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BYU studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars
Autumn 1974 Brigham Young University



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Beyond Politics*

HUGH NIBLEY**

My story goes back to the beginning, and to some very basic propositions. This world was organized in the light of infinite knowledge and experience and after due thought and discussion, to offer multiple facilities to an endless variety of creatures and especially to be the home and dominion of a godlike race who would take good care of it and have joy therein. Being a highly favored breed, much was expected of them, and their qualifications for advancement were to be put to the test by allowing an adversary, a common enemy to God and man, to tempt them and try them. It was decided before even the world was that, if man should yield to this temptation and thus lower his defenses and make himself vulnerable to repeated attacks of the adversary, steps would immediately be taken to put into operation a prearranged plan to restore him to his former status.¹

GOD AND MAN

What God tells us in effect is, "Now that you have fallen and forfeited your Paradise by deliberately, knowingly disobeying me, I will give you another chance, a chance to get back to that Paradise by deliberately and knowingly obeying me. To get back where you were and beyond, you must repent—forever give up doing it your way, and decide to live

*A speech delivered before the Pi Sigma Alpha Honor Society for Political Science Week, 26 October 1973.

**Dr. Nibley is professor of ancient scriptures at Brigham Young University.

¹When man yielded to the temptations of the adversary, certain drastic corrections had to be made; the original plan and design for the use of the earth would not be scrapped at any rate, since it is not only the best but the only plan that will work here. No, the original plan was to be preserved as a beacon, and the minute fallen man realized his fallen state every inducement would be given him to turn his back on that condition and make his way back to the presence of God and to the only kind of life that is endurable throughout eternity.

by the Law of God, or by the Law of Obedience, which means, doing it my way." Adam agreed to do it God's way, though Satan lost no time in trying to sell him on another plan. Adam's own children and their posterity, however, chose to achieve salvation *their* way, not God's way, and ever since then there has been trouble. The Lord Jesus Christ told the young Joseph Smith in the First Vision that men were no longer doing things his way, that as a result that way was no longer upon the earth, but it was about to be brought again: "I was answered that I must join *none* of them, for they were all wrong . . . that *all* their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were *all* corrupt" (Joseph Smith, 2:19, italics added). The Lord's actual words were (according to the 1832 version in the handwriting of Frederick G. Williams): "Behold the world at this time lieth in sin, and there is *none* that doeth good, *no not one*. . . . And mine anger is kindling against the inhabitants of the earth to visit them according to this ungodliness."^{1a} The message of the restored gospel is that one phase of the earth's existence is coming to a close, and another phase, a phase in which God's will will be done on earth as it is in heaven, is about to become the order of life on earth.

Politics, as practiced on earth, belongs to the ways of men; it is the essential activity of the city—the city of man, not the City of God. As used by the Greek writers, the *polis* is "the community or body of citizens," that is, a body of citizens not taking orders from anyone else. *Politeia* is "a well-ordered government, a commonwealth." Politics, *ta politika*, is concern for the social order, things done civilly or courteously, "the weal of the state." In practice the emphasis has been on civility. Thus, in modern Greek, civilization is *politismos*, a civilized person is *politismenos*, etc. Even at a superficial view, if it is not God's way, it is still not all bad, and we can understand why God approves of men engaging in politics, and even encourages the Saints, at times, to participate.

The problem of conflicting obligations to the city of man and the City of God is basic to every dispensation of the gospel. We have Abraham in Egypt, Joseph in Egypt, Moses in Egypt, not as enslaved subjects but as top government

^{1a}Dean C. Jessee, "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 280.

officials, high in the favor of Pharaoh, serving him faithfully for years until the inevitable showdown. The classic treatment of the theme is found in the book of Daniel. Daniel's three friends were not only in high favor with the king—he made them his special advisers, his right-hand men (Daniel 1:19-20)—for years they served him devotedly and they owed all they had to him. Daniel was made, next to the king himself, the highest official in the state, and he showed all respect and reverence to Darius. But then in each case came the showdown: jealous and ambitious men contrived special laws forcing the king's hand and forcing the king's favorites to take a public stand between serving God and serving the king. In each case it was nothing more than a public gesture of loyalty, which anyone might make without hypocrisy. The three young men who bowed to the king each day, were asked to bow to his image when the band played in the Plain of Dura at a great public testimonial of loyalty. Why not? Didn't they owe all to the king? It was only a symbol! Yet here they drew the line—they would be thrown into a fiery furnace rather than make this one simple concession. Daniel insisted on continuing with his private prayers after a bit of trick legislation, a mere technicality, had made them illegal for one month. The king pleaded with him but to no avail—he chose the lions' den. In all this there is not a trace of jaunty defiance or moral superiority on either side: the king is worried sick—he refuses to eat or listen to music, he can't sleep, and before daybreak there he is outside the lions' den, biting his nails and asking Daniel if he is all right, and Daniel respectfully wishes him good morning—"O King, live forever!" Nebuchadnezzar personally appeals to the three young men to change their minds—but they cannot change their position, and he cannot change his. The moral is clear: the children of God can work well with the men of the world, and bestow great blessings by their services—but there comes a time when one must draw the line and make a choice between the two governments. Such a choice was forced on the Mormons very early, and a very hard choice it was, but they did not flinch before it. "We will go along with you as far as we can; but where we can't we won't," and no hard feelings.

The question arises, if we decide to do things God's way will not all discussion cease? How could there be a discussion

with God? Who would disagree with him? If we go back to our basic creation story we are neither surprised nor shocked to hear that there was free discussion in heaven in the presence of God at the time of the creation, when some suggested one plan and some another. "In the beginning was the *Logos* [counsel, discussion], and the *Logos* was in the presence of God, and all things were done according to it. . ." (John 1:1, translated by the author). Satan was not cast out for disagreeing, but for attempting to resort to violence when he found himself outvoted. If we cannot clearly conceive of the type of discussion that goes on in the courts on high, we have some instructive instances of God's condescending to discuss things with men here on earth. "Come, let us reason together," he invites the children of Israel. Accordingly Abraham and Ezra both dared, humbly and apologetically, but still stubbornly, to protest what they considered, in the light of their limited understanding, unkind treatment of some of God's children. They just could not see why the Lord did or allowed certain things. So he patiently explained the situation to them, and then they understood. Enoch just couldn't see the justification for the mass destruction of his fellows by the coming flood; he too was stubborn about it: "And as Enoch saw this, he had bitterness of soul, and wept over his brethren, and said unto the heavens: *I will refuse to be comforted*; but the Lord said unto Enoch: Lift up your heart, and be glad; and look" (Moses 7:44, italics added).

God did not hold it against these men that they questioned him, but loved them for it: it was because they were the friends of men, even at what they thought was the terrible risk of offending him, that they became friends of God. The Lord was not above discussing matters with the brother of Jared, who protested that there was a serious defect in the vessels constructed according to the prescribed design: "Behold there is no light in them . . . wilt thou suffer that we shall cross this great water in darkness?" (Ether 2:22) Instead of blasting the man on the spot for his impudence, the Lord very reasonably asked the brother of Jared: "What will you that I should do that ye may have light in your vessels?" (v. 23) So they talked it over and, as a result, the brother of Jared prepared some beautiful fused quartz, that was as clear as glass but could not shine by itself. Again he

went to the Lord, almost obliterated with humility, but still reminding the Lord that he was only following orders: "We know that thou art holy and dwellest in the heavens, and that we are unworthy before thee; because of the fall our natures have become evil continually [a vivid reminder of the gulf between the two ways—that our ways are not God's ways]; nevertheless, O Lord, thou hast given us a commandment that we must call upon thee, that from thee we may receive according to our desires" (Ether 3:2). So he screws up his courage and asks the Lord to do him a favor: "Touch these stones, O Lord, with thy finger . . . that they may shine forth in darkness . . ." (v. 4). The sight of God's finger quite overpowered the brother of Jared, knocked him flat, and that led to another discussion in which the Lord explained certain things to him at length. Moroni, recording these things, also recalls, "I have seen Jesus, and . . . he hath talked with me face to face, and . . . he told me in plain humility, even as a man telleth another in mine own language, concerning these things" (Ether 12:39). Note the significant concept of humility set forth here—humility is not a feeling of awe and reverence and personal unworthiness in the presence of overpowering majesty—anyone, even the bloody Khan of the Steppes, confesses to being humble in the presence of God. Plain humility is reverence and respect in the presence of the lowest, not the highest, of God's creatures. Brigham Young said he often felt overawed in the presence of little children or any of his fellowmen—for in them he saw the image of his maker. Even so, God is willing to discuss things with men as an equal: "In their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to an understanding" (D & C 1:24). Note that God, far from demanding blind obedience, wants us to *understand* his commandments.

A discussion with God is not a case of agreeing or disagreeing with him—who is in a position to do that?—but of understanding him. What Abraham and Ezra and Enoch asked was, "Why?" Socrates showed that teaching is a dialogue—a discussion. As long as the learner is in the dark he *should* protest and argue and question, for that is the best way to bring problems into focus, while the teacher patiently and cheerfully explains, delighted that his pupil has enough interest and understanding to raise questions—the more passion-

ate the more promising. There is a place for discussion and participation in the government of the Kingdom; it is *men* who love absolute monarchies, it was the Israelites, the Jaredites, the Nephites, who asked God to give them a king, overriding the objections of his prophets who warned them against the step.

Leaders of the Church have repeatedly taught that earthly rulers exercise their authority illegitimately; that the only legitimate authority upon the earth is that which is founded and recognized by God, whose *right* it is to rule.²

As John Taylor points out, it is the priesthood that should rule: "Some people ask, 'What is Priesthood?' I answer, 'It is the legitimate rule of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth;' and it is the only legitimate power that has a right to rule upon the earth; and when the will of God is done on earth as it is in the heavens, no other power will bear rule" (*JD* 5:187).

Politics, at best, is the free discussion of people running their own common affairs. Until men are willing to accept God's way, he is willing that they should do their best on that lower level, and even encourages them in such activity. "All regularly organized and well established governments," said Joseph Smith, "have certain laws . . . [that] are good, equitable and just, [and] ought to be binding upon the individual who admits this."³ At the same time, "It is not our intention . . . to place the law of man on a parallel with the law of *heaven*: because we do *not* consider that it is formed in the same wisdom and propriety . . . [it is not] sufficient in itself to bestow anything on man in *comparison* with the law of heaven, even should it promise it" (p. 50, italics added). In an important statement in 1903, the First Presidency of the Church said that the Church

does not attempt to exercise the powers of a secular government, but its influence and effects are to strengthen and promote fidelity to the law and loyalty to the nation where its followers reside. . . . It is solely an ecclesiastical organi-

²See John Taylor and Orson Pratt in *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855), 1:221-33 and 8:101-6, respectively. Hereafter all quotations from this source will be cited as *JD*, plus volume and page number in the body of the text.

³Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), p. 49. Hereafter all quotations from this source will be cited by page number only in the body of the text.

zation. It is separate and distinct from the state. It does not interfere with any earthly government. . . . The Church, therefore, instructs in things temporal as well as things spiritual. . . . But it does not infringe upon the liberty of the individual or encroach upon the domain of the state. . . . The Church does not dictate a member's business, his politics, or his personal affairs. It never tells a citizen what occupation he shall follow, whom he shall vote for or with which party he shall affiliate.

Sermons, dissertations and arguments by preachers and writers in the Church concerning the Kingdom of God that *is to be* are *not* to be understood as relating to the *present*. If they . . . convey the idea that the dominion *to come* is to be exercised *now*, the claim is incorrect. . . .

Meantime:

Every member of the organization in every place is absolutely free as a citizen. . . . In proclaiming "the kingdom of heaven's at hand," we have the most intense and fervent convictions of our mission and calling. . . . But we do not and will not attempt to force them upon others, or to control or dominate any of their affairs, individual or national.⁴

It is precisely because we never for a moment think of the two systems as competing with each other that we can make the most of the one until the other is established. They are in the same game though, they are in the same arena, though both have rules and both require qualities of character in their players.

The governments of men and their laws are completely *different* from those of God. "We do not attempt to place the law of man on a parallel with the law of heaven; but . . . the laws of man are binding upon man" (pp. 51-52, cf. also p. 50).

When God establishes his way among men it is by special divine messengers who come to men well prepared, "of strong faith and a firm mind in every form of godliness" (Moroni 7:30). Every restoration of the gospel has been accomplished through a series of heavenly visitations and glorious manifestations, with the divine plan fully and explicitly set forth for that dispensation, with all the divine authority and revealed knowledge necessary to establish the kingdom at that time. But since Satan is given explicit permission to tempt men and to try them, it is not long before a familiar trend begins to ap-

⁴James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), 4:78, 82. Italics added.

pear, a weakening of the structure as discussion deteriorates into power politics and political skulduggery:

Christ . . . proposed to make a covenant with them [the Jews], but they rejected Him and His proposals. . . . The Gentiles received the covenant . . . but the Gentiles have not continued . . . but have departed from the faith . . . and have become high-minded, and have not feared; therefore, but few of them will be gathered. (pp. 14-15)

Man departed from the first teachings, or instructions which he received from heaven in the first age, and refused by his disobedience to be governed by them. Consequently, he formed such laws as best suited his own mind, or as he supposed, were best adapted to his situation. But that God has influenced man more or less . . . in the formation of law . . . we have no hesitancy in believing. . . . And though man in his own supposed wisdom would not admit the influence of a power superior to his own, yet . . . God has instructed man to form wise and wholesome laws, since he had departed from Him and refused to be governed by those laws which God had given by His own voice from on high in the beginning. (p. 57)

Here we learn that over against the perfect way of life which God proposes for us and entirely removed from that way are all the other ways that men have proposed for themselves. These last are not equally good or bad, but some are much better than others, and God encourages and even assists men in adopting the best ones.

