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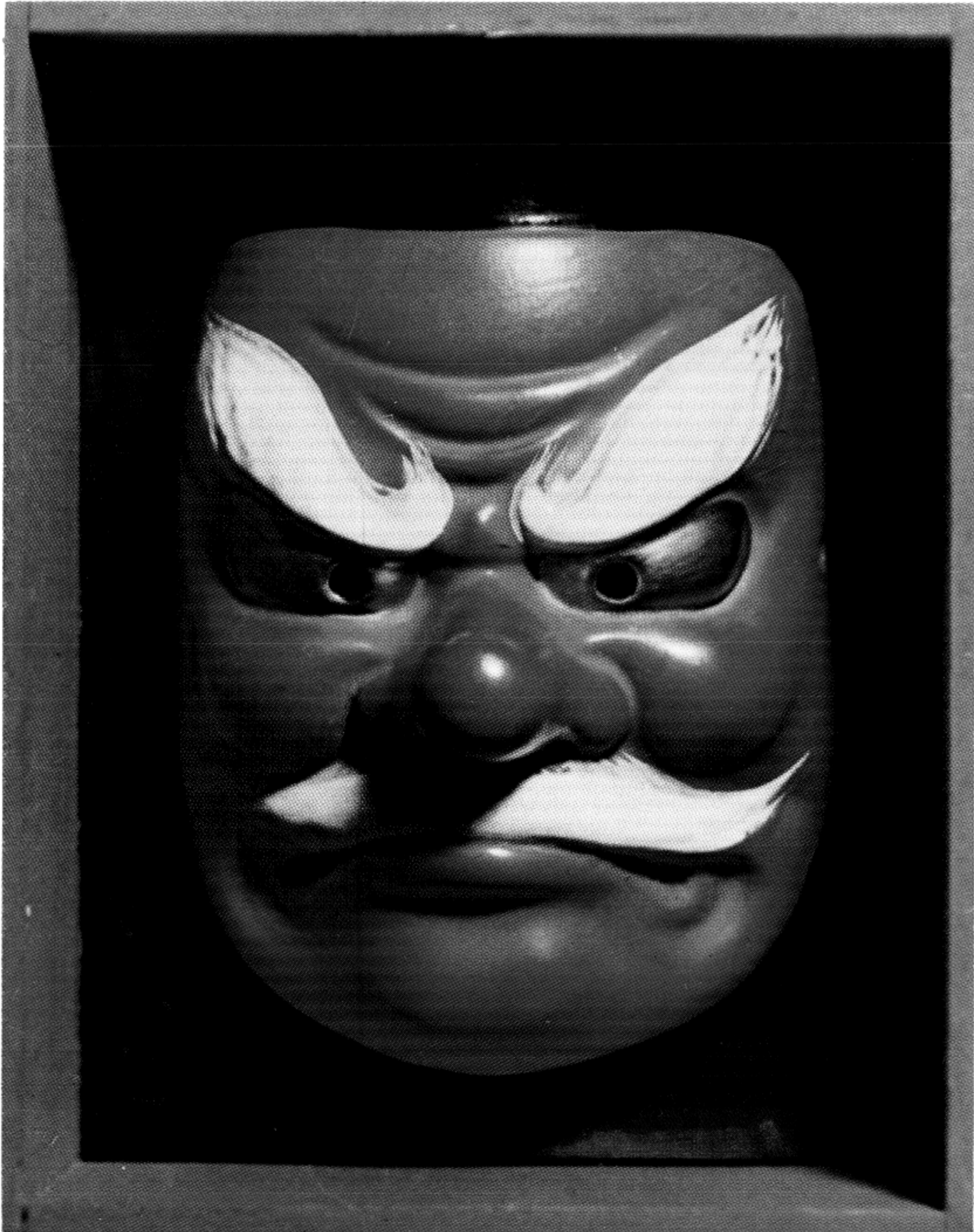
Studies, BYU (1970) "Full Issue," *BYU Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 10 : Iss. 2 , Article 16.

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BYU Studies

A VOICE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LDS SCHOLARS



WINTER 1970 BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Cover: A photograph of the legendary mask of Christ referred to in
 "Did Christ Visit Japan?"

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Studies

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VOLUME X

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Brigham Young University Studies is published quarterly by Brigham Young University. Send manuscripts to Editor, *Brigham Young University Studies*, A-283 JKB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84601. Enclose self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Subscription is \$5.00 for four numbers; \$9.00 for eight numbers; and \$12.00 for twelve numbers. Single copies are \$2.00 each. The rate to bona fide students is \$4.00 for four issues. All subscriptions begin with the Autumn issue and run through an entire volume year. Subscriptions received after one or two issues of that volume have been published will include those issues and they will be mailed with the receipt for the subscription. Subsequent issues for that volume will be mailed upon publication. Send subscriptions to Publication Sales Department, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84601.

Did Christ Visit Japan?

SPENCER J. PALMER*

The strangest and most incredible tale ever to come out of East Asia is that Jesus once lived in Japan. The story deserves critical consideration.

In the year 1937, during a time of intense nationalism in Japan, a rather bizarre book appeared on the stands of the Japanese book stores. Its author was a Japanese woman, Yamane Kikuko, a Christian who selected for her book the pretentious title *Light Comes from the East*,¹ an obvious reference to Rabindranath Tagore's celebrated expression.

In this book, Mrs. Yamane claimed that a testament "inspired" by Jesus of Nazareth had been found among a set of family documents in the possession of Mr. O-Maru Takenouchi or Isohara, Ibaraki Prefecture (see Figure 1). He claimed to be the sixty-sixth descendant of Takenouchi no Sukune, a nobleman who had been active in the court of the twelfth emperor, Keiko, and of Takenouchi Shikibu, the eighteenth-century Confucian student who had sought to deify the Mikado's personage at a time when the emperors were being eclipsed by the power of the military governors.² Thus materials referred to as "the Isohara Papers" have appeared in Japanese under the

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¹*Hikari wa Toho Yori (Light Comes from the East)* Tokyo, 1937, reprinted in 1957. This latter edition contains a generous number of snapshots, including a picture of Mr. Takenouchi of Isohara in regalia suggesting a Shinto priest.

²Takenouchi no Sukane conquered the "Eastern Lands of the Yenishi" on behalf of the Emperor Keiko. Reportedly, he was the first Prime Minister in Japan's recorded history. Takenouchi no Shikibu is described as a pupil of Yamazaki Ansai and as an extremist agitator for the restoration of the Emperor's divine status. Died 1771. These data according to Brinkley, *A History of Japan* (London, 1914), p. 85.



Figure 1. The first Latter-day Saints to draw attention to the story of Christ in Japan, pictured here surrounding O-Maru Takenouchi and wife of Isohara in July 1959, are LaDon Van Noy, Masao Watabe, and cameraman Darrell Longsine.

title *Secret History of the Age of the Gods*,³ and although precise data on their origin and authenticity seems never forthcoming, it is generally claimed that certain hieroglyphic inscriptions called *Jindai Moji* (Figure 2 is an example) are the

³*Shindai hisshi* (Secret History of the Age of the Gods), Tokyo, Kokkyo Senmedian, 1935. The first volume, "A Survey of Ancient Times," contains an alleged genealogy of the Imperial Household, according to which the Emperor Jimmu is the ninety-eighth Emperor, not the first (making the present Japanese emperor twenty-second.) The frontpiece of this volume quotes the following scripture from Jeremiah; "Thus saith the Lord, the maker thereof, the Lord has formed it, to establish it, the Lord is his name: Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and show the great and mighty things which thou knoweth not." Chapter 1 contains a very brief reference to Jesus Christ and his arrival at Hachinohe. Also, on page 45, is a presumed prophecy given by Christ in Japan when he was 37 years of age.



Figure 2. One of numerous stones and "relics" containing inscriptions of the so-called *Jindai Moji* type.

most important, since Christ himself presumably helped prepare these when he lived in Japan. The Takenouchi family maintains that this secret history provides a true account of the Japanese people going back to an Age of the Gods, antedating the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the earliest known chronicles of Japan. At the time of Bureutsu, the twenty-fifth emperor, who was enthroned in 505 A.D., Buddhism had become so prosperous that the sacred history was in danger of being neglected and destroyed. Thus Sukune Takenouchi, a general and scholar, took this history, which at that time apparently was inscribed only on stones, and turned it over to his grandson Heiguri no Matori, who thereafter took it to Toyama Prefecture. It has remained with the Isohara family ever since.

It is claimed that the now deceased Japanese artist, Banzan Toyo of Aomori, successfully deciphered some of the hieroglyphic writings and thereby ascertained that two grave mounds, each approximately fifteen feet in diameter and located on top of a remote hillock near a small Japanese village in northern Honshu, contain the remains of Christ and a lock of hair said to have belonged to his brother. These two grave mounds are located at Herai village (renamed Shingo village in 1955) in Aomori Prefecture, four hundred miles north of Tokyo on the Tokyo-Aomori railroad. The villagers of Herai call one of these graves Toraizuka and the other Judaibaka or Judaibo. It is in the former that the body of Christ is said to have been interred (see Figure 3).

A published statement of Christ's arrival in Japan, of his training and teaching, his marriage and offspring, and of his Japanese ministry, are given as follows by the Herai village fathers:

Christ was born in Judea and lived in Egypt with his parents. But later he returned to the small village of Nazareth and was raised there. However, when he was 21 years old he disappeared. Nevertheless in his 33rd year he suddenly reappeared and preached about Heaven and the existence of God. Needless to say, nothing is mentioned in the Bible for that lost 11 years. However, in the discovered death statement of Christ, the information pertaining to that period is given.

He came to Japan for the first time in the period of the Emperor Suinin, the 11th emperor, and landed at the Port of Hashidate, on the Japan Sea Coast, and then went to Ecchu (now Toyama Prefecture), and became a disciple of honorable and learned Japanese and received various training.

After 11 years, in his 33rd year, he left Japan and landed at Monaco, thence returned to Judea. The returned Christ preached the sacredness of Japan, God's country, to John the Baptist and others.

His teachings were not accepted by the Elders of Israel and also he encountered the opposition of the Pharisees. Finally he was arrested by Roman soldiers and was sentenced to be crucified. However, according to the statement, the one who was crucified was his brother. It was he who uttered that ungodlike expression: "Oh, God, why has thou forsaken me?" The escaped Christ disappeared.

After much tribulation, on February 26th, four years after his reported crucifixion, Christ boarded a vessel on the

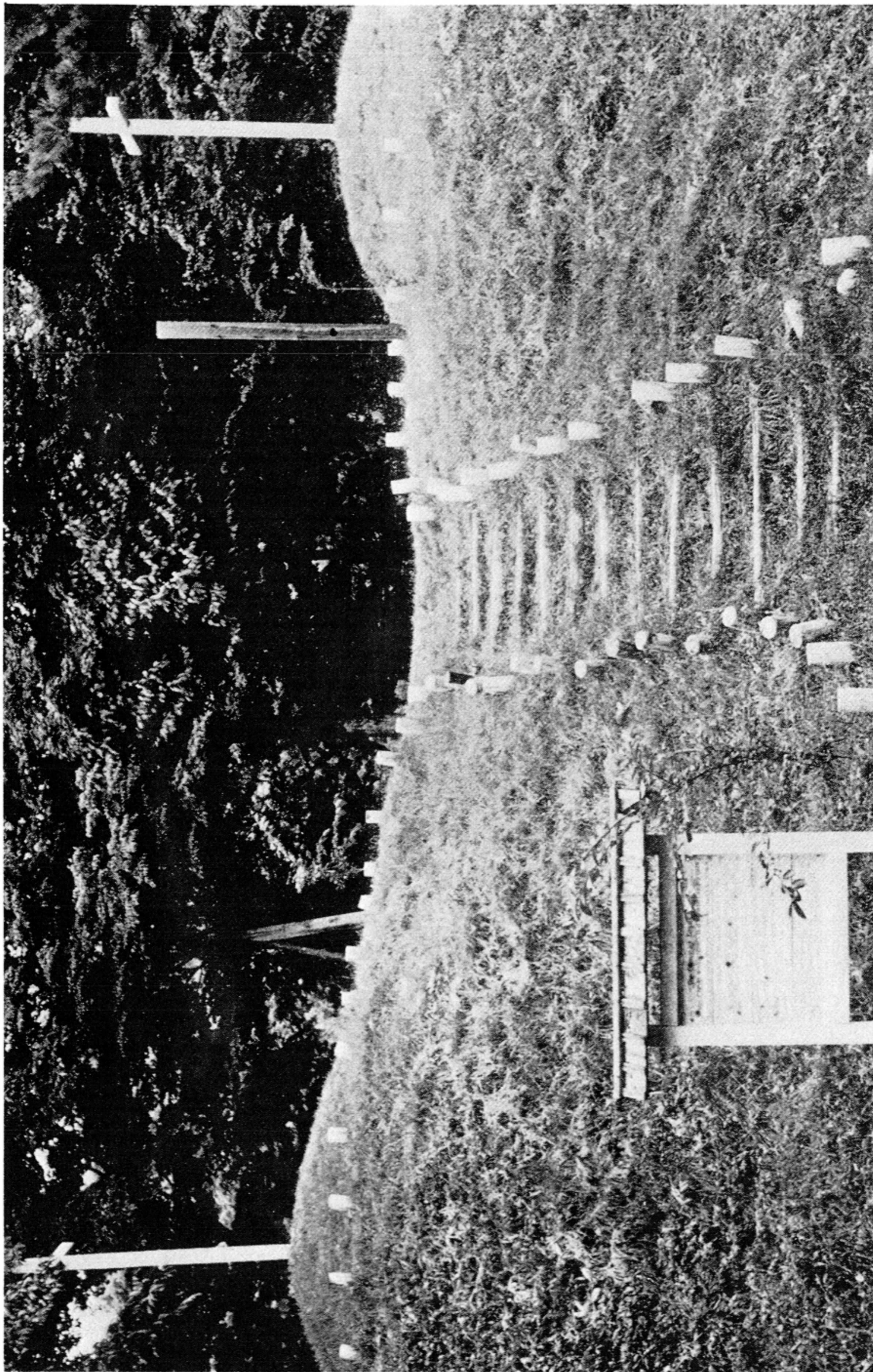


Figure 3. A recent photograph of the grave mounds the legend claims contain the remains of Christ.

Pacific coast of North America and travelled by water, eventually arriving at the present Hachinohe harbor.⁴

Not far from Hachinohe City, Yamane discovered a small Shinto shrine called Kaikura Jinja, where, she claims, the wooden boat in which Christ arrived in Japan had been enshrined until recently. There a wooden Shinto prayer tablet was reportedly uncovered, bearing the inscription: "The village master prays through Ishikiri [Christ] that God will grant prosperity to the village." Using this as a premise, Yamane postulates that Christ himself must have stopped there at one time, particularly so, since the local villagers are said to call this place "Ishikiri Tomaru" or "Christ Has Stayed Here."

I have not personally visited this shrine, and I have been unable to find anyone who has seen the boat that reportedly was once kept there. But Mr. Conrad Roger, who has done serious research on this aspect of the Herai legend, has provided these first-hand observations:

The Kaikura Jinja is a small shrine, rather oldish in appearance erected on a piece of flat, marshy land not far from a river. The site, Shiriuchi, if translated into English means river estuary. If the structure still standing today is the original shrine, then the boat which it is said to have housed at one time must have been very small indeed. Without having dated it professionally, I would estimate that the building is not very old, perhaps going back a century or two at the most. But I do not know what foundation lies underneath the present building. I would translate the kanji for "Kai-kura" as meaning "shell storage," or something along those lines. So, presumably at one time this must have been the site where shells, clams, and the like were gathered, stored, or traded. It may have been a boat-house or enclosure of sorts. I have met no one who has either personally seen this boat, or heard of any reputable person having seen it. This does, of course, not necessarily mean that a boat did not exist at one time. Someone may have arrived in it, thereby giving substance to what today has become the Herai legend. It would be interesting to locate this boat or whatever may be left of it and to date it.⁵

⁴See "The Christ that Arrived at Mito," in *Shingo*, 1967, p. 49.

⁵From a letter dated June 17, 1969. I should say here that I have relied very heavily on the work of Conrad Roger in this paper, particularly in the development of the thesis that the Herai legend might be explained in terms of sixteenth century Christian influence. Also, I am very much indebted to brothers Kan Watanabe and Masao Watabe who accompanied me in travels through Japan in February of 1969 in search of answers to the Herai story.

According to the Herai story, when Christ revisited Japan he adopted an indigenous name, that of Torai Taro Tengu or Hachinohe Taro Tengu, which translated means "the long-nosed Taro of Torai (Hachinohe)." This appears to be a popular name such as might have been given to a foreigner by simple country folk. Taro is a very common Japanese first name and is often used to designate a first-born male child. In Japanese folklore, Tengu were fabulous beings with extremely big noses and with miraculous properties attributed to them.⁶ Believers in the Herai legend are quick to point out that since Christ reportedly travelled and preached from place to place in Japan, folklore associated with the red-faced, long-nosed Tengu (see the Tengu folk mask on the cover of this journal) is another affirmation of his visit.

Following the myth further, Jesus married Miyuko, a Japanese lady, raised three daughters, and lived in Herai to the age of 118, when he died in the eleventh year of the reign of Keiko. His first daughter married Mr. Sawaguchi of Herai; the second daughter, Mr. Kaimori of Togocho; and the third, Mr. Noguchi of Nishogoshi.

According to Yamane, the descendants of this Christ were known by the villagers throughout the centuries as the Miko no Ato (Descendants of the August Ones), and also as having carried this honorific title as their clan name until the beginning of the twentieth century when the present surviving descendant's name was registered by his father as Sawaguchi Sanjiro. To give substance to this story, Yamane emphasizes what she calls decidedly non-Japanese features in the face of farmer Sawaguchi (see figure 4). She describes this man and

⁶There is a prodigious literature in Japanese, by individual scholars, in prefectural and *gun* collections, and in the bulletins of the folklore society of Japan on Tengu, and particularly about the Yama-no-kami and the Yamabushi, the sprites of the mountains. The only study in English with which I am familiar is M. W. de Visser, "The Tengu," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXXVI (Yokohama, 1908), Part II, pp. 25-99. This excellent article surveys Japanese attitudes toward Tengu from the eighth century to the present. It would appear that during most of this period, Japanese have regarded them as fearsome spirits of the mountain and the forest, full of tricks, and apt to resort to incendiary action. They were as elusive as foxes, but they were very powerful—even the great military lords feared them. They were inveterate enemies of Buddhism, always haughty towards priests in order to discredit the Buddha's law. In the nineteenth century the Tengu became gods of the forest to whom offerings were made. If woodcutters neglected to pay them homage they often met with all kinds of accidents, even calamities. On the other hand, these elusive Tengu gave success to hunters who gave them food and fish. Except obliquely I see no connection between Tengu folklore and Jesus Christ, nor even the properties of the Herai legend.



Figure 4. A 1952 photograph of Sawaguchi Sanjiro, who claims to be a direct descendant of Christ.

his fellow villagers as steadfastly maintaining the veracity of the Herai tradition, as illustrated through a number of ritualistic customs and observations which the villagers claim to have maintained for generations.

The first is the practice of the Sawaguchi people, the so-called descendants of Christ, to place the emblem of Judea, the six-pointed star of David over their doorways and the practice of sewing it on the back collar (of the *chanjanko*) of their children's coats. Another is the placing of red crosses on the foreheads of newborn infants. Although this latter custom has apparently completely disappeared in the area today, a very elderly native named Sasaki Kozo told me on February 24, 1969: "When I was a young boy, boys used to put a cross on their foreheads. I remember seeing young people with this mark on their foreheads. It was a custom that when a baby boy was one year old they put the cross on the forehead the first time they took them out of the house."

The extent to which the "Christ in Japan" group has gone to substantiate its claims is suggested in the announcement of the late Eiji Kawamorita, a theologian of Seattle, Washington, that the *bon* song (of the annual lantern festival) used in Herai is not Japanese, but rather Hebrew. He claims that the chant used by the local people, goes as follows: "Haniyado-yaroyo . . . Naniyadonaa . . . Saaredaadesai . . . Naniyado-yaroyo," and that translated this really means: "Hallowed be Thy Name."⁷

Following the publication of Yamane's book, Japanese and English language newspapers and periodicals in Japan picked up this story and gave it sporadic play. One such article, prepared by an *Asahi* staff-writer, Richard Iwatate, appeared in illustrated form under the title of "Did Jesus Christ Die in Japan?" in the October 1939 issue of the *Orient*. In this article, Iwatate describes the Herai villagers as "fervently" insisting that their legend was founded on truthful facts and that the two graves contained the remains of Christ and the ashes of his mother, Mary. Iwatate further states that, steadfast in their faith, the villagers had invited numerous archaeologists, historians, and philologists to search for scientific evidence and to conduct a thorough investigation of Herai. However, little has been heard since then concerning

⁷*Shingo*, p. 50.

tangible scientific investigations or discoveries having been made at the controversial site. But the story has not died out in course of time; instead, it slumbered in the suppressed and skeptical interest of those who had heard of it.

On December 24, 1952, the *Nippon Times* revived the story in a lengthy article supported by illustrations and prepared by its senior English-language reporter, Kiyooki Murata. Mr. Murata appears to have personally made a visit to Herai after his interest had been aroused by the endeavors of a Seventh Day Adventist, a Mr. Shikiss of Tokyo, who had sought to inaugurate a decisive study of the Herai legend in an effort to uncover the source of the myth. But the sensitive nature of such an investigation (particularly when conducted by a Christian missionary), the unwelcomed publicity attached to it, and the crude and tactless manner in which the *Nippon Times* wrote its story and published it on Christmas Eve, induced Shikiss to abandon his former interest in this legend. Murata's story corresponds in substance with the thesis propounded by Yamane and to the coverage given to it by Iwatate in 1939. However, on one major issue Murata seems to differ from his predecessors. After observing that the Sawaguchis live together as one household unit comprising three generations, which include two branch families and the immediate nuclear family headed by Sanjiro as the household head, Murata points out that this farmer regards himself as a Buddhist in spite of the difference existing between his mode of worship and that of the average Buddhist sects. Moreover, Murata quotes Sanjiro as saying that prior to the interferences of the Yamane group, he had not known of the "Christ in Herai" story, although many of the expressions of his faith are more akin to those propounded in the Bible than elsewhere. This farmer also concedes that the two graves had for a long time been associated with his family and that he and his ancestors had obeyed instructions handed down through the generations to "take good care of the tombs because they were the graves of important people."

My first newspaper acquaintance with the Herai legend came through an article which appeared in the *Fremont Times* of California on July 7, 1965. The headline reads "Japan Mystery Graves—Lost Line with Religion? Old Papers List Strange Clues, Puzzle Experts." Though garbled and inaccurate in

places, the report raises a number of provocative questions. The writer, Erle Howery, doubts that the story is a complete hoax. No one has yet capitalized on it, and the story has been circulated despite government opposition. As a legend, it has several interesting aspects: Recent so-called discoveries pertinent to Christian history tell us that Peter became enraged when Judas betrayed Christ, and smote him with his sword. In his anger, Peter almost missed, but cut off Iscariot's ear and a lock of hair. This idea has survived in the Herai story that a lock of Christ's hair has been preserved in one of the graves.⁸ The writer further argues that it is not impossible that Christ could have actually visited Japan in his youth. Partial translations of Dead Sea scrolls indicate he may have spent a number of his younger, unchronicled years in an unspecified Asiatic country.⁹ Father Gerhard Huber, a Franciscan linguist, author and missionary to Japan for thirty years, thinks the answers may be linked up with the Ainu—the mysterious white people who occupied Japan before their race was decimated by invading ancestors of the present-day Japanese. But as Howery concludes, it is significant that not a single present-day occupant of Herai professes to be a Christian.

EVALUATION OF THE HERAI LEGEND

Contemporary students of Japanese affairs react differently to this story, but the majority deny the authenticity of any of the proofs introduced by the Yamane circle. Some scholars categorically refuse to discuss it. Of course no true Christian can believe that Christ was buried in Japan. This is out of the question. But regarding the claim that Jesus made an appearance in Japan some time after his ministry ended in Judea, I would like to suggest three possible interpretations or lines of approach.

⁸Professor Russell Horiuchi of Brigham Young University has observed that the idea of enshrining a loved one's hair, handkerchief, or some other part of the body is customary in Japan when the entire body is not available. For example, when young men have been killed in battle it is not extraordinary to bury them symbolically simply by interring a personal memento. Therefore, in accordance with this venerable traditional custom, the grave of Christ could be thought of as a symbolic effort to show respect for someone whose death has been reported. It does not necessarily mean that the physical body of Christ must be in the Herai grave in order for the Japanese to believe that he is buried there.

⁹This thesis is fully developed by Rev. Dr. Charles Francis Potter, *The Lost Years of Jesus Revealed* (New York: A Crest Reprint by Fawcett World Library, 1962). See also Hugh W. Nibley, "Early Accounts of Jesus' Childhood," *The Instructor* (January, 1965), pp. 35-37.

From the vantage point of the scriptures, the Lord *could have* made a visit to the inhabitants of the Japanese islands, and for that matter, to other peoples of Asia as well. During his earthly ministry Jesus frequently reassured the Jews that he was the Good Shepherd, always mindful of his sheep, and known of them. He explained that he had other sheep not of their fold whom he would visit (see John 10:14-16). This promise was fulfilled when the resurrected Messiah appeared on the American continent as recorded in the Book of Mormon (see 3 Nephi 15:21). But while still among the Nephites, Jesus made a further promise that he would also visit other tribes of the house of Israel, neither of the land of Jerusalem nor of the land of the Nephites, whom the Father had led away. He had been commanded of the Father to administer to the needs of these sheep, and they would hear his voice. Eventually they also would be numbered among the true fold, and ultimately gathered from the four quarters of the earth. Then would the great covenant with Israel be consummated.

And verily, verily, I say unto you that I have other sheep which are not of this land, neither of the land of Jerusalem, neither in any parts of that land round about whither I have been to minister.

For they of whom I speak are they who have not as yet heard my voice; neither have I at any time manifested myself unto them.

But I have received a commandment of the Father that I shall go unto them, and that they shall hear my voice and shall be numbered among my sheep, that there may be one fold and one shepherd; therefore I go to show myself unto them.

And I command you that ye shall write these sayings after I am gone, that if it so be that my people at Jerusalem, they who have seen me and been with me in my ministry, do not ask the Father in my name, that they may receive a knowledge of you by the Holy Ghost, and also of the other tribes whom they know not of, that these sayings which ye shall write shall be kept and shall be manifested unto the Gentiles, that through the fulness of the Gentiles, the remnant of their seed, who shall be scattered forth upon the face of the earth because of their unbelief, may be brought in, or may be brought to a knowledge of me, their Redeemer.

