

Apparently the Prophet Joseph was convinced that belonging to the Masonic order might protect him from an experience similar to the one he had endured with his followers in Missouri. Yet, an overenthusiasm for the Masons caused members of that organization to engage behind the scenes in bringing about the death of the Mormon brothers. It is at least probable that Joseph Smith's last words, thought by some to be the first

¹⁹Diary of George A. Smith, May 9, 1844, copy in the Library of the Church Historian; document dated February 6, 1844, ULF; George Davies, *An Authentic Account of the Murder of Joseph Smith* (St. Louis: n.p., 1844); *The Expositor*, June 7, 1844.

part of the Masonic distress signal, were ignored by Masons in the "mob" that took his life because he had broken his Masonic vows. At the time of his death the Prophet was charged with initiating women into the Masonic order, with attempting to seduce Master Masons' wives and daughters and finally with imitating Masonic ritual in his own temple endowment. That he was innocent of most of these charges did little to stem the tide against him. Joseph Smith had not initiated women into the Masonic order, though he had given many Mormon women their endowments as part of the Mormon temple ceremony. The alleged seduction of Master Masons' wives and daughters stemmed from the practice of plural marriage; however, in each case a marriage ceremony was performed, thus rendering the Mason charges groundless. That part of the temple endowment which was similar to Masonic rights was defended by Joseph Smith, stating that a part of Masonic ritual was a corrupt or apostate form of the endowment. His cry, "Oh Lord my God," seems to have aroused no sympathy; and shortly after uttering this portion of the Masonic distress signal, he fell to the ground a dead man.²⁰

Perhaps in retrospect both Mormons and Gentiles were partly to blame for conflict which developed between them. The Mormons were sometimes boastful of their political and economic power. They frequently declared they were the chosen people of God, and tended to trade in a commercial way only with themselves, to promulgate a large army and to engage in a marriage system thought to be adulterous by the Gentiles. On the other side, the Gentiles blamed the Mormons for almost every crime committed in Hancock County, said Joseph Smith was a dictator, and believed themselves justified in opposing him without really waiting to determine the truth or falsity of the numerous accusations against him.

Because they believed the rumors regarding the Mormons, the Gentiles organized into anti-Mormon groups, passed reso-

²⁰S. H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Grand Lodge F. & A. M., 1925); Diary of Oliver B. Huntington, typed copy in Library of the Church Historian; Jack Adamson, "Treasure of the Widow's Son" (unpublished paper in possession of the writer); Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis Inc., 1945), pp. 11-12; Robert Glenn Cole, "Highlights of Illinois Masonry," *Masonic Gleanings* (Kable Printing Co., 1956), pp. 190-191; Handwritten copy of the proceedings of a meeting held in 1842 in Jacksonville, Illinois, by Henry Sherwood dated 1844, ULF.

lutions, petitioned the governor, and finally concluded to drive the Saints from the state. The Mormons, still mourning the loss of their Prophet, having almost completed the temple as a monument to their slain leader, met with Gentile leaders and agreed to leave Illinois without further bloodshed. Warrants pending for the arrest of Brigham Young and other leaders on charges of counterfeiting were among the reasons for the early departure of the Saints from the "city of Joseph" in February rather than in the spring as originally proposed.

A religious people that had entered Illinois in 1839, homeless, destitute, and sorrowing for loved ones left buried on the northern Missouri plains were once again in 1846, homeless, without sufficient food and grieving because of two silent graves containing the bodies of their founder-prophet and his patriarch-brother. Little did they realize the number of graves that would dot the trail from Iowa to the Great Basin and the conflict they would experience before peace was attained and their children became a respected part of American religious life in the twentieth century.

LESSONS FROM THE PAST

Or How to Succeed in the University World Without Really Trying

GEORGE M. ADDY*

To every historian there comes, soon or late, the strong desire to desert the exact documentation and cautious phraseology that his craft and the zealous eyes of his colleagues oblige him to use. The occasional urge to soar above the footnotes and address a larger audience must come to us all. Moreover, a certain catharsis is obtained by ceasing to be solemn about history and discharging the collection of irrelevant anecdotes, random thoughts, and unsuitable stories that pile up in the course of research. However, this desirable end implies a requirement to be amusing, difficult indeed for the historian who is apt to be too serious about the human antics his work turns up. This, then, is a hazardous enterprise, but I persevere buoyed up by the thought that the catharsis will benefit the historian, at least, if not the reader.¹

In the course of a decade of research, I have been constantly struck with how little academic life has changed. Most universities, even an American, Mormon university in the twentieth century, resemble to a discouraging degree the university of two centuries gone. This parallel leads me to think that we have a good deal to learn from the University of Salamanca, which, after all, had already been in business five centuries by the middle of the eighteenth century. This institution had survived royal reform, the Inquisition, invasion, war, and even the rule of its own students. Since all of us (even those over forty) were once students and did not spring forth full-armed from the brow of Zeus, let us begin by examining some similarities in student life.

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¹Readers interested in documentation are referred to George M. Addy *The Enlightenment in the University of Salamanca*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966.)

SIMILARITIES IN STUDENT LIFE

It is a commonplace nowadays to lament the decline of student manners and morals; to draw alarming conclusions about Berkeley rioters, acid heads, and bikini-clad tenny boppers; and to lament the good old days (say just after World War II) characterized by hard work, frugality, and propriety. I am sure every dean of men has his moments of quiet desperation, but it may help our perspective to consider the problems of a Salamancan dean. Principally, he had to worry about riots. Female undergarments played no part. Rather, these riots were regional rows which, at best, ended in broken heads and at worst in five or six dead and the total dislocation of the university. BYU campus bishops have problems, but I am reasonably certain that they have never been driven back from Helaman Halls by musket fire as they approached to do home teaching. This was the unfortunate experience of the Bishop of Salamanca when he attempted to preach to the students on one occasion.

We legislate on the length of skirts, but the statutes of Salamanca speak of the length of the eating knives and try to outlaw swords, daggers, pistols and muskets and to stop the more affluent students from housing packs of hounds in the halls. The presence of women in a place supposedly given over to the Muses has made problems in modern universities, but it has also distracted the male student from a wholehearted pursuit of mayhem to slightly more constructive channels. However, life cannot be one continual riot, even at the University of California, and the same was true at Salamanca where the students, like ours, gave most of their attention to their daily affairs.