GOD'S WAY AND MAN'S WAY

There is, then, virtue in politics even at the human level. The energy, the dedication, courage, loyalty, selflessness, zeal and industry, the intelligence that have gone into the political actions of men are immense, and the excitement, color, dash and humor bring out some of the best in human nature. But, as we have just noted, there are various levels at which the political dialogue takes place—all the way from the *Federalist Papers* to the local crackpot's Letters to the Editor; and many arenas and different forms of the game, differing as widely as a chess match from a slugging contest. Let us by all means retain the drive and dedication of politics, but do we still need the placards and the bands, the serpentine parades, funny hats, confetti, squabbling committees, canned speeches, shopworn cliches, patriotic exhibitionism, Madison Avenue slogans, to say nothing of the bitter invective, the poisonous rhetoric, the

dirty tricks and shady deals, payoffs, betrayals, the blighted loyalties, the scheming young men on the make, the Gadianton loyalty, the manipulated ovations and contrived confusion of the Last Hurrah? The furiously mounting infusion of green stuff into the political carnival in our day is enough to show that the spontaneity is not there, and even if some of it may remain, those running the show know very well from tried and tested statistics that all that sort of thing is to be got with money—lots and lots of money—and with nothing else.

An important part of the message of the restored gospel is that God's way has now been restored to the earth and is available to men; and that there is no excuse for their not embracing it inasmuch as it is entirely within their capacity to receive it and live by it, beginning, of course, with a complete turning away from their own ways:

I think that it is high time for a Christian world to awake out of sleep, and cry mightily to that God, day and night, whose anger we have justly incurred. . . . I step forth into the field [said the Prophet] to tell you what the *Lord* is doing, and *what you must do* . . . in these last days. I will proceed to tell you what the *Lord* requires of all people, high and low . . . in order that they may . . . escape the judgments of God, which are almost ready to burst upon the nations of the earth. Repent of all your sins. (pp. 14, 16, italics added)

Even at its best man's way is not God's way: "Some may pretend to say that the world in this age is fast increasing in righteousness; that the dark ages of superstition and blindness have passed . . . the gloomy cloud is burst, the Gospel is shining . . . carried to divers nations of the earth [etc., etc.]. . . . But a moment's candid reflection . . . is sufficient for every candid man to draw a conclusion *in his own mind whether this is the order of heaven or not*" (pp. 48-49, italics added). The best of human laws leaves every man free to engage in his own pursuit of happiness,⁵ without presuming for a moment to tell him where that happiness lies; that is the very thing the laws of God can guarantee. At *best*, the political prize is negative.

Important in the record of the dispensations is that when

⁵At best man's laws are negative—"Congress shall make no law. . . ." "The laws of men," says Joseph Smith, "may guarantee to a people protection in the honorable pursuits of this life . . . and when this is said, all is said. . . . The law of heaven is presented to man, and as such guarantees to all who obey it a reward far beyond any earthly consideration. . . . The law of heaven . . . transcends the law of man, as far as eternal life the temporal" (p. 50).

men depart from God's way and substitute their own ways in its place they usually do not admit that that is what they are doing; often they do not deliberately or even consciously substitute their ways for God's ways; on the contrary, they easily and largely convince themselves that *their way is God's way*. "The apostasy described in the New Testament is not a *desertion* of the cause, but a *perversion* of it, a process by which 'the righteous are removed and none perceives it.'"⁶ The wedding of the Christian church and the Roman state was a venture in political dialectics, a restatement of the age-old political exercise of demonstrating that our way is God's way. "There's such divinity doth hedge a king"—*vox populi, vox Dei*, etc. The Lord told the Apostles that in time "whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service" (John 16:2). The horrible fiasco of the Crusades went forward under the mandate of the *Deus Vult*—God wills it: it is his idea; the Inquisition was carried out by selfless men "for the greater glory of God."⁷ In every age we find the worldly powers hypnotized by the image of the world as a *maidan*, a great battleground, on which the forces of good and evil are locked in mortal combat.⁸ True, there is a contest, but it is within the individual, not between ignorant armies—that solution is all too easy. Recall the statement of Joseph Smith that "every candid man" must "draw the conclusion in his own mind whether this [any political system] is the order of heaven or not" (p. 49). Banners, trumpets, and dungeons were early devised to help men make up their minds. But God does not fight Satan: a word from him and Satan is silenced and banished. There is no contest there; in fact we are expressly told that all the power which Satan enjoys here on earth is granted him by God. "We will allow Satan, our common enemy, to try Man and to tempt him." It is man's strength that is being tested—not God's. Nay, even in putting us to the test "the devil," to quote Joseph Smith, "has no

⁶See Hugh Nibley, "The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations on an Unpopular Theme," *Church History* 30 (June 1961):134; reprinted in Nibley, *When the Lights Went Out: Three Studies in the Ancient Apostasy* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), p. 4, quoting Justin, *Dialogue*, 110, Hilary, *Contra Constant. Imp.*, 4, in Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 10.581B. "The Christian masses do not realize what is happening to them: they are 'bewitched' by a thing that comes as softly and insidiously as a slinging noose." Nibley, *When the Lights*, p. 6.

⁷See Hugh Nibley, "The Ancient Law of Liberty," in *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), pp. 166-73, for a more detailed treatment of this theme.

⁸See Hugh Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly*, 3 (1951):226-53.

power over us only as *we* permit him" (p. 181, italics added). Since, then, "God *would* not exert any compulsory means, and the devil *could* not . . ." (p. 187, italics added), it is up to us to decide how much power Satan shall have on this earth, but only in respect to ourselves; the fight is all *within us*. That is the whole battle. But how much easier to shift the battle to another arena, and externalize the cause of all our misfortune.

It is easy enough to see how a world willingly beguiled by the devil's dialectic is bound to reject God's way and continue with its own. Even the Saints are guilty: "Repent, repent, is the voice of God to Zion: and strange as it may appear, yet it is true, mankind will persist in *self-justification* until all their iniquity is exposed, and their character past being redeemed (pp. 18-19, italics added). As in every other dispensation, the world will continue to go its way, which is one of *progressive deterioration*:

The great and wise of ancient days have failed in all their attempts to promote eternal power, peace, and happiness. . . . They proclaim as with a voice of thunder . . . that man's strength is weakness, his wisdom folly, his glory is his shame. Nation has succeeded nation. . . . History records their puerile plans, their short-lived glory, their feeble intellect and their ignoble deeds. Have we increased in knowledge or intelligence? . . . Our nation, which possesses greater resources than any other, is rent, from center to circumference, with party strife, political intrigues, and sectional interest . . . our tradesmen are disheartened, our mechanics out of employ, our farmers distressed, and our poor crying for bread, our banks are broken, our credit ruined. . . . What is the matter? Are we alone in this thing? Verily no. With all our evils we are better situated than any other nation. England . . . has her hand reeking with the blood of the innocent abroad. . . . The world itself presents one great theater of misery and woe, and "distress of nations with perplexity." *All, all speak with a voice of thunder, that man is not able to govern himself, to legislate for himself, to protect himself, to promote his own good, nor the good of the world.* [After all is said, there is nothing for it but to accept God's way—nothing else will work.] *It has been the design of Jehovah, from the commencement of the world, and is His purpose, now, to regulate the affairs of the world in His own time, to stand as a head of the universe, and take the reins of government in His own hand. When that is done . . . "nations will learn war no more."* (pp. 249-51, italics added)

Here the Prophet lays it on the line:

The world has had a fair trial for six thousand years, the Lord will try the seventh thousand for himself. . . . To bring about this state of things there must of necessity be great confusion among the nations of the earth. God is coming out of His hiding place . . . to vex the nations of the earth. . . . It is for us to be righteous, that we may be wise and understand; for none of the wicked shall understand. . . . As a Church and a people it behooves us to be wise, and to seek to know the will of God, and then be willing to do it. . . . *Our only confidence can be in God.* . . . We have treated lightly His commands, and departed from His ordinances, and the Lord has chastened us sore. . . . In regard to the building of Zion, it *has to be done by the counsel of Jehovah, by the revelations of Heaven.* (pp. 252-54, italics added)

From these sayings of the Prophet one would hardly expect the world to have improved since his day, and the words of Brigham Young are eloquent in describing the steady deterioration that has continued unabated up to the present moment. No wonder "thinking man, inquiring minds, ask whether it is really necessary for the government of God to be on the earth at the present day; I answer, most assuredly; there never was a time when it was more needed than it is now. Why? Because *men do not know how to govern themselves without it* (*JD* 10:320). "I acknowledged to him [Col. Thomas Kane] that we have the best system of government in existence, but queried if the people of this nation were righteous enough to *sustain its institutions. I say they are not, but will trample them under their feet*" (*JD* 12:119, italics added).

But is not Satan a politician with his love of confusion and controversy? Isn't the adversary an arch-politician? "There shall be no disputations among you," said the Lord to the Nephites, "for . . . he that hath the spirit of contention is not of me, but is of the devil, who is the father of contention, and he stirreth up the hearts of men to contend with anger, one with another" (3 Nephi 11:28-29). Let us make one thing clear; contention is not discussion, but the opposite; contention puts an end to all discussion, as does war: *Cedant leges inter arma*, said the Romans—when war takes over politics are in abeyance. The most famous dictum of Clausewitz is that war is simply a continuation of the political dialogue in another arena, but—as he points out at great length and with great clarity—it is an arena in which the appeal is all to brute force and in which any talk of laws or rules or principles cannot be anything

but a strategic ruse. In reality a declaration of war is an announcement that the discussion is over. War is beyond politics, and God has said: “[I] will that all men shall know that the day speedily cometh; the hour is not yet, but is nigh at hand, when peace shall be taken from the earth, and the devil shall have power over his own dominion” (D&C 1:35). That is the end of politics for now.

God discusses things with men “in all humility” for the sake of our enlightenment. Satan too loves to “discuss,” but what a different type of discussion! He is not teaching but laying traps; his whole line is a sales pitch with his own advantage as the end. He is not enlightening but manipulating. He does not reason, but bargains: his proposition as put before Adam, Cain, Abraham, Moses, Enoch, and the Lord himself is the same one he puts to Faust and Jabez Stone: “If you will worship me I will give you unlimited power and wealth—everything this world has to offer—all you have to do is sign away your rather dubious expectations for the other world.” If his proposition is refused outright he has no other resort but to have a tantrum, falling down, rending upon the earth, screaming madly “I am the Son of God! Worship me!” for his sole objective from the beginning has been to be Number One.

There are men who . . . wish to destroy every power in Heaven and on earth that they do not hold themselves. *This* is the spirit of Satan that was made so visibly manifest in Heaven and which proved his overthrow, and he *now* afflicts *this people* with it; *he* wants to dictate and rule every principle and power that leads to exaltation and eternal life. (JD 10:97, italics added)

To be Number One is to be beyond politics. It is his command of the ultimate weapon that places Satan—like God—beyond politics.

Recently a piece appeared in the press noting that businessmen are insisting with increasing zeal on searching the minds and the hearts of their employees by means of polygraph tests. If any arm of government⁹ were to go so far they would be met by horrified protests at this vicious attack on individual freedom, and rightly so. What is it that gives ordinary businessmen a power greater than that of the government? It is the capacity for giving or withholding money—nothing else

⁹Except, say, the CIA or FBI.

in the world. This is the weapon that Satan chose from the beginning to place him and his plans beyond politics, and it has worked with deadly effect. There is only one thing in man's world that can offer any check on the unlimited power of money—and that is government. That is why money always accuses government of trying to destroy free agency, when the great enslaver has always been money itself.

We do not have time here to review Satan's brilliant career in business and law: how he taught Cain the "great secret" of how to "murder and get gain" while claiming the noblest notions, "saying: I am free!" (Moses 5:31, 33); how he inspired the Jaredites and then the Nephites "to seek for power, and authority, and riches" (3 Nephi 6:15); how he tried to buy off Abraham (in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*), and Moses, and Jesus by promising them anything in the world if they would only worship him; how he coached Judas in the art of handling money; how he corrupts the Saints by covetousness and the things of the world; how his disciple, Simon Magus, offered Peter cash on the line for the priesthood. To be beyond politics does not place one, in President John Taylor's words, "above the rule of Mammon." Only a celestial order can do that.