And then will I gather them in from the four quarters of the earth; and then will I fulfill the covenant which the Father hath made unto all the people of the house of Israel. (3 Nephi 16:1-5)

These prophecies lend meaning to the words of Zenos concerning events surrounding the crucifixion of Christ, the God and Shepherd of Israel. For the prophet declared that three days of darkness would be a sign of the Lord's death, particularly to those of the house of Israel living upon the isles of the sea. And after the crucifixion

. . . The Lord God surely shall visit all the house of Israel at that day, some with his voice, because of their righteousness, unto their great joy and salvation, and others with the thunderings and the lightnings of his power, by tempest, by fire, and by smoke, and vapor of darkness, and by the opening of the earth, and by mountains which shall be carried up.

And all these things must surely come, saith the prophet Zenos. And the rocks of the earth must rend; and because of the groanings of the earth, many of the kings of the isles of the sea shall be wrought upon by the Spirit of God, to exclaim: The God of nature suffers. (1 Nephi 19:11-12.)

In his great parable of the olive tree, Zenos describes the visit of the Christ to the branches of Israel transplanted in "the nethermost parts of my vineyard." After discussing the work in connection with the main trunk of the "tame olive tree" (Israel), he describes the Lord's visit to the other branches:

And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard said unto the servant: Come, let us go to the nethermost part of the vineyard, and behold if the natural branches of the tree have not brought forth much fruit also, that I may lay up of the fruit thereof against the season, unto mine own self.

. . . and he beheld the first that it had brought forth much fruit; and he beheld also that it was good. And he said unto the servant: Take of the fruit thereof, and lay it up against the season, that I may preserve it unto mine own self; for behold, said he, this long time have I nourished it, and it hath brought forth much fruit.

And it came to pass that the servant said unto his master: How comest thou hither to plant this tree, or this branch of the tree? For behold, it was the poorest spot in all the land of the vineyard. (Jacob 5:19-21.)

The Lord's encompassing regard for the welfare of the human family is evident in the predictions of Nephi that Jesus would speak not only to the Jews and Nephites, but to all other tribes of Israel in all the nations of the earth. A significant feature of this prophecy, which follows, is that various peoples

have been expected to record the Lord's sayings to them so that they may be judged out of that which is written:

Know ye not that there are more nations than one? Know ye not that I, the Lord your God, have created all men, and that I remember those who are upon the isles of the sea; and that I rule in the heavens above and in the earth beneath; and I bring forth my word unto the children of men, yea, even upon all the nations of the earth? . . .

Wherefore, because that ye have a Bible ye need not suppose that it contains all my words; neither need ye suppose that I have not caused more to be written.

For I command all men, both in the east and in the west, and in the north, and in the south, and in the islands of the sea, that they shall write the words which I speak unto them; for out of the books which shall be written I will judge the world, every man according to their works, according to that which is written.

For behold, I shall speak unto the Jews and they shall write it; and I shall speak unto the Nephites and they shall write it; *and I shall also speak unto the other tribes of the house of Israel, which I have led away, and they shall write it; and I shall also speak unto all nations of the earth and they shall write it.* (2 Nephi 29:7, 10-12 Italics added.)

Another vital consideration in the question of Judeo-Christian influence in formative Japan, one which may provide a key to the meaning of the Herai story, rests on the fact that the Japanese are of mixed ancestry. The accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from widely separated geographic regions. A strong strain of immigrants has come from the northern parts of the Asian mainland and another major strain, perhaps less dominant, has come from the coastal regions of southeast Asia and from Polynesia in the Pacific.¹⁰

According to current archaeological findings, the earliest known immigrants to the islands included the enigmatic Ainu (anciently called Ezo), a Caucasian people today surviving only in small numbers in the northern island of Hokkaido, in

¹⁰Isao Komatsu, *The Japanese People: Origins of the People and Language* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1962), contains a concise anthropological discussion of early proto-historical sculpture, weapons, pottery, and anatomical specimens, particularly of the so-called Jomon and Yayoi periods. See also George Sansom's *A History of Japan to 1334*, (Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 12, 91.

Sakhalin, and in the Kuriles. They have light skin color, thin lips, wavy hair, heavy body hair, etc. There is really no way of knowing what they originally believed, but surviving beliefs are saturated with concern for the power of the spirits, and their society has been regulated by taboos and rites of purification.¹¹ Originally these Ainu were a tribal, food-gathering people. Before 1854 the mainstream Japanese (Yamato) culture had little effect upon them, but thereafter a government policy of assimilation greatly changed them so that today "pureblooded" Ainu are practically extinct.¹²

In saying that Japan is an amalgam of races and cultures and that at least minor strains of influence have derived from the far reaches of the Pacific, we are reminded of Hagoth and other seafaring explorers who set out from the shores of the American continent towards the Pacific and were "never heard of more" (Alma 63:5-8). In substantiating the theory behind his famous Kon-Tiki expedition, Thor Heyerdahl, Norwegian anthropologist, presents an array of evidence in his *American Indians in the Pacific*¹³ to show that early voyages into the Pacific have had a predominant tendency to take a western course from America, and these historic expeditions have reached southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan. No doubt some of these were descendants of Israel who carried memories of the gospel, knowledge of the Lord's sacred promises to Abraham and Jacob, and an awareness of the divine mission of Jesus Christ—themes broadly diffused among the inhabitants of Bible and Book of Mormon lands. There should be no question that in addition to the mainstream dispersion of Israel across the land masses of Asia (suggested by vestigial communities in the Tarim Basin and at Kaifeng in China),¹⁴ and reaching out as far as the islands of Japan, other remnants of Israel reached the vital waterways of northeast Asia via the American continent. All of this seems clearly to have been a part of the plan of the great Jehovah, as affirmed by Jacob:

¹¹Neil G. Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), *passim*.

¹²Yamato-Japanese contacts with the Ainu were slow in developing, but these are carefully considered in John A. Harrison's translation of Ainu Seisaku Shi in *The Ainu of Northern Japan*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April, 1960.

¹³Thor Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952).

¹⁴These communities are discussed in a section entitled "Israel in Asia" in a forthcoming monograph.

. . . great are the promises of the Lord unto them who are upon the isles of the sea; wherefore as it says isles, there must needs be more than this, and they are inhabited also by our brethren.

For behold, the Lord God has led away from time to time from the house of Israel, according to his will and pleasure. And now behold, the Lord remembereth all them who have been broken off . . . (2 Nephi 10:21-22.)

Unquestionably the Lord's ancient command that the house of Israel be sifted among all nations (see Amos 9:9) has reached historic fulfillment. Japan is a model example of that fact, a place where the descendants of Abraham and Jacob have combined with other mainstream ethnic groups to make up the Japanese race as we know it today. The Japanese therefore are rightful heirs of the covenants and promises belonging to Israel. Thus it is possible that the Herai story, despite its several fantastic and extremely unlikely claims—some of which are absolutely impossible and others of which can be easily dismissed—could nonetheless represent an historical fact: that servants of the Lord have landed by ocean craft in ancient Japan. One such group could certainly have drifted or have been led away to Japanese shores at Hachinohe, as the legend claims. They could have been Jews, Nephites, Lamanites, or even of the tribe of Dan, as some Japanese have preferred to believe. Tengu legends of big-nosed, ruddy-skinned strangers having suddenly appeared among the natives of ancient Japan, the continuing use of the star of David on clothing at Herai village, the placing of a cross on the forehead of newborn babies, and perhaps even the alleged Hebraic influence upon local folk music—all can be thought of as curious anomalies lending weight to such a claim. And, of course, the Sawaguchis, the Ainu, and many others as well, are living reminders of settlers from far-flung places.

Even the most cursory inquiry into the Herai story must take into account its historical background. In so doing, we reach a third basic interpretation, one which takes the guesswork out of certain claims and puts everything else into much clearer perspective. First, in a careful reading of this legend it is obvious that the ideals of Christ are really presented as a Judaized version of Shinto in which Jesus is depicted as a student of things Japanese. He becomes the disciple-exponent of a grand imperial tradition.

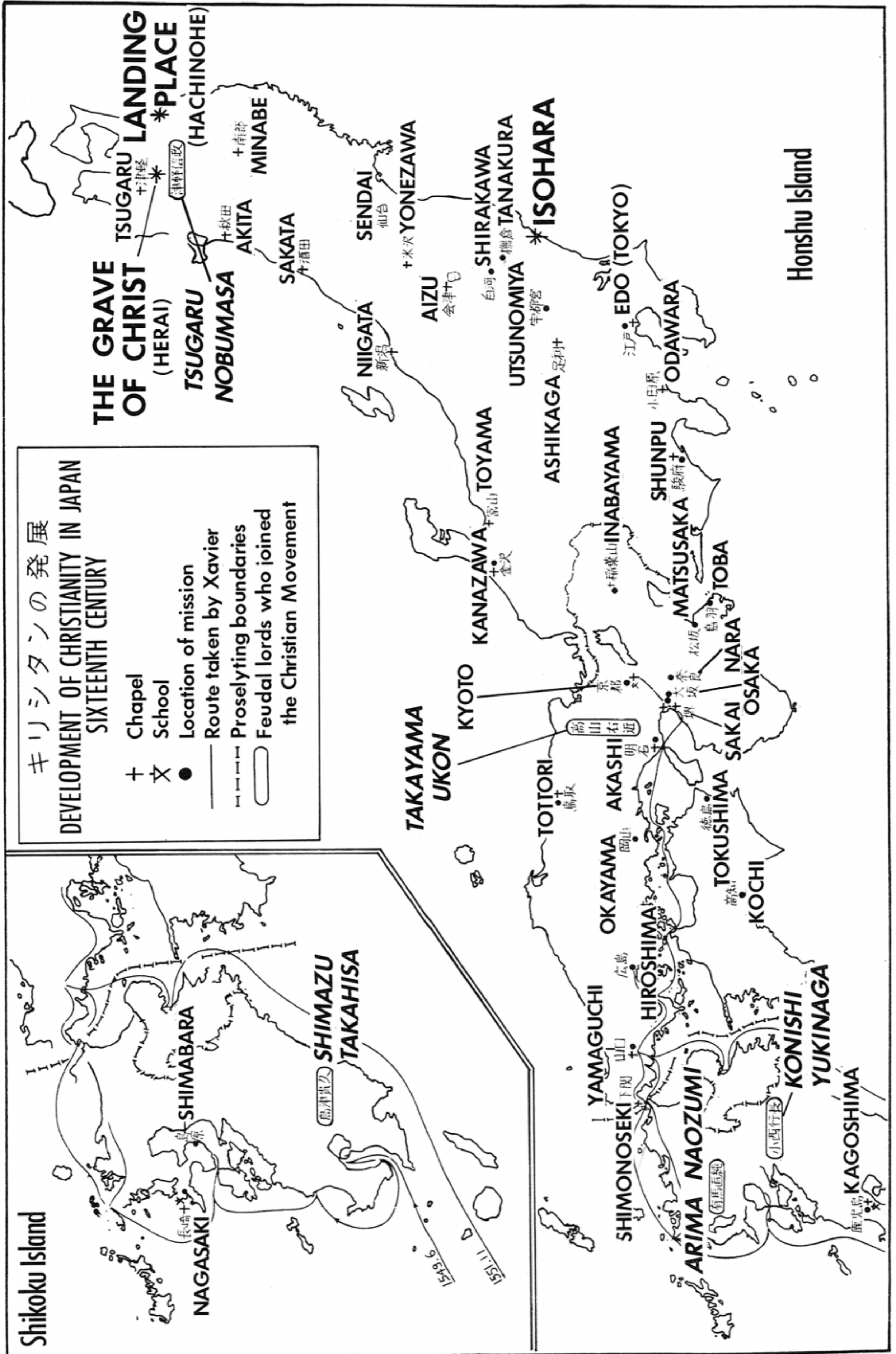
Shinto, the Way of the Gods, is the primitive religion of Japan. It has been followed by Japanese from times of remote antiquity, dating back to the so-called Age of the Gods. Amaterasu, the mystical Sun Goddess, was worshipped as the first imperial ancestor of the Yamato people, and as such, she has been regarded as the founder of all Japanese, the Imperial clan being the principal family.

The introduction of Christianity during the sixteenth century under Francis Xavier and associates was viewed with toleration and curiosity at first. Wide-ranging missionary labors resulted in the "conversion" of considerable numbers of prominent feudal lords (*Daimyo*) and the establishment of mission schools and churches throughout Shikoku and Honshu (see map, Page 152). The northeast provinces, including the areas adjoining Herai, were far removed from the main centers of influence. However, the ubiquitous Franciscan, Diego de San Francisco, who regularly traveled throughout Japan disguised as a samurai, claimed that there were 26,000 Christians in the northeast provinces in 1629, whereas there had been less than 100 converts 15 years previously. He made a dangerous trip to Sendai to reassure local Christians in 1627. He also complained of the uncooperative attitude of the Jesuits towards the Franciscans in Nagasaki and Kyushu, and the Franciscans transferred most of their efforts to the less-cultivated but more promising mission fields in the northeast.¹⁵

The period of toleration was soon followed by a harsh repressive reaction after Christianity had become the scapegoat for contemporary power struggles and political intrigues. Looking upon foreign intrusion with jealous hostility, Shinto priests and Buddhist monks were endeavoring to guide public opinion and political authority against this alien faith. The insurrection at Shimabara in 1638 convinced the Tokugawa military government that the potential threat to state hegemony was lurking in this new religion and led it to embark upon a policy of ruthless suppression. The resultant persecutions reached a frenzied intensity during Tokugawa Iyemitsu's attempts to exterminate completely all vestiges of Christianity from every nook of his realm.¹⁶ Arrests, confiscations, deportations, tor-

¹⁵C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 358-359.

¹⁶Masaharu Anesaki, "Prosecution of Kirishitans after the Shimabara Insurrection," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 1-2 (1938), pp. 276-283.



tures, forced confessions, and coerced apostacies became the order of the day for any known Christian who did not voluntarily deny his faith. Although there were many martyred victims of this hunt, there were also those who chose the easier road and recanted. The official journal, *Kirishito-ki*, which gives a detailed record of these investigations and of all confessions made, lists the names of two foreign priests who had apostatized and had then entered the service of the Inquisition Office.¹⁷ It was common for such recantors to adopt Japanese names and to take to themselves Japanese wives. The latter practice, in fact, was prescribed to them by the authorities as a test of their sincerity. It was a government policy to discredit the Christians and their religion wherever and whenever possible. With this in mind, participation of private interests in the anti-Christian campaign was encouraged. As a result, many deliberately created falsifications, fantastic "confessions," allegations, forged protestations, and conveniently distorted legends were picked up and widely circulated among the populace. These instruments of deception had one common purpose: discrediting the Christian faith and its members while at the same time encouraging a Japanization wherever feasible.

Notwithstanding the severity of the anti-Christian edicts, Japanese annals bear witness to the fact that Christianity was not entirely rooted out. It continued to be practiced stealthily in remote districts by converts and their families who had resorted to ingenious frauds in order to avoid official persecution. The substance of such frauds was found in an external modification of their faith: assuming local native customs and practices, such as making small statuettes of the Madonna to resemble the Buddhist divinity Avalokitesvara (Kwannon), or the hiding of a crucifix and other Christian emblems inside a god shelf (Kamidana).¹⁸ With the gradual lifting of repressive edicts, as the Tokugawa regime began to totter, thousands of believers were found in the south, mostly centered around Nagasaki, who for seven or eight generations had preserved in secret the faith of their forefathers. Deprived of clerical

¹⁷Anesaki, *History* . . . pp. 252-253. The two clerics in question are Ferriere and Guisepppe Chiara. The latter assumed the Japanese name Okamoto Saniemon and died in 1685 after having taken a Japanese wife. The *Kirishito-ki* is only one of the many similar records kept by the government. It lists arrests, confessions, names of all apostates, and brief commentaries and statements of Kirishitan doctrine.

¹⁸George Sansom, *A Short Cultural History of Japan* (New York, 1943), p. 449.

guidance and left entirely to themselves, these simple folk, mostly farmers and fishermen, had absorbed in the course of time indigenous elements into the body of their faith. As Latin and Portuguese words and names lost their meaning, new interpretations appeared which in their own time were distorted by the use of unwieldy Japanese scripts. The substance of the doctrine was kept alive by word of mouth, and in the course of repetitious retelling, it underwent a thorough mutilation. The ensuing conglomeration of Christian, Buddhist, and Shinto elements, and local folklore, resulted often enough in such pathetic distortions that the original tenet became utterly unrecognizable. Such Japanized and popularized sects of Christians have survived to this day in the so-called Kirishitan buraku (villages) of South Honshu and Kyushu islands.

An interesting study of one of these Kirishitan communities is one on the Kurosaki buraku conducted in 1935 by Professor Tagita Koya of Nanzan University of Nagoya. As a rule, these pseudo-Christians are extremely reticent and wary on matters pertaining to their faith. After winning their confidence, however, Tagita was allowed to make a full copy of their version of the Bible, the "Tenchi Najimari no Koto," which appears to be a crude though well-intentioned Japanization of the *Doctrina Christam* published by the Jesuits in 1600 as a guide to native converts. The Kurosaki "Bible" in essence is a digest of the story of creation and of some of Christ's sermons. In it, God is identified with the Confucian concept of Tenchi, that of "Lord of Heaven and Earth," and is concurrently referred to as Ikibotoko or "Free, Independent, Living Buddha." The identification of the soul of mankind with the Moon, and the identification of Lucifer with the "God of Thunder" as personified by Izanagi (the father of the Sun Goddess), indicate the presence of Shinto influences as well.¹⁹

In the late nineteenth century a sweeping nationalistic reaction against the influx of Western ideas began to assert itself in Japan. Pioneered by young Buddhists and Shintoists, this resentment had by 1880 penetrated into every area of Japanese thought and life. Proponents of this "anti-foreignism" were closely affiliated with a Shinto cult as propagated a century

¹⁹ Takita Koya conducted a thorough study of Kirishitan communities throughout Japan. His findings were published in 1954 in a book titled: *Showajidai no sempuku Kirishitan* (Hidden Christians of the Showa Period), Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu shinko-kai.

earlier by men like the Inari priests, Kada, Mabuchi Kamo, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane, all of whom had preached the ideal of a return to the original purity of Shinto as it had been practiced in the mythical "Age of the Gods." Native chronicles, notably the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, were bibli-fied as heavenly ordained guides to the "pure Japanese life" as it should be led under the dominion of theocratic rule which could trace the line of Japanese emperors back to the all-illuminating Sun Goddess. The cry of these die-hards became "Sonno-Joi" or "Revere the Emperor and Eject the Barbarians."²⁰ On the purely religious side, this clamour for the ousting of Western influence was directed against Christianity as a whole, at first for its complete suppression, and when that failed, for its systematic Japanization.

Associated with this Shinto revivalism of the late Tokugawa period was the promotion of *Jindai Moji*, a mode of writing allegedly used in the "Age of the Gods." First mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi*, it has been much discussed by such notable writers as Arai Kakuseki, Teinin Shiyaku, Hirata Atsutane, Tsurumine Boshin, Uchiai Masumi and Okuni Ryusei, all of whom have sought to prove, by means of these writings, the existence of chronicles written by the gods themselves, even before Chinese writing was brought to Japan. *Jindai Moji* writings have been a popular pastime in Japan for nearly a century, and have generally been discredited by Japanese savants as total forgeries. If there were even a modicum of validity associable with *Jindai Moji*, such Japanese, no doubt, would be the first to legitimize them in order to demonstrate that they already had their own form of written language prior to the introduction of Chinese.

In the decades preceding the publication of Yamane's first book (1937), Japan was beginning to seethe with its own version of Manifest Destiny. The reluctance of the Western Powers to modify the Unequal Treaties, the humiliations sustained after Japanese victories over China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, and an ever-growing Japanese-Western scramble for concessions and privileges in Asia, as well as the later American exclusion laws against Asiatics, deeply provoked the sensitivity and pride of the Japanese. This nationalistic trend manifested itself in an intensified suspicion and resentment of Western

²⁰For a list of such organizations, see Anasaki Masaharu, *Ibid.*, p. 360.

Christianity. As the turbulent twentieth century progressed, the pressure of an Asiatic consciousness upon the teachings of Christ became an important force within the indigenous Christian movement, and a Japanese interpretation of Christianity began to develop.²¹ It was expressed in a systematic endeavor to emancipate the Japanese Christian churches from outside influences and to place them under complete native control. Many reasonable Japanese Christians desired eagerly to "restore" Christianity to an Oriental consciousness for, as they argued, had Christ himself not been an Oriental? In their eyes, it was the Occidental civilization which was not entirely Christian and therefore, it was the duty of Japanese Christianity to develop a superior theology to which European Christians in the future would be able to look for guidance and support. Japan became to them the focal spot on which world problems of Christianity were gradually to be solved.²² The rise to power of ultranationalist interests (those very same which had consciously or unconsciously tried to pervert Japanese Christianity) was followed by a line of fanatics and self-appointed messiahs, directing an avalanche of missives at the public and exhorting them to arise and follow the road of Armageddon, which would lead their nation back to the glory for which it was destined by the gods. Their attacks were frequently directed against all that was non-Japanese in Christianity. Pushing aside the liberal and well-intentioned elements within the Japanese Christian movements, they sought to pervert it to the extreme by insisting that the purity of Shinto was anterior to the appearance of Christ, and that Christ's message to mankind was nothing but the Judaization of the older and purer Way of the Gods of Japan. When viewed in the light of this background, the strange story of Christ at Herai becomes more understandable. Reduced to its proper proportions and divested of some of its "mystery," it assumes the negligible role of one more manifestation of a general trend of chauvinistic perversion.

Bizarre rumors have persisted that there are Hebrew characters engraved on the back of the sacred mirror of the Sun Goddess at the Grand Shrine at Ise. This was allegedly first revealed in the early part of the Meiji era by Minister of Education Yurei Mori. He was said to have been a man versed in five foreign languages, including Hebrew. After inspecting the

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 365-370.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 374.

sacred mirror, he declared the characters on it definitely Hebrew. But out of this came tragedy when an enraged nephew of the chief priest of the Shrine stabbed Yurei Mori to death at his home. A Japanese student of Hebrew affairs has reportedly concluded that this sacred mirror, the most important Imperial treasure in the accession of the Japanese emperors as a material evidence for the preservation of their throne, is an article of Jewish origin brought over to Japan or that the ancient emperors of Japan, being of Jewish blood, had the characters of their mother tongue engraved in the islands of Japan.

But in understandable reply, Mrs. Yamane has written a new book in which this strange report of Jewish origins for the Japanese Imperial Family is no longer a mystery wrapped in an enigma.²³ For "the truth" is that Japanese Emperor Takamimusubi, the tenth in line from "the real" first and founding Emperor, created a new series of "Hi-Fu" characters and gave them to the Hebrew people as a gift. She further declares that the Hebrew language originated amazingly in Japan, mother country of the world and hearthstone of civilization. This is all revealed in the 2,400 different kinds of ancient characters inscribed on sacred stones stored away at the new "Imperial Ancestor's Grand Shrine" (Koso Ko Taijingu) at Isohara. Originating from the "true" Age of the Gods, these writings are prototypes of all characters and writings known to modern man.

Surely there must be authentic, unretrieved records of antiquity stored away in the lands of Asia containing information on the origins of the people, but in all the mystification associated with the *Jindai Moji* stone inscriptions kept by the Isohara family of Japan, I have yet to see one that has borne up under scrutiny. The one illustrated in this study, which was represented to me as a relic of ancient times, is plainly no more than

²³It is titled *Sekai no seishi* (Authentic History of the World), "as secreted long ago in Tokyo, Japan," 1964. Copies of this completely unrestrained tome were inscribed and distributed among participants of the Tokyo Olympics. Among other claims, Yamane pictures a Japanese chrysanthemum on the upper facade of Herod's gate in Jerusalem, which is a reminder that the Messiah "shall one day come riding a white horse from the country of 'Mizuraho'," i.e., Japan. Jesus is portrayed alongside inscriptions carved in wood blocks of his creation, now in the possession of the Takenouchi family. Beside a portrait of Jesus Christ as King of Israel this explanatory note is found: "Before his departure for his native land from his first stay in Japan, Jesus Christ was appointed king of the Jewish people and was conferred the Seal of Kingship by Emperor Suinin."

a quaint specimen of the Korean *onmun* script which could date no earlier than the mid-fifteenth century, when Korea's King Sejong first devised that system of writing.

In summary then, what can be said of the Herai myth? Certainly it would be fascinating to learn the identity of the foreigner who introduced Christianity to the community centuries ago. Was Christ that mysterious foreigner, as the legend claims? Some speculate that he was, but I think the evidence (or the lack of it) precludes that interpretation. Did the foreigner come by boat? Was he of the dispersed of Judah or Israel? This is an interesting possibility since children of Israel have no doubt migrated and settled in Japan, and their blood is a component of the Japanese race today. Was he a Catholic priest or missionary? Was he from a shipwrecked vessel? When did he land there? Or, were the founders of Herai village members of a Japanese Christian community who fled from the south to Aomori during the time of the persecution, and one which had been deprived for many generations of leadership, even to the extent that the village master, a layman, filled the void as suggested by the prayer tablets found in the Kaikura Shrine?

In any event, basic answers to the mystery no doubt lie somewhere along this line of investigation. The sources of the Herai legend, if not entirely the product of forgers of the twentieth century, may have predated the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century (the scriptures certainly allow that possibility). Yet the general outline of the legend and some carried-over customs as practiced in Herai today make this highly unlikely. Perhaps the most meaningful thing that can be said about the Herai legend is that it may be unique only to the extent that it has today assumed such fantastic proportions. Otherwise, it should be regarded as another example of the struggle of Japanese nativists to preserve the "Way of the Gods" from external assault.

Prophecies Regarding Japan

HUGH B. BROWN*

. . . Other missionaries went into the South Pacific Islands. They went to Hawaii and Fiji and to Samoa and Tonga. They went down into New Zealand and Australia.

And then the Lord wanted to establish a branch of the Church in Japan. And one of the apostles of the Church came here and opened this country for the preaching of the gospel. Brother Hinckley has told you the mission had to be closed for a time. But a few of the early members of the Church stayed true to the Church. Now there are established in this great country many branches of the Church all over Japan, and the Church is growing very fast all over the world. There are more than 2½ million LDS now in the world. I have traveled in most of the countries of the world. I have heard people bear their testimonies to the divinity of this work in many languages and in many countries. And I am amazed as I see what is happening in the world in the midst of all the turmoil in the world among the people. The Church is quietly moving on, building up its forces, resisting the Adversary, teaching correct principles, asking the people to get educated, advising them to keep their bodies and their spirits and souls clean, telling the people that we are reaping the heads for them.

Now I want to tell you people here tonight something that I have not said before. Some of you who are listening to me tonight will live to see the day when there will be a Japanese man in the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church. And I do not know when it will be. I will not live to see it. But some of you young people will see it. Then you will realize that God

*Hugh B. Brown, First Counselor in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, delivered this address at the Osaka, Abeno chapel dedication, April, 1967. A selection is reprinted here from a magnetic tape transcription with the permission of President Brown. (Following the death of President McKay and the reorganization of the First Presidency, Hugh B. Brown returned to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.)

loves the Japanese people. And you will join with other nations in forming a great united Church all over the world. And some of you Japanese people will be among the leaders of the Church. I feel it in my heart tonight and I dare to make this prediction in the name of the Lord.