The Salamancan undergraduate worried about passing, about finding lodging in an intensely crowded town, about remittances from home. He complained vigorously about the food on nearly all occasions. With perhaps some literary exaggeration, one complained of boarding-house cheese cut as thin as a spider's web that followed a soup so watery that the smallest louse that fell out of the tutor's sleeve as he served could be seen on the bottom of the pot. The dessert at this meal consisted of six grapes, and the wine was watered vinegar. Even then the scholarship students seemed to get the

better of their counterparts. One of the cherished prerogatives of a fellowship was the surety of receiving a pound of meat, two pounds of bread, a measure of wine, and a small sum for the purchase of greens and sweets every day.

THE UNDERGRADUATE

The Salamancan undergraduate woke in his crowded garret or in his relatively sumptuous college room, and found his way to the cavernous cold of the university where the old lecture halls were, and remain, absolutely unheated. There, in the gloom of early morning (8:00 in winter, 7:00 in summer) he found a seat on a plank bench about four inches wide, rested his book and perhaps his head on a desk the same width, and waited for the professor to enter, mount a dais raised four or five feet and covered with a canopy, take his seat upon a cushioned chair, and begin. Lectures lasted for an hour, were delivered entirely in Latin and from memory. Professors were strenuously forbidden to use notes or to "dictate" to their students. At the end of the hour, the professor took his post outside the door of the classroom to answer questions and resolve difficulties.

Like us, Salamancan students attended lectures five days a week. Thursday and Sunday were holidays, but the weekend trip home was out because Thursday and Sunday mornings, after Mass, were occupied with scholastic disputations. The proposal and public disputation of theses were perhaps the major intellectual exercise of the university. Our master's and doctor's orals are the mere withered remnants of these exercises. To cite only one example, the candidate for the doctorate in theology at the University of Alcalá had to sustain theses in eight separate disputes, arguing in each with twelve doctors and three advanced bachelors for as long as nine hours.

But these strenuities were dealt with in the same way as ingenious undergraduates deal with them today. The pony or *chuleta* (the chop), as the Spanish would say, reached a state of development by the eighteenth century that must have been truly astonishing. I have not seen any *chuletas*, but one admirably horrified description speaks of a hundred-page booklet that provided the user with ready-made theses and arguments for all the major points of the civil law.

SOCIAL LIFE

But what happened when studies were done or, as was and is more common, ignored for the moment. Here the student faced a formidable set of don'ts. He was forbidden to fence, play ball, play cards or dice, sing worldly songs or play the guitar. He could go out for a stroll with his companion, buy sweetmeats (if he had the money), or go bathe in the river provided he had a medical certificate. As a matter of fact, what he frequently did do was to fence, play ball, play at cards and dice, sing worldly songs accompanied by the guitar, and go out at night to serenade some of the local swingers in what was called the "street of the inksellers."

Occasionally, a group of strolling players came to Salamanca, causing almost as much concern to the faculty as a rise in the price of bread. Both events tended to overexcite the students. The presence of these godless mummers was regarded as a threat to student morals and a distraction from studies. The university sought to provide a constructive alternative by sponsoring various highbrow productions in Latin designed to help the student master the language and to better his classical culture. Alas, these productions were just not box-office, and students seemed to prefer the noneducational performance.

One pair of enterprising students, who somehow managed to get to a non-Latin performance, invited two ladies of the touring company to their college for chocolate and conversation. The vice-rector of the college got wind of the project and locked the main door in the nick of time. Persisting in the face of difficulties, the ingenious students tried to bring the girls in through a window. But the barred windows showed that Salamancan blacksmiths had been dealing with that sort of thing for centuries, and the whole project ended in frustration and the arrival of the watch.

The campus police chief and his sturdy men are not new on the academic scene. The recognition that with college students sweet reason occasionally needs to be supplemented with a more forcible argument was well diffused at Salamanca. The master of the schools, charged with watching over the academic jurisdiction, had a judge to sit on student cases and an *alguacil* who with his men, armed with lanterns, staves, swords and bucklers, pistols and occasionally muskets, nightly made the rounds of the town to apprehend the erring student.

But there was escape. The student Fort Lauderdale of Salamanca was the nearby town of Tejares, whither the students repaired in the spring to relax their tensions. The wealthier colleges maintained "summer homes" there, and the local town girls were apparently willing to assist in dancing the "burra," which seems to have been a sort of eighteenth-century twist. However, even Tejares had its spoilsports. The local *alcalde*, on one occasion, attempted to intervene and stop the dancing at midnight only to be pelted with wine jars and to have his staff of office broken.

Unfortunately for the students, the *alcalde* complained to the Bishop of Salamanca, an austere man who had inconvenient ideas about plain living and high thinking and who was at that moment engaged, by royal commission, in reforming the colleges. (Incidentally, this last task of Sisyphus had about the same success as the abolishing of fraternities or social units would or has.) Anyway, the Bishop was a powerful and determined man, and the erring students were confined to quarters pending the resolution of the Council of Castile. However, one student, who must be at least the spiritual ancestor of Mario Savio, broke confinement, persuaded one of the girls from Tejares to fly with him, and they eloped on mule-back toward the Portuguese frontier. It was one thing to defy a Bishop, but it was another to defy the Council of Castile. The hue and cry was raised, the couple captured at Zamora, the girl hustled off to a convent, and the student returned to the student jail at Salamanca, where the last glimpse the documents give us shows him languishing in irons awaiting his trial.

GRADUATE EXAMINATIONS

For the student who undertook graduate study, there was the long grind of disputations and the hazard of the final examination. At Salamanca, this dreaded rite occurred at night in the Chapel of Santa Barbara, commencing about eight o'clock and lasting until the eight junior doctors of the candidate's faculty and anyone else who cared to argue had been satisfied. However, about midnight, the examination adjourned for a supper at the candidate's expense. Intelligent candidates soon discovered that even full professors, who are also full of trout and turbot, eel, hake, and shellfish, turkey, peacock,

pigeon, roast lamb and beef, ham and sausages, with vegetables and salad on the side, four kinds of wine, coffee, chocolate, five desserts, and unspecified appetizers, are somewhat sleepy and perhaps not as persistent in examination as they might otherwise be. One, of course, ran the risk of the occasional case of indigestion which might somewhat acidify the questioning after supper.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