THE LAST DAYS

Largely because of this dominion, the human dialogue has a tendency, as many ancient writers observed, to deteriorate unless there is divine intervention;¹⁰ and since men normally insist on rejecting such intervention the end result is periodic catastrophe. This is the standard message found in the Apocalyptic literature. "Every system of civil polity invented by men, like their religious creeds, has been *proved by experiment wholly inadequate to check the downward tendency of the human race.*"¹¹

When this downward tendency passes the *point of no return*, the process accelerates beyond control, ending in general catastrophe to be followed by God's intervention and a new dispensation. "Wherefore, I the Lord, *knowing the calamity* which should come upon the inhabitants of the earth, called upon my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., and spake unto him from

¹⁰Cf. for example, Hesiod's law of decay. This is, incidentally, the basic principle of apocalyptic literature.

¹¹*Millennial Star*, 17(1855):675. Italics added.

heaven, and gave him commandments . . . ” (D&C 1:17). Joseph Smith intended to follow those commandments: “The object with me is to obey and teach others to obey God in *just what He* tells us to do” (p. 332, italics added). One truth revealed from heaven is worth all the sectarian notions in existence” (p. 338). “A man is his own tormentor and his own condemner. . . . All will suffer until they obey Christ himself” (p. 357). “The sinner will slay the sinner, the wicked will fall upon the wicked, until there is an utter overthrow and consumption upon the face of the whole earth, until God reigns whose right it is” (*JD* 2:190). The Church has been put to great trouble and expense through the years by its insistence on sticking to its long and awkward title: plainly the second part of the name is very important—the Church of the *latter days*. These are the *last days*—the last days of what? Neither we nor the outside world have ever bothered to explore or argue definitions about that—because the answer is obvious: it is the perennial message of the apocalyptic teaching which is now recognized as the very foundation of the Old and the New Testaments. The last days are the last days of everything as we know it. “The Lord declared to His servants, some eighteen months since [1833] that He was then withdrawing His spirit from the earth . . . the governments of the earth are thrown into confusion and division; and *Destruction*, to the eye of the spiritual beholder, seems to be written by the finger of an invisible hand, in large capitals upon almost everything we behold” (p. 16). “God has set his hand and seal to change the times and seasons, to blind their minds, that they may not understand His marvelous workings . . . ” (p. 135). “While upon one hand I behold *the manifest withdrawal of God’s Spirit*, and the *veil of stupidity* which seems to be drawn over the hearts of the people; upon the other hand I behold the judgments of God . . . sweeping hundreds and thousands of our race, and I fear unprepared, down to the shades of death” (pp.13-14, italics added).

At the present time the political dialogue throughout the world has deteriorated catastrophically. In most countries it has degenerated into such mechanical and stereotyped forms that it is no longer profitable or meaningful—it is no longer a dialogue at all. If you are a private citizen you just do not “discuss” things with Colonels, Commissars, or Corporations—you do what they tell you to do or at best manipulate

you into doing. Has it ever been different? Not much, but on 17 October 1973 the junta in Chile officially put an end to *all* political activity of any kind or by any party. This is something unique, a final step by rulers who do not even make a *pretense* of consulting the ruled. Where do we go from here? We are beyond politics indeed. Another and even more fateful development has recently come to the fore in our midst, indicating beyond question that we have at last reached that point of no return¹² which heralds the last of the last days.

God has never given us a time schedule for the developments of the last days. There are a number of reasons for this; for example, if we knew the time and the hour, we would gauge our behavior accordingly and conveniently postpone repentance—whereas God wants us to live *as if* we were expecting his coming at any moment. He comes as a thief in the night, “Watch, therefore, for ye know not the time. . . .” But though he does not give us dates and figures, he does give us unmistakable signs of the times, and urges us to pay the closest possible attention to them. Simply by looking at a fig tree, for example, one can estimate quite closely about how far away the harvest is. The word *historia* was borrowed by Hecateus from the medical profession, the *historia* being progressive symptoms of a disease or illness; just as there are signs by which the doctor can tell how far along the patient is and how long he has to go, so there are such signs in the body politic of any society. Specifically, if we want to know the sure sign of the end, we are instructed to look for *ripeness* or *fullness*. The end comes when, and *only* when, “the time is *ripe*,” when “the harvest is *ripe*”; when the people are “ripe in iniquity.” Or, to use the other figure, when “the cup of His wrath is *full*,” which will be when “the cup of *their* iniquity is *full*.” Or, to combine both terms, when the world is *fully ripe* in iniquity. Fruit is fully ripe at that moment when further ripening would not mean improvement but only deterioration (“And so from day to day we *ripe* and *ripe*, and then from day to day we *rot* and *rot*.”) And a vessel is *full* when nothing more can be added to it; when its contents can no longer be improved or damaged by adding any more ingredients. When the fruit is ripe there is no point in letting it remain longer on the tree. And when the cup is full nothing further remains to be done about its contents. Ripeness and fullness are

¹²The point of no return marks the stroke of doom in classical tragedy.

that state of things, in short, when nothing further remains to be done in the direction of filling or ripening, and the process has reached the end. A society has reached such a point when it can no longer go in the direction it has been taking, when the only hope of motion lies in a change or a direct reversal of direction, and repentance is that change of direction. It is when men reach the point of refusing to *repent* that they have reached the point of fullness: "And it shall come to pass, because of the wickedness of the world, that I will take vengeance upon the wicked, for they will not repent; for the cup of mine indignation is full" (D&C 29:17). The moment Adam found himself going in the wrong direction because of the Fall, he was to repent and call upon God forevermore—that is, to reverse his course, and ever since then "the days of the children of men were prolonged, according to the will of God, that they might repent while in the flesh; wherefore, their state became a state of probation, and their time was lengthened. . . . For he gave commandment that all men must repent" (2 Nephi 2:21). The reason that our lives are extended as they are beyond the age of reproduction is to allow us the fullest possible opportunity to repent. Therefore, when men have lost the capacity to repent they forfeit any right to sojourn further upon the earth; the very purpose of this extended span of life being to practice repentance, when men announce that they have no intention of repenting there is no reason why God should let them stay around any longer to corrupt the rising generation. "And now cometh the day of their calamity . . . and their sorrow shall be great unless they speedily repent, yea, very speedily" (D&C 136:35).

There is a time limit, then, and I believe that the time limit has now been reached—the cup is full. For we have in our time the terrifying phenomenon of men who refuse to repent. Why should they repent? Because God commands it. "Behold, I command all men everywhere to repent" (D&C 18:9). "And surely every man must repent or suffer, for I, God, am endless" (D&C 19:4). "Therefore, I command you to repent—repent, lest I smite you by the rod of my mouth. . . . For behold, I, God, have suffered these things for all, that they might not suffer if they would repent" (D&C 19:15-16). "Wherefore, I command you again to repent, lest I humble you with my almighty power" (D&C 19:20). "And I command you that you preach naught but repentance" (D&C 19:21); "Wherefore, I

will that all men shall repent, for all are under sin, except those which I have reserved unto myself, holy men that ye know not of" (D&C 49:8). "Hearken and hear, O ye inhabitants of the earth. Listen, ye elders of my church together, and hear the voice of the Lord; for he calleth upon all men, and he commandeth all men everywhere to repent" (D&C 133:16).

Yet throughout the world today, few, it would seem, have any intention anymore of repenting. That is the ominous note! Mormon describes this condition as marking the last stand of the Nephites:

And now behold, my son, I fear lest the Lamanites shall destroy this people; for they do not repent . . . when I speak the word of God with sharpness they tremble and anger against *me*; and when I use no sharpness they harden their hearts against it; wherefore, I fear lest the Spirit of the Lord hath ceased striving with them. . . . I cannot any longer enforce my commands. And they have become strong in their perversion . . . without principle, and past feeling . . . and I pray unto God . . . to witness the return [repentance] of his people unto him, or their utter destruction. (Moroni 9:3-4, 18-22, italics added)

They sorrowed at the loss of their wealth, "but, behold this . . . was vain," Mormon continues, "for their sorrowing was not unto repentance . . . but . . . because the Lord would not always suffer them to take happiness in sin" (Mormon 2:13). ". . . and I saw that the day of grace was passed with them, both temporally and spiritually" (Moroni 2:15). When the day of repentance is past, so is the day of grace. They had reached the *point of no return*. This is what the Greeks called *ate*, and is the telling moment of tragedy. Take that greatest of tragedies, *Oedipus Rex*. Oedipus had in his youth committed a terrible compound crime: but he had done it unknowingly and was therefore given every opportunity, not only to repent and be forgiven, but also to achieve higher glory than ever. The question was not whether or not he was guilty, but, whether or not, being guilty, he would repent. At the beginning of the play he drops hints that betray a subconscious awareness of his guilt; he, as the king, insists on a thorough investigation. Then, as more and more evidence accumulates against him, he insists even more loudly that he has done no wrong; he looks for one party and then another to fix the blame on, but each time it becomes clear that it could not have

been that person. In the end even his wife cannot deny his guilt any longer and pleads with him to drop the case; his reply is to blame her for everything in a fantastically forced and vicious argument. When finally he is forced to recognize that he and he alone is the enemy he seeks, the results are terrible. His whole trouble is that he will not repent: after his meteoric career, his matchless fame, his unfailing cleverness and strong character had held the reins of power for twenty years, he was in no mood to repent of everything. The last words spoken to him in the play are significant when his brother Creon says to him: "Don't think you can be *number one* all the time." This is also the tragedy of Lear, that most tragic of tragedies, of Richard II, and of King Laertes in *The Winter's Tale*: each king, because he *is* the king, cannot tolerate the idea of repenting—that would be a fatal confession of weakness—and so each one digs himself deeper and deeper into a devastating situation from which he cannot escape: because the only escape hatch is repentance. In each case the trouble is the insistence on being Number One—and this takes us back to the primal tragedy, and the character of Lucifer, whose example all our tragic figures are following. "Now, in this world," said Joseph Smith, "mankind are naturally selfish, ambitious, and striving to excel. . . . Some seek to excel. And this was the case with Lucifer when he fell" (p. 297)—he had to be Number One. Since all have sinned, there is no question of whether one has done wrong or not, but only of whether one will repent. But what is now the approved school solution? Since all have sinned, why should anybody be the goat? Why should anybody repent?

POLITICS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ZION

When President Harold B. Lee said that the Saints are above politics, he was referring to the brand of politics that prevails in the world today. "The government of heaven, if wickedly administered, would become one of the worst governments upon the face of the earth. No matter how good a government is, unless it is administered by righteous men, an evil government will be made of it" (*JD* 10:177). Men caught red-handed, charged, tried, confessed, and convicted, now come forth to plead innocent: they were merely carrying out orders, they were doing what everyone does, they have done no wrong. The winningest of slogans when the national con-

science became burdened with the guilt of relentless shedding of innocent blood day after day, month after month, and year after year, could only be the slogan: *we have done no wrong!* Any politician foolish enough to so much as hint at a need for repentance certainly was asking for the drubbing he would get. King Claudius and Macbeth were bloody villains, and they knew it, and even in their darkest hours speculated with a wild surmise on the possibility, however remote, of repentance and forgiveness. The fatal symptom of our day is not that men do wrong—they always have—and commit crimes, and even recognize their wrong doing as foolish and unfortunate, but that they have *no intention of repenting*, while God has told us that the first rule that he has given the human race is that all men everywhere must repent.

Joseph Smith tells us that there are crimes and sins which are wrong no matter who does them or under what condition: they are wrong in and of themselves, at all times and at all places. You cannot deceive one party to be loyal to another. "Any man who will betray Catholics will betray you; and if he will betray me, he will betray you" (p. 375). Compare this with Mr. Stone's recent declaration that he found nothing shocking in public officials' lying under oath, since they were trained to do that very thing. "All [men] are subjected to vanity," according to Joseph Smith, "while they travel through the crooked paths and difficulties which surround them. Where is the man that is free from vanity?" (p. 187) Granted that, it is still true that "all men have power to resist the devil" (p. 189), which leaves them without excuse.