Now the people who do not understand our message wonder why we teach what we teach. The remarkable thing is that what we teach is what the Savior taught when He was here. And this work is going to roll forward until it fills the whole earth. I give you this as my testimony tonight and you young people will live to see it. We will stop the forces of the Adversary, and Christ Himself will come and take command. He will rule and reign in this world for a thousand years. They who are faithful and true will be caught up to meet Him in the clouds of heaven. I see these times coming.

Almost I could wish that I could live to see them, but my work is about done. I will join with President McKay and President Grant and others and rejoice as we think of the success that has come to the Japanese people.

It is a wonderful thing to belong to a unified Church of Jesus Christ. It's a wonderful thing to preach the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It's a wonderful thing to know that what we teach is the truth and we teach it without charge and without price. The Savior said, "Freely ye have received, freely give." And as I think of the times that are coming to us in the future, I know that a number of these young men here are going to go on foreign missions in other countries and carry the message of the gospel to the nations of the world. So this little corner of the garden of the Lord's will blossom and bloom and bear fruit. From this area will go messengers to kindred peoples in many parts of the world.

What a wonderful thing it is to know that you belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ. But Satan will try you and tempt you and try to get you to leave the Church. It is going to take faith and courage and fortitude to remain faithful to the truth. You must be stout-hearted men and women, unafraid of any people, without enemies, knowing that you are working under the command of Jesus Christ. This is a wonderful prospect for you my brothers and sisters, and I thank God that He planted the seeds of the Gospel here in Japan and a few hardy and courageous folk have stayed with it until now it is beginning to bear fruit.

Church Beginnings in China

R. LANIER BRITSCH*

On August 28 and 29, 1852, a special conference of the Church was called by President Brigham Young. This meeting, called specifically for the purpose of sending out 108 missionaries, was an extra meeting in the yearly schedule of Church conferences. Nine of the 108 missionaries chosen were to go to India at Calcutta, four were to go to Siam, and four were selected to go to China. The four men chosen to fill missions to China were Hosea Stout, James Lewis, Walter Thompson and Chapman Duncan. The conference was held early so that the missionaries could reach their fields with greater ease before winter. Although this was primarily a missionary conference, it is remembered today because it was this conference, on August 29, 1852, that the Church officially announced the doctrine of Plural Marriage.¹

It will be remembered that Great Salt Lake City, as it was then called, had been founded in the summer of 1847, and a mere five years had passed since that time; yet Hosea Stout accepted his call with these words: "I feel well pleased with the mission allotted me and feel in the name of my Master to fill it to the honor and glory of God."²

The next two months found the potential missionaries busy in preparation. All of the missionaries met several times with the leaders of the Church and were given instructions and strengthened in their testimonies. They also discussed problems that had to do with their missions and made several decisions—among them, to travel in wagons, and each group to carry its

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¹Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), Vol. 4, pp. 55-56.

²Wayne Stout, *Hosea Stout: Utah's Pioneer Statesman* (Salt Lake City, 1953), p. 157.

own food, bedding, and equipment. On October 16 the missionaries were set apart and given blessings. They reported that the spirit of the Lord was strongly felt on this day and on the next few days to follow. Many blessings were given to the brethren by the presiding authorities of the Church.³

The group that left Salt Lake Valley during those days of late October consisted of thirty-eight missionaries called to Calcutta, India, Siam, the Sandwich Islands, China, and Australia. All of the groups gathered at Peteetnot Creek (Payson, Utah) on October 24 and organized the camp. Hosea Stout was made captain; Nathaniel Vary Jones, chaplain; Burr Frost, sergeant of the guard; and Amos Milton Musser, clerk of the company. As they renewed their journey, they followed a route which lay roughly over the present U.S. Highway 91. They traveled by the Iron Mines (near Cedar City, Utah), through Mountain Meadows, which a few years later was to be the scene of the infamous massacre, and on down the steep gully to Santa Clara Creek. For sixteen miles the company bumped down the Santa Clara on a road "amazingly rough and sandy."⁴ They moved ever westward; on November 12 they were joined by a group of emigrants going to California to dig gold. The next three days they followed the Rio Virgin and then began the ascent to the top of Mormon Mesa. They were a full day getting the fourteen wagons up the last steep incline with

twenty men on the lead and four horses behind them, with two men to roll the hind wheels. A slight accident might precipitate wagons and animals into the abyss on either side of the backbone on which part of the ascent was made. Three cheers were given as the last wagon reached the summit of the precipice in safety.⁵

Ahead of them now lay the fifty-two mile stretch to Las Vegas. It was during this period of the trip that N .V. Jones became very ill. He did not respond to any of the usual remedies or the blessing of the Elders, and it was necessary for the company to lay over for a couple of days at Las Vegas in hope of his recovery. In two days he improved enough for the group to resume movement. Three days after leaving Las Vegas, the company reached Cajon Pass. Because the men and animals

³Amos Milton Musser, "Diary," Journal I, p. 7. Mss. in possession of Burton Musser, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 62.

were so exhausted, their food was gone, and snow had begun to fall, it was a task to make it across the mountain; but by pushing on they were able to get to San Bernardino in the evening of December 3, 1852.⁶

The Elders were happy to see once again a well-organized community of Saints. San Bernardino was a thriving community, surrounded by many acres of rich and fertile farm land. The people of San Bernardino were very kind to them and took them into their homes, fed them and gave them every comfort they could afford as well as giving money to the missionaries. For twelve days the group rested and wrote letters home. They also sold their wagons, horses and mules, and all else that was not needed for the journey that lay ahead. On December 17 the company moved on toward Los Angeles and San Pedro, where they would embark for San Francisco and thence to their various fields of labor.

The group stayed a night in Los Angeles, where they were shocked by the way the lower element lived,⁷ then moved on to San Pedro, where they arrived on the twenty-second and waited for passage to San Francisco. On December 29, fares were arranged at \$17.60 a person, a full \$37.50 less than the usual fares on steam packets, and the brig *Fremont* sailed for San Francisco on the thirtieth with all but two of the missionaries aboard. Musser and several others were able to work on board to help defray expenses, for even at such low fares, the cost for the group was around \$700.⁸

The Elders landed in San Francisco on January 9, 1853.⁹ Their next problem was raising funds to pay for their passage to the various missions. The approximate costs for transportation to the different missions were listed as follows:

Australian Mission	\$1,250
Calcutta	1,800
Sandwich Islands	1,000
China	1,000
Siam	1,200
Total	\$6,250 ¹⁰

⁶For descriptions of the trip to San Bernardino and on to San Francisco in greater detail see Conway B. Sonne, *Knight of the Kingdom: The Story of Richard Ballantyne*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1949), pp. 57-69 and Karl Brooks' unpublished thesis, BYU, "The Life of Amos Milton Musser," pp. 28-33.

⁷Musser, Jour. I, pp. 28-29.

⁸*Ibid.*, Jour. II, p. 9.

⁹*The Alta* (San Francisco), January 10, 1853.

¹⁰Musser, Jour. II, p. 16.

In consultation with the San Francisco Branch of the Church, it was decided that because of especially high demands made recently on the Church, it would be well if the missionaries tried to solicit funds from outside the membership. So for three weeks the Elders attempted to collect funds, but were able to gather only \$150 from non-members. The remainder of the needed money was donated by T. S. Williams, who gave \$500, and John M. Horner, a wealthy member, who donated the difference, which must have been between \$5,000 and \$6,000.¹¹

Although the major portion of the missionaries was in San Francisco, two of the China-bound Elders had remained in San Pedro. Hosea Stout, one of the men, lingered to look for a horse that he had lost and later made the trip to San Francisco on board a different ship, the *Sea Bird*, which arrived there January 13, 1853. Walter Thompson, another of the Hong Kong-bound Elders, did not go on to San Francisco because of illness. He had been sick on the trip to San Bernardino and on to San Pedro; and because he did not improve, he subsequently returned home to the Salt Lake Valley.¹² Immediately upon Stout's arrival in San Francisco, he made contact with the rest of the company who had arrived a few days earlier. They had rented a house which served as headquarters until their departures to their various destinations.

On January 22, the missionaries received their passports from Washington, and were free to secure passage, hopefully on the first ship leaving for China. However, it took the Elders a long time to arrange for passage to China. In fact it was only after the failure of two different ships to sail that a successful contract was made. Finally, when the docks were almost empty, passage was found at a cost of \$80 per person to Hong Kong. They left San Francisco on March 9, and their voyage to Hong Kong lasted forty-seven days. The *Bark Hoorn* dropped anchor on what the missionaries recorded as the twenty-seventh of April, although this date was actually the twenty-eighth, because they had passed the international dateline.

The missionaries had seen Chinese junks for several days and found the atmosphere quite exciting even before they landed. Hosea Stout recorded their reception in Hong Kong as follows:

¹¹*Ibid.*, see also Andrew Jensen, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1899), p. 47.

¹²Stout, *Hosea Stout*, p. 165 .

We had scarcely dropped anchor before the deck was covered with Chinesees [sic] men and women as well as *professional* whites who were seeking for an opportunity to make a drive on the *Green Horns*. While the china men were seeking employment and the women were soliciting our washing patronage, while others came forward to bargain off their *professional* sex to the crew and all whom it concerned at the lowest possible rates, which seemed on board to range at about one dollar each. The custom far exceeding the patronage even at that reduced rate, and I was informed by those who said they knew by experience, that in the city such services could be procured for from ten to twenty cents. We staid [sic] on board.¹³

The following day Elders Duncan and Stout went ashore and spent the morning walking about the city. They became acquainted with a Mr. Emeny, a ship chandler, who gave a great amount of information concerning the city and offered to rent them one of his rooms. They accepted the offer, establishing temporary quarters, and for the next few days sought information concerning conditions in the city and also looked for someone "who will be willing to hear the message we have to this nation but as yet we find none."¹⁴ Discouraged because the cost of rent was too high, they had been able to secure nothing for less than about thirty dollars a month each. Stout felt that they had reached their darkest hour. Fortunately, within a day or two after this depressing experience, the Elders had befriended a landlord by the name of Dudell. Mr. Dudell, after listening to the purposes of the missionaries, offered free rent for three months, greatly encouraging the three preachers.

On May 5, 1853, the missionaries moved into their own apartment. Located at "Canton Bazaar," they had an "excellent suit of rooms" on the third story of the building. The men hired a "Chinese servant at six dollars and fifty cents per month, who does all the duties of cook, market man, and chamber maid."¹⁵ Apparently, they were a little embarrassed to have a servant for Hosea Stout wrote the following apology:

Such is the force of custom here that it is far cheaper to employ one than to do without for we can not purchase in the markets if you do you will be cheated in both weight and measure and shaved in your change.¹⁶

¹³Juanita Brooks, (ed.), *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), Vol. 2, p. 476.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

On the evening of May 6, after spending most of the day indoors because of the oppressive heat, the Elders held their first preaching meeting. Five Methodist soldiers who were living in the same building met nightly to study the scriptures together and to build one another's faith. Since their minister was away to Canton, they invited the Mormons to teach them. This they did and apparently the message was well received.

Two days later another meeting was held in which two additional investigators were present. Stout felt that Elder Duncan did a good job of preaching. He wrote: "Elder Duncan preached and quite boldly declared our principles, and by the way, gave the Sects a tolerably Sever [sic] turn. Whether or not our Methodist friends could see that their religion was declared false, I do not know" ¹⁷

On May 11, the first contact was made with Chinese people, to whom, it should be remembered, these missionaries had been sent. The first two Chinese to investigate were a pair of curious Christians. One was a local tailor, the other was a product of the London Missionary Society, who had spent eight years in England and was well educated. Although it looked promising, nothing came of the meetings between the missionaries and their Chinese friends.

The Elders had little encouragement. They didn't seem to have any contacts or even an approach that permitted them to make any headway. They did experience a momentary lift in their spirits when they met the acting editor of the *China Mail*, a local paper. This man treated the Elders kindly and suggested that it would be wise if they would hold their meetings on the "green," promising not only to attend, but also to publish the times of the meetings free of charge. ¹⁸

On Saturday, May 14, the Elders took an announcement to the *China Mail* to the effect that they would hold a meeting on the next Monday at 5 o'clock p.m. But it had to be cancelled because of a rather heavy rainstorm. The next day they placed notices in two newspapers announcing a meeting on the parade ground on Wednesday, May 18, at 5:00 p.m., the weather permitting. This meeting was held as scheduled. Stout stated in his diary that

there were about 100 citizens and as many soldiers present. Elder Lewis spoke on the first principles of the gospel,

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 479.

showing also the difference between our religion and the sects of the day. He delivered a powerful discourse, handling the sects quite uncerimoniously. [sic]¹⁹

Interest seemed to be manifest and Stout said that he felt that "the ice of superstition is broken and a good work will follow." Meetings were subsequently held on May 19 and 20. At the latter meeting there were about thirty citizens and 200 soldiers moving in and out of the group "in swarms." Although Stout thought Duncan was in his usual good form, he noticed a change of attitude and wrote:

It is amusing to see how nice and reserved the people act with an assumed modesty of a ticklish coquette wanting to talk but not be seen.²⁰

The cause of this change turned out to be the spreading of the news, in articles that appeared in three newspapers that the Mormons were polygamists.

Mr. Dixon, one of the newspaper editors, gave the Elders some theater tickets. While there they had an experience that merits recording:

A few Persians, some of whom were at our last lecture, were there. One of them came to me and introducing himself, enquired when we would have another lecture. I informed him it would be next Monday. He then spoke to the rest of his country men in their own language after which he said to me that he was telling them that we were the men who lectured and that we believed in having more than one wife and they desired to know more about it. We never had mentioned the subject but it has been humbuged today through the city in consequence of what came out in the papers. . . .and today the Persians have been informed on the subject by those who are opposed to us which has had the effect to make them believe we are correct.²¹

Stout closed his diary that day by saying that he was not very well entertained at the theater.

The days dragged on and little was accomplished. The Elders spent a large percentage of their time indoors because the weather was too hot and often very rainy. Most of the contacts recorded in Stout's diary were meetings with various newspaper editors. The editors seem to have been reasonable men, but that did not keep them from printing derogatory

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 480.

articles that upset the missionaries. On May 31, 1853, such an article appeared in the *Hong Kong Register*. With regard to that article Stout wrote:

This morning's No. of the "Hong Kong Register" has a long article showing the necessity of having the "Mormonites" indicted for Blasphemy, and set to "picking oakum and kept on bread and water" but the Editor replies that his prescriptions "savors too much of the dark ages and days of thunkbings" and recommends for the people to let us alone.²²

Their last meeting on the parade ground (or green as it was called), was held on May 31. Preaching to a group of about fifty persons, the missionaries felt that they did a good job of proving various contending religions wrong, but the crowd did not ask a single question and left almost immediately. Future meetings were attempted, but the weather caused problems. The Elders tried to find ways to enter people's homes to preach to them, but this also proved to be futile. On June 7, Stout wrote that he felt that he and his companions had done all that God or man could require of them in Hong Kong. He said, "We have preached publicly and privately as long as anyone would hear and often tried when no one would hear." On June 9, Stout recorded that they decided that their labors in that place should be discontinued.²³

Stout was disturbed not only by the fact that they were not able to find interested listeners, but also by the fact that they could not even find overt opposition. He found that

no one will give heed to what we say, neither does anyone manifest any opposition or interest but treats us with the utmost civility, conversing freely on all subjects except the pure principles of the gospel. When we approach that they have universally in the most polite manner declined by saying that they did not wish to hear anything on that subject for they are willing to extend the mantle of charity over all christian believers and ourselves among the rest, not doubting that we were good men and all would be right with all.²⁴

The same day the Elders went on board an English ship, *The Rose of Sharron*, and arranged cabin passage to San Francisco, the cost being fifty dollars each, excluding board.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 481.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 482.

²⁴*Ibid.*

For the next two weeks they were busy clearing up their few affairs, selling their furniture, and preparing for their voyage back to America. They bought the necessary supplies to keep themselves fed, and sailed for San Francisco on June 22, 1853.

The mission to China cannot be assessed other than a complete failure, and the missionaries were as well aware of this as any later observer. Available sources reveal that while in China, the Elders were quite well appraised of the situations as they existed in the country. However, before arriving in China they were not very well informed concerning the conditions they would meet there.

A serious problem was that of their arrival in Hong Kong at a climatically poor time of year. Hong Kong is in tropical China and lies only 22 degrees north latitude from the equator. There is a long, wet summer with excessive humidity and high temperatures from mid-April until mid-October. During these months the rains are very heavy, varying from six to twelve inches a month. The missionaries arrived in Hong Kong during this most oppressive period, and Elder Stout made frequent reference in his diary to the excessive rains.²⁵ He also mentioned the heat a number of different times. Many entries state that the gospel teachers were forced to stay indoors all or most of the time because the heat and humidity were too great to work outside. The enthusiasm of the Elders was greatly dulled by the climate.

The missionaries realized many of the reasons for their failure. Two letters are available that reveal the depth of the Elders' understanding of the situation in which they were working. The first of these letters, dated May 16, 1853, was sent to President Brigham Young, and is very revealing in that it contains information concerning the T'ai-ping Rebellion, the general cultural situation, and problems relating to the Chinese language. The second one, also to Brigham Young, was written August 23, 1853, from San Francisco, after the Elders had returned there.

Probably the greatest disappointment the Elders faced was that there were so few Europeans in Hong Kong. According to their count there were around 250 European civilians in

²⁵There are thirteen different entries concerning the rains. Most of them come during the latter part of May and throughout June. In most cases the rains were mentioned because they caused cancellation of scheduled meetings and appointments.

Hong Kong, plus between one and two thousand soldiers. Stout wrote concerning this problem:

Here we find a people situated differently from others we have seen and less likely to receive the gospel. There are no common or middle class inhabitants here. There are few whites and these are merchants, traders, all deeply engrossed in business.²⁶

When Stout wrote his second letter from San Francisco he stated that the Europeans were the "would be *nabobs*, of the world" and further noted that

This class we found almost unapproachable, on account of their wealth and popularity, and look with contempt upon all who are not of the same grade with themselves; also a few lawyers, doctors, and a small sprinkling of missionaries also of the upper circles, luxuriating upon the proceeds of the cent societies at home, and the miseries of the people in that region.²⁷

After the first and seemingly easiest approach of teaching the gospel to the Europeans had been closed, the next alternative was to turn to the native Chinese. Unfortunately, not many Chinese knew English, and the Elders knew no Chinese. This problem ultimately came down to one of money for it would have cost \$30.00 a month for a language teacher. Furthermore, most of the Chinese who knew English worked either for the government or for missionaries of other faiths. The Elders seem to have had a fair understanding of the magnitude of the problem for Stout wrote the following:

China is divided into many provinces, each province having a different dialect, not understood by the others. Their written language is uniform and understood by all, having different sounds to the same character, but the same meaning. Their words are monosyllables and are represented by complex characters, except in compound words which have a character for each syllable. There are different meanings to the same sound distinguished by intonations of the voice as in music. These are divided into nasal, guttural, liquid, long and short sounds which are blended together and compounded *ad infinitum*, making the language very difficult to learn and utterly impossible without a teacher. These are the general principles so far as I can understand them.²⁸

²⁶Stout, *Hosea Stout*, pp. 170-71.

²⁷*Deseret News*, Dec. 22, 1853.

²⁸Stout, *Hosea Stout*, p. 172

Stout is not correct on all of the details and intricacies of the language, but it is clear that he had a good idea of the problems of learning the language. Although the Elders knew that they had to learn the language if they were to teach the gospel in China, they did not know how to accomplish this task. In addition to the language problem, they found the variations in the class structure among the Chinese to be a problem.

Within six weeks of their arrival in Hong Kong, the Elders realized that they were not going to succeed. To the general observer it may not be clear why they did not turn to another port or go inland. The answer is that the mainland of China was at this time seized in a great revolution—the T'ai-ping rebellion. This partially religiously motivated uprising had started in July 1851. It lasted until 1864, and the Mormon Elders arrived in China in April 1853, the time of some of the greatest successes of the rebel army. During one period or another the movement engulfed a great portion of China and allegedly a total of twenty million people died in its battles and the resulting famines.²⁹

The report that Stout rendered concerning the rebellion is significant enough to warrant a long quotation.

Concerning the rebellion in China, the present reigning Tartar³⁰ dynasty usurped the government about 270 years ago.³¹ Since that time the nation has been ruled by these tyrants. They require the subject peoples to shave their heads and wear tails in token of submission.³² They impose many other customs and requirements repugnant to the conquered.

²⁹The movement first emerged in the province of Kwangsi. The founder, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (1814-1864), and his chief collaborators were Hakkas, that is, members of a distinct linguistic group descended from North Chinese migrants. Hung was not only a mystic, but was also a frustrated scholar, who had failed more than once in the Canton Civil Service examinations. He had a religious experience that convinced him that he was actually a messiah, a concept he picked up from Christianity. Just two months before the Elders arrived in Hong Kong, the T'ai-pings had captured Nanking, the number two city of the empire.

³⁰Actually called the Manchu dynasty, or Ch'ing dynasty. It was common at the time of Stout's writing to refer to the Manchus as Tartars.

³¹The date of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty was 1636. The man who is given credit for establishing this new dynasty was Abahai, the son of Nurhachi, the architect of the Manchu movement. Stout's date is off fifty-three years.

³²This was the requirement of wearing a queue or long braid. The T'ai-pings refused to do this and wore long hair. Thus the title "longhair" was given them. The Manchus made a number of exactions of this nature upon the Chinese people. They did not wish to become part of the Chinese culture. Their fear was that if they lost their identity they would be absorbed and thus lose their position of power.

The leader of the rebellion against the Tartars is a descendent of the deposed royal family³³ and shows possibilities of defeating the Tartars. He declares himself directly commissioned by heaven to drive the usurping Tartars out of the realm. He will then proclaim peace and safety to all Chinese as soon as they submit to his rule.³⁴ He gives no quarter to Tartars, putting to death all who fall into his power. He has offered a reward for the head of the Mandarins and other Tartar rulers. The latest news is, the rebels have taken Nanking and are preparing to march against Peking; if successful in taking Peking, the Emperor would, if he escapes, seek safety over the big wall, while the country would come under the ancient rulers. The rebel has the sympathy of the nation. He has established a well-regulated government in all the conquered provinces, allowed the people to wear long hair without tails which is considered a good stroke of policy. There are, however, so many contradictory rumors afloat that it is difficult to tell what is the true state of affairs.³⁵

There are a number of inaccuracies in Stout's report, but for the most part he seems to have been well informed. He was aware of the impossibility of traveling elsewhere in China.

The voyage home to San Francisco was a long one requiring sixty-two days. The winds were contrary and at times the ship sat in a doldrum. The arrival of the Elders in San Francisco on August 22, 1853, ended the efforts of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in China until 1949.

³³There is no historical basis for this statement.

³⁴Hung, the founder, proclaimed his new dynasty to be the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo). Thus the name for the rebellion. Hung took the title of T'ien-wang or Heavenly King. He actually considered himself the brother of Jesus Christ. The best study in English of the religious aspects of the movement is: Eugene P. Boardman, *Christian Influence Upon the Theology of the Taiping Rebellion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952).

³⁵Stout, *Hosea Stout*, pp. 171-72.

Some Problems Of Translating Mormon Thought Into Chinese

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It was Gordon B. Hinckley who once told a group of missionaries in Taiwan never to forget their Chinese, for the Church would need at least twenty mission presidents when it finally spreads across the China mainland. Hopefully, the future will see the Gospel going to all of China, after its period of tutelage in Taiwan and Hong Kong. It is essential that we lay a good foundation now,¹ and one of the most significant challenges of that future is the translation of Mormon thought into Chinese.

Since one of the greatest missionary tools anywhere is the Book of Mormon, I would like to examine some of the translation problems in relation to it and suggest some possible solutions. A thought on the importance of religious writing from an early Christian writer on China, the Reverend John Darrock, seems pertinent to us even now:

Christianity has from its inception owed its progress to the pen. . . . All the great religious systems of China have been built on the foundation of the literature which they created . . . Confucianism and literature have been synonymous terms in China for twenty centuries, but since Christian literature has become generally known, a new sun has arisen on the horizon of the literati.²

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¹*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Volume 4, Number 1, Spring 1969, pp. 41-50.

²The Reverend John Darrock, in Gilbert McIntosh, *Records: China Centenary Missionary Conference*, Shanghai, 1907, Methodist Publishing House, in the section "Christian Literature."

The ideas and opinions that follow are my own, and they are more or less a thought workbook, a casebook of questions that have served as catalysts to my own thinking. They are offered here with the hope that they may give rise to new ideas and further areas of study.³

Translating any thought expressed in one language into another language is not a mechanical process. If it is to be of any real value, translation is rather a thoughtful understanding of the initial expression and a very careful attempt to express that thought in the target language. This concept points out four significant thoughts encountered in translating the Book of Mormon into Chinese:

1. The first edition of any scripture sets the basic tone which readers come to expect and associate with that scripture, and this makes subsequent major changes difficult.
2. The doctrine that "There is none other name given under heaven save it be this Jesus Christ . . . whereby man can be saved" must be clearly understood.
3. The translated Book of Mormon warnings against civil war pertain to all mankind.
4. The two concepts of "taking away" and "apostasy and divine authority" are essential to the Chinese Saints' understanding and acceptance of the translated Book of Mormon.

To begin with, we need an overview of the translating work. We take a keynote thought from another early Christian writer:

The truth is that very few men are really qualified for this work,—in scholarship, thorough knowledge of the Chinese language, ability to work with others, and freedom from theological hobbies.⁴

Confucius spoke of doing some things as being "like negotiating a deep abyss, or like treading on thin ice."⁵ And certainly anyone who consents to translate an important book into his language, especially if that book is a scripture, is walking on a thin shell of ice above a lake of criticism. Everybody has his own ideas about the translation, but one thing is sure: nobody agrees with the translator!

³See my short story, "A Novitiate For Hu Chan," in *Wye Magazine*, Fall 1968, pp. 4-8, published at Brigham Young University. The youth in Taiwan and Hong Kong are typical only in being untypical. Hybridism is the norm these days. Church membership likewise intensifies this in relation to Chinese culture.

⁴The Reverend A. P. Parker, D. D., Shanghai *China Centenary Missionary Conference* (*op. cit.*), discussing committee translation of scripture.