This examination passed, the candidate was ready to take his doctorate. It is at this point that I venture to draw my first clear case as to how we can learn from Salamanca. One occasionally becomes aware of a certain thinness in the ranks of our faculty at commencements. This was no problem at Salamanca where the degree-granting ceremony was attended assiduously. Why? In the first place, there was no speaker. Very sensibly the Spanish, even now, defer the inspirational talks to the fall when some mental activity has been restored to professors and students by a summer away from each other. Moreover, Salamanca graduations were with pomp—not our shamefaced, democratically bobtailed procession, but a splendidly full-blown, monarchical parade with bands and uniformed university retainers. The professors rode on horseback, accompanied by pages carrying their academic insignia and coats of arms. Moreover, the parade ended not at a speech but at a banquet for the faculty—at the graduates' expense. By university statute, no less than twelve courses, not counting appetizers or desserts, could be served. At the end of the banquet, the faculty received their graduation fees: boxes of sugar, jugs of wine, quantities of candy, and live chickens were apportioned according to rank and passed out. This was splendid but not the end, for the next day another procession took the candidates and the faculty to the Cathedral where in a magnificent ceremony the candidates received their degrees, each doctor getting his insignia of cap, cape, ring, gloves and book to the accompaniment of trumpet flourishes and the roll of the kettledrum. On this occasion, the faculty collected presents of gloves and a cash gratuity. In procession, again, all went to the town square where a bullfight with at least twelve bulls (at the candidates' expense) beguiled the afternoon. The faculty sat together and received refreshments and darts to throw at the bulls. The evening concluded

with fireworks. When the new doctor finished this ceremony (and finished paying for it) he knew that he had been graduated.

Such hi-jinks, however, were considered unsuitable for the graduation of the grave doctors of theology. In this faculty, the processions, gifts, and degree-granting ceremony were held, but instead of the bullfight the graduate was subjected to a thorough and sometimes cruel baiting, called a *gallo*, in which he was unmercifully ridiculed and satirized. Let one anecdote suffice to demonstrate. A certain candidate of poetic pretensions had published, in a moment of excess, a work in which he apostrophized the burro, noble because his race had borne the Savior, and ended by wishing that he, too, might be an ass if he could bear his Lord. How terribly exposed we are once we are in print! In the ceremony, his tormentor added a verse to the effect that his wishes had been immediately realized when his colleagues chose him to carry the consecrated Host in the next convent procession.

FACULTY PROBLEMS

But what of the worries of Salamanca professors? Some of them have a familiar air, indeed. At Salamanca they had, as some modern universities do, the student evaluation of professors. To get a job or to keep one, the aspiring Salamanca professor had to face an opposition. When a chair was open, the hopeful candidates were assigned by lot a text and given twenty-four hours to prepare and memorize a Latin lecture on it. The lecture, delivered before the students of the class, ended in a vote, and he who got the most votes got the chair. Junior professors had to "defend" their chairs every two to six years in the same fashion and frequently against their own students.

The system had its faults. The complaints about it show that some things have not changed much. There was the professor who was careful to pass all students. There were those who complained that their colleagues watered down the subject or gave extra lessons to make themselves more popular, and there were outcries about the barefaced fellow who simply treated his students at the wine shop. Of far greater moment was the allegation that the opposition placed a heavy premium on memory, oratorical powers, and tricks of showy erudition.

Students were then as they are now: too frequently impressed with the wrong thing. Profound knowledge was often a positive handicap. More sinister, still, was the frequent degeneration of the voting into a mere riot, as the student partisans of the teachers fought it out with false votes and daggers.

In the end, the system caused so much trouble that the crown abolished student voting and had the professorships filled by the vote of the royal council. This cooled off the Salamanca rioters but also froze out all the professors who lacked influence at court. The august Council of Castile was concerned with the wrong things, too, and was far too impressed by family connection, membership in the right college, or the patronage of some powerful churchman. In the eighteenth century, the crown tried to give merit greater play by having faculty committees sit as judges on the oppositions and forward their opinions to Madrid for final interpretation. But Salamanca professors were even more wary of being judged by their colleagues than by their students. The amount of maneuvering to see who got on whose committee and the attempts to influence the committee reached really horrifying proportions.

FACULTY INCENTIVES

One may well ask what incentives compelled men to stick with academic life in the face of these harassments. There were many, of course. One of the most compelling was the possibility of acquiring at long last a proprietary chair, and thus securing what we call tenure. After this, there were no oppositions and one held his chair for life. After twenty years of teaching, retirement at about two-thirds salary was possible. Perhaps the most attractive feature was a unique salary structure that gave to the Salamanca proprietary professor a salary superior in purchasing power to that enjoyed by most American academics today. In essence, the full professors at Salamanca divided among themselves one-half the university's net income. The balance went to the other professors, the staff, maintenance of buildings, and other expenses. Hence, it was worth hanging on. Moreover, once one had obtained a chair, the Council had the comfortable habit of promoting in seniority so that little special effort, beyond keeping one's nose clean, was needed to go up the ladder. It was getting on the escalator

in the first place that was a difficult proposition, especially for the unfortunate who were without influence. In the 1750's one pathetic oppositor appealed to the King that he had entered thirty-six successive oppositions and had never gotten higher than fifteenth place.

There was another compensation. Salamanca was a faculty-run institution. There was a student-elected rector, but since he held office for only a year he was usually blanketed out by the more experienced faculty who knew where the bodies were buried. There were, of course, detailed regulations and occasionally careful supervision by the Spanish crown. But in day-to-day matters, the assembly of professors and doctors ran the university. Indeed, a faculty with so many lawyers and theologians found it easy to use the extremely detailed statutes of the crown for its own purposes. While the ministers at Madrid puzzled their way through a hair-splitting casuist case in which royal statutes were pitted against each other, against the papal constitutions, finally balanced by an appeal to practice and custom, the university frequently went ahead and did as it pleased.

FACULTY MEMBERS

A faculty-run institution meant frequent and long meetings and many committees. In the course of reading sixty-eight volumes of the minutes of the Salamancan faculty, I gradually became acquainted with a good many Salamancan professors. Bit by bit something of their personalities, their quirks and desires began to emerge. Perhaps some quick sketches of eighteenth-century Spanish academics would be interesting to their twentieth-century American counterparts.