The dialogue between men has always been remarkably superficial, devoid of any substance and depth, since men must always be on the go and only make brief contact like jet planes passing in the night as each goes about his business, looking out first of all for his own interests with little time left over for the common interest. Busy modern men and women feel they are too busy for the rigors of serious discussion necessary for genuine politics. Senator Proxmire recently deplored the fact, as all public-spirited people always have, that very very few people take a real and active part in the political process. How could it be otherwise. Politics by its very nature is superficial: the practitioner can never go into depth because too many things have to be considered. If in physics the problem of three bodies has been solved only by approximation,

how can we expect to cope wisely and fully with the infinite complexity of human affairs? Politics, in the proper Greek sense, was a full-time job for the citizen who spent his day in the Agora and his nights in long discussions and debates, while servants and slaves took care of petty and menial matters.¹³ Even that, however, was an ideal which neither the Greeks nor any one else could live up to. After all, the first interest of every citizen is to make money: "*O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est; virtus post nummos!*" (Horace, *Epistles*, 1. 1. 53-54). And so politics degenerated quickly into subservience to private interests—it yields subservience to wealth. If Greece produced the most enlightened politicians, it also, as Thucydides informs us, produced the most sordid. Politics is often a forlorn and hopeless affair, because it is not really a dialogue unless it is strictly honest, and the ulterior motives of power and gain always vitiate it in the end. It is then the tricky lawyer who takes over. Eventually someone seeks a stronger tool than mere talk—we start talking and end up condemning and smiting. "Man shall not smite, neither shall he judge" (Mormon 8:20), is the final wisdom of the Book of Mormon. "Man shall not counsel his fellowman, neither put trust in the arm of flesh" (D&C 1:19-20) is the initial wisdom of the Doctrine and Covenants. What was to be a meeting of the minds often degenerates into a trial of arms. Politics gravitate in the direction of an ever stronger clout, inevitably leading to the trial of arms. Someone seeks a stronger tool than mere talk. Consider again Clausewitz's famous dictum that war is the natural end of politics—also that war lies beyond politics. It is the arena that smells of death—and we are trapped in the arena.

The wide difference, amounting to complete antithesis, be-

¹³This was their genius and the secret of their success. Whether the Greek pursued philosophy, art, religion, pleasure, science, or money, he was willing to give the search everything he had—sacrificing every convenience and amenity: the ideal of the Greeks was the *Sophos*—completely selfless, oblivious to his own comfort, health, appearance, and appetites as his mind came to grips with the problem of achieving one particular objective. That is why the Greeks were anciently way out in front of others in almost every field of human endeavor—and still remain unsurpassed and even unequalled in many of them. The Greek citizen not only spent the day in the Agora, but in the evenings at home he carried on the dialogue in discussion and study groups, for the Greek citizen knew that the only work worthy of the name, a work a hundred times harder than the repetitious routines and seemingly virtuous bootlicking that we call work, was the terribly demanding and exhausting task of cutting new grooves and channels with the sharp edge of the mind. He felt that if politics was all that important, it was worth our best hours.

tween men's ways and God's ways should always be kept in mind. If we would remember that fact, it would save us from a pitfall that constantly lies before us—especially here at Brigham Young University. Nothing is easier than to identify one's own favorite political, economic, historical, and moral convictions with the gospel. That gives one a neat, convenient, but altogether too easy advantage over one's fellows. If my ideas are the true ones—and I certainly will not entertain them if I suspect for a moment that they are false!—then, all truth being one, they are also the gospel, and to oppose them is to play the role of Satan. This is simply insisting that our way is God's way and therefore, the only way. It is the height of impertinence. "There have been frauds and secret abominations and evil works of darkness going on [in the Church] . . . all the time palming it off upon the Presidency . . . practicing in the Church in their name" (pp. 127-28). Do you think these people were not sincere? Yes, to the point of fanaticism—they wholly identified their crackpot schemes with the Church and with the gospel. Some of the most learned theologians, such as Bossuet, have shown from every page of the scripture that God is an absolute monarchist, while others, equally learned and dedicated, have formed religious communities dedicated to the equally obvious scriptural proposition that the Saints are Communists. You can search through the scriptures and find support for any theory you want, and it is your privilege to attempt to convince yourself of any position you choose to take—but not to impose that opinion on others as the gospel. God certainly does not subscribe to our political creeds. The first issue of the *Times and Seasons* contained a lead editorial to the Elders: "Be careful that you teach not for the word of God, the commandments of men, nor the doctrines of men, nor the ordinances of men . . . study the word of God and preach it and *not your own opinions*, for no man's opinion is worth a straw."¹⁴

We may seem to be speaking out of order because we insist on bringing into the discussion of political science certain theological propositions which are simply not acceptable to those outside of our Church. But I am speaking for myself. There is the basic proposition: "The Spirit of God will . . . dwell with His people, and be withdrawn from the rest of the nations." Accordingly, among the Saints "party feelings, sep-

¹⁴*Times and Seasons* 1(1839):13.

arate interests, exclusive designs should be lost sight of in the one common cause, in the interest of the whole" (p. 231). If the world cannot accept such a proposition, we are still committed to it—wholly and irrevocably—whether we like it or not. "The government of the Almighty has always been very dissimilar to the governments of men. . . . [It] has always tended to promote peace, unity, harmony, strength, and happiness," while on the other hand "the greatest acts of the mighty men have been to depopulate nations and to overthrow kingdoms. . . . Before them the earth was a paradise, and behind them a desolate wilderness. . . . The designs of God, on the other hand, [are that] . . . 'the earth shall yield its increase, resume its paradisaean glory, and become as the Garden of the Lord' " (p. 248).

How you play the game of politics is important, but the game you are playing is also important. It is important to work, but what you work for is all-important. The Nephites, "by their industry," obtained riches—which then destroyed them; "for the laborers in Zion shall labor for Zion, for if they labor for *money*, they shall be destroyed" (2 Nephi 27:31, italics added)—work does not sanctify wealth, as we try to make ourselves believe. The zeal and intelligence that our political commitments demand—to what should they be directed? At present we have a positive obsession with the *economy*—the economy is all. But the Lord told Samuel the Lamanite that when a people " . . . have set their heart upon riches . . . cursed be they and also their treasures" (Helaman 13:20).

While listening to Senator Proxmire's address the other night, I was impressed by the clear-headed intelligence and zeal he brought to his task: it made one almost think that the show was going on—that there still is a genuine politics after all. What then of the prophecies? Both in manner and appearance the senator recalled to my mind certain dashing, wonderful men who, during World War II, used to brief the various units of the 101st Airborne Division which they were leading into battle. (The classic Leader's Oration before the Battle enjoyed a revival in airborne operations where the army, a short hour before the battle, could sit quietly on the grass 100 miles from the enemy and listen to speeches). It was the highpoint of their careers, the thing they had been working and hoping and looking forward to all their lives—to lead a crack regiment or division into battle, and they made the most of it; the

feeling of euphoria was almost overpowering—they were smart, sharp, vigorous, compelling, eager, tense, exuding optimism and even humor, but above all excitement. Invariably General Maxwell Taylor would end his oration with: “Good Hunting!” It was wonderful, thrilling; you were ready to follow that man anywhere. *But* before the operation was a day old every man in the division was heartily wishing that he was anywhere else, doing anything else but that; everyone knew in his mind and heart that he was not sent to earth to engage in this nasty and immoral business. The heroism and sacrifice were real—the situation was utterly satanic and shameful; the POWs we rounded up to interrogate were men just as good as we were, the victims of a terrible circumstance that the devil’s game of power and gain had woven around them.

So I like Senator Proxmire—like General Taylor, a splendid man; I admire his style and approve his zeal, but wisdom greater than man tells me that we are not playing the right game: “Behold, the world at this time lieth in sin, and there is *none* that doeth good—no, not one!” The game is not going to last much longer. “They seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness, but every man walketh in his own way, and after the image of his own God, whose image is the likeness of the world, and whose substance is that of an idol, *which waxeth old* and shall perish in Babylon, even Babylon the great, *which shall fall*” (D&C 1:16, italics added. See also 2 Nephi 9:30). According to Joseph Smith, “The most damning hand of murder, tyranny and oppression . . . that spirit which has so strongly riveted the creeds of the fathers, who have inherited lies, upon the hearts of the children, and filled the world with confusion, has been growing stronger and stronger, and is now the very mainspring of all corruption, and the whole earth groans under the weight of its iniquity” (p. 146). This is our heritage.

The news of the world today reminds me of nothing so much as those bulletins which a short while ago were being issued by the doctors attending the late King Gustave of Sweden and by those treating Pablo Casals. The king was in his 90s, Casals, 96; and both were very ill—what really good news could come out of the sickroom? That the patient had rested well? That he had had some lucid moments? That he had taken nourishment? Could any of that be called good news, hopeful news—in view of the inevitable news the world was

waiting for? What is your own idea of an encouraging and cheering item in the news today? That the next Middle Eastern War has been postponed? That a new oil field has been discovered? "This physic but prolongs thy sickly days!"¹⁵ We shall achieve lasting peace when we achieve eternal life. Politics has the same goal as the gospel: complete happiness. But to achieve that requires eternal life. The most painful thing in the world, says Joseph Smith, is the thought of annihilation (p. 296); until that gnawing pain is relieved all the rest is a forlorn and wistful game of make-believe. The solution of all our problems is the resurrection: only God knows the solution. Why not follow his advice? And only the gospel can remove that pain. The final relief of all our woes lies beyond all worldly politics. So when Joseph Smith says, "My feelings revolt at the idea of having anything to do with politics. . . ," he is not being high and mighty but putting his priorities in order. "I wish to be let alone," he says, "that I may attend to the spiritual welfare of the Church" (p. 275). Specifically, "the object with me is to obey and to teach others to obey God in just what he tells us to do" (p. 332). For "one truth revealed from heaven is worth all the sectarian notions in existence" (p. 338). And so he pursues his way: "It matters not to me if all hell boils over; I regard it only as I would the crackling of thorns under a pot. . . . I intend to lay a foundation that will revolutionize the whole world. . . . It will not be by sword or gun that this kingdom will roll on" (pp. 339, 366).

How should the Saints behave? Brigham Young believed that "the elders cannot be too particular to enjoin on all the Saints to yield obedience to the laws, and respect every man in his office, letting politics wholly, entirely, and absolutely alone, and preaching the principles of the Gospel of salvation; for to this end were they ordained and set forth. We are for peace, we want no contention with any person or government."¹⁶ "Amid all the revolutions that are taking place among the nations, the elders will ever pursue an undeviating course in being subject to the government wherever they may be, and sustain the same by all their precepts to the Saints, having *nothing to do with political questions* which engender strife, remembering that the weapons of their warfare are not carnal

¹⁵*Hamlet*, 3.iii.96

¹⁶Brigham Young, Manuscript History, 7 May 1845, Church Historical Department.

but spiritual, and that the Gospel which they preach is not of man but from heaven.”¹⁷ “As for politics we care nothing about them one way or the other, although we are a political people. . . . It is the Kingdom of God or nothing with us.”¹⁸ The Kingdom is beyond politics—one way or the other, i.e., it is beyond partisan party politics.

On the last night of a play the whole cast and stage crew stay in the theater until the small or not-so-small hours of the morning striking the old set. If there is to be a new opening soon, as the economy of the theater requires, it is important that the new set should be in place and ready for the opening night; all the while the old set was finishing its usefulness and then being taken down, the new set was rising in splendor to be ready for the drama that would immediately follow. So it is with this world. It is not our business to tear down the old set—the agencies that do that are already hard at work and very efficient—the set is coming down all around us with spectacular effect. Our business is to see to it that the new set is well on the way for what is to come—and that means a different kind of politics, beyond the scope of the tragedy that is now playing its closing night. We are preparing for the establishment of Zion.

¹⁷General Epistle, *Millennial Star*, 13(1851):21.

¹⁸*Millennial Star*, 31(1869):573.

Liberating Form*

Marden J. Clark**

Last summer I had the opportunity of speaking at a most unusual fireside—beside an actual fire. The place was a campground in Hobble Creek Canyon east of Springville, the group was Professor Warren Wilson's class in primitive pottery. The students were widely varied in background and experience, but all were at some stage in the process of gathering clay from the many clay banks nearby, washing it, letting it settle, forming it with primitive tools into significant forms, drying it as pots and other forms, and preparing kilns in which to fire it. About half were members of the Church. Obviously they had developed a fine *esprit de corps*. I could hardly resist Brother Wilson's suggestion that my talk develop some kind of analogy between the process they were involved in and the gospel of Jesus Christ.

It was easy enough to do, given the remarkable beauty of the setting, the receptivity of creative people to ideas about creativity, and the fact that I had for years been pondering the relations between creativity, the freedom it implies, and the Church, which sometimes has not seemed to encourage creativity. For me it was a deeply meaningful experience, and for the group too, judging from various kinds of responses. What I said to them, and what I say here, I would hope will have special significance to those who wonder about, even chafe under the restrictions, the rituals, the thou-shalt-nots of the Church.

Earlier that summer my son and I had participated in a fathers and sons outing in that same canyon. In most re-

*This article is the first in a projected series of personal essays intended to demonstrate how Mormon scholars have correlated their religious beliefs with their academic disciplines. Originally cast as a sermon, "Liberating Form" is an impressive example of the informal essay and a splendid beginning for a continuing *Studies'* feature.

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spects it was quite a usual outing: a chance to get away, to participate with Harlow in cooking, games, an evening fireside program (again by a genuine fire), and so on. But it had one unusual feature. About ten o'clock of that lovely Saturday morning each father was given a sealed envelope and told to walk with his son in any direction for ten minutes or so, then to find a pleasant spot under a tree and open the envelope. We did so. Harlow and I found ourselves under a small tree on the north side of the canyon where we caught the full effects of one of those perfect sunny mornings in Utah hills. A storm the previous day had freshened the area, the sun was warm but not uncomfortable in the shade of our tree, our walk uphill had been vigorous enough to make us ready for a little sitting. We sat and opened the envelope.