⁵*The Canon of Filial Piety.*

Scriptural criticism in Taiwan begins with the Bible. Christians say its language is "too high." The Old and New Testaments in general are "very faithful to the Hebrew and Greek texts. The New Testament part [uses the] Westcott and Hort [texts]." ⁶ The wording is quasi-classical, being specifically a mixture of modern and coined terms couched in classical forms. And that is confusing to some. One father told me in Taipei: "You want something to give your son when he's ordained a deacon for commemoration, and boys and classics don't mix." ⁷

In this context the Reverend Parker, writing in 1907, listed three pitfalls which Bible translators encountered, and perhaps we can apply these to the Mormon translator as well today:

1. Literalism, foreignizing and obscuring by adhering too closely to the original text
2. Confucianizing, using classical words and clauses
3. Interpretation, putting explanation in the text instead of exact rendering. ⁸

And it is in discussing these points too that most criticism of the Chinese Book of Mormon comes in. "It reads like a thesis," said one American (a former missionary) working on his Chinese Literature Ph.D. at the University of Taiwan. "It is dry, dull, uninteresting. It does not give you a little thrill when you come to passages that move you in English. Not only is it important to know that the Lord said something, but that He said it well." To many people, the Lord's command of Chinese in the Bible and Book of Mormon has been less than adequate.

One reason is transliteration. Chinese proper names have usually three—at the most four—characters. My own name, even though a double surname, still has only three characters: *Ssu T'u I*. But a quick glance at the names in the Book of Mormon and Bible will show that they do not follow Chinese style, and this is a rub to a lot of people. A few names will illustrate: *Li Hai* (Lehi), *Ni Fei* (Nephi), *Yeh Su Chi Tu* (Jesus Christ), *Shih Mi Yüeh Se* (Joseph Smith).

⁶From an aerogram to me from the Bible Societies in Taiwan, P.O. Box 3401, Taipei, April 24, 1968, by the secretary, Mr. Lai P'ing Tung. See their book, *A Chinese Christian History*, (*Chung Kuo Chi Tu Chiao Shih*), published in Taipei.

⁷See my article in *Voice of the Saints*, Volume 8, Number 2, May 1966, Hong Kong, pp. 37-38, for a discussion of the youth in the Church in Taiwan.

⁸See William J. Boone, D.D., *Defense of an Essay*, (Canton: the Chinese Repository, 1850), 170 pp. This is a rebuttal to James Legge on the Term Problem: how to translate *God* into Chinese.

This general question was treated by Yu Kuang Chu, Chairman of the Program of Asian Studies at Skidmore College, New York, when he said:

This pictorial quality of Chinese characters led Fenollosa, writing at the turn of the century, to assert that it added greatly to the visual imagery of Chinese poetry. It was alleged that when a Chinese reader saw the character for "moon," he got not only the idea of moon but actually saw a crescent moon. This view has been discredited now, for it is simply not true. Most of the pictorial characters have changed their forms so drastically that they no longer are pictures. The Chinese reader simply takes each character as a conventionalized symbol of an idea. However, it remains true that the Chinese treat the written character as an artistic design.⁹

With this in mind then, many of us suggest that transliteration of names be done by using, not "any characters at random," but more selectively to connote ideas. Lehi and Nephi should have the same family surname when their names are broken down into syllabic characters. Words with "good" connotations should be used for the "good guys," and vice versa.

A more subtle problem is that of *timbre*. Every writer knows what timbre is, but he can't articulate it for others or effectively teach it.¹⁰ It is the feel, and the feeling, one gets overall when reading or writing a creative piece of work. It is the spirit of the writing, the essence. It is what tingles your spine when you read Doctrine and Covenants 121, or what sobers you in Ecclesiastes, or rings with the clarity of a tuning-fork in John. It is the poetry of prose. But "Poetry is what is lost in translation" said Robert Frost. So how does the translator give a tingle to the Chinese at the same place and for the same reason as the English? Can he indeed? He must try. He is translating a culture, a faith, a background, and an ideology, besides his text. He must be intimate with them all.¹¹

⁹From an article, "Interplay Between Language and Thought in Chinese," originally in *Topic: A Journal of the Liberal Arts*, at Washington and Jefferson College. The book cited is Ernest Fenollosa, *The Chinese Written Character As a Medium for Poetry*, Ezra Pound, Ed., (City Lights Books, San Francisco, 1968), pp. 40-45. I disagree with Yu Kuang Chu that what Fenollosa says is wrong or discredited. It is not.

¹⁰Pearl S. Buck, *A Bridge for Passing*, (Cardinal, New York, 1963), pb., 184 pp. A lucid insight into how a writer's mind works when writing.

¹¹Marcellus S. Snow, "Translating Mormon Thought," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Volume 2, Number 2, Summer, 1967, pp. 49-62. See also Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education*, chapter two dealing with that elusive thing called "style."

There are places where the Oriental translator will be tempted to read more into a text than is actually there, because it is more familiar to him than, say, to Joseph Smith. He will come to the funeral wailers in 3 Nephi 8:23 or the bed mats in Mark 2:9-11, and will recognize something Oriental there, and so emphasize it. His reading about the Mormon family will have a familiar spirit to him from the dust of millenia of Chinese family-ism. So his job is one of balancer, standing between several cultures and many counselors.¹²

The Chinese Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price have not yet been printed, although they have been translated. The Book of Mormon was first issued in Hong Kong in January 1966, and each succeeding edition has seen many corrections in wording and concept, "clarifying the wordings in some instances," as translator Hu Wei I told me in an interview.¹³ He calls them purely *translation* changes, not *doctrine* changes.

Originally he expected much feedback from readers of the first editions to help him in correcting errors. But Chinese restraint interfered in this desire, and the readers remained silent. So what changes have come about have resulted from missionary comments and general grape-vine gleanings. The Chinese Bible has been of little help in this endeavor (as the King James was to Joseph Smith) because it is too often a bad translation.¹⁴

Impinging upon the methods of translation are several current eddies of thought in Chinese literary circles about the writing system itself. It began really with the *Pai Hua* Movement and its major proponent Hu Shih six decades ago, which was to write in the vernacular instead of stilted classical usages.¹⁵ Many scholars in Taiwan and Hong Kong now want to drop the whole system of characters and adopt a phonetic system such as Korea's and Japan's. They have been suppressed by the Taiwan government's "Restore Chinese Culture" line,

¹²Parker, *op. cit.*: "Each might borrow from the other and we might hope for a version as the result which would hit the golden mean."

¹³In *Voice of the Saints*, Volume 8, Number 3, July, 1966, pp. 35-38. This article is the only extant history of the translation of the Chinese Book of Mormon, other than cursory notes in the mission histories.

¹⁴Romans 1:16 is a good example. The Chinese version leaves out the word "Christ" in the first clause entirely.

¹⁵See Hu Shih, *Hu Shih Hsüan Chi*, (Selected Writings of Hu Shih), (World Book Company, Taipei), 55, 163 pp. See also Yale University's study texts of the new simplified characters for their Far Eastern Publications Division. The *People's Daily* newspaper in Peking uses this method.

however. The Chinese Communists have made an attempt to simplify the written characters, and in Taiwan a system of phonetic symbols for sounding out characters has been used, but these have proved limited.

The whole problem is enough to make one wish with Bodhidarma¹⁶ that a man's religion was "not in relying on words or letters." It was the Chinese poet Tu Fu who explained that he wrote so that the least of peasant women could understand him.¹⁷ Translated scripture also needs to speak to all levels.

The relation between Church and language in China is as close as that of the people and the earth. Language is a cult, worshipped for its own intrinsic value and place in society. It lives with the people and determines much of life like lands and crops. It would be, by inference, one of Paul Tillich's "ultimate issues and values" from which and with which religion for them deals, and the two must coexist.¹⁸

A few valuable though scarce helps on grammar and clarity have come from Book of Mormon readers in Sinim: Perhaps marginal or center-page notes could be used here as in the Bible to show where the translation has been bent a little to make it mean all it should, and to explain linguistically controversial parts. For example, no one we know of can yet translate "And it came to pass." The expletive throws everybody. Perhaps a paragraph in the table of contents could explain it at length, and then an asterisk replace it wherever it occurs thereafter.

Some trials could be made to see if the entire book translates back into English as it should. For example, the translation of "baptism," which is the term *hsi li*, has been in use since the first translations of the Bible, and we have adopted it, but it is most definitely wrong. Literally it means "the washing rite," and of course this gives no distinction from other scriptural ordinances which are called "washings and annointings."

¹⁶See Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, (Harper, New York, 1916), pp. 253-258.

¹⁷See Robert Payne, editor, *The White Pony, An Anthology of Chinese Poetry*, (Mentor, New York, 1947), pp. 182-186; also Cyril Birch, editor, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, (Grove, New York, 1967), pp. 235-241.

¹⁸Louis Midgley, "Religion and Ultimate Concern," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Volume 1, Number 2, pp. 55-71, discussing Tillich's famous dictum that "whatever concerns a man ultimately becomes god for him." This is a key concept for a translator, who must remember which gods he is translating.

I would suggest a term such as *chin hsi*, "immersion washing," for example.

In addition to the problem of MIStranslation there is the subtler problem of PARTIAL translation.¹⁹ For example, we take the passage "For man is spirit."²⁰ That is true—as far as it goes. But it is only a partial idea that needs the rest of the idea to make it comprehensible in context. According to Nephi and Hugh Nibley, the most fatal defect that can occur in the transmission of scripture is *deletion*, not so much actual false doctrine. What is there remains basically true as far as it goes, but it suffers from default. Little is altered; some is just left out. If the basic set of ideas and sentences is there totally, then internal problems of translation are minor flaws in the body politic. It can still function. But when problems of both kinds occur simultaneously, there is bound to be trouble.²¹ So the translator wanders from one hesitation to another.

Perhaps 1970 Mormonism is no more Jewish (Jesus) than Chinese Buddhism is Indian (Gautama), but it is the role of the Book of Mormon to delineate what areas of the former can and cannot be adapted indigenously.²² Therefore, some have argued that the translation must not make major changes once the first edition is out.

In 1966 I asked Marion D. Hanks why the Church had been in the Chinese Mission for a decade without a Book of Mormon. In substance he said we had not had anyone in the Church of sufficient spiritual expertise to translate it well enough. We could have hired it done, but it would have lacked the spirit that only a faithful member-translator can give it.

So I began to envision the translator as something more than the "arm of flesh," and to realize how much depended on his English, his Chinese, his method, his linguistics, and his personal spirituality.

¹⁹See 1 Nephi 13; also Hugh Nibley, *Since Cumorah*, (Deseret, Salt Lake City, 1967), 451 pp. Specifically page 169.

²⁰Doctrine and Covenants 93:33.

²¹Nibley, *op. cit.*, p. 31; also Doctrine and Covenants 91; also Jessie G. Lutz, editor, *Christian Missions in China—Evangelists of What?*, (Heath, Boston, 1966), 108 pp; also G.W. Sheppard, "The Problem of Translating 'God' Into Chinese," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 6, Number 1, January, 1955, pp. 23-30; also T.H. Darlow, and H.F. Moule, M.A., *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures*, Volume 2, pp. 181-254, (Kraus, New York, 1963).

²²See my short story, "A Patronym For Hu Chan," in *The Improvement Era*, Volume 72, Number 9, September 1969, pp. 28-30.

Another problem of the Chinese translator is word-borrowing. Since the prophets overlap and quote each other themselves, it is reasoned legitimate for a translator to borrow phrases from Confucius and Mencius if such borrowing contributes to the translation's "likening of all scriptures unto ourselves."²³ Often a Book of Mormon writer will add the phrase "which by interpretation is . . ." to explain a word he knows we will not understand, as in the case of "deseret."²⁴ This may suggest a way to get around the transliteration problem already discussed; it may work as well as interpolating notes into the body of the work. This would be at least one step in making accuracy a little less subjective.

But a Chinese reader is in trouble with the Book of Mormon even before he opens the cover because of the name of the book. All other churches in China use one of their central concepts as their popular appellation: TAOism, which means WAYism; FOism, or BUDDHAism. But *Mo Men*—the transliteration of "Mormon"—means literally "Rub Door." That is not even a cogent concept. At least to Joseph Smith "Mormon" meant "a good man"—the English word "mor(e)" combined with the Egyptian word "Mon" or "good." Even to his enemies it meant "the guys that believe in that gold bible." But to the Chinese it means nothing. Does this make a difference? Sometimes enemies of the Church substitute another *Mo* for ours, and that one means "devil"! Speaking English, I am happy when someone calls me a Mormon. He is calling me a good man. Not so in China.²⁵

I would suggest in this case that the concept *Mormon* doesn't have to *sound* like "Mormon." The Navajo people use the word "Gaamalii" to mean Mormon. We could go and do like-

²³1 Nephi 19:23.

²⁴Ether 2:3.

²⁵By extension, Nibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 *et. al.*, also pp. 151 and 164. See also James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith*, (Deseret, Salt Lake City), pp. 237 ff; also William Theodore deBary, editor, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, (Houghton, New York, 1932), 870 pp., editorial notes a good source; also Vincent Cronin, *The Wise Man From the West*, (Dutton, New York, 1955), 300 pp.; also Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, (Harper, New York, 1955), pp. 227-8, 233; also Arthur F. Wright, *Studies in Chinese Thought*, (Chicago, 1953), pp. 10, 14-16, 232-303; also H. Grant Heaton, "Comments on Translation Work in Chinese," unpublished, January 31, 1963, pp. 9ff; also Tun-Jou Ku, "Notes on the Chinese Version of the Bible," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 8, Number 4, October 1957, pp. 160-165.

Some general ideas concerning this process in time are presented in the following:

A.H. Jowett Murray, "A Review of Lü Chen Chung's Revised Draft of the

wise. If a translator cannot be a master of Reformed Egyptian, perhaps all we can expect is that he be expert in the English idiom and the American culture which produced the Book of Mormon. Because when you buy a King James Bible you get two things—the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and an English literary masterpiece. Would it be wrong or unscriptural to expect a translation to *improve* on the poetry and wording of the original? Certainly in the case of the Book of Mormon it would not.

The Western reader has a plethora of materials related in context and background to the Book of Mormon—scrolls, exegeses, tradition—more than enough. The Oriental translator is left singularly alone to his imagination and own devices and second-hand gleanings from these Western materials which are themselves foreign to him.²⁶ So it was in the days of the first China missionaries centuries ago, like Matteo Ricci.

Biographers say that Matteo Ricci, the great Jesuit, ultimately was a sad man. It was he who did all the work, who suffered all the pain, who gave all of himself, and got nothing in return. China just didn't care.²⁷ For China already had a workable system of religious and quasi-religious forms and norms. And to make matters worse, Ricci faced what we have called the Rites Controversy.²⁸ This centered in the question of whether or not a Chinese Christian could burn incense, worship his ancestors, observe traditional holidays, and generally do the outward actions which made him religiously Chinese. Ricci said yes,²⁹ and went so far as to use firecrackers in Mass. The Pope said no, and by appealing to him, the Jesuits offended the Son of Heaven, the Emperor.

The Son of Heaven is dead, but the Rites Controversy still shuffles around the Chinese Church, made even more sensitive

New Translation of the New Testament in Chinese," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 4, Number 4, October 1953, pp. 165-167.

Robert Kramers, "On Lü Chen Chung's New Testament Translation," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 5, Number 4, October 1954, pp. 184-190.

Don Hicken, "The Church in Asia," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Volume 3, Number 1, Spring 1968, pp. 134-142.

Ralph Covell, "Bible Translation in the Asian Setting," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 15, 1964, pp. 132-142.

²⁶William Tyndale said "The Bible should speak the language of the people."

²⁷Cronin, *op. cit.*

²⁸Columba Cary-Elwes, *China and the Cross*, (Kennedy, New York, 1956).

²⁹He based his decision on a section in the *Doctrine of the Mean* where King Wu and Duke Chou were said to have served the dead "as they would have served them had they been living, which is the summit of filial piety."

by the "Restore Chinese Culture" line where nothing worthwhile from the past may be sacrificed on the altar of modernity, nor compromised with the religion of foreign devils. Every missionary, "green bean or old head," gets the question sooner or later, and no paddy bottom was ever stickier.

More and more missionaries have come to realize that their one answer to this problem is the Book of Mormon—not its particular scriptures in chapter and verse, but its general timbre and spirit. Here is the tool that teaches a Chinese person the one supreme fact that he must know on an internal level if he is to understand the position of the Restoration: that which is good comes from Christ, and that which is bad comes from Satan, and nothing else really matters if uppermost in his heart is the knowledge that "there is none other name given under heaven save it be this Jesus Christ . . . whereby man can be saved," nor ancestors, nor Buddha, nor anyone else.³⁰

The Book of Mormon has had amazing acceptance among the Church and even the Chinese citizenry in general in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Everybody Chinese loves scriptures, and these people are eclectic—if one scripture is good more are better. They welcome the monolith of multilith and like it all down in print just for the record. If Brigham Young wanted to sing the Gospel into the Saints, the Chinese want to read it in. And in reading it, many of them hear its voice making statements salient enough and right enough about their aspects of Asian politics to warrant close attention.

Taking issue with Chiang Kai Shek that the Chinese civil war ended in 1949, and calling down the United Formosans for wishing to propagate a new one in 1970, we see some problems deriving from the Two China situation which affect the Church. All war is civil,³¹ since all people are children of God literally. And the problem for the Church is that many branches have leadership people from both sides—Taiwanese, Mainlander, from this province or that.

So in an essential work-a-day level, this Book of Mormon bridge has warnings against civil war which pertain to all mankind. Nothing occupies so much space in that volume as that subject, and nothing commands so much rapt attention in the Chinese Mission as we attempt to translate our Church

³⁰2 Nephi 25:20.

³¹See my short story to be published in the Spring, 1970 *Wye Magazine*. "A Place of Very Gentle Ghosts."

there. So the missionaries have used it to interpret the core meanings of Mormonism. It logically ought to have provided, too, and has to an extent, a real means for the foreign missionaries who carry it to interpret the Chinese linguistically, and gather from their comparisons of it with English some cogent ideas of how the Chinese think of the terms and ideas the missionaries toss around as clichés of faith.

It should have provided on both sides a lessening of rhetoric *about* the Gospel and a deepened knowledge *of* it.³² This is like Paul's meaning. When Paul had only the Old Testament and personal experience with which to preach, he went to all kinds of people foreign to himself and developed a philosophy like this:

. . . I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; . . . And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.³³

This is how Paul bridged the culture gap, he being a foreign missionary, and localized his presentation of the Gospel, to make it indigenous wherever he went.³⁴ But in the process of indigenization, the translating of scriptures poses a serious problem. The pervading thought among English-speaking Mormon scribes is that, since the Book of Mormon was spared the Greek or Roman philosophical corruption which came to

³²Ch'en Shih Hsiang, "Chinese Poetics and Zenism;" also R. P. Kramers, "On Being Polite in Chinese," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 14, Number 4, October 1963, pp. 165-173; also G. Henry Waterman, "Report on the Formosa Translators' Convention," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 8, 1957, pp. 32-34. I suggest that our Church translators participate in such conferences. We could derive much and contribute much. See also John Whitehorn, "Some Language Problems of Formosa," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 7, 1956, pp. 17-21.

³³I Corinthians 9:19-23.

³⁴Doctrine and Covenants 105:24; Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity*, (Hollym, Seoul, 1967), 174 pp; also In-hah Jung, editor, *The Feel of Korea*, (Hollym, Seoul, 1966), pp. 68-81, by Palmer on "Korean-American Relations, Problems in the Contemporary Dialogue." By studying the Church in countries other than China, we form a triangulation to understand our investigation of China better; Doctrine and Covenants 1:30; also J.L. Swellengrebel, "'Leprosy' and the Bible," *The Bible Translator*, Volume 11, Number 1, January 1960, pp. 69-80.

See my article in *Voice of the Saints*, (Hong Kong, December 1965), pp. 37-38; also V. R. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, (Book World, Taipei, 1958), 3 vols., each indexed; also E.T.C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, (Fa Chu Fa Ti, Taipei, 53), 627 pp.

The Canon of Filial Piety (Hsiao Ching) speaks of *shen ming*, which almost every commentary gives as "spiritual intelligences." I am inclined to agree.

the Bible, it is a pure book. However, when we translate this "pure" book into Chinese, we must inculcate into it Taoist and Buddhist thoughts (to name two of many) because of the words we are forced to use; and so now we have two books of impure scripture instead of one. For example, the word currently being used for "exaltation," *ch'ao sheng*, is an old Buddhist term. The first verse of John, "In the beginning was the Word," uses *tao* for "Word," the very name of Taoism. This translation is eminently right, but it still produces confusion.

Indeed, for Mormon readers, how Jesus speaks to His prophets in 3 Nephi is how Jesus speaks. But what conditions his language? And the language of the writer recording his language? And the language of the translator? Does the Lord come out talking like a Phi Beta Kappa or a Steelworker? That is the decision—and ultimately the responsibility—of the translator, made for him by his culture. He interpolates mood into his work constantly, being human.

As the Book of Mormon comes to grips with Chinese by means of our own study and dialogue between the two, we hope it will help to cut away a lot of theological fat and rhetoric and get down to laws irrevocably decreed: the meat of the Gospel.³⁵ It asks only one question and gives only one answer: What *will* we do to be saved? And to be saved, the understanding of two elements is essential, without which there is no use having the Church in China. The concepts of "taking away" and "apostasy and divine authority" are basic elements in translated LDS scripture. In order to accept that "none other name" given in the Book of Mormon as the source of personal salvation, the Chinese must accept and understand the concepts of apostasy and restored authority. This is essential for lending credence to the counsel, principles, and fulness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as contained within the pages of the Book of Mormon.

First, the doctrine of authority must come through, not in just the limited sense of the ecclesiastical authority or Priesthood, but on a universal level, as the divine, eternal authority with which God commands all of his organized elements,

³⁵Doctrine and Covenants 130:20; Helaman 5:51 *et. al.*; Nibley, *Cumorah*, p. 127; Reischauer and Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition*, pp. 31 ff., 91, 77: The weight of tradition is as heavy as this famous book is expensive; also David O. McKay, *Gospel Ideals*, p. 442, on iconoclasm; also J. Hudson Taylor, *A Retrospect*, (Moody, Chicago), pb., 159 pp.

asking subjection and obedience by love, as in the Doctrine and Covenants (see Section 84). Secondly, the doctrine of apostasy, or taking away, if you will, is not just the Great Christian Apostasy, but is all deviation in all history, not from "orthodoxy" alone, but from simplicity, science, art, prayer, democracy, freedom and truth.³⁶

In almost all other aspects save these two, it is not wrong to say that all the churches, Christian and non-Christian, are alike—they all *teach* men to do good (though not all command enough faith to get men to be doers, as Joseph Smith pointed out in his sixth lecture on faith). For that reason, for the Chinese there is no virtue in a foreign religion: Buddhism has just as good ethics as Mormonism, plus it has all the accompanying hocus-pocus that is really more "Chinesey." But it does not have these two concepts which render Mormonism unique, and the Book of Mormon is essential to their elucidation. Because we are not in China to create a Mormon community—just to establish the Church of Jesus Christ.

Times and seasons have changed in China, and almost any preconception about China is wrong somewhere. There are levels of China a foreigner can never understand. But if I may suggest for contemplation one thought supreme in this writing it is this: to be sure, the Kingdom of God is in *you*, and the still small voice is still a linguistic thing, but it is only a whisper, as given in love or sorrow, and the fact that this Lord, who is not in the whirlwind or the earthquake either, is neither wholly in the bound book, covers a multitude of sins.³⁷

Really, the *translating* of Mormon thought into Chinese, is, in kind, not so much King James' version. It is more like Enoch's.

³⁶3 Nephi 16:10; also Hugh Nibley, "The Idea of the Temple in History," a Brigham Young University extension publication, a discussion of the "prestige of the center" and other Temple meanings.

³⁷Spencer J. Palmer, "Mormonism—A Message For All Nations," an extension publication, June, 1965; also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, Volume 4, pp. 201-207; also Gordon B. Hinckley, *Improvement Era*, Volume 67, Number 3, March 1964, pp. 166-193; Luke 17:21; also Fred Takasaki, "The Idea of the Center," printed at Brigham Young University Art Department, 1969.

Meeting The Challenges Of The Latter-day Saints in Vietnam

DESMOND L. ANDERSON*

For millions of people throughout the world, "Vietnam" is the most complex and misunderstood issue ever encountered. There are no easy answers. It is baffling and frustrating and its successful resolution requires infinite patience, mature judgment, and wise statesmanship. Some of us even dare hope that it may become that moment in history when mankind finally realizes that war is an outmoded and ineffectual instrument of international diplomacy. For thousands of Latter-day Saint men and women who serve here, "Vietnam" is also an experience in apprehension, danger, temptation, and brotherhood. Their lives are precious and their service will not be overlooked by the Creator.

VIETNAM MEETS THE MORMONS

No one knows for certain how many Latter-day Saints serve in Vietnam during any one given period of time. Estimates range from 2,000 to 7,000. They are scattered across the length and breadth of South Vietnam, from the City of Hue and the DMZ in the North, through the Central Highlands, to the extensive rice paddies of the Delta region in the South. They are Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Australian, and European, but preponderantly American—both men and women. The Americans are primarily military personnel, but there are many civilians serving in a variety of capacities.

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For most of these people, foreigners in a strange land, Church means contact with the familiar, the meaningful, the enduring values which have become a major part of their lives. Accordingly, there are groups and branches of the Church organized throughout Vietnam wherever one or more Latter-day Saints are located.

There are three major geographical regions of the Church in Vietnam—the Northern, Central, and Southern Districts of Vietnam of the Southern Far East Mission which is headquartered in Hong Kong.¹

In the Vietnam Southern District, which includes Saigon and the largest number of Church members, there are twenty branches and groups, each presided over by a president, two counsellors, and clerk, under the direction of the Vietnam Southern District Presidency and twelve District High Councilmen. The district is similar to a stake in the built-up areas of Zion and the branches and groups are similar to wards. A program of priesthood, Sunday School, Relief Society, MIA, home teaching, missionary activities, and sacrament meeting is carried on in some of these branches and groups; priesthood and sacrament meetings, home teaching, and missionary work are carried on in all of them.

There have been Latter-day Saints in Vietnam since the Americans became involved in the 1950's. As they arrived in increasing numbers, appropriate Church programs and organization began to evolve to meet their peculiar and unique needs. Over the years, occasional baptisms of Vietnamese and Chinese have occurred so that today there are approximately fifty Vietnamese and Chinese members of the Church in Vietnam. A genuine concern for the welfare of each member, both Vietnamese and foreign, prompted the early and continuing undertaking of home teaching activities.

NEW AND UNIQUE HOME TEACHING APPROACH REQUIRED

The uniqueness of Vietnam as a beleaguered nation has a special impact on home teaching. In a country beset with insurgency for many years, surely the citizenry must be both more weary and more wary than any of us who have come to help.

¹On November 2, 1969, at the Vietnam Southern District Quarterly Conference, the Southern Far East Mission was divided, with Hong Kong remaining as the headquarters for the new Hong Kong-Taiwan Mission and Singapore becoming headquarters for the new Southeast Asia Mission, which includes Vietnam.

Following the major Tet Offensive in February 1968, with the resulting restrictions on mobility and the limited curfew hours, the Home Teaching Program in the Vietnam Southern District was given a new challenge which led to a new direction. Although most groups and the Saigon Branch were able to maintain some contacts with members, for several weeks organized Church activities were in disarray. Vietnamese, Chinese, and other Orientals had their lives threatened by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army if they were seen in the presence of Americans. Accordingly, for several months, the welfare of most Vietnamese and other Oriental members was unknown, and the welfare of American members was in a continuing state of jeopardy with the launching of the Second Offensive in May and the continuing periodic rocket and mortar attacks on Saigon and other urban areas.