First, let me introduce the undoubted star of the faculty, Doctor Don Diego Torres Villarroel, professor of mathematics and astronomy, sometime dancer, quack doctor, bullfighter, and full-time astrologer. Torres kept his colleagues on the run for nearly thirty years. He led the potters of Salamanca in holding a mock graduation ceremony in which the "doctors" rode on asses clothed in gaudy rags; and he poked unmerciful fun, in print, especially at the medical faculty whom he cordially detested. He shared Brigham Young's views about "poison doctors." This faculty, in turn, had a good many words to say against astrological medicine. Torres published a highly suc-

cessful almanac full of astrological predictions, wise saws, and sometimes mordant satire. He was fortunate enough to predict correctly the death of the briefly reigning Luis I, and this made him as an astrologer. His literary gifts got him an entree at court, and he shrewdly used this connection to push for more mathematics and scientific teaching at Salamanca. He also shrewdly pushed himself and his nephews, who successively occupied his chair after Torres' retirement and later death. The "gran piscator de Salamanca," as he called himself, fought all his life to increase the influence of mathematics and science in a university dominated by law and theology. But I personally think that he did it mostly to annoy his stuffier colleagues, and he certainly succeeded.

Torres' arch enemy was a solemn theologian named Manuel Ribera. Precise, pious, and prudish, Ribera found the jokes and conceits of Torres completely out of place in the grave and learned group to which they both belonged. His triumph when he discovered that Torres had published a book on geography that confounded New Zealand with Novaya Zemlya can be detected at two centuries' remove. One can practically see his jowls quivering in delicious indignation when he denounced Torres for the "obscenity" of the uncovered breasts of the allegorical figures on the frontispiece of the geography.

Then there was the faculty member who attended every meeting and who religiously spoke on every conceivable subject on every possible occasion: student morals, financial problems, relations with the town, the library, buildings, and all alike were grist to his oratorical mill. This loquacious Spaniard bore the peculiar name of Juan Lince. After awhile it dawned on me that Juan was entitled to his blarney because his real name was John Lynch and he was an Irishman.

The academic activist and adviser to governments was not unknown in the eighteenth century. Patricio Cortes, or Patrick Curtis, became professor of astronomy and natural history in the 1790's. He was also rector of the Irish College for many years. Excitement and danger came into his academic life during the Napoleonic invasion. Curtis, in spite of his Irish antecedents, became the head of Wellington's intelligence apparatus in western Spain. Wellington found his information invaluable and said so many times. Unfortunately, the French detected him and he was arrested as a spy in 1811. Somehow

he escaped punishment and entertained Wellington under his own roof when the British arrived at Salamanca in 1812. Since the British were shortly forced to retire toward the Portuguese frontier, the next period of his life must have been anything but academic.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Another professor, whose life was not exactly calm, was Ramón Salas, professor of civil law and director of the "Academy of Practice" of the Salamancan law school. This academy was intended to function as a kind of moot court to give students practice in preparing and pleading cases. Salas turned it into sort of a free forum, and like other free forums of more recent memory, it started a lot of excitement. Salas encouraged his students to examine the morality of the legal system, especially the use of torture and cruel punishments. They even debated taxation and trade policy. As one scandalized colleague put it, he allowed "profane minds to penetrate even to the most hidden corner of the cabinet of the prince." As the threat of the French Revolution contracted the limits of academic freedom at Salamanca, Salas began to run into trouble. He was quietly promoted and his academy just as quietly converted to its original purpose, but Salas refused to be silenced. He read Rousseau and circulated anonymous manuscripts attacking government policy. These manuscripts, carried all over western and central Spain by Salamancan students, inevitably attracted the attention of the Inquisition. Moreover, five of Salas' colleagues (all theologians), following the accumulation of extrajudicial information, as they delicately put it, had denounced him to the inquisitors as a corrupter of youth. This decided the issue. In April, 1796, the order was given for Salas' arrest. What followed (unlike most professorial brushes with the Inquisition) has certain comic aspects. Don Ramón somehow got wind of the order for his arrest and immediately took horse, fleeing Salamanca in hot haste. Alas, Salas was no cavalier. A short, pudgy man, he suffered excruciatingly from the hemorrhoids and his flight ended in collapse in an inn in Madrid. Salas' escape, however, probably served a useful purpose. It enabled him to warn highly-placed friends at Madrid who probably covered themselves and helped him. The details of Salas' trial are obscure, but he was allowed to abjure

de levi and let off with a caution and a year of spiritual exercises in a Franciscan convent. The university kept him on the payroll through his trouble and on half-salary until 1808.

FACULTY ACHIEVEMENT

Far less dramatic but probably more effective in many ways were the lives of professors who quietly read, taught, and wrote, and who thus succeeded in profoundly influencing successive generations of students. One may take as an example Bernardo Zamora, professor of Greek. In the 1750's he began a lone and laborious attempt to upgrade Greek scholarship and interest in classical studies generally. He produced a Greek grammar, comparable to any contemporary text, which was used for decades in Spain. Perhaps more important, he acquired books in great numbers, freely acquainted his students with them, and in the course of twenty years introduced much of the new taste of the Enlightenment in classical studies, letters, arts and sciences to Salamanca.

There was Dr. Zunzunegui, professor of anatomy, who, blocked by local hospital officials from obtaining cadavers, turned to dogs, oxen, and, at considerable risk, obtained the bodies of exposed infants who were commonly left in the churches. Zunzunegui quietly introduced the latest techniques of dissection and made some considerable contribution. For two decades, he conducted forty anatomical dissections or demonstrations a year.

But, of course, the Salamancan faculty had, as every institution has, its time-servers, its obscurantists, its fossilized academics. There was Dr. Ocampo, arch foe of Salas, who denounced his colleague to the Inquisition for "false and temerarious opinions" and "speaking lightly of established powers and revealed truths." There was the Salamancan curriculum committee which found the chair of algebra "useless" with an insufficient number of students to justify its inclusion in the curriculum. However, modern academics might feel more sympathy for the backward faculty committee that tried to block the construction of an expensive medical and physics laboratory in order to use the money for higher faculty salaries.

There was another faculty committee that, investigating instruction at the university, complained that new-fangled ideas

had caused the decay of studies in Latin and scholastic logic and without these disciplines the students acquired a mental laxity that gradually led to an equal looseness of manners and morals. They maintained:

Students show a disorder of customs and a liberty of thought that is pitiful and foreshadows misfortune for church and state. They lack modesty of dress required by ancient custom. The wearing of pantaloons, headkerchiefs, long hair, and other equally ridiculous and extravagant fashions are usual even in the youngest. Students are impudent in the street and irreverent in church. It is known that they circulate books and papers which are impious, obscene, and difficult of acquisition.