The instructions were simple, perhaps even predictable: among other things the father was to tell the son about a time when he had been important in someone else's life and about a time when someone else had been important in his, the son was to tell about some favorite goal or dream he had or relate some experience he had had that was especially significant to him and that the father had not known about. And so we sat for an hour or so, essentially alone with each other. And talked. About important things. Things that may have been important only to us. And important only because we were father and son there talking. Or maybe things that were of cosmic importance. And for the same reason. It was a remarkable experience, one that we should have every day or so, but seldom do have.

I told my fireside group about the outing. But I also told them about a poem and a short story. I want to share both here. The poem is brief:

NOTHING IN HEAVEN FUNCTIONS AS IT OUGHT

Nothing in Heaven functions as it ought;
 Peter's bifocals, blindly sat on, crack;
 His gates lurch wide with the cackle of a cock,
 Not with a hush of gold as Milton had thought;
 Gangs of the slaughtered innocents keep huffing
 The nimbus off the Venerable Bede
 Like that of a dandelion gone to seed;
 The beatific choir keep breaking up, coughing.
 But Hell, sweet Hell hath no freewheeling part:
 None takes his own sweet time, nor quickens pace.

Ask anyone, "How come you here, poor heart?"
 And he will slot a quarter through his face—
 There'll be an instant click—a tear will start
 Imprinted with an abstract of his case.

It's a simple enough poem, at least on the surface. Most readers will recognize it as a sonnet, and that particular kind of sonnet that came to us from the Italian poet Petrarch. It has a rime scheme students of literature "scan" as *abba abba cdcdcd*. The rime scheme divides the poem neatly into two parts: the octet (eight lines) and the sestet (six lines). The octet traditionally sets up some kind of problem or question or situation, the sestet somehow answers or responds to or plays against the octet. In this poem the picture of hell in the sestet plays against that of heaven in the octet. We may be struck by the unusual qualities of heaven and hell and the images used to make us see each. We may even be struck by the unusual subject matter for a sonnet. But we recognize the traditional sonnet form used without too much variation.

The short story, entitled "Parker's Back," is much longer and more complex. It is a strange story, but a most meaningful one. Its hero, O. E. (for Obadiah Elihue) Parker, has a predilection for tattoos. As a boy he had visited a side show and seen the tattooed man, his body completely covered with tattoos. It had been almost a mystic experience for Parker. He stood and stared, entranced by the motion of the tattooed figures when the man would move. He stared long after the man had left, still seeing the figures and their motion. Before long he finds himself going to tattoo artists, especially when he is in trouble. Having a new figure tattooed on him and watching it either directly or through a mirror restores his spirits and makes him a new man. But the effect does not last more than a week or so. At each new emergency he must go to the tattoo artist, until now his whole body is covered with tattoos just like the circus man's. Except for his back: the only part of him not covered is his back. And he can't see that. But now he is restless again, especially restless because he finds himself married when he does not want to be married, and married to a wife he cannot stand. The wife is not very attractive. But the real problem is that she is a nagging self-righteous religious fanatic. And she is pregnant. She nags at him for everything, especially his tattoos, which she dislikes immensely.

The old woman he works for nags him too, about his work. One day she tells him to be sure not to hit the tree in the middle of the field he is plowing. You can probably guess what will happen. Somehow he drives his tractor squarely into the tree. It climbs the tree, bursts into flames and flips over backward, throwing Parker off and his flaming shoe forty feet away. The experience is an apocalyptic vision for Parker. He jumps into his old truck and heads for town and the tattoo artist. This time he knows exactly what he wants—a picture that his wife will respect. He leafs through a pile of pictures of Christ until he comes to an old stern Byzantine Christ with piercing “all-demanding” eyes, the kind that follow you wherever you go. This is it. He lies until late at night while the artist tattoos the picture on his back. The artist gives him a mirror to examine the picture through another mirror. But “it don’t have eyes.” Tomorrow, though, the picture is finished. Parker looks in the mirror with trembling awe, moves the mirror from one side to the other—the eyes are boring into his no matter where he looks from. And even when he isn’t looking the eyes bore into him from the back.

It is a remarkable image of the burden of Christ that Parker has taken upon himself, remarkable even in its grotesqueness. But poor Parker. He goes home and shows it to his wife—with predictable results. She tears into him, not so much for wrecking the tractor as for the “idolatry” of the tattooed picture. He can only go out into the field and weep.

Yes, it’s a remarkable image, and a remarkable story. But I hope by now you are wondering what it has to do with the poem and with my experience up in the canyon with Harlow. No English teacher would dare introduce three such different experiences into even a fireside chat without having something in mind that ties them together.

Let’s begin with the poem. I described it as a sonnet not to give a lesson in poetry but to get at something else. The sonnet is one of the most restrictive of forms. Each of its fourteen lines, almost by prescription, has ten syllables making up five iambic feet, or beats. All of us have seen a line “scanned” like this: “But Héll,/sweet Héll/háth nó/fréewhéel/ing párts.” The rime scheme is tight, almost dictating a poem of two parts. The form is artificial and prescriptive. And yet some of the most lovely, most “spontaneous,” most energetic poems in the language are written in sonnet form, usually this

one or Shakespeare's variation of it. You must have felt the energy of the poem. Even if you were offended by the unusual concepts, you must have felt the energy. Where does it come from? You might say, from its idea, from the inverted versions of heaven and hell, from the unusual and sometimes powerful pictures it makes us see. Yes, from all these. But—let me insist on this—from its form. The poem gets most of its energy from what the poet does with its form: from the way it works within or strains against or plays with the conventions of its form.

One might begin to test such a statement simply by making a prose paraphrase of the poem: "Neither heaven nor hell is what we think it is; people make mistakes in heaven, but nothing goes wrong in hell." But where is our energy? We could get some of it by adding details. We could even build up a prose form that would get quite a bit of it. But this is a remarkably energetic sonnet. You will notice that I scanned a line from the sestet to show the meter. Had I used one from the octet, something would have gone wrong, even with the first line: "Nothing/in heav/en func/tions as/it ought." The first foot is reversed. And except to emphasize the meter most of us would not stress *as*. Or look at line eight: "The bé/atif/ic choir/keep bré/ak/ing úp/coughing." Almost regular—until it coughs at the end, in an extra inverted foot! The rime doesn't quite work either: *crack, cock; buffing, coughing*. Other sounds jar: *bifocals* against *crack, cackle* against *cock*. And cocks don't "cackle" anyway. Nothing in this octet functions as it ought. And that, of course, is the point.

But Hell, sweet Hell! The meter is perfectly regular and perfectly mechanical. "And hé/will sló/t/a quár/t/er through/his fá/ce." The rimes are also perfect—and mechanical. And that, again, is the point. In this mechanical hell a soul is a piece of mechanism, a slot machine or coin-operated computer which uses even his tears as something on which to "print an abstract of his case."

The major energy of the poem, though, comes from the way the two parts play against each other. Our first reaction to this heaven may be negative. But we look back from the perfect but mechanical hell, where no man takes his own sweet time nor quickens his pace, to that imperfectly functioning heaven, where even St. Peter, the dispenser of judgments, has to have bifocals and is both forgetful and blind enough to

sit on and crack them. And suddenly one's own sweet time becomes very sweet and precious indeed. The imperfections of heaven are humorous enough, but they too become precious because we recognize that they result from the fact of freedom. Even the slaughtered innocent children are free, free to form "gangs" and to blow the seedy halo off one of the venerable saints. That, I presume, is mostly what the poem is "about": the meaning of freedom in religious terms. It is easy enough to make a prose statement of that meaning: the price of freedom is a certain amount of inefficiency, in heaven or in earth; lack of freedom may be efficient enough but its price is infinitely greater: the soul becomes a mechanism. That is a meaningful statement and it has its own kind of energy. But contrasted with the poem it is insipid. All the paradoxical qualities of heaven and hell, all the fascinating contrasts set up by the two parts, all the nuances of sound and rhythm and image are lost. The form has been the means of releasing all that energy.

And here we are face to face with perhaps the most intriguing paradox in literature: *Form*—the form that seems to restrict, to limit, to hold one in—*has actually been the means of liberating the energy* implicit in the imaginative contrast the poem develops. Hence my title. The title isn't really mine, though. I borrowed it from a recent textbook on poetry, *The Liberating Form*, which I haven't even seen yet. But the paradox of that title intrigues me.

By now I hope you can see how the poem relates to that class in primitive pottery and to our fathers and sons outing and even to the short story. Professor Wilson's students were investing energy in finding, preparing, and shaping clay. It is an easy analogy to see the process in terms of the process of finding, preparing, and shaping one's own life. Only if one has a meaningful vision of the form one wants to achieve can the process fulfill itself in meaningful art forms. Magically enough, those students that had the significant vision and the requisite skill were able to produce forms the inherent energy and value of which far exceeded any amount of energy put into them. The controlling vision of form made possible the release of energy in the created product. I saw many of those forms. My wife and I, with Harlow and Krista, our youngest daughter, even went through the process for ourselves the next day. Like the forms of many of the others, ours were not very

sophisticated. But they all aspired to the condition of art—and to its energy. And quite a few of those we saw had real energy, real form—significant form.

So with the outing. The simple experiences brought Harlow and me together in as meaningful an hour as I have ever spent with one of my children. We could have had such an hour without any envelope, without even any outing. But the point is that we hadn't. The situation and the envelope became the liberating form for us. Under orders from nothing more than a written sheet we came to know each other in ways we had never known before. It was a vital experience for both of us.

And so with the short story, though more complexly. In abstraction, at least, the form of the story is much looser than that of the sonnet. One can do almost anything he wants, or is capable of, with a short story. But again, the energy of the story can be released only by the form that embodies it. Without the vision and then the realization of some kind of significant form, the story would have little of the energy implicit in its materials. My summary, of course, is not the story. It may be a pretty good summary, but it is not the story. I hope you could feel some of the energy from that summary. But to get the full energy you need to experience the story itself.

It was probably coincidence that both my poem and my story were written by devout Catholics, the poem by X. J. Kennedy, the story by that remarkable woman Flannery O'Connor, whose early death may have cost us the most vital storyteller of the middle half of our century. It could have been simply coincidence that both poem and story are on religious subjects. I could have talked about energy from form as easily with a sonnet from Shakespeare or Wordsworth. But my choices were not coincidences. The subject matter of both is crucial to what all this has been leading up to. Freedom through form! The freedom of those gangs of slaughtered innocents cannot be in an immediate sense very meaningful because not controlled or directed, though the fact of it is meaningful—cosmically meaningful. But the freedom that comes from form means something—in all the ways I have talked about. Poor Parker! He may not please his wife with his tattooed Christ. But he must have pleased his Christ: he voluntarily takes upon him the burden of Christ. For some of us that burden may be light, but not for Parker. He will bear it, inescapably, throughout his life.

The liberating form! Parker takes that burden upon him in the form of a work of art. Those eyes that bore into him from any and every direction are eyes projected by the Byzantine artist and caught by the tattoo artist. Their immediate force for Parker comes, then, from the artist. But far more important for him, and for us, they are the eyes of Christ, though contained in and hence liberated by that form.

Now, most of us do not have the kind of apocalyptic vision that Parker has. And for most of us His yoke may well be easy and His burden light. We carry it in joy and love. But the same Christ who assured us of the ease and lightness also exhorted us to be therefore perfect, even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect, and told us that the last shall be first only if he be the servant of all—hardly light burdens. He spoke as often in paradox as in parable. “Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.” But freedom may be the ultimate burden. It is for Parker. He may be free of the need to race for the tattoo artist whenever something goes wrong. He may be free now of the driving restlessness that had dogged him since he first saw the tattooed man. He may even somehow be free of the carping of his wife, though we can’t tell from the story. But he can never be free of the burden of those piercing eyes and the stern face he carries on his back. Nor does he want to be. His crying at the end is probably as much for his wife and her refusal of his vision and burden as for her bellowed accusation of idolatry.

Miss O’Connor does not even mention her Catholic Church in the story. Nearly all of her Christ-ridden characters are in fact Baptists or Methodists or members of some lesser known evangelical group. What she dramatizes is the personal encounter with Christ—or the personal refusal of him. But of course her church stands always in the background of both the story and her vision of herself as a writer: she makes this explicit over and over again when she writes about her art.

Now, I hardly expect that any of you are going to go drive a tractor up a tree to test Parker’s vision. I don’t even plan to myself. But we don’t need to. Most of us already have the vision, though in a much different form. What we need is the means to *realize* the energy implicit in that vision, to transform it into direction and action.

And that, of course, is what all this has been leading to. The liberating form. The form that can direct the hands as

they mold and shape and give meaning and energy to the clay my young creative friends were digging and washing and refining. The Church, of course, is that liberating form: The Church and the form given it by the Master whose name and whose burden it carries. The form given it by the gospel, the good news, it must disseminate. The Church, through its stake leaders, provided the form of that envelope that set Harlow and me to talking. Professor Wilson provided the initiative, but the Church through its university provided the organizing energy behind his class in the canyon. The students had to provide their own vision of form to give their clay energy, but the Church was the form behind the form. The Catholic Church was the form behind the form of both Kennedy's poem and O'Connor's story.