The situation was urgent and action imperative. The normal Home Teaching Program was not effective enough. Accordingly, on June 2, the District Presidency and High Council adopted recommendations for a new and different Home Teaching Program based on what is important, here and now.

THE NATURE OF "HERE AND NOW"

Abnormal conditions and the unusual nature of service in Vietnam generate differences in behavior which may sometimes become tragic and are often perplexing. Military men, frequently impressed into service against their own personal desires, are often disposed to condemn the land and location of their servitude, irrespective of where it may be. This normal tendency is compounded when the service is rendered in Vietnam, where they fight an unpopular war which is called "illegal and immoral" by a vociferous minority at home.

For military men, as well as civilians, both men and women, the joys and pursuits of a normal life have been interrupted; there is a separation from loved ones and the things which have become familiar and dear in their lives; they are subjected to the rigors of doing daily—even momentarily—that which someone else tells them to do. They are exposed to the dangers of warfare; and anxieties are kindled in an environment of doubt and dissension. They never know, from one moment to the next, whether they will ever return to the presence of those people and things whom they love and in which they find

repose. Although they may return, there is no assurance that they will continue to be whole and sound of body and mind and spirit. They are cast—most of them—against their will, into the presence of people who seem to be different, whose language they don't understand, and whose customs are strange. For the military men especially, like soldiers of all times and places, that place where they are called to serve becomes the bottom land of all creation. But even though they may disdain the people and the land, they become lonely and hungry for the warmth of human personality.

Within this setting, there are clearly two major temporal concerns: (1) danger of physical injury and death from insurgency, and (2) infringement of personal chastity.

CONCERN FOR PHYSICAL DANGER

For those directly involved in military engagements with hostile forces, the physical danger is obvious. For all others, however, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army maintain a constantly high harassment level. The rocket, mortar, and recoilless rifle fire on cities and military bases is seldom if ever directed at normal military targets. There is, no doubt, a deliberate strategy by the VC and NVA to shell the urban areas somewhat aimlessly. Thus, no one who lives within those populated areas can ever be confident that he will not be targeted because his life is of no military significance. Anxiety is, thus, widely diffused among the people. Every urban resident is in continuing jeopardy because of such VC and NVA strategy.

THE DANGER OF INFRINGEMENT OF PERSONAL CHASTITY

Longing for the warmth of human personality is easily satisfied here. Person-to-person friendships fill the void. Vietnamese women are quite generally pretty while many of them reveal an incomparably delicate and fragile beauty. And they are friendly. For many of these women there is the simple mutual attractiveness inherent in human nature. Others reach out to the opportunity for companionship, especially with the many Vietnamese men removed from home on military service. Still others yield to the temptation to accumulate a small fortune to free themselves from their abject poverty. And, common to all societies, there are the professional and social prostitutes. Nor are women of other nationalities, notably Chinese and

Americans, without their own special charms and loneliness. Loneliness and charm compensate each other. For nearly all, men and women alike, the temptation to infringe one's personal chastity is severe.

OBJECTIVES OF THE NEW HOME TEACHING IN VIETNAM

The objectives of the Home Teaching Program in the Vietnam Southern District are basically compatible with objectives of the Home Teaching Program Church-wide. In addition to a concern for the spiritual welfare of the members, however, home teachers are concerned primarily with two major aspects, both of which are temporal but which have their spiritual implications: *physical security and personal chastity*. This applies to all members: men and women, military and civilian, Vietnamese and foreign. Wherein circumstances permit, however, because there are so many recently baptized members of the Church in Vietnam, especially among the servicemen, the home teacher gives due consideration to teaching gospel doctrine to members assigned to him.

Because the objectives of home teaching in Vietnam have such immediate and continuing significance, all other elements of the program were devised to maintain constant focus on those objectives. Accordingly, the bureaucracy of home teaching has been minimized while contact and reporting have been simplified in order to emphasize the substance of home teaching, namely, concern for the physical and spiritual well-being of every member. Branch and group presidencies make every effort to locate initially and maintain contact with all members made known to them. All such members of groups and branches are assigned to a home teacher so that there is 100% coverage of known members.

Only completely reliable and responsible brethren are assigned as home teachers. If necessary, to implement this goal and to make the kind of contacts indicated below, priesthood bearers may be assigned as single teachers with the obvious requirement that female member assignments are made only to two-man home teaching companions.

Because of insurgent conditions, contacts are made preferably once every week and as soon as is humanly possible during or following every emergency. In no case should anyone fail to make at least one contact every month with every mem-

ber assigned. Contacts may be made by letter, telephone, or personal visit. Contacts in meetings are acceptable, provided they are actually made and are not simply visual contacts or casual greetings. Initially, under existing conditions, such home teaching contacts are primarily to ascertain that everything is all right, not necessarily to teach the gospel. However, as circumstances permit, gospel doctrine is taught by the home teacher to members assigned him. Where members are Vietnamese or Chinese or Filipino or Korean, or other Orientals, contacts of such members are made by other Oriental members because of possible repercussions by VC and NVA, unless a Caucasian may make such contact without incurring jeopardy.

Within each group and branch there is sufficient latitude in the administration of the Home Teaching Program to permit local leaders to use the most effective means possible. The group or branch presidency may administer the Home Teaching Program directly; they may call a Home Teaching Clerk to perform this function; or they may assign the function to Melchizedek or Aaronic Priesthood Group Leaders.

All contacts made are reported once per month by each home teacher to the Home Teaching Clerk of the branch or group by letter, telephone, or orally, whichever is most convenient and conveys the information most effectively. Compiled group and branch reports are submitted to the District Presidency once each month in specified form.

APPROVAL BY GENERAL AUTHORITIES AND NEW MISSION PRESIDENT

The Vietnam Southern District Presidency and High Council authorized the new program on June 2, 1968, but because the program departs substantially from the one in general use throughout the Church, a member of the District Presidency was requested to clear it with the General Authorities during a trip to Utah in the latter part of that month. Accordingly, a few weeks after the adoption of the program, it was discussed with President Hugh B. Brown, Elder Gordon B. Hinckley—then supervisor of the Asian missions of the Church and presently of the Servicemen's Committee—and Elder Marion G. Romney of the Home Teaching Committee. Elder Romney indicated that the formalized Home Teaching Program applies to the wards and stakes in the built-up areas of Zion

and that whatever we are able to do in Vietnam on our own initiative, consistent with the gospel, is acceptable to the Brethren.

W. Brent Hardy, then newly assigned President of the Southern Far East Mission replacing President Keith Garner, was receiving direction and counsel from the Brethren in Salt Lake City at the time of this visit. He also endorsed the program a few weeks after his arrival in the Orient. The significance attached to this program was emphasized when three of the District High Councilmen were assigned the responsibility for the Home Teaching Program under the direction of a counselor in the Vietnam Southern District Presidency. Accordingly, Navy Captain Louis Payne, Army Lieutenant Colonel Paul Madsen, and Army Major Lidge Johnson were assigned the Home Teaching Program as their sole and specific responsibility when visiting the branches and groups.

HOME TEACHING APPLICATIONS

Although there are many faith-promoting incidents occurring daily in Vietnam, one which illustrates the imperative of maintaining constant vigilance and care involves a young Latter-day Saint soldier who arrived in the country shortly before Christmas 1967. He experienced the kind of bitterness which destroys. Assigned immediately to the field, his unit became involved in hostile action with the enemy, which resulted in their taking several Viet Cong prisoners. Driven by the brutality of war, other men of his unit atrociously cracked the skulls of the VC with the butts of their rifles and kicked and in other ways tortured to death all of the prisoners of war they had taken. Immediately, the young Latter-day Saint broke, mentally and spiritually, and lapsed into a coma. His entire being suffered severe trauma, but he was able to recover satisfactorily several weeks later. Surprisingly, however, he was returned to the field in January and again became involved in hostile action. At dusk one evening, he was manning a machine-gun bunker. Sometime during the night the enemy were engaged and throughout the night repeated bursts of machine-gun fire from his bunker raked the battlefield. As dawn swept away the darkness, he saw before him dead bodies of VC and NVA strewn across the field. Agonized by the realization that he had been the direct cause of their death, again he broke. The re-

sulting coma and trauma were so severe that his life was endangered. Army medics did not expect him to recover and planned for evacuation and long hospitalization. Brethren from the Cu Chi Group administered to him and maintained close and constant vigil. Through the power of the priesthood he did recover completely after which he was assigned administrative duties in the military. Sometime later, he taught the priesthood lesson in his group and with excellent decorum and depth of human understanding. At the November 1968 conference of the Vietnam Southern District, he offered the benediction, and the sweetness of his spirit was an inspiration to all of us.

Not all crises turn out so well. The majority of Latter-day Saints maintain their virtue and sanity while here, and are able to rejuvenate and reactivate many who were inactive at home. But many who were active at home become lost here because of the severity of the temptations and circumstances and *because we are not able to contact them*, both civilians and servicemen.

INADEQUACY OF RECORDS

While endeavoring to implement the new Home Teaching Program, we discovered that we are woefully inadequate in terms of names, addresses, and current places of assignments for both LDS servicemen and civilians who are here. Because of the inadequacy of records, we sought special action by the Presiding Bishop's Office through the bishops of the Church in providing names of all civilians and servicemen who are in Vietnam. It was not possible to honor this request, but a map of the districts in Vietnam and the names of district presidencies were published in *The Church News*. Every member of the Church in Vietnam, through clippings sent from loved ones or friends at home and through contacts and information available in the country—whenever he encounters any information on a Latter-day Saint either in the country or coming—is urgently requested to submit such information immediately to a branch or group president, to be forwarded to the District Presidency. In spite of the continuing problems with names and addresses of members, branch and group presidencies have been instructed to maintain high priority on the Home Teaching Program to insure that the known members are contacted once per week and as frequently as possible during insurgency and emergency.

None of us need ever long for the opportunities of our pioneer forebears. The frontier will forever be with us if we but look for it. Those of us in Vietnam face a unique challenge and opportunity equally as demanding of our stamina, fortitude, compassion, and service to our fellows as the American frontier was for our ancestors.

The homes to which we have become accustomed as Latter-day Saints are sanctuaries wherein may be shared heartache, disappointment, and shortcoming, as well as joys and achievements. It is that sanctuary in which one finds repose. But home is wherever loved ones are, and where they are wanted and understood.

With all the power, humility, and respect of which we are capable, the District Presidency and High Council of the Vietnam Southern District have admonished both members and responsible officers in the branches and groups to assume personal responsibility for implementing the specially-tailored Home Teaching Program. This is surely one of the most significant ways enabling the Church to better meet the challenges facing its members in Vietnam.

Most Mormons who serve in Vietnam have been separated from those family loved ones and hence from the major bulwark in their lives, the sanctuary of home. Fortunately, however, they are not here without their capacity to love and be loved, understood, wanted. The warmth of the gospel and the power of the priesthood bind them together in joy and heartache, in happiness and tribulation. The Church *must* provide the sanctuary of home in Vietnam, for all non-Vietnamese members especially. In this challenge, no role is more critical than that of the home teacher. Our opportunity is to foster that wholesomeness which helps us to understand the proper place and relationships of all things.

One of the most important things to be placed in proper perspective is sex. There is nothing wrong with sex with its "fresh, evanescent, natural blossoming," to use Justice Douglas' apt description.² There is nothing wrong with atomic energy,

²We agree with this description taken from a recent Supreme Court minority decision, but his implied argument and conclusion that sex should be unrestrained and that restraint is an unnatural and unwholesome intercession are both faulty in logic and inconsonant with reality. The antidote to his position is not, however, the traditional and ultimately faulty charge that sex is unwholesome and immoral, and thus should be suppressed. Sex is of divine origin, and to that extent it elevates the physical expression of married love to its highest and most wholesome level.

either, but it doesn't belong in a bomb. Man is both animal and divine and man's destiny is to develop and direct the animal instincts through the power of his divine capabilities. Sex is beautiful and exhilarating and uplifting when confined within the orbit of marriage and family, although burgeoning magazine stands the world over, no less in Vietnam than elsewhere, seductively try to convince us to the contrary.

A major aspect of the concept of the Church as a sanctuary in this country may be expressed in the form of a caveat or caution. If we as home teachers should have any reason to believe that a member's chastity has been infringed upon, it is not only prudent but imperative that we *remember the severity of the temptation here and the application of the law of repentance and forgiveness*. As home teachers, we are simply not capable of judging the complex motivations and ramifications of another person's life. But we are capable of extending a hand, of opening our arms, of providing sanctuary, of encouraging our brethren to seek the Lord's help.

We need the hope, the reassurance and strength of the gospel principles—we need the Lord—most in our hours of greatest challenge and temptation. If we are being tempted, if we have yielded to temptation, if we have erred, it is a natural tendency to believe we are not worthy either of the Lord's help or of seeking it. The hours of transgression are the times of greatest need. If we have any reason to believe transgression has occurred the night before or even the hour before a Church meeting, there is all the more reason for the extended arm and encouragement to attend the Church meeting, to mingle with others who too are sorely tried, and who know the values of the gospel, who together assist one another in maintaining high standards.

THE MEASURE OF OUR FULFILLMENT

When we who are foreigners leave Vietnam, what will we have left behind—what will be our legacy to this people and this land? What will be the evidence that we have given of ourselves while here? Will it be satisfying to us only to know that we are finally leaving here, that in reality we weren't here at all, that our year—or two or three years—here was a time only of passing through and not a time of sharing, giving, building, nurturing?

No matter how humble we are or how limited our opportunities and capabilities, there is something all can give. We can give of ourselves. We can share temptations with our brothers and sisters and make them easier to resist. We can be alert to their physical security and we can comfort them in their suffering. We can share our understanding of the gospel with however many Vietnamese and Chinese we come to know. We can plant the seed of the Restored Gospel in the hearts and minds of those among whom we associate and even though our time here may be short, that seed will be nurtured by those who remain and who shall follow. Through exhibiting such concern for the welfare of the people of Vietnam we will secure for ourselves a measure of happiness.

This, then, is the challenge—the opportunity—for every Latter-day Saint who comes to this embattled place and these beleaguered people: Let this land be a blessed land because you walked here!

IN MEMORIAM



David O. McKay
1873-1970

Photograph by Jeff Delia courtesy BYU Banyan

David O. McKay: The Prophet, Seer, and Revelator*

Harold B. Lee
First Counselor in the First Presidency

. . . In the position of president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, David O. McKay has been sustained as a prophet, seer, and revelator. A prophet is an inspired and divinely appointed revealer of God's mind and will . . . A seer is greater than a prophet. . . "A seer can know of things which are past, and also of things which are to come, and by them shall all things be revealed. . ." His preparation for this mission began in the premortal world. . . A prophet does not become a spiritual leader by studying books about religion, nor does he become one by attending a theological seminary. One becomes a prophet, a divinely called religious leader by actual spiritual contact. . . President David O. McKay knew that Jesus lives, that He is the Redeemer of the world. . .

*From President Lee's address at the funeral of President David O. McKay, January 22, 1970.

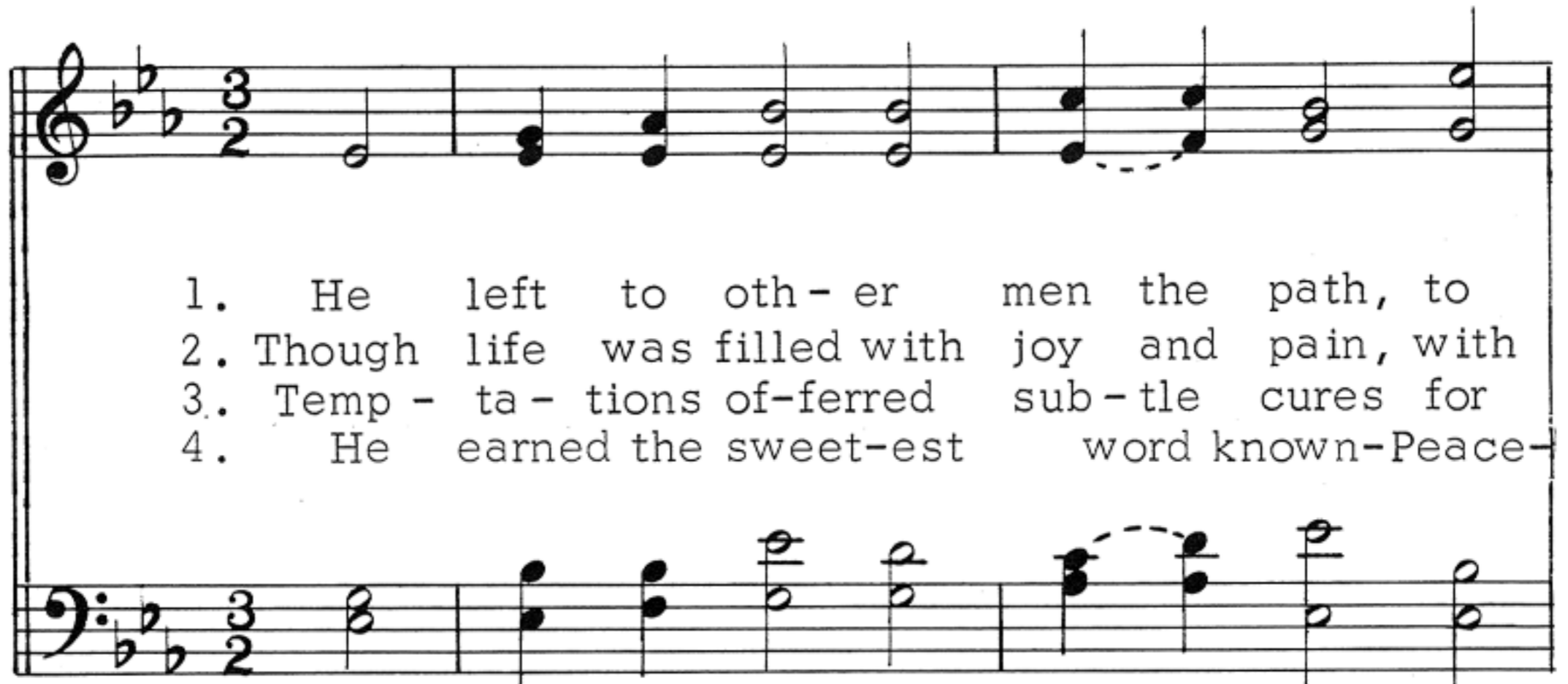
Photograph courtesy George Bettridge, Saans Photography, Salt Lake City.

The Gentle Way*

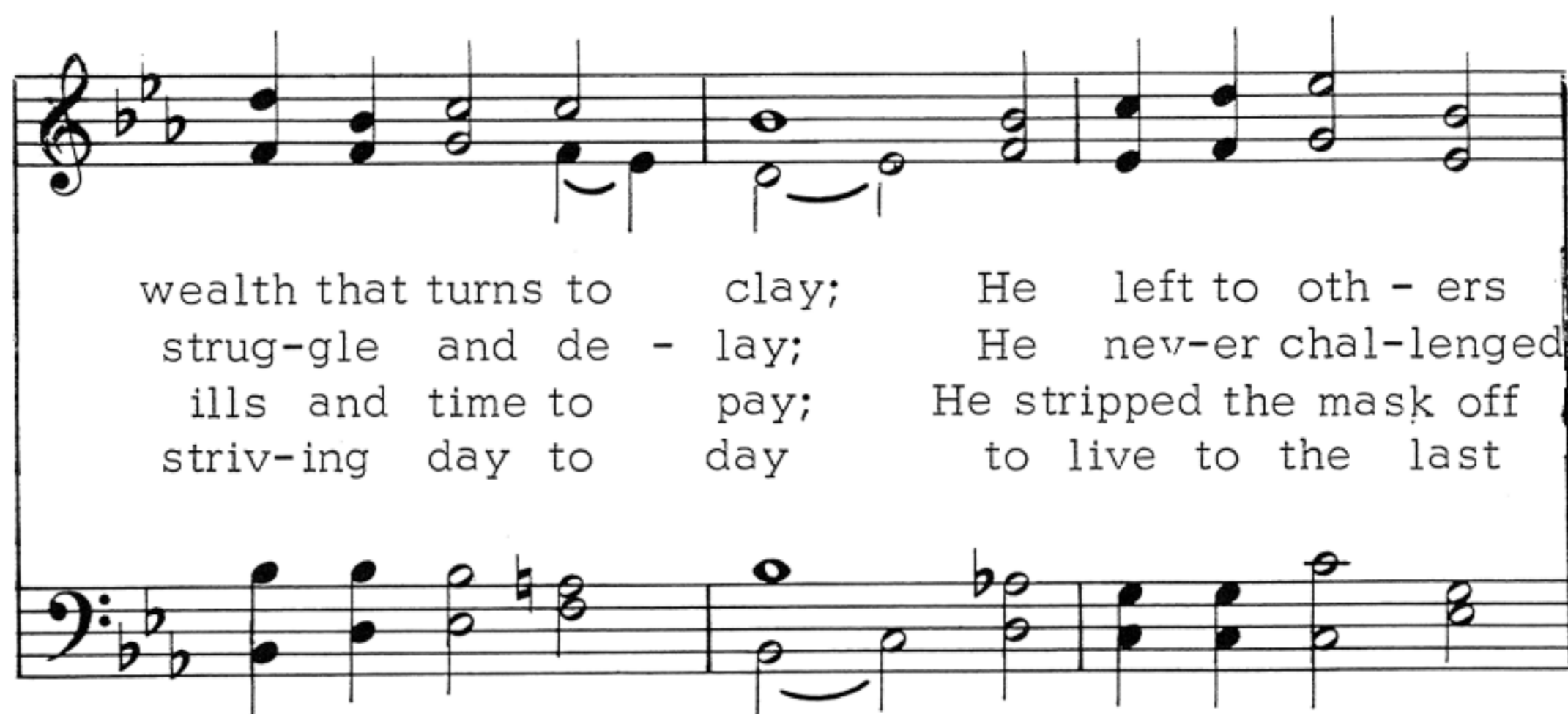
Edward L. Hart

Robert Cundick

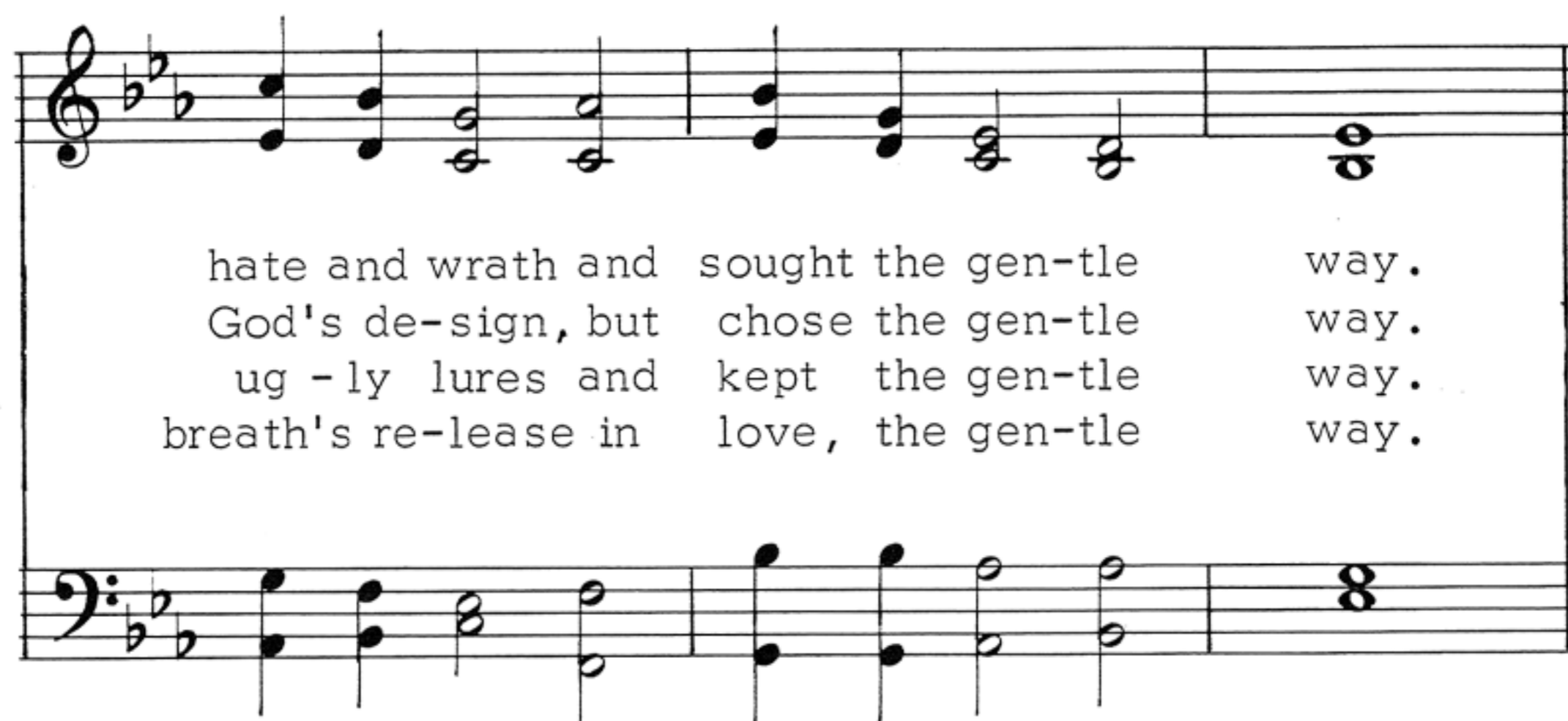
Moderately



1. He left to oth - er men the path, to
 2. Though life was filled with joy and pain, with
 3. Temp - ta - tions of - ferred sub - tle cures for
 4. He earned the sweet - est word known - Peace -



wealth that turns to clay; He left to oth - ers
 strug - gle and de - lay; He nev - er chal - lenced
 ills and time to pay; He stripped the mask off
 striv - ing day to day to live to the last



hate and wrath and sought the gen - tle way.
 God's de - sign, but chose the gen - tle way.
 ug - ly lures and kept the gen - tle way.
 breath's re - lease in love, the gen - tle way.

*This new hymn, with words by Edward L. Hart of the English Department of Brigham Young University and music by Robert Cundick, Salt Lake Tabernacle organist, was performed by the Tabernacle Choir on its regular CBS broadcast of Sunday, September 8, 1968. Dedicated to President David O. McKay, on whose birthday it was sung, the hymn was again performed in his honor by the Tabernacle Choir on the day of his death, Sunday, January 18, 1970.