FACULTY GOVERNMENT

What was the record of faculty government at Salamanca? It must be said that it was astonishingly inefficient at times and always slow. Since it was committee government, it had all the faults of indecisiveness, unnecessary compromise, and diffusion of effort that commonly afflict committees. Occasionally, the Salamancan faculty was paralyzed by powerful vested interests and became, in consequence, both corrupt and oppressive. But on balance, the scheme of faculty government had one supreme virtue. It fostered a spirit of corporate identity among the faculty that survived through the centuries. On the banks of the Tormes, students, rectors, and royal officials came and went. The faculty was always there. They developed a cohesion and a sense of identity that was immensely strong. True, that corporate spirit could be and all too frequently was oppressive as it forced conformity. But it could also foster innovation and creativity, and when this happened the university bloomed and grew.

However, faculty government was profoundly troubled by another problem that disrupted the university generally. As the influence of the Enlightenment increased and as new ideas and new methods came to the university, the partisans of Spanish tradition came to resist change with tenacity and mounting passion. For their part, the liberals, doctrinaire, younger, and impatient for power, could not conceal their eagerness to introduce new plans and ideas, or their delight in levering their seniors out of the places of power and influence. There came to exist, then, a polarization not only of ideas but of genera-

tions. The university suffered intense internal tension that spoiled its unity and distracted its attention from learning. The embattled conservatives resorted, as we have seen, to denunciations and the gathering of extrajudicial information on the lives and ideas of their colleagues. The liberals took up invective, secret pamphleteering, and meditated plans for the future. Both sides apparently sought to woo the students, and thus brought youthful passion into a situation that was already explosive.

Left to itself, I believe the university would have worked its way through its difficulties; and indeed, by 1807, the liberals had achieved a notable triumph. In the plan of studies presented in that year, the university was really converted from a stronghold of theology and law into an institution emphasizing science, medicine, and philosophy.

It was the great tragedy of the university that at this critical moment its internal affairs became tangled with the tragic and poignant crisis of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain. On November 9, 1807, 20,000 French troops entered Salamanca, ostensibly on their way to invade Portugal. By the next spring, Godoy had fallen, the students at Salamanca were taking up arms, and the university closed its classrooms.

Thus, the plan of 1807 was never fully tried, and the chance of further adaptation to the Enlightenment perished in the War of Independence. In the course of the war, the university lost its revenues, some of its buildings were destroyed, and its faculty were scattered or confronted with the crushing choice of following the banner of obscurantist patriotism or enlightened and progressive treason. The unity and continuity of the university, the precious corporate spirit of the faculty, were irretrievably shattered.

CONCLUSION

This was the fate of the University of Salamanca. But, unwisely for a historian, I have said that we may learn something from it. Historians frequently complain that most people do not really try to understand history; they merely quarry it, seeking a few stones to construct their own particular edifice according to a preconceived notion. I have done this myself, yet I hope with some propriety. In all modesty I offer up my conclusions:

(1) The heart of any university is its faculty. You may have an awfully big log and 20,000 Mark Hopkinses, but the catalyst is the guy who sits on the other end of the log.

(2) A faculty becomes great by thinking, writing, and teaching. The best way to stimulate these actions is not to interrupt them.

(3) The chance to think, write, and teach without interruption will, in the long run, attract good men, especially if they have security and good pay.

(4) Do not worry about building tradition. Just stay alive and tradition will come. When it does, the chances are that fifty percent of it will be harmful or dangerous, but there is no way of telling in advance the good from the bad.

(5) Professors and classes tend to become fossilized, like everything else. The real task of a curriculum committee should be not to keep down the number of new courses. Rather, it ought regularly to throw out the old ones.

(6) Students can distinguish the professor who is witty, well organized, and has a good presence. They can detect fakery and bombast in a few minutes. But they cannot, for the most part, discern originality and profound learning.

(7) A faculty member may choose to try to influence society at large, his colleagues, or his students. The latter course is the slowest, but probably the surest and most far-reaching. The problem is how to get them to pay attention to you.

This last, the most profound mystery of our craft, I cannot pretend to illuminate. The student of Salamanca or the student at any university goes his own way—he listeth where he willeth—takes what he wants, or what he can get, and leaves to lament, in his turn, the willful ways of youth. Such is the mystery of learning. Perhaps that is one of the things that make the whole business so fascinating.

Book Reviews

F. L. STEWART. *Exploding the Myth About Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*. New York: House of Stewart Publications, 1967. 75 pp. \$2.50.

Fawn M. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* has seen eight American and at least one British printing in the twenty-one years since publication. Its present reputation is fairly stated in the recent Library of Congress bibliography:

Mrs. Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith is a work of intensive scholarship, widely praised as the best history of the prophet and seer upon whose revelations the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints was founded. The author has searched out and scrutinized carefully the evidence on all sides of the strange story, and her picture of her subject is impartial and in the main sympathetic.¹

Despite such encomiums, most LDS historians feel less than enthusiastic about the craftsmanship of Mrs. Brodie. A book explaining in detail the grounds for such professional skepticism is overdue, to say the least. F. L. Stewart (Lori Donegan) has educated herself in the sources of Mormon history simply through making a hobby of carefully checking Brodie's documentation. Such a project is less a question of ideology than a fairly objective determination of whether the footnote citations of *No Man Knows My History* really support its thesis. Because this double-checking may be done on a broader scale, Stewart's work is a valuable pilot study of the validity of Brodie's generalizations.

The essence of *Exploding the Myth* is a presentation of sixty-three violations of context or documentation in *No Man Knows My History*. A final chapter is added that contains an imaginary dialogue between Stewart and Brodie concerning the supposed transcript of an 1826 trial of Joseph Smith popularized by *No Man Knows My History*. It is questionable whether the literary device of a hypothetical conversation contributes to the accurate presentation of historical issues. In regard to the sub-

¹*A Guide to the Study of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1960), p. 772. All further page citations in this review refer to Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

ject of this chapter, however, more evidential work needs to be done on what appears to be a fictitious transcript of a genuine trial. Although Stewart is skeptical of the reality of this early event, Oliver Cowdery's letter concerning the Susquehanna residence of Joseph Smith (*Messenger and Advocate*, Oct., 1835) seems plain on this point:

On the private character of our brother I need add nothing further, at present, previous to his obtaining the records of the Nephites, only that while in that county, some very officious person complained of him as a disorderly person, and brought him before the authorities of the county; but there being no cause of action he was honorably acquitted. From this time forward he continued to receive instructions . . . from the mouth of the heavenly messenger, until he was directed to visit again the place where the records was deposited.