This, then, is the message I would give to the young people—and older ones too—who tend to rebel or chafe against the forms, the ritual, the programs, the requirements of the Church—and even to those who are comfortable within them all. The Church can provide the liberating form which gives direction, order, meaning to our energy. The Church can liberate that energy by giving it control and form.

Can do so. Nothing in ours or any other church guarantees that it *will* do so. This is the burden of Christ and the burden of our freedom. The Church can only provide the form within which we work. It may help motivate us. It may even help give us the vision of heaven and hell that can grow into our sonnet. But it cannot write the sonnet for us. It cannot mold or dry or form or fire the clay. It can provide the form within which our spiritual lives can generate their own energy and meaning. It can even provide something of the form within which our professional and business and occupational lives can develop their highest energies. It can provide the liberating form. But we must provide the energy. No sonnet can liberate energy not available to it. This again is the burden of both Christ and freedom (I see the two as closely related). We supply the energy.

With this in mind, let's look at two or three sides to that form which the Church provides us and against which we sometimes squirm. Mormons "pay" tithing. We may do it unwillingly, resenting the inroads it makes on our income. We may do it willingly because God has commanded it or because we do not dare not to or because it is the best insurance we can

buy. Or we may do it because as God's law it provides the framework within which we can both participate in and share the burden of Christ's work on earth and at the same time organize and plan our private economy to make our income go as far and in as many significant directions as we can make it. I trust that at least one of these concepts makes tithing part of a liberating form.

Or take the Word of Wisdom. We often talk as though this were what makes us a peculiar people. In the eyes of many outside our faith, it is. But even a little thought should tell us that the proscriptions of the Word of Wisdom are only negative conditions of salvation, that a whole lifetime of not smoking and not drinking can still be an empty and wasted lifetime. I have often said that no one has ever abstained himself into the kingdom of God. I'm not so sure of this when I watch someone really struggle against a life-long habit of coffee-drinking or even when I smell coffee perking on a cold winter morning. But what I am sure of is that the Word of Wisdom can liberate us from slavery to the things it warns us against. More apparently than most of our doctrines and beliefs it is a liberating form. For most of us it forms the framework within which we can achieve and maintain healthy bodies and minds, which in turn can generate the physical and intellectual and emotional and spiritual energy we need for rich, positive, creative lives.

Even our concern with mortality is often projected simply as a matter of abstinence, of "fugitive and cloistered virtue," as Milton called it. But an older meaning of virtue catches its real value. Virtue, the kind that engendered flowers for Chaucer or the kind that went out of Jesus at the touch of his garment, was energy, creative and healing energy. Which is what virtue should be for all of us: the positive, creative force inherent in our bodies as in our souls, the release of which will be the highest expression of that love we grow toward for our marriage that we believe to be eternal.

And so with even more fundamental doctrines and practices of the Church. Faith we even define as motivating power, the motivating power of all action. It can help us tap infinite sources of power. Repentance is a means of physical and emotional and intellectual and spiritual renewal, but first a means of liberation from the bondage of our mistakes and sins. Baptism, far from empty ritual, can be both the actual and

symbolic leaving behind of what we were and the narrow gate through which we can enter to see what we can become and to start becoming that vision of ourselves.

And so forth. The Church can be for us nothing at all, or merely the burden we bear. Or it can be the liberating form for our lives. It can help us release and channel and order the great potential of energy that few of us ever use at anywhere near its capacity. A glider soars, a jet plane flies not just because the wind blows or because a motor develops a half million pounds of thrust. The energy of wind or motor must be exerted on or within significant and controlled form. Imagine all that power being released by a jet engine unattached to anything, like the balloon you blew up as a child and let go—how it hissed and darted and sputtered aimlessly.

So with the poem, so with the story, so with our lives.

But of course one can write a bad sonnet following all the rules of the form. In fact "sonnet" is almost a synonym for the sentimental and trivial. Sonnets about Easter bonnets have almost nothing in common with Kennedy's—or Shakespeare's or Milton's—sonnets except the form. The difference depends on the kind of energy we put into the form.

On the other hand, we can write powerful, even magnificent poems using none of the recognized forms. We can strike out on our own, as Walt Whitman did, and create our own significant forms. This is what many potential young poets like to do. They don't want to be bound by the shackles of form. They want to soar wholly in the freedom of the creative process. But very soon they find themselves caught in one of the most profound of the paradoxes of creativity: that the creative person is at once the most free and the most bound of people, that his freedom can find meaningful release, meaningful expression only in significant form, that if he doesn't work within available forms he must expend a great deal of his energy creating his own, that most of the time it is more difficult to create meaningful forms of one's own than to create within forms already available and proven.

Such a form, I repeat, is the Church. And, at least from our perspective, the ultimate form. As in Kennedy's heaven, since we are free within it, since even its leaders are free—and human—within it, nothing in it may function quite as it ought—or quite as we think it ought. That is the price of freedom, Kennedy's poem tells us. The miracle is that it functions so

wondrously well. Only a machine can be made to function perfectly. Human beings—and human angels—probably should not be thought of as “functioning” at all. To the extent that we are merely functions perhaps we are in hell. But to the extent that we are living and working meaningfully within the Church, using its form to liberate our energies and direct and control them, to that extent perhaps we are in heaven already—or moving meaningfully toward it.

Such is the faith I live by and the testimony I bear. And bear as a burden, if you wish. But both “bear” and “burden” are rich words. “Bear” has to do with carrying and with expressing but also with giving birth. “Burden” is what one carries but also the repeated melody, the refrain one sings. All this may be the only sermon I preach. Perhaps it is the only sermon any of us preaches, though in many variations. But it may be enough of a sermon: that we live by and bear the burden of Christ, that his church is the form that liberates us and the energy we generate, that it provides us with the vision of form within which we can move whatever of clay is in us toward his vision of what we can be, that it provides the envelope within which we find the instructions to explore and express our love, that it provides the form to lead us toward our vision of heaven and our rejection of hell. I may see all this and express it and bear it a little bit differently than you do. That too is part of the glory and burden of freedom. But it is the same testimony and the same burden we all bear, the same refrain we sing: of the reality and meaning of Jesus the Christ and of his church and of our relation to both. Whatever else, in this sense his burden is light. May we all bear it in joy and light.

Two Poems

Jean S. Marshall*

MUSEUM PIECE

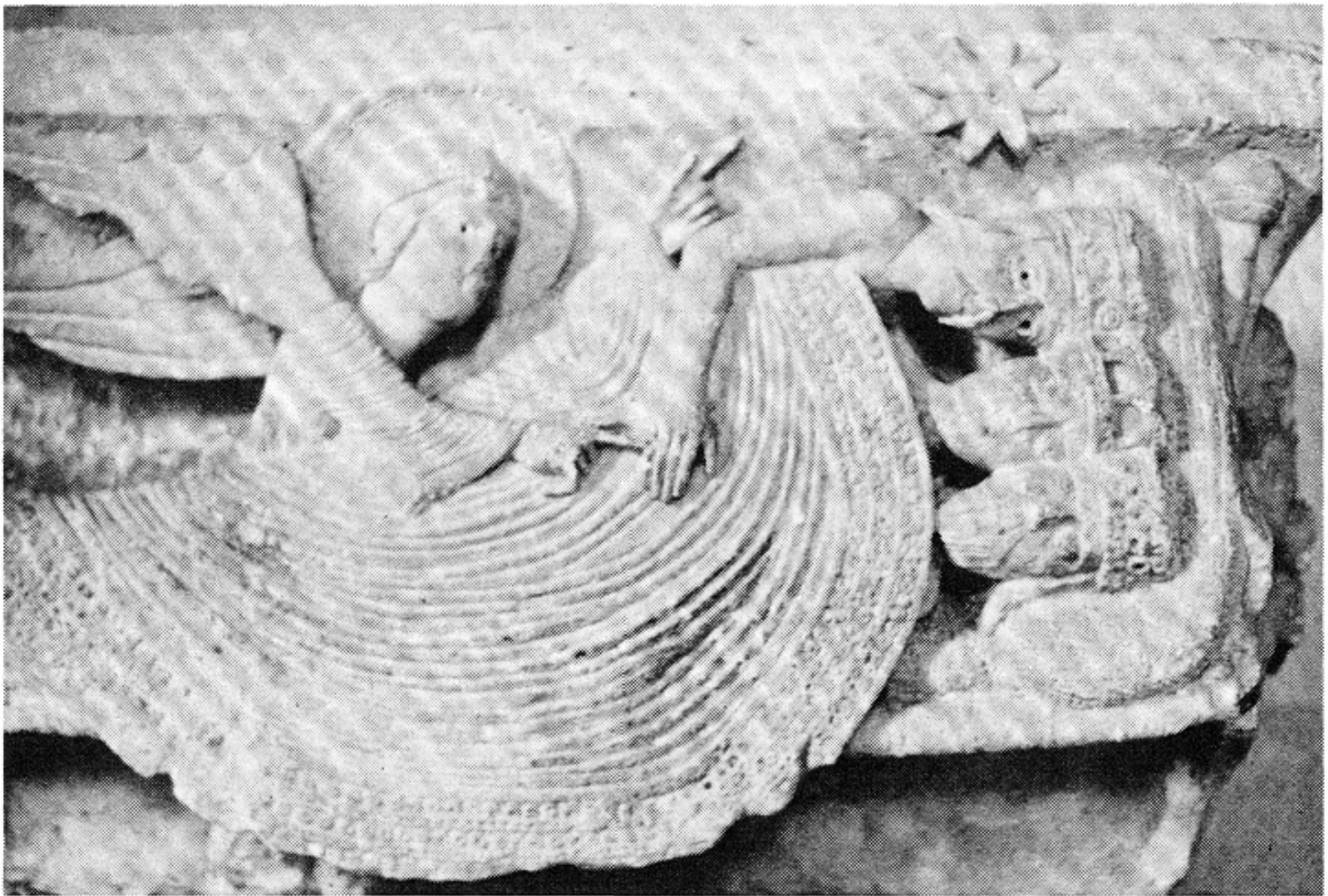
Impaled, moth-like, on the wood,
He hung there dying.
Without struggle He yielded
to the Light.



For centuries they have let Him hang—
in stone,
in delicate, yellowing ivory,
on dark and crimson canvases,
in painted effigies of wood,
the unique specimen, multiplied,
a twisted image
of torture and of death,
obscuring all His days of giving
to broken men new eyes,
diminishing His Gethsemane
where the weight of utter penitence
bore down on Him alone for us,
ignoring the bright and empty tomb
where He unfolded wings of light
from His celestial cocoon.

A Romanesque crucifix in Barcelona, Spain.

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Photograph of Gislebertus' three kings stone carving in Autun, France.

ROMANESQUE

I wish I had imagined magi sleeping.

I know the thread of scripture
and the legends all embroidered
of caravan and quest with incense
and with gold for homage,
then the dream and the departure
by another way.

I know some doubt the birth.
Some doubt that regal journey.

But in a distant century
Gislebertus chipped from stone
three friends waiting.

He saw the magi sleeping
three short fellows side by side
under a coverlet of curving lines
and the angel (bending stiffly in air)
touching (with one finger)
whispering (I'm sure) urgently to say,
"The star appears" (upper right)
"The King is born."

The Fraudulent Archko Volume

Richard Lloyd Anderson*

Would you like the views of Mary and Joseph about Jesus? An interview with the shepherds on the miracles at his birth? Reports of his last hours from Pilate, Herod Antipas, and Caiaphas? All these and more are promised to those who take the *Archko Volume* seriously. No scholar does; witness its quick dismissal by the apocrypha expert, M. R. James, who called it a "ridiculous and disgusting American book."¹ Credit belongs to an American authority, Edgar J. Goodspeed, for summarizing why such a verdict is required.² Yet some Bible believers accept the Archko documents so that the book is often stocked in religious bookstores and periodically quoted to church audiences as containing "factual accounts" of those who came in contact with the Lord.³ Yet perversions of fact contaminate virtually every page of this book, so that anyone with basic knowledge of ancient history can multiply Goodspeed's random samples of blunders that it contains. More significantly, the basic fallacy of each "ancient" discovery needs explanation, together with evidence beyond the survey level on how the *Archko Volume* was fabricated.

REVEREND WILLIAM D. MAHAN

Many spurious documents are of ancient origin, but the Archko collection is a modern forgery, produced by the Rever-

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¹Montague R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 90. At the outset I wish to thank my secretaries for indispensable help in this article: daughter Roselle Anderson for research and writing inquiries, and Lorelei Olsen for research and typing the final draft.

²Edgar J. Goodspeed gave more insight in his second treatment, beginning with *Strange New Gospels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1931]), chapter 5, following with a rewritten chapter in *Modern Apocrypha* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), reissued as *Famous Biblical Hoaxes* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House [c1956]), chapter 4.