The Gentle Way (Dedicated to President David O. McKay)

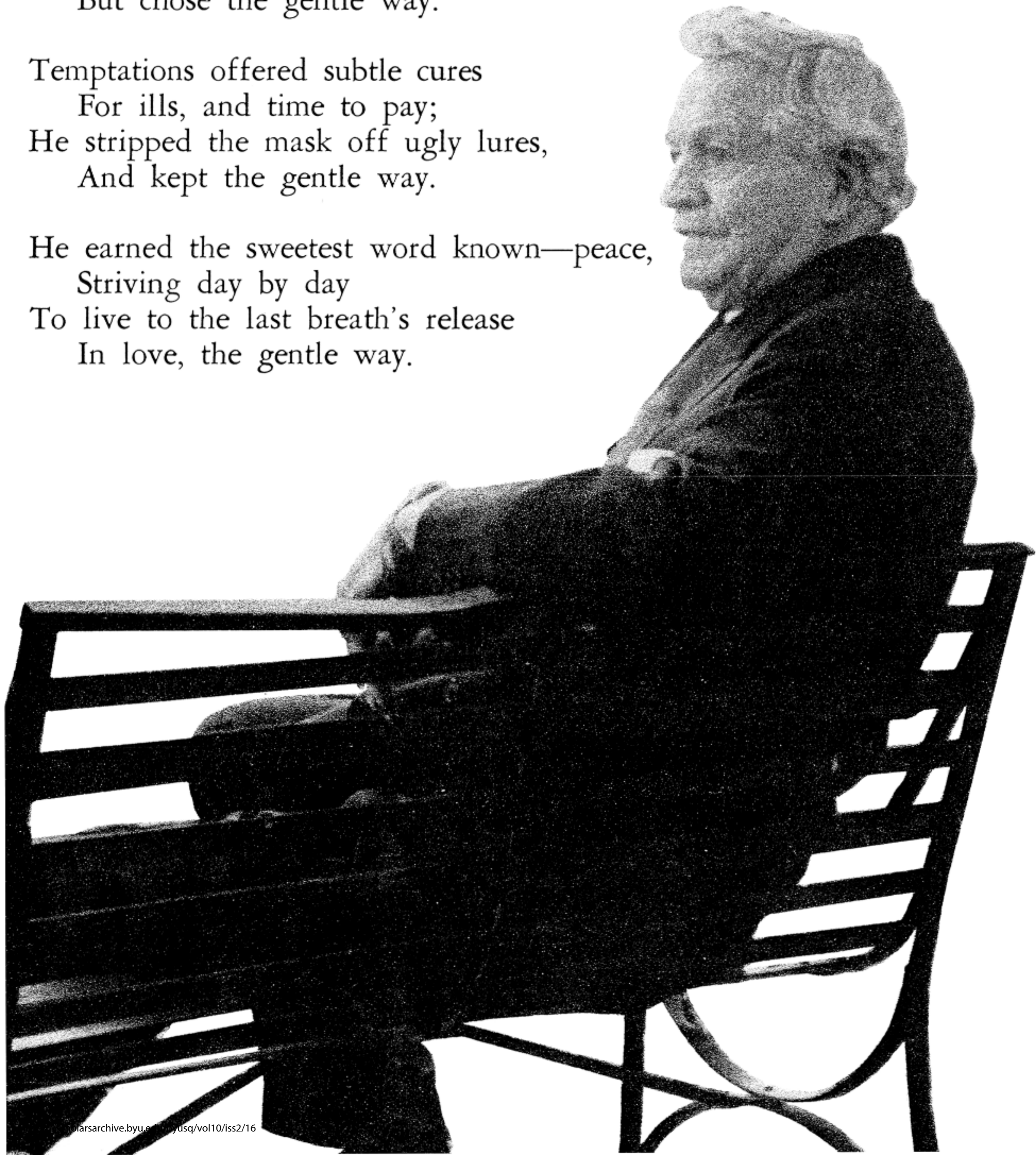
Edward L. Hart

He left to other men the path
To wealth, that turns to clay;
He left to others hate and wrath,
And sought the gentle way.

Though life was filled with joy and pain,
With struggle and delay,
He never challenged God's design,
But chose the gentle way.

Temptations offered subtle cures
For ills, and time to pay;
He stripped the mask off ugly lures,
And kept the gentle way.

He earned the sweetest word known—peace,
Striving day by day
To live to the last breath's release
In love, the gentle way.



Thoughts on William Wordsworth: A Commemorative Essay

BRUCE B. CLARK*

This year will mark the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Wordsworth, who was born on April 7, 1770, in the little town of Cockermouth, situated on the river Derwent in the lovely Lake District of northwestern England. Upon the death of his mother when Wordsworth was only eight, the family was scattered, Wordsworth himself going southward about fifteen miles to school at Hawkshead, near the center of the Lake District. In this beautiful region of lush greenness with its rolling hills, peaceful lakes, and quiet streams, Wordsworth spent most of his life and wrote most of his poetry. Schooling at Cambridge, a year of study in France, long walks through Scotland, and occasional travels elsewhere took him briefly away from his beloved lake country from time to time, but always he was drawn back, and there he died on April 23, 1850. A simple headstone in the country cemetery in the small village of Grasmere still marks the place of his burial.

Everyone now knows Wordsworth, though not everyone likes him. Almost everyone, including even those who don't like him, acknowledges that he holds a special place in literature, perhaps more at the heart of the Romantic Movement than any other poet. Among Mormon readers, both in the Church generally and at BYU particularly, he has found a large audience through the years because of the special appeal of the philosophy and ethics of his poetry. The collection of

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Wordsworth books in the BYU Library, started years ago by Professor Ed. M. Roe, Dr. P. A. Christensen, and others, is extensive. And even the BYU student literary publication, the *Wye Magazine*, took its name some thirty years ago from Wordsworth's association with the Wye River and the Wye Valley in England.

It seems appropriate, therefore, that in this two-hundredth anniversary year of his birth a commemorative essay should be published on Wordsworth in *BYU Studies*. Perhaps it is also appropriate that I should be the one to write the essay. When I joined the BYU faculty in 1950, I came as a replacement for Professor Roe, then just retired, who for many years had been the principal Wordsworth lover and teacher at BYU. I found to my chagrin that I was scheduled to teach one course in the longer poems of Wordsworth, one in the shorter poems of Wordsworth, one in romanticism with Wordsworth as the central figure, and a fourth course called simply "Introduction to Poetry" that by tradition was mostly Wordsworth. This was just too much Wordsworth for me, and I did some rapid combining of courses. Nevertheless, I have continued to teach Wordsworth for twenty years, and I am pleased to say that he wears well. I enjoy him more now and find him greater and deeper than I did when I started to teach him twenty years ago—which is more than I can say for some writers, who grow thin after a few years of teaching. It is with delight, therefore, that I accept the invitation to write an essay on Wordsworth, drawing my comments in part from things I have written about him in other places through the years.

Fifteen years ago, when I was a young bishop in the Church, and was also caught up in the early excitement of teaching Wordsworth and romanticism, I wrote a short essay on Wordsworth which began as follows: "Occasionally in the world of literature there is a writer so gifted and so wise that he seems to speak with a voice of divine inspiration. Such a writer was William Wordsworth, who, a century and a half ago, created poems of such simple beauty and such enduring truth that their appeal and greatness seem forever assured. If we Latter-day Saints take seriously the Lord's commandment to seek words of wisdom out of the best books (D & C 88:118 and 109:14), we will do well to study the poems of Wordsworth, for in all English literature there is perhaps no other poet who shaped so many religious and ethical truths into works of literary art."

Reading those words now, fifteen years after they were written, I realize that I got a bit carried away in praise of Wordsworth. In fifteen years my language has mellowed somewhat, with fewer superlatives—but I still find Wordsworth great, even inspiring still. Perhaps one needs to get in the right mood to respond to Wordsworth. He is not clever and witty, he does not rip and tear us with the power of raw emotions such as we find in modern realism, nor does he particularly challenge our skills of analysis through elusive symbols and complex allusions. His poetry is not even beautiful in the way that some poems are beautiful with subtle music and startling imagery. But after all the cleverness and brute power and artistic brilliance of other writers, there is a place for Wordsworth, especially when as readers we are in a mood of serious contemplation, trying to separate the things that really matter from the things that don't. So it was that a year ago, when doing an essay on romanticism generally, I wrote the following three paragraphs on Wordsworth, placing him at the head of all the other romanticists:

"All things considered, William Wordsworth (1770-1850) is probably to be regarded as the most important of all the English romanticists, at least in shaping the movement of romanticism in western-world literature. His poems are not so challengingly mystical as Blake's, nor so artistically symbolical as Coleridge's, nor so soaringly lyrical as Shelley's, nor so exuberantly variable as Byron's, nor so enchantingly musical as Keats's, nor so stingingly satirical as Burns's—yet he is greater than all these, for more than any of them he spoke enduring truths in words of beauty, and that is the essence of great poetry. His poetry—not individual poems but his work as a whole—has more breadth, more depth, more psychological and ethical richness, and a more impressive combination of lofty thought and eloquent music than that of the others. Wordsworth is less humorous, less exciting than the other romanticists, to the extent that many readers wish he weren't quite so solemn and wonder whether he has any sense of humor at all; but from him more than from any of the others we learn, as Ernest Bernbaum says, 'the beauty and happiness of plain living and high thinking.'¹ In the words of Russell Noyes, 'Wordsworth was the most truly original genius of his age and

¹Ernest Bernbaum, *Anthology of Romanticism* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), p. 187.

exerted a power over the poetic destinies of his century unequalled by any of his contemporaries.² Coleridge called him 'friend of the wise and teacher of the good' and was so moved when first hearing certain passages of *The Prelude* that, he said, 'I found myself in prayer.'³ Even Matthew Arnold, who in many ways was critical of the Romantic Movement, described Wordsworth as one who came to a world of 'doubts, disputes, distractions, fears', and brought stability through the 'healing power' of his poetry.⁴ Later Arnold referred to Wordsworth as 'this great man, whom I, for one, must always listen to with the profoundest respect.'⁵

"As a poet Wordsworth has obvious faults: he is sometimes sentimental, sometimes sing-songy, sometimes dull, sometimes wordy ('wordy Wordsworth' his enemies have called him), sometimes pompous in trivialities. If one judges him by the poorest of his poems, as he is often judged, he is little better than a shallow rhymester, a composer of doggerel. Indeed, in the entire history of English poetry there is probably no other great poet who wrote so much mediocre poetry. Yet judged by his best work, Wordsworth stands highest of all in an age of great poets and may well be, as Dr. P. A. Christensen used to tell us, the greatest English poet between Milton and Browning.

"What, then, are his best poems? Not the dozens of easy little nature and story poems by which he is often known. These range from bad to good but are not really great. Instead his very best, mostly in blank verse, where he is one of the world's masters, are such poems as 'Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey,' a beautiful meditative-descriptive ode of rich music and thought; *The Prelude*, which in spite of its unevenness Mark Van Doren calls one of the ten great poems of western-world literature;⁶ 'Michael,' the finest of his narrative poems, telling with Old Testament dignity and simplicity the tragic story of an old man and his love for a son who be-

²Russell Noyes, *English Romantic Poetry and Prose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 237.

³See Coleridge's poem "To William Wordsworth."

⁴See Arnold's poem "Memorial Verses."

⁵Arnold in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time."

⁶See Van Doren's *Great Poems of Western Literature* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), pp. 236-248. Van Doren also calls *The Prelude* the first great "modern" poem of the ten he is discussing because it turns inward for its substance. Indeed, says Van Doren, Wordsworth "created modern poetry when he decided that the man who writes is more important than the man and the things he writes about."

trays a father's trust; 'Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood,' another richly musical descriptive-philosophic work; and a dozen or so sonnets, including 'Composed upon Westminster Bridge,' 'The World Is Too Much With Us,' and 'London, 1802.' Wordsworth wrote a great deal of second-quality poetry, especially in his later years, but he still wrote more first-quality poetry than most of our other major poets. In the finest of his passages we find dignity of tone, sonority of phrase, and loftiness of thought such as we seldom find elsewhere—'high seriousness' as Arnold liked to call this combination of qualities. First and last, Wordsworth was a nature poet, describing the relationship between the inner world of man and the outer world of nature. But he was also deep-thinking in other matters, leading us in his poetry to extraordinary psychological, philosophical, and religious insights that draw us, as he himself concludes near the end of *The Prelude*, to 'Faith in life endless, the sustaining thought of human Being, Eternity, and God!'"

Years ago Dr. P. A. Christensen wrote an essay called "The Bad, Better, Best of Literature." I have often thought that I too would like to write an essay discussing good, bad, and in-between poetry—but drawing all of my examples from Wordsworth. The poems just named in the paragraph above could surely serve as examples of great poetry. Such well-known pieces as "We Are Seven," "Lucy Gray," "To a Highland Girl," "She Was a Phantom of Delight," "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud," and "The Old Cumberland Beggar" might be used to illustrate in-between poetry—not great, but not bad either. His worst poems are, fortunately, not so well known, but, unfortunately, there are dozens of them—prosaic in diction, sentimental in emotion, sing-songy in rhythm, and obvious in substance. Wordsworth should have followed Coleridge's advice and canceled many of these from print. But he wasn't as self-critical as he should have been, and so he published them, even insisting that some of the bad ones were good. I don't want to spend more time discussing them here, but it would also be a mistake not to admit that they exist. Any reader interested in seeing Wordsworth in bad form can turn to such a poem as "The Pet-Lamb," which Wordsworth insisted on publishing alongside the great "Michael" in edition after edition of his poetry, and which in sentimental doggerel describes a motherless lamb wagging its tail in joy while a little girl feeds it milk from a

bottle. No wonder James Kenneth Stephen, a Victorian parodist, wrote a satiric sonnet on Wordsworth which reads:

Two voices are there: one is of the deep;
 It learns the storm-cloud's thunderous melody,
 Now roars, now murmurs with the changing sea,
 Now bird-like pipes, now closes soft in sleep;
 And one is of an old half-witted sheep
 Which bleats articulate monotony,
 And indicates that two and one are three,
 That grass is green, lakes damp, and mountains steep:
 And, Wordsworth, both are thine: at certain times,
 Forth from the heart of thy melodious rimes
 The form and pressure of high thoughts will burst;
 At other times—good Lord! I'd rather be
 Quite unacquainted with the A.B.C.
 Than write such hopeless rubbish as thy worst.

During more than half a century of writing poetry, Wordsworth composed hundreds of poems that are less than great. Even in these, however, there are things that will interest the reader. For example, Wordsworth was especially interested in abnormal psychology and wrote dozens of folk-story poems describing people with warped minds or twisted personalities—"Peter Bell," "The Idiot Boy," "Andrew Jones," "Goody Blake and Harry Gill," etc., etc. He seemed especially drawn to writing stories about an abandoned girl who bore a child out of wedlock and then went insane or suffered great hardship—poems such as "The Thorn," "Her Eyes Are Wild," and "Ruth." One wonders how closely all of this may relate to Wordsworth's own youthful liaison with Annette Vallon during his year in France. He avoids any direct reference to her in *The Prelude* and other autobiographical poems, yet he was so deeply concerned ten years later that he did not feel free to marry Mary Hutchinson in 1802 until he went to France with his sister Dorothy to seek out Annette and their little daughter Caroline and make an emotional-financial settlement with them.⁷ Wordsworth's life was on the whole very admirable, built on high principles and ideals, but he made one serious mistake in his youth, and one wonders whether a number of his story-poems do not grow out of a guilt-stricken conscience that stayed with him for many years.

⁷One of the loveliest of his sonnets, beginning "It is a beauteous evening, calm and free," was written to his ten-year-old daughter Caroline after he met her on this occasion and took her walking on the seashore.

Other things touched on in some of the lesser poems interest us too. As in *The Prelude* and *The Excursion*, so in a variety of little poems, Wordsworth was much intrigued by all the nuances of despondency and how it might be overcome, and by the imagination and how it is quickened or stifled.⁸ Wordsworth agrees with Coleridge that the creative imagination is the highest of human faculties and that, whatever else a poem may say or do or be, its main purpose should be to give pleasure—both to the one who reads it and to the one who creates it. As a literary critic Wordsworth is not nearly so important as his great friend Coleridge, but his most original thoughts are, like Coleridge's, on the nature of the imagination and on the creative process itself. In his 1800 Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth gave his now-famous definition of poetry—that it is “the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings” taking its origin “from emotion recollected in tranquility.” Wordsworth was as firm as T. S. Eliot in insisting that there should be sufficient time between an experience and the transformation of that experience into poetry to permit both emotional and artistic objectivity. A study of the great “Tintern Abbey” ode as well as little poems such as “To a Highland Girl” and “I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud” are rewarding in this regard. Even though it should be written “in tranquility,” however, Wordsworth insists that poetry at all times should be spontaneous, honest, and “free.” Some of his strongest words, both in his essays and in poetry, lash out against those who would compose poems more by rules and regulations than by inward feeling and outward inspiration.⁹ Many people associate this criticism mostly with Wordsworth's early career, but he was still saying the same thing at age 72 when in the following sonnet he lambasts some unidentified poet or poets of the day who had aroused his indignation:

A Poet!—He hath put his heart to school,
Nor dares to move unpropped upon the staff
Which Art hath lodged within his hand—must laugh
By precept only, and shed tears by rule.

⁸See Professor Thomas E. Cheney's comments on Wordsworth and the imagination in “Imagination and the Soul's Immensity” in *BYU Studies*, Vol. 9 (Summer 1969) pp. 407-420.

⁹In his 1800 Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth criticized neo-classicists, who, he felt, had smothered creativity by adhering too rigidly to restricted patterns and conventional poetic diction. The poet's responsibility now, he argued, was to free poetry from these restrictions and return it to creative variety and natural language.

Thy Art be Nature; the live current quaff,
 And let the groveller sip his stagnant pool,
 In fear that else, when Critics grave and cool
 Have killed him, Scorn should write his epitaph.
 How does the Meadow-flower its bloom unfold?
 Because the lovely little flower is free
 Down to its root, and, in that freedom, bold;
 And so the grandeur of the Forest-tree
 Comes not by casting in a formal mould,
 But from its *own* divine vitality.

Seeing this sonnet serves as a reminder that of particular concern to readers who are interested in prosody and poetic form is Wordsworth's fascination with the sonnet. Much of his greatest poetry is written in blank verse, but he also used a variety of rhymed patterns and forms—including more than 500 sonnets! Many of the world's great poets—and even more of its lesser ones—have been drawn to the sonnet. There is something about its brevity, its simplicity and complexity, its limitations yet limitlessness, that has challenged each generation of poets to see what they might do within the sonnet "rules." Not many poets, however, have written more than 500 sonnets as Wordsworth did, and he also conducted some interesting experiments with the sonnet as an art form. It is intriguing that Wordsworth, who was so set against strict rules and regulations in poetry, should have been so attracted to writing sonnets; but it is significant that, while not violating the basic form of the sonnet, he did introduce interesting variations and "freedoms" within that form and was especially concerned, as a poet should be, with synthesizing form and meaning. Granted that many of Wordsworth's sonnets are undistinguished, nevertheless several dozen of them are first-quality poems, and at least a dozen are among the great sonnets of English literature.

Probably the best way to appreciate Wordsworth as a poet and to understand the special appeal he has had to LDS readers is to go directly to several of his major poems and study them one by one.

Wordsworth's poem best known to LDS readers is the famous "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," once referred to by one of my confused students as the "imitations of immorality" ode. The title, though rather cumbersome in wording, is very suggestive in meaning to LDS readers, for the poem is probably the fullest expression in non-LDS literature harmonious with the unique

Latter-day Saint doctrine of pre-existence, which extends immortality in both directions, not only forward into post-mortality following death, but also backward into pre-mortality before birth.¹⁰ All Christian churches recognize life after death, and many people have a sort of intuitive feeling that there is life before birth; but The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stands almost alone in teaching as an official doctrine that people existed as spirit children with God in a pre-mortal state. Wordsworth was not, of course, a Latter-day Saint and perhaps never heard of "Mormonism," for, born in 1770, he was an old man when the Gospel came to England and he died, in 1850, when the Church was still very young. But he speaks as if he were an inspired forerunner of the Gospel when in 1805, the very year of Joseph Smith's birth, he wrote:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
 The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
 Hath had elsewhere its setting,
 And cometh from afar:
 Not in entire forgetfulness,
 And not in utter nakedness,
 But trailing clouds of glory do we come
 From God, who is our home.

These eight lines are lifted out of the middle of the poem, and it is a mistake to use them, as is often done, in isolation from the rest of the work. To understand fully what Wordsworth is saying, and to appreciate the ode as a work of art with a beautiful synthesis of form and meaning, we need to study the entire poem.

We need also to know that Wordsworth was endeavoring to lift his friend Coleridge out of the despondency into which Coleridge was plunged because of the personal tragedy of his life and because he could no longer respond to the beauties of nature around him, which heretofore had been the source of his creative inspiration. "I see, not feel, how beautiful they are," said Coleridge in his sadly beautiful "Dejection: An Ode." Coleridge was not only Wordsworth's great friend but also a brilliant poet and literary critic, probably the most learned poet

¹⁰When criticized by his Anglican Church leaders for teaching the "heretical" doctrine of pre-existence in this poem, Wordsworth retracted and said that he did not mean to press the idea as a serious doctrine but wished only to suggest it as a poetic license. Apparently he did not want to argue the issue, but there is considerable evidence in his writing as a whole to indicate that belief in pre-existence was a consistent part of his general philosophy.

of his generation. His skill as a poet and his powers of the imagination were astonishing, and yet his personal life was shattered by an agonizing marriage failure, years of excruciating physical sickness, and a woeful lack of self-discipline that threatened to wreck him spiritually and mentally as well as physically. All of this anguish is reflected in Coleridge's "Dejection" ode. And Wordsworth's "Immortality" ode was written as a direct answer to Coleridge's poem, especially to the central problem of the poem—Coleridge's spiritual despondency caused by a lack of responsiveness to the inspiring beauties of nature.

But back to Wordsworth's poem itself. The 204 lines of the poem are grouped into eleven stanzas, but in idea-development the work has really only three sections. The first four stanzas comprise the first section, in which Wordsworth agrees with Coleridge that as we grow older we can no longer respond spontaneously to the beauties of nature as a child does. Then in the next section, stanzas 5 through 8, Wordsworth endeavors to explain why this is so: that when we were young we were close to God and hence close to the creations of God in nature, but that as we grow older the "prison house" of mortality closes around us and we seem to grow apart from nature. But, continues Wordsworth in the closing section (stanzas 9 through 11), we should not grieve over our loss of spontaneous joy in nature, for in the wisdom of maturity that gives us thoughtful insight into the truth of immortality we have rich rewards that more than compensate for all our loss:

What though the radiance which was once so bright
 Be now for ever taken from my sight,
 Though nothing can bring back the hour
 Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower;
 We will grieve not, rather find
 Strength in what remains behind;
 In the primal sympathy
 Which having been must ever be;
 In the soothing thoughts that spring
 Out of human suffering;
 In the faith that looks through death,
 In years that bring the philosophic mind.

And so, through the contemplation of God-created beauty in nature, there comes a greater and more compassionate understanding of man in relation to eternity, and of eternal life

itself. The language is appropriate and lovely, other aspects of form harmonize closely with the ideas being developed, and the ideas themselves are attractive and significant. Rhythm, rhyme, sound, and imagery are expertly controlled and harmoniously related to meaning so that the result is a rich work of art.

Although the "Intimations of Immortality" ode is well known in our Church, most of Wordsworth's other poems are not so well known, yet several of them are at least as important poetically.

Ezra Pound once said (in *The ABC of Reading*): "Great literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree." Some of Wordsworth's poems are prosaic and flat, but two that are especially "charged with meaning" in their language are "Composed upon Westminster Bridge," a sonnet, and "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," a somewhat longer ode. In language that vibrates with inner power the sonnet describes the huge city of London asleep in early morning, touched on all sides with the beauties and wonders of nature—the gliding river, the open fields, the streaming early-morning sun, and the clear smokeless air in the sky overhead. Artistically the language is beautiful—liquid sounds of rhyme and rhythm; clean, clear images; simple yet dignified diction. The words, however, are also charged with meaning, portraying a city personified as a sleeping giant, wearing the beauty of the morning like a garment, with a mighty heart beating as it sleeps, and with the pure world of nature (the "smokeless air") encircling everything, washing away the smoke and grime of the day's industrial activities as the great city lies still asleep, bathed in the early-morning beauty of the rising sun:

Earth has not anything to show more fair:
 Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
 A sight so touching in its majesty:
 This City now doth, like a garment, wear
 The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,
 Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
 Open unto the fields, and to the sky;
 All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
 Never did the sun more beautifully steep
 In his first splendour, valley, rock, or hill;
 Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!
 The river glideth at his own sweet will:

Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still!

I hope I am not reading more into the poem than Wordsworth intended to put there. I hope, too, that I am not going overboard in praise of Wordsworth. Not all of his poems touch me. Some of them, however, including the sonnet just quoted and the ode I am about to discuss, move me deeply.

When we talk about words "charged with meaning" we do not refer merely to meaning that can be paraphrased into other words. There is a kind of locked-in meaning in the words of a poem that is felt by every perceptive reader but cannot be paraphrased. To paraphrase is to make shallow and destroy. So it is with the great "Tintern Abbey" ode. Except for certain passages of *The Prelude*, probably Wordsworth's finest blank verse lines are in this ode. As Wordsworth tells of re-visiting the banks of the Wye River after a five years' absence and looking again upon all of the natural beauties of the landscape, reflecting how the memory of the scene has been with him to enrich his imagination and deepen his thinking, we are drawn into the extraordinary beauty of this poem. The descriptions are sharp, rich, and vivid, the language is majestic, and the whole poem builds into a harmonious symphony of sound, imagery, feeling, and thought perhaps never achieved quite so successfully by Wordsworth in any other poem. For any who would understand Wordsworth, this is a "key" poem, *The Prelude* in miniature, not merely telling, but *showing*, how his imagination has been quickened and his soul deepened through responsiveness to nature, maturing him from a young animal bounding almost unconsciously in nature's freedoms to a deep-thinking adult contemplating the relationships between humanity, divinity, and eternity:

That time is past,
And all its aching joys are now no more,
And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts
Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense. For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy

Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things.

There is a falling off of poetic power in the closing fifty lines of the poem as Wordsworth, big-brother-like, expresses hope that his sister Dorothy, for whom he had great affection, might follow him in his maturing responsiveness to nature. But the poem as a whole is one of Wordsworth's greatest achievements, all the more remarkable if it was composed, as he said, on a four or five days walking tour with his sister, composed orally and published almost immediately, with "not a line of it altered." Surely here was an outpouring of spontaneous creativity the like of which not even Wordsworth experienced very often.