Brodie disregards Cowdery's account and relies upon the supposed "court record" promulgated by Bishop Tuttle in 1883. Later additions have cited the reminiscence of "A.W.B.," published in 1831 in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, which Brodie maintains proves beyond doubt the authenticity of the Tuttle "transcript." Such a conclusion is too neatly reached, however, since Cowdery's account relates that Joseph was "honorably acquitted," a contradiction of both sources that Brodie relies upon. With numerous spectators then alive it is doubtful whether Cowdery would even have brought up the incident if it was not a vindication of the Prophet. Some detail on this issue is demanded here because Stewart attempts to equate this early trial with one mentioned by Lucy Smith in Wayne County in 1829. But this conclusion violates Cowdery's description both in location and chronology; the trial he mentions took place "previous to his obtaining the records of the Nephites." This much must be said in the interest of an accurate reading of the only Mormon source for the event. But it must also be recognized that Stewart's work moves beyond the pioneering efforts of Francis W. Kirkham on this issue. She stresses several important inconsistencies in the Tuttle "transcript," some of which are apparent anachronisms in details of local history. Such work is most valuable and deserves a fuller presentation, perhaps as a journal article.

To return to the alleged sixty-three inaccuracies, Stewart's corrections are generally valid. Simply counting a total is not

as important, however, as classifying them by pattern, which the reader must substantially do for himself. One trend shows an inconsistency in Brodie's historical theory. A simple illustration is the labeling of two different events as Joseph's "first major failure": the Kirtland conference of 1831 and Zion's Camp in 1834. Since Stewart points out other contradictions in analysis, the serious question is raised of how well Brodie assimilated and correlated her own research. Another major trend is adding exaggerated description or imaginary details to an incident. Although Stewart has presented but a portion of the episodes that are embellished in the retelling, those now collected disqualify Brodie as a careful historian and move her work in the direction of sensational historical fiction. A related trend in Brodie's methods is simply shoddy workmanship that inaccurately states basic dates and names, not to speak of incomplete and distorted quotations. But the trend that Stewart features by position as most serious has obvious parallels apart from Mormon historiography. It is said professionally of Gibbon on Rome's fall that his major failing is not so much an anti-Christian bias as an incapacity to understand religion at all. Stewart goes far toward showing that for the same reason Brodie might be incapable of describing, much less of evaluating, a major religionist.

The critical point of genuine religion (or respectable self-deception) for Brodie is Joseph Smith's success in inducing supernatural experiences among his followers from the 1829 vision of the Three Witnesses to the 1830 spirituality of the infant church. It was then that "he was rapidly acquiring the language and even the accent of sincere faith." (p. 80) Stewart grasps the central issue by highlighting Brodie's opinions of the religion of Joseph's family prior to that time. In what is perhaps her best chapter, Stewart analyzes the loaded terms and inadequate generalizations that are applied to the early Smith-Mack religious convictions. For instance, Brodie quotes Asael Smith to show that he is an unaffiliated Bible believer; consequently, she evaluates him as "basically irreligious." Such a *non sequitur* Stewart refutes by merely supplying the words deleted from Asael Smith's testament: he insists, upon the evidence of scripture and reason, "that religion is a necessary theme." In face, Stewart somewhat understates the issue, since the letter itself expresses a profound humility before the "great

Majesty" of God. Brodie portrays the Smith ancestors generally as caught in cultural and family disintegration. But such a picture is based on a dubious sociology of identifying Colonial dissent from orthodoxy as "irreligion," a concept extended environmentally to Joseph Smith, Sr. Actually the only historical portrait of the Prophet's father in this period is Lucy Smith's history, which reveals him plainly as a true pietist. Yet Brodie's linked inferences proceed to assert that Palmyra data "indicates that Joseph [Jr.] reflected the irreligion and cynicism of his father." (p. 16) It is questionable whether the biographer who so perceives the simple and devout Joseph Smith, Sr. has the requisite empathy to consider the possible sincerity of his son. This issue looms larger than many technical historical judgments, and Stewart deserves credit for underlining it.

Stewart focuses upon Brodie's youthful picture of Joseph for the obvious reason that the integrity of his religious claims rests on the reality of his pre-1830 experiences. Brodie's real evidence for this period amounts to the two above-discussed items (the "court-record" and environmental "irreligion") plus one: "the detailed affidavits of his neighbors would lead one to believe that the youth had been immune to religious influences of any sort," (pp. 23-4) However, Stewart's discussion of these affidavits does not specifically meet the Brodie thesis. The above quotation is part of Brodie's discussion of the First Vision, indicating that she thinks that at age fourteen Joseph Smith was basically irreligious. She then assumes that the court trial (supposedly March, 1826) furnished a crisis that turned him toward a more genuine appearance of religion. (p. 31) On the basis of the affidavits of neighbors and family tradition, Brodie admits, "it is clear that much of the story that he later wrote in his autobiography was known to his family and friends as early as 1827." (p. 40) Stewart spends much space showing that all sources agree that Joseph Smith claimed a religious motivation for his work. It is quite true, as Stewart maintains, that Brodie has deleted from the record many newspaper articles and portions of affidavits that substantiate Joseph Smith's religious claims. But technically the Brodie thesis asks for pre-1827 proof. Stewart's main contribution here is to show that the Hurlburt affidavits were not necessarily representative of Palmyra opinion, since she emphasized Lucy Smith's report, signed by sixty people, of a community testimonial of the business in-

tegrity of the Smiths. When the chronology of the Brodie thesis is firmed up, this first neighborhood statement in favor of the Smiths in 1826 has even more significance. Stewart quotes the opinion of the historian of New York revival, Whitney Cross: "Every circumstance seems to invalidate the obviously prejudiced testimonials of unsympathetic neighbors (collected by one hostile individual whose style of composition stereotypes the language of numerous witnesses). . . ." But with this observation the job is only half done. It has never been adequately stressed that Brodie has perhaps classically debunked the Hurlburt-Howe affidavits on the Spaulding story on the grounds of "uniformity" of style and content. (pp. 423-4) Then why should she enshrine as history the affidavits collected by the identical person on the issue of money digging, especially in the light of the fact that she declines to accept the negative character testimony of Hurlburt's major Palmyra affidavit? (p. 18)