³The phrase is from Arland Udell, *The Boyhood of Jesus* (Salt Lake City: [n.p.], 1956), preface of this pamphlet publicizing the *Archko Volume*.

end William Dennes Mahan. Born in a pioneer generation (27 July 1824), he spent his mature years in upper central Missouri, residing in Boonville for about the last thirty years of his life.⁴ He appears first in vital records at Gallatin, Missouri, where he was a "Minister Pres." in 1860.⁵ Cumberland Presbyterian records locate his pastoral service in eastern Missouri (Louisiana) in 1865, then back in central Missouri at Arrow Rock in 1868-71, where he also appears on the 1870 census as a minister. He retained his status in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church until 1885 (by their records, living in Boonville from 1872-85), but he may have been inactive in that profession, judging by his 1880 census status in Boonville as a "hotel keeper." He died at the "Mahan House" in Boonville on 19 October 1906, leaving a wife and one child.⁶

The lack of clarity and education displayed in Mahan's writing throws doubt on his professional fitness, raising possible financial motives in the publishing of his invented writings. Perhaps there is a pang of conscience in his preface, offering the book with the assurance that "it can do no harm to anyone or to any church."⁷ But when challenged, he bluntly rationalized:

[I]t is paying us about 20 dollars per day, and its prospects and popularity is increasing every day. You are bound to admit that the items in the book can't do any harm, even if it were false, but will cause many to read and reflect that otherwise would not. So the balance of good is in its favor.⁸

⁴Birth date is found in Mahan's obituary, *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 26 October 1906, which is inaccurate in stating that he lived in Boonville from 1845.

⁵The Minutes of the General Assembly, Cumberland Presbyterian Church, are the best source for Mahan's location while a minister, confirming the 1860 census. Census records also list real estate, so he undoubtedly farmed in his earlier years, and there are no ministerial listings from 1861-64, 1866-67, and 1869.

⁶*Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 26 October 1906. For locating and reproducing articles pertaining to Mahan I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Alma Vaghan, Newspaper Librarian, State Historical Society of Missouri, and her former assistant, Mrs. Mary Katheryn Stroh.

⁷All quotations are made from the currently available *Archko Volume*, issued in Grand Rapids, Michigan by the Archko Press in numerous printings from 1951 to the present, based on Mahan's 1896 edition. The quotation cited appears on page 41, but was evidently first published by the author in rebuttal in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 20 February 1885, supplement.

⁸W. D. Mahan to Rev. J. A. Quarles, Boonville, Mo., 13 November 1884, cited in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 20 February 1885, with "false" spelled "faulce."

As events turned out, raising such questions was more significant than the answering of them:

Might not these writings have been manufactured to make money out of? If so, it was a poor business, for this is the first and only book ever produced from them. It certainly was a bad speculation on their part.⁹

PILATE'S COURT, 1878

Mahan's ancient writings moved through three main stages. In the beginning there was *A Correct Transcript of Pilate's Court* copyrighted in 1878, its title page claiming it to be "a correct account" of Jesus' trial and death "from Tiberius Caesar's records in the Vatican at Rome." This claim was buttressed by authenticating letters which are still printed with the expanded collection. A German named H. C. Whydaman was supposedly snowbound with Mahan in Missouri, and told of seeing the original report of Pilate to Tiberius in the Vatican library.¹⁰ On request, Whydaman wrote to "the chief guardian of the Vatican," one Father Freelinhusen, who agreed to furnish a Latin transcript for "thirty-five darics" (a coin unknown in modern Italy but used in ancient Persia). Whydaman obtained the transcript and forwarded it "to my brother-in-law, C. C. Vantberger" in New York City, who translated the document into English for Reverend Mahan, who then published it. None of the characters in this drama can be verified, and the "true copy, word for word" (as certified by the Vatican's Freelinhusen) grew considerably in the next edition. This is not surprising, since Goodspeed found that it was based on a Boston pamphlet of 1842, *Pontius Pilate's Account of the Condemnation of Jesus Christ*, purporting to come from "an old Latin manuscript recently found at Vienne."¹¹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL WRITINGS OF THE SANHEDRIN, 1884

Stage two of Mahan's production was the most creative. Lew Wallace's novel *Ben-Hur* appeared in 1880, the year after

⁹Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 36.

¹⁰In the second century Justin Martyr referred to the "Acts of Pilate," trial records of Christ (Apology 1.35, 48), and shortly afterward Tertullian referred to a report of Pilate to Tiberius (Apology 5.21). From these points of departure several Christian "Acts of Pilate" were produced in early centuries, but Mahan's "Acts of Pilate" had no specific relationship to any of them.

¹¹Goodspeed, *Hoaxes*, p. 42. Responsible 1881 investigation proved "Freelinhusen" neither custodian nor known at the Vatican. *Boonville Weekly Topic*, 20 February 1885.

Pilate's Court was first published. Soon *Pilate's Court* appeared with ten more ancient documents, growing from a pamphlet of 32 pages to a book ten times that size. This 1884 edition was "published for the author" in St. Louis by the printer of the earlier pamphlet. The main portion of the new title was *Archaeological Writings of the Sanhedrin and Talmuds of the Jews* and was given double billing in subtitles as "the record made by the enemies of Jesus of Nazareth in his day" and "the most interesting history ever read by man." This edition is critical in assessing Mahan, for it contains his clearest plagiarism and proves false his claim of translating ancient records. The most telling section was "Eli's Story of the Magi," which was prefaced as follows:

While investigating the Sanhedrin and the Talmuds in Constantinople, October 22nd, 1883, I came upon the following parchment, written and bound between two cedar boards. It was signed Ben. Eli. Who he was, or where he came from, or when he wrote, we cannot tell, nor can we say it is true; yet it is so compatible with our history, and has so many strange things connected with it that we thought it would be interesting to our readers.¹²

So European discoveries furnished Mahan's new format. While retaining the mail-order version of Pilate's report, he expanded his plot with himself center stage. He talked of a ten-year investigation, "corresponding with many historians and scholars, sending for all the books that could instruct me on these great questions."¹³ Next he said he personally went to "the Vatican at Rome, and then to the Jewish Talmuds at Constantinople,"¹⁴ in the process "engaging two expert scholars, Drs. McIntosh, of Scotland, and Twyman, of England."¹⁵ Otherwise unknown, their credentials are independently attested by one Dr. Rubin, who met Mahan, McIntosh, and Twyman in the Vatican "with a number of clerks, both readers and scribes"; Rubin (also unknown) opined, "they seem to be men of great age and learning."¹⁶ There are few clues to the re-

¹²Mahan, *Archaeological Writings of the Sanhedrin and Talmuds of the Jews* (St. Louis: Perrin and Smith, 1884), p. 113.

¹³Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 36.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 36. Instead of citing their British Isle posts after 1884, Mahan's title page conferred the strange honor on these two of belonging to "the Antiquarian Lodge, Genoa, Italy."

¹⁶Ibid., p. 42. This letter supposedly appeared in the *Brunswick*, but J. A. Quarles found that it did not. *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 27 March 1885, and *Weekly Topic*, same date, referring to the editor's letter of 16 January 1885.

nowned scholars who accompanied Mahan; one, a letter to his wife from the indefinite "Market Place" of Rome, reports the rendezvous with Dr. McIntosh "at St. Elgin" (supposedly in Paris, but unknown): "He is one of the nicest old men and one of the finest scholars I ever met."¹⁷ There is even a letter from McIntosh himself, who speaks like neither Scot nor scholar, but rather uses Mahan's own phraseology. For instance, Mahan's 1884 subtitle recurs in his explanations. Mahan claims that the compilation "will be found one of the most strange and interesting books ever read."¹⁸ Interestingly, McIntosh has similar wording for the same opinion: "The Doctor thinks it will be one of the most important books ever brought before the public, except the Bible."¹⁹ And the learned McIntosh (in an open letter to North America), confirms that Mahan would "bring out one of the best books ever offered to the Christian world except the Bible."²⁰ Even Dr. Rubin has the same idiom: "It will prove to be one of the most interesting books ever presented to the Christian world."²¹

Challenged repeatedly during the two decades prior to his death, Mahan never proved the existence of these learned companions—nor of the trip itself.²² He supposedly sailed from New York on 21 September 1883 and returned about December of the same year.²³ But this account is inconsistent, since Mahan claimed to land in Marseilles "after twelve days out

¹⁷Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 45.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 47.

²⁰Ibid., p. 43.

²¹Ibid., p. 42.

²²Mahan's chief antagonist burst the McIntosh-Twyman bubble through correspondence. First, he elicited the following letter from Mahan (7 November 1884): "No man in this country could translate the ancient hebrew. I was informed of the fact at Leipsig, and it was here I procured the assistance of Dr. Mcintosh. Dr. Twyman is his assistent. Dr. Mcintosh is only an expert in learning [,] has been imployed by the Leipsig university in this work, he is a Methodist a good Scotchman and a Schollar. Twyman is an inglishmen [,] he is a Materialest and is in the employ of the other." On receiving this letter, J. A. Quarles wrote for verification to university authorities at Leipsig (1 January 1885); they answered (28 January 1885) that neither McIntosh nor Twyman "have been known at this University during the past five years." The full correspondence was published in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 27 March 1885 and also the *Weekly Topic*, same date. Two points are noteworthy in this Mahan letter: (1) If reproduced accurately, it shows an illiteracy harmonious with the poor representation of names and events in his writings; (2) It suggests a personal trip to Leipsig that cannot fit the dates given by Mahan.

²³Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 13, 47-48. Mahan mentioned "a gale" upon leaving, which is authentic, according to an article of that date in the *New York Times*, indicating the difficulty of a rescue. Possibly Mahan had such information before writing that detail.

from New York"; yet his chapter on Antipas' defense is dated the fifth day from his sailing.²⁴ A greater problem was considerable local skepticism that Mahan ever was abroad. One hometown newspaper openly requested verification:

It is a very easy matter to prove it, *if he made the trip*. This is the first and most important step that he should take. Gather a list of the passengers and give us the name of the vessel he left this country on, and the date he sailed. A list is always published and is accessible at any time. Give us the date of his arrival in Europe. Produce his passport. Produce his letters written from the old country . . . THE ADVERTISER published a letter purported to have been written from Rome to his wife while he was absent from Boonville. Let the public see that envelope and its postmarks. There are hundreds of ways by which he can prove he made this trip, and until this is done, the public have a right to consider themselves *imposed upon* and the author *an imposter*.²⁵

No doubt Mahan's strongest answer appeared in subsequent editions—three letters from acquaintances, written in January 1887. They said only two things on the question of his absence: that he left Boonville in the fall of 1883 with the declared intention of going to Europe; and that the Roman letter to his wife was seen while he was gone—the most specific testimonial adding, "I did not see the postmarks on the letter, but understood it was from Rome."²⁶

But there were unshakable grounds on which to test Mahan's story, for (as already noted), he claimed to find at Constantinople the "parchment, written and . . . signed Ben. Eli."²⁷ This document alone took up 87 of the 352 pages in Mahan's 1884 edition, and most of "Ben. Eli" freely used *Ben-Hur* as its source. Sample comparisons of the 1880 novel and Mahan's use of it reveal his methods. Ben. Eli's document opens with the same situation as *Ben-Hur*, three Magi journeying to Jerusalem from Greece, India, and Egypt. Mahan's account has them speaking before the Sanhedrin, whereas

²⁴The Marseilles arrival appears in his Roman letter (*Archko Volume*, p. 44). On first publishing "Herod Antipas' Defense" in 1884 the preface read: "City of Rome, September 26th, 1883," a date deleted from later editions. *Archaeological Writings*, p. 240.

²⁵*Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 20 February 1885. The *Weekly Topic* published a similarly blunt appeal on the same date.

²⁶Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 49.

²⁷Mahan, *Archaeological Writings*, p. 113. The entire quotation on finding the bound parchment in Constantinople is quoted above.

Wallace set their rendezvous in a desert tent, where they first shared philosophy and experiences. In both accounts the Greek speaks first:²⁸

Wallace

Then, slowly at first, like one watchful of himself, the Greek began:

"What I have to tell, my brethren, is so strange that I hardly know where to begin or what I may with propriety speak. I do not yet understand myself. The most I am sure of is that I am doing a Master's will, and that the service is a constant ecstasy. When I think of the purpose I am sent to fulfill, there is in me a joy so inexpressible that I know the will is God's."

The good man paused, unable to proceed, while the others, in sympathy with his feelings, dropped their gaze.

"Far to the west of this," he began again, "there is a land which may never be forgotten; if only because the world is too much its debtor, and because the indebtedness is for things that bring to men their purest pleasures. I will say nothing of the arts, nothing of philosophy, of eloquence, of poetry, of war: O my brethren, here is the glory which must shine forever in perfected letters, by which He we go to find and proclaim will be made known to all the earth. The land I speak of is Greece. I am Gaspar, son of Cleanthes the Athenian.