Wordsworth's greatest long poem is *The Prelude*—that massive, unique, and poetically uneven autobiographical poem concerned with the "growth of a poet's mind," as its subtitle indicates.¹¹ Written, at least in its best passages, in dignified, stately, sonorous blank verse, it is the fullest poetic treatment in our language of how childhood experiences and attitudes during the "seedtime"¹² of one's life gradually shape the personality, character, and habits of adulthood. A powerful message on the importance of proper environment and training in childhood is implied throughout this long poem, for, as Wordsworth says in one of his short lyrics, "The child is father of the man." Some people think of Wordsworth as an old-fashioned poet, and in some ways he is, but psychologically he is very modern, even Freudian, recognizing that each adult personality is the product of all that has gone before, especially way back in childhood, including experiences, thoughts, and feelings that may have been long forgotten, but made their permanent mark upon a growing personality. Thus "I grew up," says Words-

¹¹Long though *The Prelude* is, Wordsworth intended it only as the personal introduction to an even longer work, to be called *The Recluse*, which was never completed. That it is "poetically uneven," all who read it will recognize. Its great passages are very great; but it also has sections that are flat, tedious, and wooden.

¹²*The Prelude*, Book I, line 301. See Sherwood Anderson's short story "Seeds" for a modern treatment of this same psychological theme.

worth, "fostered alike by beauty and by fear." (I, 301-02) And thus also, out of all the miscellaneous and sometimes discordant experiences of mortality, gradually the "immortal spirit grows like harmony in music." (I, 341)¹³

Throughout *The Prelude* we find Wordsworth repeatedly paying tribute to the power of nature to dignify and ennoble man. Contrary to what some have imagined, however, he was never merely a describer of pretty flowers and babbling brooks. Nature for him was the great handiwork of God's creative power, and the closer one gets to nature in genuine understanding, the more one knows God and embraces God-like qualities as a way of life. Here Wordsworth especially traces what he feels was his own development in relation to nature: from the "vulgar joy" and "giddy bliss" of youth (I, 581-83), through an artistic appreciation of the beauties of nature (Book II especially), to a mystical insight into the truths of the universe. He talks in particular of the innate nobility that he feels is men's heritage as children of God, and of how, when they conquer the base animal instincts within themselves, men can move toward the potentiality of godlikeness that is their finest possibility, "for there's not a man that lives who hath not known his godlike hours." (III, 190-91)

In the remaining books of *The Prelude*, fourteen long books in all, Wordsworth talks of many further things that shape one's life for good or bad, especially of the qualities of imagination, of liberty, and of how faith in immortality can lift one to dignity and achievement in mortality.

I had inward hopes
 And swellings of the spirit, was rapt and soothed,
 Conversed with promises, had glimmering views
 How life pervades the undecaying mind;
 How the immortal soul with God-like power
 Informs, creates, and thaws the deepest sleep
 That time can lay upon her; how on earth,
 Man, if he do but live within the light
 Of high endeavours, daily spreads abroad
 His being armed with strength that cannot fail.
 (Book IV, lines 162-71)

As a climax to this lengthy meditation on life and the universe,

¹³This section of Book I, especially lines 288-400, is an excellent example of Wordsworth's telling how certain childhood incidents deeply impressed his sensitive young nature and made permanent impact upon his personality, character, and creative imagination.

Wordsworth says that all his experiences and thoughts build ultimately to the one conclusion previously mentioned:

Faith in life endless, the sustaining thought
Of human Being, Eternity, and God.
(Book XIV, lines 204-05)

Obviously these few comments on *The Prelude* do not do justice to a poem as long, rich, and complicated as this poem is. Space here will not permit a fuller discussion. Rather than merely accept my judgment, and the judgment of most other readers who have studied Wordsworth at length, that *The Prelude* is his masterpiece and one of the great psychological-philosophical poems of our language, readers of this essay are invited to go to the poem and let it speak for itself. But they should be prepared to live with it for a few months because no hasty dip into it will discover what it has to offer. Like most great works, it demands a good deal of the reader in time and thought and will seem increasingly great the longer one studies it.

Three closely related ideas come out again and again in Wordsworth: (1) the sacredness of life in any form, (2) the dignity and nobility inherent in human life, (3) the power of nature to elevate and ennoble man. In "Michael," Wordsworth's greatest narrative poem, we find his most *dramatic* treatment of these three ideas. Here Wordsworth was successful in blending simple yet dignified language with moving story in such a way that many readers find this the most appealing of his poems. It is like a parable of Christ—both in the eloquent simplicity of its style and in the memorable message of its story—or perhaps even more like an incident out of Old Testament history. Since the theme of the poem is inseparable from the narrative, perhaps a brief summary will be helpful here. The poem tells of the shepherd Michael, "an old man, stout of heart, and strong of limb, whose bodily frame had been from youth to age of an unusual strength." Although imperfect enough in wisdom and judgment to be believably human, Michael is fundamentally noble and good. Like Abraham of old, he has been blessed in his old age with a son, whom he loves deeply and with whom he forms a beautiful comradeship as the son becomes a young man. When the son, named Luke, is eighteen, and Michael eighty-four, financial difficulties press upon the family in the form of a "debt of

honor" to the extent that Luke is sent to work for a distant kinsman to relieve the financial stress. But before old father and young son separate, Michael takes Luke into the hills where they lay the cornerstone of a sheepfold as a covenant of their love for and faith in each other. Michael counsels his son to be faithful, but promises: "whatever fate befall thee, I shall love thee to the last." Then they separate. At first good reports come of the son, but months later Luke "began to slacken in his duty" and "in the dissolute city gave himself to evil courses: ignominy and shame fell on him, so that he was driven at last to seek a hiding-place beyond the seas." Old Michael is somewhat sustained in his grief by his love, for

There is a comfort in the strength of love;
'T will make a thing endurable, which else
Would overset the brain, or break the heart.

But partly his love is in very fact responsible for his grief, for there is no grief more harsh than that of faith betrayed. Thus, bearing the burden of his sorrow, Michael goes about his daily work suffering in silence, often sitting in numb loneliness at the site of the unfinished sheepfold, anguishedly disappointed in his erring son, but still loving him, for the poem is partly a portrayal of the nature of genuine love, which does not withdraw even when the one who is loved betrays that love. It is a powerful and beautiful story of a man deepened, dignified, and made heroic through suffering. It is also probably Wordsworth's clearest success in what he said was one of his principal goals—to dramatize the lives of ordinary people by telling their story in the language of ordinary men. Here, however, we should remember what Coleridge said of Wordsworth: that he practiced better than he preached. If Wordsworth had merely written in the language of common people, said Coleridge, he would not have been the great poet that he is, because common people don't speak great poetry in their day-to-day language. Only when he transcended the language of common people, as he did in the simple yet elevated language of "Michael," did he become a great poet, added Coleridge. And I agree.

Others of Wordsworth's poems might be discussed if space permitted, but the finest of his achievements have already been mentioned. *The Excursion* is as long and full as *The Prelude*, but the poetry in it is not of the same quality. "We Are Seven"

is a famous poem describing a little girl's insistence that neither distance nor death can break apart the family unit, but it tends towards oversimplicity and sentimentality. "Character of the Happy Warrior" is an admirable portrait of the qualities needed to make an ideal leader of men, but the work is heavily didactic and prosaic, hardly poetry at all. And so on and on. I am not saying that only the poems referred to in this essay are worth reading, simply that these are probably the ones most rewarding to study as works of art. Many of Wordsworth's poems not discussed here also deserve attention, especially for their portrayal of ideas and ideals.

In most of what he wrote Wordsworth was a champion of ethics and spirituality. He scorned materialism and hated selfishness. In a mood of indignation he wrote several memorable sonnets exposing selfishness and the pursuit of wrong goals. The best known and strongest of these is the famous attack on worldly materialism which begins:

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

For Wordsworth believed that most of the evils in the world stem from the mind of man ("Much it grieved my heart to think what man has made of man"¹⁴), and he likewise believed that the solution to these evils must come from within, from the very heart of man, a great outpouring of unselfish love. He knew that sometimes out of grief and difficulty comes wisdom ("A deep distress hath humanized my soul"¹⁵), that to do evil is worse than to endure evil (see "Guilt and Sorrow"), that the greatest, most unselfish love is love of that which seems not to deserve love (see "The Idiot Boy"), that the sweetest moment of life is that filled with genuine repentance (see "Peter Bell," Part III), and that the greatest source of strength is the inner resource of the immortal human spirit in harmony with God's teachings (see "Resolution and Independence"). Wordsworth is a serious poet, and we need to be in a serious mood to respond to him. There will come a time, however, in the lives of most of us when we can respond to the "healing power" of his genius, this "friend of the wise and teacher of the good" as his great friend Coleridge called him.

¹⁴"Lines Written in Early Spring"

¹⁵"Elegiac Stanzas Suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle in a Storm"

Federal Government Efforts To "Americanize" Utah Before Admission To Statehood

GUSTIVE O. LARSON*

"The time for test oaths and bayonets is passed" said a spokesman for the Southern States during debate on their re-admission to the Union in 1870. Ironically, on the same day, January 28, the Congress that reseated the first of Virginia's representatives adopted a clause in a Utah bill authorizing the President "to send the Army to Utah to enforce the laws against polygamy."¹ The forces of Reconstruction were swinging from the South to the West. The Republican platform on the eve of the Civil War had called upon the government to destroy those "twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."² A number of the same "Radical Republicans" who had abolished one relic of barbarism now turned their attention to "Americanize" Utah where the other appeared.

However, just as the issue of slavery had occupied the pre-Civil War reformers to the exclusion of the political system which fostered it, so polygamy served as a smoke screen to obscure the institution which protected it. *The Springfield Union* (Massachusetts) of February 1885 (reprinted in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, February 15, 1885) warned: "when the anti-slavery agitation was at its hight [sic] popular feeling at the North was exercised chiefly with the immoral quality of slavery as an institution. Yet the war of the Rebellion, by

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¹Both items appeared in the same issue of the *New York Tribune*, January 28, 1870.

²Kirk H. Porter, *National Party Platforms*, New York, 1924, p. 48.

which slavery was overthrown turned on an altogether different issue, the question namely of political sovereignty. . . . Popular judgment is today repeating the same blunder in the matter of Mormonism. . . . It will be discovered all at once that the essential principle of Mormonism is not polygamy at all but the ambition of an ecclesiastical hierarchy to wield sovereignty."

The Mormon problem did not stem from distrust of non-resident political appointees nor from Utah's clamor for home rule, for these she shared in common with her territorial neighbors.³ But as a frontier theocracy activated by an imminent "Kingdom of God" concept, she presented a challenge to federal authority. The theocratic "State of Deseret,"⁴ serving as the political aspect of the Kingdom, was expected, under administration of a "Council of Fifty,"⁵ to ultimately absorb all earthly kingdoms including the United States. The State of Deseret, which preceded the organization of Utah Territory, appeared to reflect the American system with its three departments of government, but in practice there was no separation of powers. Election of officers consisted in ratifying a Church nominated ticket which included Brigham Young as Governor and his counselors as Secretary of State and Chief Justice. The Council of Fifty organized the Legislative Assembly in which it retained majority control, and bishops of the ecclesiastical "wards" were elected magistrates over their respective units. "The Mormons," said Dale Morgan, "simply elaborated their ecclesiastical machinery into a political government."⁶ In an effort to avert an invasion of "carpetbaggers" among them, the Mormons sought early statehood; but as a result of the compromise partition of the Southwest in 1850, Utah was organized as a territory on September 9 of that year.

When the eastern federal appointees arrived in Utah the following summer, they found the territorial government already functioning without them. Brigham Young as governor had proceeded, immediately upon being informed of his office, to make appointments and hold elections, including a delegate to Congress. As jurisdictional conflicts flared, the outsiders,

³See Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and The United States, 1861-1890*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947, p. 101.

⁴Dale Morgan, "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, Nos. 2, 3, 4, April, July, October, 1940.

⁵See Klaus Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967.

⁶Morgan, "The State of Deseret," p. 87.

followed by some of their succeeding federal appointees, returned to Washington to accuse the "law-defying" Mormons of (1) Church domination of political affairs, (2) usurpation of judicial powers, (3) practice of plural marriage, (4) irregularities in land and Indian administration, and (5) monopolistic economic practices. Later there were added complaints against organized Mormon immigration of foreign converts and Church control of public education.⁷

The accumulation in Washington of complaints against the Saints, plus other political factors, persuaded President James Buchanan to install a new set of officers in Utah to be escorted by a strong military force. The resulting military expedition, the Mormon delaying tactics in the so-called Utah War,⁸ the President's conditional pardon, and the stationing of federal troops at Camp Floyd are all well-known and cannot claim attention here.

With Governor Alfred Cumming installed as Brigham Young's successor and the United States military forces located as an army of occupation near the Mormon capital, it appeared that the government had accomplished its purpose in forcing the Saints into line with accepted territorial administration. However, the victory was more apparent than real. On approach of the Army, the Legislative Assembly had made hasty adjustments in the territorial laws to curtail certain federal powers,⁹ and as long as the Mormons continued to control elections, the judicial processes, the local public funds, and the powerful territorial militia, they still enjoyed a large measure of home rule. While the President's appointee was nominally governor of the territory, it was generally recognized that Brigham Young remained as governor of the people.

Six times the Mormons appeared before Congress between 1849 and 1887 with proposed state constitutions in hand applying for admission to the Union, and six times statehood was denied until the territory should conform to accepted American standards. The Saints, holding it to be a part of their religion, claimed protection for their practice of plural marriage under

⁷See Howard Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, No. 4, October 1960, pp. 375-387.

⁸Norman Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960; LeRoy Hafen, *Documentary Account of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1858*, Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958.

⁹Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Territory of Utah, Seventh Annual Session 1857-58, compiled by Everett Cooley in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIV, Nos. 2, 3, 4, (1956) April, July, Oct. pp. 107-357.

the first amendment to the Constitution, and following the public announcement of the practice in 1852, Congress delayed legislation against it for a decade. Justin Morrill's Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862 proved to be the first in a series of increasingly severe measures to solve the "Mormon problem." Formulated to "punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States and to disapprove and annul the Legislative Acts incorporating the Mormon Church,"¹⁰ the measure named the two issues which persisted as major stumbling blocks in Utah's struggle for statehood over the next three decades. While polygamy captured the headlines, legislation was directed increasingly toward breaking the political power which sustained it.

During the Civil War, the Saints, upon rejection of their third petition for statehood, reactivated the State of Deseret which continued to function as a ghost government,¹¹ apart from the territorial government through the 1860's. In expectation of the nation's self-destruction, the religionists prepared for establishment of the Kingdom of God upon its ruins. The Legislative Assembly, after convening to hear the Territorial Governors' message and perform its legislative duties, adjourned only to reconvene to receive a message from "Governor" Young. The nature of this ghost government emerges from Young's statement to that body on January 17, 1863:

I do not wish to lose an inch of ground you have gained in your organization but hold fast to it, for this is the Kingdom of God. . . . We are called the State Legislature but when the time comes, we shall be called the Kingdom of God. Our government is going to pieces and it will be like water that is spilt upon the ground and cannot be gathered . . . the time will come when we will give laws to the nations of the earth. (Journal History, January 19, 1863.)

With the Union preserved at the War's close, the theocratic state faded out in 1870, although the Council of Fifty continued to exercise control.¹² The War had settled the states rights issue in the South but not in Utah where the fight to "Americanize" the Mormons was just beginning. The "Mormon Question" remained as Vice-president Schuyler Colfax expressed

¹⁰Deliberations of the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed measure appear in *House Exec. Documents*, Report No. 33, 36 Congress; 1st Session, p. 105.

¹¹Morgan, "The State of Deseret," pp. 132-148.

¹²Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, Chaps. IV and VIII.

it in 1869. . . . "whether the authority of the nation or the authority of Brigham Young is the supreme power in Utah; whether the laws of the United States or the laws of the Mormon Church have precedence within its limits."¹³

By 1870, when the Southern States were beginning to return to the Union, Congress was debating the Cullom Bill which had emerged out of several earlier unsuccessful anti-polygamy bills. Its provisions foreshadowed much of the forthcoming legislation including the clause, previously referred to, authorizing the President to send an army to Utah to enforce the anti-polygamy laws. While the battle of words in Congress relative to the Bill echoed in the public press, the lawmakers themselves voted largely on party lines with the "Radical Republicans" leading the fight for the measure and the Democrats in opposition.¹⁴ Finally, the Cullom Bill squeezed through the House, but it died in the Senate.

Locally, the non-Mormon minority group, led by General Patrick Connor, organized the Liberal Party in 1870 while the Mormon majority functioned politically through the Peoples Party. With an eye to the future, both national political organizations hoped to claim the territory upon its ultimate admission to the Union. While the Democrats courted Mormon good-will through protecting the majority against radical measures, the Republicans by Reconstruction methods, aimed to switch local political control from the Peoples Party to the Liberal minority. Supporting the increasingly tough legislation to this end was an unpublicized, though none the less important, program of personal contacts with the Mormon leaders. James S. Clarkson, for two decades a member of the Republican National Committee and twice its chairman, was given the responsibility and "took up the work (in connection with Secretary James G. Blaine) of inducing the Mormons to give up polygamy."¹⁵ The importance of this approach to the solution of the Utah problem appears in confessions from Mormon leaders on the eve of surrender. In July 1889, George Q. Cannon of the Church's First Presidency and former delegate to Congress said, "I have

¹³*The Mormon Question*, Deseret News Office, Salt Lake City, 1870.

¹⁴See Richard D. Poll, "Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII, No. 2, (May 1958), pp. 111-126.

¹⁵James S. Clarkson Papers, Box 3 (1904-1917), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. "For twenty years," he wrote, "I have been made the one man in the Republican Party to look after the Republican interests in Utah and that region so I am pretty well up on the subject."

been assured hundreds of times, by men of wisdom and discernment that our overthrow was inevitable unless we conformed to the demands of public opinion and renounced all peculiarities of faith; that the world was arrayed against us, and that it was folly to suppose we could withstand these continued assaults upon us."¹⁶ Again in November, President Wilford Woodruff said "I have been called upon by friends outside the Church, and urged to take some steps with regard to this matter. They knew the course which the government was determined to take."¹⁷

President U.S. Grant, fresh from having crushed the Southern Rebellion, adopted a "get tough" policy towards Utah. To meet the situation, he appointed General J. Wilson Schaffer as governor and James B. McKean as Chief Justice of Utah. While the former undertook with indefinite results to wrest control of the territorial militia (the Nauvoo Legion) from the Legislative Assembly, the latter attempted unsuccessfully to place the "Mormon system on trial in the person of Brigham Young."¹⁸ His failure emphasized the need for additional legislation in support of any successful attack on Mormon "polygamic theocracy."

President Grant was determined to meet this need as he prodded the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses to legislate to exclude Mormons entirely from judicial procedures and to increase the appointive power of the Governor of Utah Territory.¹⁹ Out of a flood of bills emerged the Poland Law of 1874. It restored Utah's judiciary to the original pattern of the Organic Act by limiting civil and criminal jurisdiction exclusively to the district courts and provided for drawing of jury lists alternately by the clerk of the district court and the probate judge of the judicial district. The 1870's ended with another significant victory for the government when the constitutionality of the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, which the Mormons ignored, was sustained unanimously by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Reynolds Case.²⁰

¹⁶*Deseret News Weekly*, July 20, 1889, p. 114.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, November 14, 1889.

¹⁸*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 9, 1871.

¹⁹James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President, 1789-1897*, Washington, D.C.: 1900, Vol. VII, pp. 209-10.

²⁰The decision handed down in 1879 ruled that "while laws cannot interfere with religious beliefs or opinions, they may with practices. . . . So here, as a law of the organization of society under the exclusive dominion of the United States, it is provided that plural marriage shall not be allowed." *United States Reports*, S.C. 98, pp. 166-168.

However, the legal machinery still lacked teeth to bring the Mormons to terms, and in his December 1880 message to Congress, President Rutherford B. Hayes recommended placing Utah under the provisions of the original Northwest Ordinance of 1787, with government by a governor and judges appointed by the president. "If however," he said, "it is deemed best to continue the existing form of local government, I recommend that the right to vote, hold office and sit on juries in the Territory of Utah be confined to those who neither practice nor uphold polygamy."²¹ Both Presidents Garfield and Arthur echoed President Hayes' recommendations. Again, a single law materialized out of more than twenty bills on the subject. Senator George F. Edmunds, who had participated actively as one of the Radical Republicans in Reconstruction of the South, successfully sponsored a bill which became the Edmunds Law of 1882.²² Of its nine articles, the following major ones included:

3. Unlawful cohabitation defined and made punishable by a fine up to \$300 and/or six months imprisonment.
5. Not only practicing polygamists but those who held it as a religious belief were disqualified for jury service.
8. Practicing polygamists were disfranchised and disqualified from holding public office.
9. All registration and election offices in the Territory were declared vacant and a board of five commissioners was to be appointed by the President to conduct and supervise elections in Utah until the Legislative Assembly should pass laws in conformity with national standards.

With the Utah Commission now in control of the elective processes in the territory and the district courts restored to exclusive criminal jurisdiction together with juries purged of polygamy sympathizers, the stalemate in Utah was broken. The Mormon vote was reduced by some 12,000²³ and as a result of vigorous prosecution by able district attorneys, the federal judges found increasing numbers guilty of unlawful cohabitation with a few convicted for polygamy. Fines and prison

²¹Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, p. 606.

²²The Southern Democrats could not support another Reconstruction measure such as they had been subjected to so recently. They accused the sponsors of the bill of being politically motivated, the object being to "transfer the political power of this Territory to the Republic Party." *Congressional Record*, 47 Congress, 1st Session, p. 1211.

²³Utah Commission Report to Secretary of Interior: November 17, 1882. Territorial Papers, R.G. 48, N.A.

sentences in Utah increased from 3 in 1884 to 39 in 1885, 112 in 1886 and 214 in 1887.²⁴

With an attitude of passive resistance towards this "judicial crusade" as it was called, the polygamists went into hiding. Although increasing numbers of the lesser polygamist officials were captured, convicted, and sent to prison, their neighbors rallied to the support of their families, and the top leaders continued to direct affairs of the Church from their "underground" stations. When neither political disfranchisement nor the judicial crusade brought the Mormons to terms, President Arthur recommended in his third annual message to Congress in December 1883, "The repeal of the act upon which the existing government depends, the assumption by the National Legislature of the entire political control of the Territory, and the establishment of a commission with such powers and duties as shall be delegated to it by law."²⁵

However, the lame duck session of the Forty-eighth Congress following the November 1884 Democratic victory ignored President Arthur's repeated calls for drastic action. Not until March 1887, did the Republicans succeed, against Southern opposition,²⁶ in pushing through Congress the Edmunds-Tucker Bill, which became law without President Cleveland's signature.

The Edmunds-Tucker law was formulated not only to close loop-holes in earlier anti-polygamy legislation but to destroy the political and economic power of the Church which protected the practice. The Utah Commission was empowered to administer a loyalty test oath and a pledge of obedience to the anti-polygamy laws to all who would register to vote, hold public office, or serve on juries. The territorial female suffrage law was abrogated and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company²⁷

²⁴Jenks Report, House of Representatives, Fiftieth Congress, First Session and Executive Document No. 447.

²⁵Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, VIII, p. 184. Governor Eli H. Murray had urged the Territorial Legislative Assembly on January 16, 1878, to enact laws against polygamy but as the *Salt Lake Tribune* commented on that date, "What could one expect from a Legislative body containing six apostles, twenty-three bishops and other inferior priests." Abandoning hope in this direction, he recommended adoption of a Federally appointed Council. Governors Report, Sept. 16, 1883, *Messages and Documents of Interior Department 1883-84*, Vol. II, p. 636.

²⁶See Richard D. Poll, "Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII, No. 2 (May 1958).

²⁷Governor Eli H. Murray had recommended dissolution of the Emigrating Agency in 1883 (*Messages and Documents of Interior Department 1883-84*, Vol. II, p. 634) and Pres. Cleveland recommended similar action. (Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, Vol. VIII, p. 362).

was dissolved. To facilitate arrests and convictions of polygamists in the district courts, the powers of the U.S. Marshal's office were increased and the probate judges were made appointees of the President; testimony of wives was permitted against husbands in polygamy cases, witnesses could be compelled to testify, and marriages were required to be of public record; responsibility for public school administration was transferred from territorial to federal authority, and the Nauvoo Legion was abolished. Pursuant to the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, the disincorporation of the Mormon Church was re-emphasized and the U.S. Attorney General instructed to proceed to forfeit and escheat to the United States, Church property in excess of \$50,000.

The Utah Commission in the exercise of its additional powers brought further restrictions on the Mormon voting franchise and the judiciary moved relentlessly against the polygamists until about 13,000 were disfranchised and more than 1,200²⁸ were fined and/or sentenced to six months in the penitentiary. The district judges extended the crusade to include denial of citizenship to foreign Mormon converts on the ground that the Church was a subversive institution.²⁹ On the same ground, Idaho passed a test oath law disfranchising all Mormons in that territory, whether polygamists or not.³⁰

In July 1887, the United States Attorney proceeded in two major suits to confiscate the real and personal property of the Church and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. The U.S. Marshal, as receiver, pursued his assignment to gather in the widely dispersed Church properties until by fall of 1888, he had in his possession an amount valued at \$807,000 including the several Church buildings on which the Saints were required to pay rentals.³¹ Based on this amount, the Mormons appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, confident that the disincorporation of the Church and escheatment of its property would be ruled unconstitutional.

²⁸Two studies suggest this number of prison sentences. Dr. Stewart L. Grow in his unpublished "Study of the Utah Commission," p. 268, reports 1,004 convictions for unlawful cohabitation and 31 for polygamy; Dr. Richard D. Poll in "Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory" appearing in *Pacific Historical Review* XXVII, No. 2 (May 1958), p. 120, estimates the number at 1,300.

²⁹See *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 1, 1889, p. 4.

³⁰An original draft of this law had been submitted to President Grover Cleveland in 1886, Territorial Papers, R.G. 48, PSM. No. 53, N.A.

³¹See Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 353.

Meanwhile, among a number of local movements pointing towards surrender to the federal demands³² was the Constitutional Convention held by the Peoples Party in July of 1887, which was followed in October by a sixth petition to Congress for statehood. The proposed state constitution included a clause outlawing polygamous marriages and another declaring separation of church and state. The Territorial Assembly, in its next session, followed suit by enacting a measure outlawing plural marriage. In Congress the Republican controlled Committee on Territories rejected the petition for statehood on grounds that neither the anti-polygamy clause in the proposed state constitution nor the Legislative Act could be trusted. The Church, as such, had made no official abandonment of plural marriage and there could be no statehood for Utah so long as her politics were dominated by the Mormon priesthood. Besides it was not overlooked that Utah was counted as a Democratic territory. When similar hearings were held in the House Committee in January 1889, with Democratic chairman William M. Springer viewing Utah's petition more favorably, the Republican minority successfully urged postponement of action "until obedience to the right and reasonable authority of the general government should be accepted by the Mormons."³³

In the meantime, the party affiliation of Utah's neighbors who were winning statehood did not escape the Mormon leaders. The Dakotas, Montana, and Washington were admitted as Republican states in February 1889, while Democratic New Mexico was excluded. Wyoming and Idaho presented themselves at the door of Congress in Republican garb and were admitted in June 1890. From this point the Church Presidency showed increasing interest in nudging Democratic Utah towards Republicanism. "It is felt that efforts should be made to instruct our people in Republicanism" recorded A.H. Cannon following dissolution of the Peoples Party in 1891, and further, President George Q. Cannon said that "he believed our safety and prosperity in a political way depends on our voting the Republican ticket."³⁴

³²Other such movements included a group of prominent businessmen who urged President John Taylor in 1886 to surrender, the Young Men's Democratic Club of Utah in 1884, and the so-called Sage-brush Democracy in 1888.