A discussion of one historical incident in depth, as treated by Brodie and Stewart, will serve as an illustration of the performance of each. In December of 1842 Joseph Smith traveled from Nauvoo to Springfield to get firm legal and administrative support in resisting illegal arrest by Missouri deputies. Brodie's first mistake is her vivid description of a "retinue of forty of his best soldiers armed to the hilt with bright muskets and brighter bayonets." Stewart is completely justified in calling the account "over-dramatized," since on this point Joseph Smith's narrative names only nine that set out from Nauvoo and mentions no arms at all, the display of which would have been highly injudicious. Brodie's next blunder is transferring an earlier incident to this journey. In describing this Springfield trip in his (DHC., Vol. 5, p. 211), Smith records his resentment at Missouri wrongs and recalls that in virtual self-defense he had once threatened to use force on a night so cold that lives were imperiled. He begins the reminiscence by stating that it occurred in "Paris," at the time "when I was going up to Missouri, in company with Elder Rigdon and our families." Because Brodie describes this event as happening on the trip from Springfield to Nauvoo, Stewart is quite correct in calling Brodie to task for "misunderstanding" the reminiscence of 1838 and narrating it "erroneously" as an 1842 incident. The third error is one of location. Paris, Illinois, is in the east of the state, some 10 miles from the Indiana border. Because it is not an

intermediate point between Nauvoo and Springfield, Brodie clearly failed to check basic geography. Stewart's exact criticism here is, "the Paris in question is in Missouri, not in Illinois." In turn this is merely Stewart's assumption, for Joseph Smith in his 1838 flight from Kirtland took a route not only near Paris, Missouri, but also through Paris, Illinois. In fact, Joseph Smith's account of that journey shows that he and Sidney Rigdon were together in Paris, Illinois, but shortly thereafter separated, so they probably were not together in the vicinity of Paris, Missouri, as this incident requires. In summary, though incorrect in technical geography, Stewart's criticisms are quite correct on the main issue of accuracy with literary sources. If Brodie distorts simple narrative and cannot read a flashback of Joseph Smith in context, no careful historian can afford to rely upon her judgment without first examining the documentation for himself.

Some will no doubt dismiss Stewart's close analysis as trivial. But if many points are minute, they are not unimportant. History, to the extent that it is scientific, is an inductive study based on evidence. If particulars are misconceived, the interpretation based on them cannot be accurate. Upon the publication of Brodie's biography, Hugh Nibley summarized its chief methodological errors, in spite of his flippant manner. Professionally trained LDS General Authorities expressed similar objective criticisms. It is really unbelievable that a score of years have passed before a serious point-by-point study of Brodie's documentation has been attempted. That F. L. Stewart has recognized the need and published is of itself a major contribution. It is hoped that further analysis of *No Man Knows My History* will follow. One must conclude on the basis of the first results from Stewart that Brodie is grossly overrated as a historian of Joseph Smith on purely historical grounds.

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RICHARD L. BUSHMAN. *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. 343 pp. \$8.95.

Too frequently authors and teachers consider the history of early America by discussing the original settlements of the thirteen colonies and then turn abruptly to the end of the colonial era to consider the prelude to the Revolution. The period from 1690 to 1765 is undoubtedly the most neglected era of American history. This neglect is especially evident when historians refer to these years as the waiting period before the Revolution.

While some historians overlook this period as one of important developments, Dr. Richard L. Bushman of the History Department of Brigham Young University has advanced the thesis that between the Glorious Revolution and the conclusion of the French and Indian War Connecticut society was transformed significantly. "By the eve of the Revolution," Professor Bushman writes, "Connecticut was moving toward a new social order, toward the republican pluralism of the nineteenth century. With the death of old institutions had come the birth of a new freedom." (p. ix) Law and authority, he averred, embodied in government institutions transformed first because of economic ambitions and later as a consequence of the Great Awakening.

By considering factors advancing toleration in Connecticut, Bushman investigated one of the more significant developments of the colonial period. In all of the American mainland colonies planted before 1633, political leaders established religious solidarity as a paramount political objective, refusing dissenters for decades the right to organize and conduct public services. This policy of maintaining religious uniformity was transplanted from Massachusetts to Connecticut by orthodox Puritan immigrants, and for over a half a century in these two Puritan colonies political leaders succeeded in preventing the emergence of nonconformist societies. After 1690 a few non-Congregational societies (primarily Anglican) secured the right to organize in Connecticut, but (with the exception of the growth of the Church of England) the first significant increase in dissident groups did not occur in that area until after the Great Awakening.

Immediately prior to the revival of the early 1740's, everyone in Connecticut, with the exception of those exempted for supporting the Anglican, Baptist, or Quaker faith, was required by law to attend a Congregational society and contribute to the minister's salary. During the revival, the Connecticut assembly forbade itinerants to preach unless they secured permission from a resident minister. Although this law limited the rights of dissenters, Dr. Bushman emphasized that the Great Awakening advanced toleration and altered the social order in Connecticut by contributing to the numerical increase of Baptists, Anglicans, and Separates (an offshoot of the Congregational society). Because of the growth of dissent, the privileges enjoyed by members of the established church were seriously challenged and the problems of enforcing old ecclesiastical laws multiplied. A new sense of injustice was popularized effectively by converts saturated with religious zeal.

Another subject considered in this well-written book was the plausible causes of the Great Awakening. While discussing this controversial subject, Bushman speculated that peculiarities of the Puritan personality partly accounted for the tensions which lead to conversion. Plagued by an increasing desire for material wealth, many settlers were highly susceptible to the preaching of enthusiastic revivalists who "excoriated the spreading worldliness." (p. 189)

Another consequence of the awakening, according to Dr. Bushman, was the transformation of politics, for new disputes emerged during this religious upheaval which precipitated political divisions. New Lights, friends of the awakening, denounced the legislation forbidding itinerant preaching. Leaders of this political faction proclaimed that forbidding such preaching was in reality fighting against God. Meanwhile, Old Lights removed their political opponents from office, insisting that their critics were opposed to order and government and supported the development of a lawless society. Five years after the flames of the revival had subsided, however, the New Lights emerged as a powerful faction, and for many decades thereafter the struggle between the friends and enemies of the awakening continued. Since before the awakening "no one of importance had dared assert that the civil authorities had actually overstepped their bounds," Bushman concluded that the religious upheaval prepared Americans for a political revolt by

igniting a new form of conflict. (p. 265-66) On the eve of the Revolution, he asserted, the New Light party that was accustomed to contending against Old Lights quite naturally openly reacted against "British tyranny." (p. 266)

From Puritan to Yankee is a work based on exhaustive research into innumerable sources and contains many thought-provoking interpretations. Moreover, it is rich in details that are often overlooked by writers of early American history, for Dr. Bushman not only discusses the political and social changes which occurred in Connecticut during the first half of the eighteenth century but also considers economic developments, land policies, and local government in colonial Connecticut.

Recognizing Dr. Bushman's contribution, Oscar Handlin referred to this publication as "one of the most important works of American history in recent years."

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CLINTON F. LARSON, *The Lord of Experience*. Provo, Utah. Brigham Young University Press, 1967. 129 pp. \$4.95.

This review has given me trouble. I've started it four times and I've torn up my manuscript each time. The problem is not that I find it difficult to say something complimentary about Clinton F. Larson's *The Lord of Experience* and that I am afraid of offending a friend and fellow poet; the very opposite is the case. I can find next to no fault with the book. Such a position on the part of a reviewer is not, to say the least *à la mode* these days; but I see no virtue in adhering to a critic's pose for the sake of the stance alone. Therefore, I stick my neck out and declare flatly that I find this volume the most significant collection of poems ever to have come out of Mormonism. Let me explain that term *significant*: I do not infer that Dr. Larson has in any way added to the body of Church doctrine as Eliza R. Snow did in "O My Father." Neither do I have any hope that his lyrics will eventually become the texts for a body of beloved hymns as did the verses of, say, W. W. Phelps. I do not even hold it plausible that these poems will be widely quoted from the pulpit by future generations of sacrament service speakers; they are too difficult and compressed for that. What I do mean by *significant* is that they are poetry. For the first time we as Latter-day Saints can point to a volume of verse and say to the literary world, "We too have a real poet, an artist of skill, knowledge, power, and depth." For the first time we can say of a collection of Mormon poems that matter and manner have come together. These pieces are neither pretentiously stiff exercises in metrics nor simple versified sermons. Too much earlier LDS poetry has been simply one or the other. In other words, we can finally say that we have in Mormon letters a book of verse in which craft and message merge to produce that evanescent mystery called art.

Remember that I said that I can find *next to no fault* with the book. That is not to say that I find none. I find, as a matter of fact, two: the first is a shortcoming on the part of the author, the second on the part of the average reader. It must be admitted that Dr. Larson is sometimes guilty of overreaching in his poetic diction. He too often employs the strained, the obviously intellectual word when a simple word would work as well, often even better. Let me cite a single

instance to make my point: in "The Dauphin and the Crows" we read, "They cast their meadow flowers to the sky,/And circle round, and trip as if to fly!/While some proliferate epyllia,/Spry Aeschylus exudes idyllia./The Saturnalia!" Indeed! That is too much verbal cuteness to be either effective or sincere.

But if such strained esoterica as this and the poet's exaggerated fondness for Latin sometimes get in the way of the poetic experience, they do not come often enough or overwhelmingly enough to obscure or even seriously hinder the total effect of the individual poems. For the most part the poems are lucid. I do not mean to say easy. Recall that I have placed blame on this point not on the head of Dr. Larson but on the head of the average reader. The history of poetry is crowded with examples of difficult poetry that remains excellent poetry. Elliot, Hopkins, Browning, Shelley, Blake, for example, must all be held blamable if Dr. Larson is to be held blamable. I say simply that there is nothing wrong in a poet's demanding intellectual probing from his reader so long as he gives in the work itself all of the clues and evidence the reader needs for the interpretation. Because Dr. Larson does, I say his poems are lucid. If he demands that his reader think rather than simply feel, so many more plus points for the poems, I say.

Beyond the attraction of intellectual depth, I find much else to praise in the volume. If some have complained that the author's plays lack a driving dramatic force, they cannot make that accusation about his poetry. One need read only "Homestead in Idaho" to test the veracity of this claim. It moves, it involves, it strikes home. Of even such radically different poems as, say, "Advent," exactly the same may be said. Many pieces in the volume have real dramatic impact. Try reading (or singing) "Before the Casket" to the tune of "There Is an Hour of Peace and Rest." There you have a poem with punch (with or without the melody)!

Even the comic poems come off well. "Well-Laced Tea" is gruesomely delightful, and "The Old Maid" has a sardonic effervescence about it which delights everyone to whom I have ever read the poem.

But from my point of view, Dr. Larson's lyrics are the greatest strength of the collection. One could spend much time and space examining and praising the skill and beauty

displayed in "The Song of Light," "Seagull at Dawn," "The Imagined Daughter," and on and on, but I think it most appropriate to end this review by quoting one single short poem—to me the best of a collection of superior poems—and let the work speak for itself in the hope that it may impell the reader to live with the entire volume for a while.

TO A DYING GIRL

How quickly must she go?
 She calls dark swans from mirrors everywhere:
 From halls and porticos, from pools of air.
 How quickly must she know?
 They wander through the fathoms of her eye,
 Waning southerly until their cry
 Is gone where she must go.
 How quickly does the cloudfire streak the sky,
 Tremble on the peaks, then cool and die?
 She moves like evening into night,
 Forgetful as the swans forget their flight
 Or spring the fragile snow,
 So quickly she must go.

John B. Harris
 Brigham Young University

REPLY TO ARTICLES POLICY

BYU Studies invites responsible persons with views differing from those expressed in any article published in its pages to submit a scholarly study expounding their views. This study will then be considered for publication by the Editorial Board.

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PLANNED FOR SPRING 1968

- Worlds Without Number: The Astronomy of Enoch, Abraham, and Moses, by R. Grant Athay.
- Reuben Miller, Recoder of Oliver Cowdery's Reaffirmations, by Richard L. Anderson
- Dickens and the Mormons, by Richard J. Dunn
- Symbols and Salvation, by Chauncey C. Riddle
- Death the Cradle of Life, by Lucile C. Tate
- Government in America—Master or Servant? by John T. Bernhard
- Liverpool, 1856: Nathaniel Hawthorne Meets Orson Pratt, by Richard H. Cracroft
- Mormon Bibliography 1966-1967, by Chad J. Flake