³³House Reports, Fiftieth Congress, Second Session, No. 4156, March 2, 1889.

³⁴Abraham H. Cannon Journals, June 9 and Oct. 21, 1891.

Congressional measures designed to break Mormon political power won positive results in Utah in the late 1880's. A crack in the solid front of Mormondom appeared in August 1887, when the Liberal party won five seats in the Legislative Assembly. The crack widened in February 1889, when, with the help of many strife-weary Mormons, it won the Ogden City election and increased its seats in the Legislature to eight. The victors next captured Salt Lake City in February of 1890. In the midst of their losing battle to retain control of their capital city, the Saints suffered an extra blow when the United States Supreme Court upheld the Idaho Test Oath Law, which disfranchised all Mormons in that territory. On the heels of their victories, the Utah Liberals dispatched Robert Baskin to Washington with proposed legislation on the order of the Idaho law. By April 1890, it appeared in the Senate Committee on Territories as the Cullom-Strubble Bill. The threat of total disfranchisement now hung over the Mormons. As an added blow, the Supreme Court handed down its decision sustaining the provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Bill by which the Church was dissolved and its property escheated. The Court held that "Congress may not only abrogate laws of the Territorial Legislature but it may itself legislate directly for the local government. Congress had a full and perfect right to repeal its [LDS] charter and abrogate its corporate existence."³⁵

Desperately the Church officials contacted Washington sources of the Cullom-Strubble Bill. George Q. Cannon, counselor in the Church Presidency, Utah's delegate to Congress in the 1870's and a declared Republican, directed the Saints' defense as delegate John T. Caine and others strove to hold up the impending blow. Cannon appealed through his son Frank J. to his Republican friend, Secretary James G. Blaine. Assuring the Secretary that Utah was not hopelessly Democratic, young Cannon suggested that Blaine's support now would greatly strengthen the Republican position in the Mormon community. As the Secretary rose to terminate the interview, he said "We may succeed this time in preventing your disfranchisement; but nothing permanent can be done until you get into line." The senior Cannon upon receiving the report said, "President

³⁵United States Reports, Vol. 136, pp. 1-68. The late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints vs. United States, Nos. 1030, 1054.

Woodruff has been praying . . . he thinks he sees some light. You are authorized to say that something will be done."³⁶

In the meantime, the August 1890 report of the Utah Commission to the Secretary of Interior expressed regret that an expected Church declaration "in favor of abandonment of polygamy" had not been forthcoming. It added, in support of the Cullom-Strubble Bill, "it is believed that 41 persons have entered into polygamous relations in 1889."³⁷

In response to the reports from Washington, President Wilford Woodruff faced the inevitable. "I have arrived at a point in the history of my life as President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," he wrote on September 25, 1890, "where I am under the necessity of acting for the temporal salvation of the Church. . . . I have issued the following proclamation which is sustained by my counselors and the Twelve Apostles."³⁸

The proclamation known as the Woodruff Manifesto³⁹ was issued to the American press on September 24. It stated that the Endowment House where most of the plural marriages had been performed had been razed and denied the Commission's report that polygamous marriages had been performed in 1889. It concluded "and now, I publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land." Upon receipt of a wire from Delegate Caine in Washington announcing that Secretary of the Interior Noble would not accept the Woodruff Manifesto "without its acceptance by the Conference as authoritative against the statements of the Utah Commission and Governor Thomas,"⁴⁰ it was submitted to the general conference assembled on October 6, 1890, and unanimously approved.

The Manifesto was received by the government with caution, lest it be a trick to secure statehood after which the practice of polygamy could be resumed. The Republican majority of the Utah Commission and President Harrison warned against hasty steps towards Utah's admission to the Union. In his sec-

³⁶Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah*, Boston, 1911, pp. 87-91.

³⁷Annual Report of the Utah Comm., August 22, 1890. *Messages and Documents of Interior Department*, Vol. 3, 1890-91, pp. 397-421.

³⁸Wilford Woodruff Diary. 16 volumes, Hand printed, Mormon Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. 12.

⁴⁰Abraham H. Cannon Journals, October 5, 1870. 19 volumes 1879-1897. In Brigham Young University Special Collections.

ond annual message to Congress, President Benjamin Harrison stated:

President Woodruff does not renounce the doctrine, but refrains from teaching it and advises against the practice of it because the law is against it. Now it is quite true that the law should not attempt to deal with the faith or belief of anyone; but it is quite another thing, and the only safe thing, to so deal with the Territory of Utah as that those who believe polygamy to be rightful shall not have the power to make it lawful."⁴¹

On the other hand, Governor Arthur Thomas, who as former Secretary of the Territory and member of the Commission, had been zealous in his support of the anti-polygamy crusade, now urged acceptance of the Mormon action as the long delayed fulfillment of the government's objective.⁴² Chief Justice Charles S. Zane, showing confidence in the Manifesto, adjudicated accordingly and ruled that membership in the Mormon Church should no longer constitute a bar against American citizenship. He was following a path which was to grow into a road of mutual confidence leading towards statehood. Marking that road came first: dissolution of the Peoples Party in 1891 and the election of a Democratic delegate to Congress on a National ticket; then came the dissolution of the Liberal Party in 1893 and the election of a Republican delegate to Congress. While members of the Peoples Party were encouraged to divide their support⁴³ between the two national political organizations, those of the Liberal Party moved into Republican ranks. Here significantly they found themselves beside increasing numbers of prominent Mormons who, representing the Saints' new economic philosophy of private enterprise, found protective tariff to their liking.

In 1893, President Benjamin Harrison, persuaded by Mr. Blaine and James S. Clarkson,⁴⁴ granted amnesty to all Mormon polygamists who had lived within the law since 1890, which benefits, including restoration of civil rights, were extended by President Cleveland the following year. Partial restoration of

⁴¹Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, Vol. IX, p. 118.

⁴²Governor Thomas to Secretary John W. Noble. Report in Territorial Papers. R.G. 48, No. 26, N.A.

⁴³Abraham H. Cannon Journals, June 11, 1891.

⁴⁴Among Clarkson's papers (articles and speeches folder, Box 4) in the Library of Congress is a report, as of 1910, which includes, "Then after Harrison's election as president, Mr. Blaine and Mr. Clarkson induced the President to pardon the hundreds of Mormons still in prison for polygamy and restore all Mormons to citizenship."

escheated Church property⁴⁵ came in January 1894, and the Utah Commission was converted from "carpet bag" to local membership to continue as such until statehood brought its dissolution.⁴⁶

With religious and political obstacles to statehood removed by the Manifesto and dissolution of the Peoples Party and, as expressed by Arrington, "Utah's economy headed towards secularization to accommodate the national pattern," the Republican party could now woo the Saints by offering the most promising channel through which to achieve that desired objective. Republican efforts in this connection were spurred by the political struggle for control of Congress.⁴⁷ George Q. Cannon, who was in constant touch with Washington, had reported to his associates on the eve of the Manifesto:

The Republican Party is becoming more favorably impressed with the importance of securing Mormon votes and influence and the leaders feel as though Utah should be admitted as a state in the Union. Even Secretary of State Blaine is desirous of Utah's admission . . . the Democrats might have won several states had they but possessed sufficient courage, when Cleveland was President to admit Mormons to political power, but they failed to do so and now realize their loss.⁴⁸

A year later, Joseph F. Smith, also of the First Presidency, addressed the Church leaders.

We have received the strongest admonitions from our Republican friends that we must not allow this Territory to go strongly Democratic. We favored John Henry's [Smith] going on the stump so as to convince the people that a man could be a Republican and still be a Saint. . . . The Republicans will stand by their friends which the Democrats have not done . . . I know many prominent men of this party who are today our friends and are working for our interests . . . such men as Blaine, Clarkson, Stanford and Estee are deeply interested in our affairs and desire to do us good.⁴⁹

⁴⁵Territorial Papers, R.G. 48, Box 211, No. 89, Private resol. No. 3, Apr. 3, 1896.

⁴⁶Final Report of the Utah Commission June 30, 1896, to the Secretary of the Interior. Records of the Utah Commission, Utah State Archives, Capitol Bldg., Salt Lake City.

⁴⁷Former Convention Chairman John M. Thurston, reporting to James S. Clarkson relative to political affairs in the West, wrote on August 29, 1894, "To lose two or three senators from this part of the country now means continued defeat of the Republican Party in the West and the Senate hopelessly Democratic for a long time to come." Clarkson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁴⁸Abraham H. Cannon Journals, July 10, 1890.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, July 9, 1891.

Democratic Utah elected Joseph L. Rawlins as Delegate to Congress in 1892 with a vote of 15,201 to 12,390. The die-hard Liberals trailed with 6,986 votes. Rawlins introduced a statehood bill in May of the following year which, with bi-partisan support, Congress passed as Utah's Enabling Act in July 1894. President Cleveland signed it on the 17th. However, with the Liberals joining the Republican party enmasse, with Republican policies favorable to the new Mormon economy, and high ranking Church officials responding gratefully to Republican support for Utah statehood, the party not only elected Delegate Frank J. Cannon to Congress in November but won 59 of the 107 delegates to the coming state Constitutional Convention. When the Convention began its deliberation on March 4, 1895, a substantial Republican majority elected John Henry Smith to preside. Among the many gratified Republican observers of Utah's swing to that party was James S. Clarkson of the National Republican Committee whose quiet, assigned contacts with Utah's leaders over twenty years had been rewarded with banquets given in his honor, not only by the Territorial Republican Committee, but by the President of the Mormon Church.⁵⁰ On January 4, 1896, when President Cleveland signed the proclamation admitting Utah to statehood, Clarkson wired the Mormon leader as follows: "President Wilford Woodruff, I send you, your associates, and your people, and the people of Utah generally, the congratulations of abiding friendship over the admission of Utah as a State."⁵¹

Not willing to give entire credit to the Republicans for the Americanizing process in Utah, President Cleveland upon receiving the State Constitution at the hands of the expiring Utah Commission, commented:

It has been my wish as well as my effort to bring about a change in the conditions that have existed in the Territory, and in congratulating you all I have some excuse, I think, for self congratulation. There has been a great change in the sentiment in Utah since my first term as Chief Magistrate and it is as welcome to me as to all Utah's people.⁵²

⁵⁰Journal History, June 30, 1893; Abraham H. Cannon Journals, June 20, 24, 1893.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, January 4, 1896.

⁵²Report of the Utah Commission to Secretary of the Interior, June 30, 1896, p. 75. Government Printing Office 1896, copy in Utah State Archives.

Mormon Bibliography: 1969

by CHAD J. FLAKE*

During the last few years I have lectured to classes on Mormon bibliography and have been consultant for many who have done their research in the field of Mormon history. Among other things, I belabored the fact that there was a lack of research materials concerning the Mormon sojourn in New York State. Then a disturbing pamphlet was published by the Reverend Wesley Walters entitled *New Light on Mormonism*, which questioned the chronology of the early experiences of Joseph Smith. Since that publication, a concerted effort has been made to add to our knowledge of Mormonism in New York. Although, as of this moment, the research is far from conclusive, it has certainly been a fine step in the right direction. It is hoped that this will continue until we have a mass of material to adequately understand the beginnings of Mormonism. Much of the preliminary research has been published in *BYU Studies* and summarized in *Dialogue*. It is to be hoped that no one will feel that the job of research has been finished, but that the search has just begun.

In the 1968 *Mormon Bibliography*, I congratulated the Church in allowing the Joseph Smith papyri to be made available to scholars after their discovery. When I congratulated various journals for publishing them, I inadvertantly ignored the publication done by *The Improvement Era*. May I apologize for this oversight and mention that pictures of the papyri fragments were also published in the *Era* as well as a series of articles authored by Professor Hugh Nibley.

As in the past, for the compilation of the *Mormon Bibliography*, I have relied heavily on *Mormon Americana*, Vol. 10, 1969.

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Book Reviews

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON. *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. 391 pp. \$8.95.

(Reviewed by Leonard J. Arrington, professor of economics and history at Utah State University. The author of *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints*, Dr. Arrington has published in *Western Humanities Review*, *Rural Sociology*, *Dialogue*, *BYU Studies*, and a variety of historical journals.)

There are three major problems connected with this "biography" of Brigham Young. First, it is not based on the primary sources which detail the life and thought of Brigham Young. Second, it does not present to the reader a portrait of Brigham Young as a family man, as a church president, as a territorial governor, and as a businessman. Third, granted that the life of Brigham Young is inextricably linked with the Church he so profoundly influenced, the author has demonstrated only a superficial knowledge of the history and doctrine of that Church.

The primary sources for a biography of Brigham Young are largely in the LDS Historian's Library-Archive in Salt Lake City, and include the following:

1. "Brigham Young Manuscript History." In 47 thick handwritten volumes, this history was commenced in 1856 under the direction of George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff, and covers the years 1844 to 1877. Nearly all of it is copied into the Journal History of the Church, a 1200-volume scrapbook history which is available to all researchers, including Mr. Hirshson. The Journal History is the richest single source on the events affecting Brigham Young which transpired during the years 1830 to 1877.
2. "Brigham Young Letter Books." These consist of 15 handwritten volumes, all but three of which contain 1,000 pages or more, and are copies of letters written by

- Brigham Young during the years 1851 through 1877. These are the richest single sources of Brigham Young's thoughts, attitudes, motives, and policies.
3. "Brigham Young Papers." These consist of 19 boxes, approximately 1,000 pages per box, containing speeches, certificates, rough draft copies of letters, papers connected with the settlement of the Brigham Young estate, and other official private papers for the years 1834 to 1877.
 4. "Brigham Young Telegram Books." These are four bound volumes with telegrams sent during the years 1864 to 1879.
 5. "Brigham Young Diaries, 1837 - 1846." There are four volumes of these, part of which are holographs. They reveal Brigham Young's dedication, education, and powers of observation.
 6. "President's Office Journal." Five volumes of notes with respect to affairs conducted in the Church President's Office during the years 1850 to 1857.
 7. "First Presidency Papers, 1833-1969." One box of these contains Brigham Young material.
 8. "Council of Twelve Papers, 1847 - 1969." One box contains Brigham Young material.
 9. "Historian's Office Journal, 1845 - 1961." Thirty volumes of this rich source cover the Brigham Young era.
 10. "Diaries and Papers of Brigham Young's Close Associates." These include diaries of Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, Horace Eldredge, and others. They also include papers of Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Orson Hyde, Thomas B. Marsh, William H. Hooper, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, Horace Eldredge, John Bernhisel, Jedediah M. Grant, Erastus Snow, and Lorenzo Snow. There are also diaries and papers of some of Brigham Young's wives (Eliza R. Snow, Emily D. Partridge), and several of his children (Susa, John W., Brigham, Jr., Willard), and several of his brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews.
 11. "Utah Territory Papers." "Indian Affairs Papers."
 12. There are countless boxes of minute books, account books, and papers of virtually all of the enterprises with which Brigham Young was connected, such as banks, railroads, manufactories, wholesale and retail establishments, and farms and irrigation enterprises.

All of the above materials are in the LDS Church Historian's Library-Archive in Salt Lake City, and have been used by scholars, both Mormon and non-Mormon—but not by Mr. Hirshson. In addition, there are manuscript materials not used

by Mr. Hirshson in the Utah State Historical Society Library-Archive (an 1857 Brigham Young diary, Young's executive record books and letterpress books as governor), Brigham Young University (including three Brigham Young account books and the papers of a son), and the University of Utah Library. Hirshson also failed to use "Extracts from the Manuscript History of Brigham Young" in the Bancroft Library, which is now printed, and most of the great quantity of materials in the National Archives that relate to Brigham Young (Utah and the Church) during the years 1847 to 1877.

The failure of Mr. Hirshson to use the above materials is difficult to explain, not to say justify. Mr. Hirshson, who was the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship to do the research, states in his Preface: "At the Mormon Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake. . . . I received no help or encouragement." Actually, there is on file in "the Mormon Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake" a document personally signed on May 17, 1966, by Mr. Hirshson and A. William Lund, the Assistant Church Historian, which specifically grants permission to Mr. Hirshson to use (among other things) manuscript histories and the Journal History of the Church. The records in the Church Historian's Office reveal that Mr. Hirshson was in the Church Historian's Library less than one day. Since dozens of scholars, both Mormon and non-Mormon, have used these materials day after day, week after week, and month after month, Mr. Hirshson's failure to examine them would appear to be due to his personal desire to do the bulk of his research in metropolitan New York.

If Mr. Hirshson had really wanted to use the abundant primary materials, there are at least a dozen professional historians in Utah who could have told him what materials were available and how he could obtain them. If professors have a right to expect resourcefulness and persistency in graduate students, how much more ought we to expect them from a scholar who had previously written two first-rate books: *Farewell to the Bloody Shirt* (1962) and *Grenville M. Dodge* (1967).

What, then, is this "biography" based upon? "The key to understanding him [Brigham Young] is not in the Rocky Mountains but in the Midwest and along the Atlantic Coast," writes Mr. Hirshson. Great eastern newspapers, he wrote, sent "their best reporters to Salt Lake City for varying periods of time, and to interview leading Mormons who came East." The

primary source materials in Utah, writes Mr. Hirshson without examining them, would probably yield "nothing startling," therefore the key is in New York newspapers. This is analogous to suggesting that the key to understanding Robert E. Lee is not in Virginia, but in the Yankee correspondents' reports about him in the Big City newspapers. Or, if it is more convenient to do one's research in London, then no doubt the key to Lee is in the British Museum! By actual count, Mr. Hirshson's "Biography of Brigham Young" has 498 footnote references to New York City newspapers and 101 references to other eastern newspapers.

Obviously, it is a contribution to have combed New York and other eastern newspapers for interesting stories and quotable excerpts about Brigham Young and the Mormon Church. But to suppose that contemporary eastern reporters were sufficiently "in the know" that their stories can be used as substitutes for primary evidence when, as in this instance, such is available, is fatuous. How accurate were the stories filed by these correspondents about Western Indians? Western Outlaws? Or even Grenville Dodge? How far would a Ph.D. candidate get if he proposed to write a biography of Santa Anna, Pancho Villa, or Porfirio Diaz by spending one day in Mexico and the remainder combing through New York newspapers?

There are many specific errors which demonstrate the eastern correspondents "gang aft aglay." For example, Mr. Hirshson states (p. 9) that Heber C. Kimball "left no evidence he ever learned to read and write," and cites as his source the *New York Times* for May 19, 1858. As a matter of fact, there must be at least a dozen readers of this review who have used Heber C. Kimball diaries, several of which, as they must have observed, are in Elder Kimball's own unmistakable handwriting. There are also holograph letters, certificates, and other memorabilia of Elder Kimball in the Church Archive. The same noncredibility pertains to Hirshson's ridiculous list of seventy wives of Brigham Young. His evidence is about as sound as the speculations of newspaper correspondents a hundred years later about the "men in the life of Jackie Kennedy."

In short, despite the impressive looking bibliography, this is biography based on hearsay, rather than on the kind of hard evidence that the scholar unearths by his diligence and insight in working through primary sources. This may account for the

failure of *The Lion of the Lord* to describe and assess Brigham Young's problems and contributions in such areas as colonization, settlement, immigration, economic development, and ecclesiastical organization and management.

Because he was writing primarily from hearsay sources, Hirshson gives support to the same stereotypes that were given currency by Eastern and British travelers to Mormonland in Brigham Young's day. Mr. Hirshson needs to understand the following: (1) Contrary to contemporary stereotypes, many early Mormons were educated, sophisticated, and sincere; they saw in "the Restored Gospel" the "way to perfection." (2) As with all political (and religious) leaders, Brigham Young had the problem of searching for consensus among a welter of conflicting opinions and attitudes. Assuming a monolithic church-state, Hirshson exhibits no comprehension of the tensions, struggles, controversies, and disagreements within the faith which are evident in the diaries of the period. (3) In opposition to the "women in bondage" theme, hundreds of intelligent Mormon women left testimonies to the manner in which their faith and Church gave them greater freedom and independence than they could have enjoyed in contemporary American and European society. (4) The devious motives attributed to Young are often understood and explained by reference to Brigham Young's letters. Certainly Brigham Young used "policy," and money and power entered into his calculations, but the serious student can hardly question his sincerity, and the decision-making process is almost always more complex than Hirshson indicates. (5) The grossly exaggerated stories of Brigham Young's wealth are based upon correspondents' inability to distinguish between Brigham Young's wealth in his private capacity and in his functioning as the trustee-in-trust of his Church. (6) If he had read just a dozen (of the hundreds available) of Brigham Young's letters to his children, Mr. Hirshson would have seen the personal interest of the Mormon leader in his family, their activities and welfare.

Since it is clear that even Guggenheim Fellows will not use primary Mormon materials which are available to them, it behooves Mormon historians conveniently located close to Salt Lake City to use the rich materials which the Church Historian's Library-Archive has to offer. If a good biography of Brigham Young has not been written (and clearly *The Lion of the Lord* doesn't fill the bill) it is up to Mormon scholars to write one

and see that it is published. Hirshson's book is dramatic evidence of the acute need of publishing some, if not all, of the Brigham Young papers.

RICHARD P. HOWARD. *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1969. 278 pp. \$5.95 hardback; \$4.95 paperback.

(Reviewed by Robert J. Matthews, Director of Academic Research for the Department of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion at the Brigham Young University. Dr. Matthews has published widely in Church-related studies.)

This recent publication by the historian of The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints traces the textual development of the Book of Mormon, the "Inspired Version" of the Bible, and the Doctrine and Covenants from the earliest dictated manuscripts to present-day published editions. It is an historical study of the long and sometimes complicated journey that was involved in the transfer of ideas from the mind of the Prophet Joseph Smith to the final recording of those ideas on the printed page. This journey entailed a process of several steps such as dictation to a scribe, transcription, emendation, and revision of pre-publication manuscripts to obtain greater clarity and improved meaning, and also for correction of scribal error, followed by first-edition publication, and finally additional revision and correction in subsequent published editions.

It is Mr. Howard's observation that there is a difference between revelation from God and the record of that revelation. Scripture is the *record* of a divine revelation, but not the *revelation* itself. In continuing this theme, consistent with the evidence of original and other pre-publication manuscripts, Mr. Howard concludes that revelation did not generally come to the Prophet in a mechanical stereo typed manner of exact words and phrases, but rather that the Prophet was revealed concepts which he was obliged to express in his own words. Since all knowledge was not given in a single revelatory experience, later revelations contributed to the understanding of earlier revealed principles. The obligation that was placed on the Prophet to work out his own forms of expression, plus

the accumulation of subsequent revelations, necessitated frequent revision and re-working of the original manuscripts to express as accurately as possible what had actually been communicated to his mind. In making these observations Mr. Howard has presented not only an historical review of the scriptures, but also an important concept about how revelation came to the Prophet Joseph Smith and how he then expressed that information in writing.

Howard's presentation of excerpts from pre-publication manuscripts seems to be ample documentary evidence to refute the David Whitmer—Martin Harris—William Smith reports that the act of translation of the Book of Mormon was a visually projected experience in which Joseph is said to have actually seen the words in the Urim and Thummim and merely copied them.

Mr. Howard also explains that the early manuscripts bear evidence of at least the following three kinds of revisions: (1) the correction of scribal errors, (2) the clarification of ambiguous and poorly worded passages to improve their meaning, and (3) the addition of material that was not in the original draft. These three types of revision are well illustrated in the book by parallel columns and also by actual photo copies of selected pages of the manuscripts. It is demonstrated that first drafts were often inadequate to convey the information in the manner the Prophet desired, and that these specific kinds of revisions were made in the text of the Book of Mormon, in the "Inspired Version" of the Bible, and also in the Doctrine and Covenants.

A study of this kind could only be accomplished by access to original manuscripts. Since these have not been available for general use, we are indebted to Mr. Howard for the publication of his work. The forty-four photo copies and fifty-three parallel column illustrations alone are worth the price of the book. Mr. Howard has a keen ability to observe and to draw meaning out of unorganized material that to a less industrious researcher might appear a hopeless task. This is especially evident from his use of dates, handwriting analysis and historical events in making a technical reconstruction of the procedures of the Prophet and his various scribes in the "translation" of the Bible.

Of considerable interest are discussions of various sub-items, such as the frequency of the phrase "and it came to

pass," use of the term "Urim and Thummim" and the matter of what Joseph Smith meant by his usage of the term "translation." There are likewise some interesting historical connections having to do with Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and John Whitmer and their services as scribes to the Prophet. The probable influence of the untimely death of Joseph's brother, Alvin Smith, on the doctrine of baptism for the dead, likewise makes informative reading.

The book also contains considerable information about the revision and correction of the text of the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants (Book of Commandments) after their initial printings. These corrections and revisions were sometimes by the Prophet himself, sometimes by a scribe under his direction, and sometimes by committees after the Prophet's death. The "Inspired Version" of the Bible was printed, and to a very minor extent revised, by committees after the death of Joseph Smith.

The book is admittedly complicated, as a work of this nature has to be. It is remarkable that the detailed and complex information is presented as plainly as it is. Penetrating insight and clarity of explanation are two of Mr. Howard's virtues. In the preface he explains: "This is not a text for casual reading, [but] is a resource text designed for the serious student seeking to grasp the relationships between Church history, revelation, and scripture. . . ." The work is somewhat of a survey although it contains unusual depth and insight, and in many ways it is the only sourcebook of its kind dealing with the background of the particular scriptures of this Dispensation.

Perhaps a few other observations are in order. The book was written primarily for RLDS readers and therefore citations from the Doctrine and Covenants and the Book of Mormon are from the RLDS publications of these works in which chapter and verse numbers differ from the current LDS publications'. This may sometimes be confusing to LDS readers.

Another factor needs consideration. On the basis of manuscript evidence Mr. Howard's conclusions seem to be logical and quite generally correct. However, there is a natural tendency in an intricate investigation of this kind for one to describe with too much finality just how a prophet, seer, and revelator receives divine communication, and likewise to decide what is and what is not revelation. To collect objective

evidence is the legitimate business of a scholar. To interpret that evidence is also the work of a scholar, but by its nature interpretation is sometimes subjective. Thus the LDS reader will probably see elements of subjectivity in Mr. Howard's evaluation of the various documents concerning baptism for the dead and also of plural marriage. However, it should be noted that Mr. Howard also calls attention to some apparent inconsistencies and misconceptions in the traditions and statements of the RLDS.

The book is a major leap forward in the textual criticism of latter-day scripture, although additional research and understanding may someday dictate occasional adjustments in some of the conclusions. Historians, theologians, and serious-minded students of the latter-day scriptures will be glad for Mr. Howard's insightful, interesting and most informative new book and will wish to have a copy for themselves and become familiar with its contents.

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