"My people," he continued, "were given wholly to study, and

Mahan

The Greek slowly, and like one watchful of himself, began:

"What I have to tell, my brethren, is so strange that I hardly know where to begin, or what I may with propriety speak. I do not yet understand myself. The most I am sure of is, that I am doing a master's will, and that the service is a constant ecstasy. When I think of the purpose I am sent to fulfill, there is in me a joy so inexpressible that I know the will is God's."

Here the good man paused unable to proceed.

"Far to the west of this," he began again, "there is a land which may never be forgotten, if only because the world is too much its debtor, and because the indebtedness is for things that bring to man their purest pleasure. I will say nothing of the arts, nothing of the philosophy, of eloquence, of poetry, of war. Oh, my brethren, here is the glory which must shine forever, in perfected letters by which he whom we go to find will be made known to all the earth. The land I speak of is Greece.

"My people," he continued, "were given wholly to study.

²⁸The left column quotes Lew Wallace, *Ben-Hur, A Tale of the Christ* (New York: Harper, 1880), pp. 14-15, without change. The right column quotes Mahan, *Archaeological Writings*, pp. 114-15, with changes only in indentation and spacing for comparison.

from them I derived the same passion. It happens that two of our philosophers, the very greatest of the many, teach, one the doctrine of a Soul in every man, and its Immortality; the other the doctrine of One God, infinitely just. From the multitude of subjects about which the schools were disputing, I separated them, as alone worth the labor of solution; for I thought there was a relation between God and the soul as yet unknown. On this theme the mind can reason to a point, a dead, impassable wall; arrived there, all that remains is to stand and cry aloud for help. So I did; but no voice came to me over the wall. In despair, I tore myself from the cities and the schools."

At these words a grave smile of approval lighted the gaunt face of the Hindoo.

Above is only one sample of the identical language of the Wallace-Mahan wise men. The fictitious Ben. Eli continues to use Gaspar's words from *Ben-Hur*, followed by similar long extracts from the Indian's and the Egyptian's speeches. Finally Mahan breaks the sequence with his own classic line: "At this point he was interrupted by the Sanhedrin asking for something more to the point."²⁹ In Wallace's novel the king hears of the Magi's coming, and convokes a private advisory council presided over by Hillel. But Mahan has one of the Magi relate his own attendance at this council, describing Hillel just as Wallace had conceived him:³⁰

Wallace

He had been cast in large mould, but was now shrunken and stooped to ghastliness; his white robe dropped from his shoulders in folds that gave no hint of muscle or anything but an angular

Two of our philosophers, the very greatest of the many, teach, one the doctrine of soul in every man and its immortality; the other, the doctrine of one God, infinitely just. From the multitude of subjects, about which the schools were disputing, I separated them as alone worth the labor of solution, for I thought there was a relation between God and the soul as yet unknown. On this, the mind can reason to a point—a dead, impassable wall. Arrived there, all that remains is to stand and cry aloud for help. So I did; but no voice came to me over the wall. In despair I tore myself from the cities and the schools."

At this a smile of delight stole over the crowd.

Mahan

He had been cast in a large mould, but was now shrunken and stooped to ghastliness. His white robe dropped from his shoulders in folds that gave no signs of muscular power.

²⁹Ibid., p. 130.

³⁰The left column quotes Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, pp. 66-67, and the right column quotes Mahan, *Archaeological Writings*, p. 135, exactly as outlined in footnote 28.

skeleton. His hands, half concealed by sleeves of silk, white and crimson striped, were clasped upon his knees. When he spoke, sometimes the first finger of the right hand extended tremulously; he seemed incapable of other gesture. But his head was a splendid dome.

A few hairs, whiter than fine-drawn silver, fringed the base; over a broad, full-sphered skull the skin was drawn close, and shone in the light with positive brilliance; the temples were deep hollows, from which the forehead beetled like a wrinkled crag; the eyes were wan and dim; the nose was pinched; and all the lower face was muffled in a beard flowing and venerable as Aaron's. Such was Hillel the Babylonian! The line of prophets, long extinct in Israel, was now succeeded by a line of scholars, of whom he was first in learning—a prophet in all but the divine inspiration! At the age of one hundred and six, he was still Rector of the Great College.

The latter example shows a more selective copying, and gives an insight into the looser adaptations of the *Archaeological Writings*. These generally contain subtle plagiarism, but the slavish copying throughout the "parchment . . . signed Ben. Eli" drew immediate fire. Chief spokesman of the exposure was a former Boonville Presbyterian minister, the Reverend James Addison Quarles. Quarles had a good education for his day, including two years at Princeton Theological Seminary, had been an active pastor in several locations, and in the Mahan controversy wrote from Lexington, Missouri, where he was president of the Elizabeth Aull Seminary. He later accepted a philosophy professorship at Washington and Lee University, where he was greatly respected for his academic and personal excellence.³¹ Quarles took Mahan to task in the

His hands, half concealed by sleeves of white silk with bands, were folded on his knees. When he spoke he sometimes raised his finger, which indicated more of caution than direction.

His hair, as white as fine-drawn silver, lay sprinkled over his towering forehead.

All his lower face was covered with a flowing beard as graceful as was Aaron's.

This great and venerable man at 106 years was still rector of the great college.

³¹Sample biographies of Quarles are found in the *History of Lafayette*

Boonville press for anachronisms, lack of verification of his story, and open borrowing, declaring the supposed manuscripts "spurious."³² Because Mahan's answers were vague and unconvincing, a hearing was convened to consider his ministerial standing.

Documentation of Mahan's trial exists in two known forms: the official New Lebanon Presbytery minutes, and the more detailed newspaper report of charges and proceedings. The minutes show the proceedings to have been charitably handled, though they indicate that a judiciary committee was appointed because of public controversy over W. D. Mahan's book, "*Archaeological Writings of the Jewish Sanhedrin and Talmuds*, recently published by him."³³ The Presbytery went on record as taking action because:

[T]his controversy is of such a nature as to seriously reflect upon the character of Bro. Mahan as a Christian minister and member of this Pres., and has acquired such publicity that we regard it as due to the cause of Christianity, to this Pres., and to Bro. Mahan, that the matter be investigated by this body.³⁴

The designated hearing began on the evening of 28 September 1885 and continued the following day. The following decision was reached by the Presbytery:

The Pres. of New Lebanon, having heard the charges against Rev. W. D. Mahan presented by common fame, having carefully examined the testimony introduced by both parties, and having patiently considered the arguments and explanations which have been offered, as well by the accused as by the prosecution, decide that the charge against the said Rev. W. D. Mahan has been fully proved; and further, the Pres., having carefully considered the whole

County, Mo. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), pp. 254-58 and *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1906-7), p. 1452. For important biographical details on Quarles (and Mahan) I am indebted to Reference Librarian Golden R. Howard of the State Historical Society of Missouri and to Assistant Reference Librarian Betty R. Kondayan of the Cyrus Hall McCormick Library, Washington and Lee University.

³²Mrs. Kondayan, Assistant Reference Librarian at Washington and Lee University has given invaluable help in making Quarles' private notes on Mahan available for this article.

³³The issue was framed in terms of authenticity "respecting the character of the contents of the book." Records of the New Lebanon Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 4(October 1880 to March 1887): 125. Director Thomas H. Campbell, Historical Library and Archives of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, has courteously furnished photocopies of these minutes.

³⁴Ibid.

case, does unanimously judge and determine that the said Rev. W. D. Mahan ought to be and is hereby suspended from the exercise of the functions, all and singular, of his office as a minister of the Gospel for a period of twelve months.³⁵

Grounds for the decision are undoubtedly accurately given by the *Boonville Advertiser*, since it had responsibly reported both sides of the Mahan-Quarles controversy over many months.³⁶ Charges came on four counts. First, Mahan was accused of not travelling to Constantinople, though he produced letters from "various persons in England, France and Italy referring to his visit to those countries"; a slight majority acquitted him of this, but convicted him on all remaining counts. The second charge was that he added material in 1884 to his first publication of *Pilate's Court*.

On the second count Mr. Mahan admitted making "corrections" and "revisions" in the first edition of his book, but claimed there was nothing in the alterations to disprove the genuineness of the first edition. The Presbytery, however, thought differently, and by a vote, of eleven to six, convicted the defendant.

Mahan's third indictment concerned "publishing as his own production" the writings of another minister on baptism. He defended himself by "admitting that he had copied his *History of Baptism* . . . never supposing the letters would be printed in book form," and he was unanimously judged guilty on the charge. The final accusation was "publishing as a story of his, found in Constantinople, October 22, 1883, 'Eli's Story of the Magi.'" In reaching decisive conviction on this count, *Ben-Hur* was considered, together with a letter from its author "that the story of the Magi . . . was his own original conception, the facts being based on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and not on any ancient Hebrew manuscripts."³⁷ When sentenced, Mahan was probably somewhat repentant, judged by the light penalty he received, and its justification by a fellow minister

³⁵Ibid., p. 148.

³⁶All following quotations on the trial proceedings come from the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 2 October 1885.

³⁷In addition to the newspaper report, Wallace's widow printed the notarized statement sent to the trial as follows: "The book *Ben-Hur* was not in whole or part founded upon a European translation of any such manuscript into European or other language. Previous to the writing and publication of *Ben-Hur* I had neither read, seen, nor heard of any manuscript Hebrew story found in Constantinople or elsewhere." *Lew Wallace, An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1906), 2:943. For Mrs. Wallace's editing, see p. 796.

“in view of his age and his long years of service in the ministry.” The newspaper then had grounds to believe that it had written “the concluding act in the Mahan matter”:

Mr. Mahan went down to St. Louis, Tuesday evening. He seemed very much affected at the verdict. He promised to take the books from on sale and said that out of 2,000 printed, only about 1,200 had been disposed of—these at \$1.50 each.³⁸

MAJOR REVISION, 1887

But the discipline of his Presbytery only forced Mahan to delete Eli's chapter from further printings. His next edition, issued from St. Louis in 1887, only two years after his trial, is substantially what circulates now as the *Archko Volume*. That strange title was first conferred in an 1896 edition and is possibly phonetic shorthand for the *Archeological Writings* of the title page from 1884. In any event, Mahan's further alterations were notorious among his fellow ministers, who had received application for Mahan's full reinstatement after his suspension had terminated. His Presbytery adopted the following report from the investigating committee:

Whereas, This Pres., at its session in Slater, Sept. 29th, 1885, did suspend from the functions of the ministry, for one year, W. D. Mahan; said one year terminating on the 29th of the present month; and

Whereas, The definite form of said suspension was more the result of sympathy for him and his family, than a desire for rigid administration of the law, and this sympathy being exercised under the hope that said W. D. Mahan would use all proper efforts to heal the wounds his course had inflicted; and

Whereas, It now comes to the knowledge of this Pres., that he still occupies the same position by the sale of his publications and by negotiations to bring out new editions, therefore:

Resolved, That the suspension of the said W. D. Mahan, be and the same is hereby declared indefinite, or, until he shall have complied with the law of the Church, as it applies in the case.³⁹

³⁸*Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 2 October 1885. This issue is the source of all quotations in the text after footnote 36.

³⁹Records of the New Lebanon Presbytery, 4:185-86. Published national minutes show no later reinstatement of Mahan in the New Lebanon Presbytery.

If Mahan's story has been drawn out, it is the most tangible thing that the historian may focus upon. The first step in authenticating a new document is examining the original for age, style of handwriting, and origin. In two decades of controversy before his death, Mahan gave no clue for evaluating his manuscripts, other than to write weakly that "the time has been too long and the distance to the place where the records are kept is too great for all men to make the examination for themselves."⁴⁰ Eli's "parchment" in Constantinople evaporated, and the remaining documents were never found. With classical training, Quarles went for the heart of the matter—the originals—and got responsible reports from Rome and Constantinople that were utterly negative. Mahan made the mistake of giving precise locations for his manuscripts. For instance, he claimed the Jewish records were at Constantinople, deposited by Constantine in 337 and supposedly known by Mohammed, who "had given orders to preserve these sacred scrolls in the mosque of St. Sophia" (a bizarre statement, since Mohammed died 800 years before his followers took Constantinople in 1453).⁴¹

As to physical description, Mahan left no doubt as to what should be found at Constantinople. A prominent item was one of the fifty Bibles made for Constantine by Eusebius, "nicely cased, marked with the Emperor's name and date upon it." Though this record ought to have been in Greek, Mahan found a "parchment in large, bold, Latin characters, quite easy to read":

I judge it to be about two and a half by four feet square, and two feet thick. It is well bound, with a gold plate, twelve by sixteen inches, on the front, with a cross and a man hanging on the cross, with the inscription, "Jesus, the Son of God, crucified for the sins of the world."⁴²

In addition, Mahan described five Hebrew records that were supposed to have been there, including the two reports of Caiaphas. These were written in "square Hebrew," in letters "from a half-inch to an inch in size, so that one can imagine what a roll of parchment it would take to record a deed."⁴³ Such huge scrolls were only one type of book. Another was on "fine sheep or goat skin, about eight by twelve inches . . .

⁴⁰Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 20.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44, 119.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

bound between cedar boards, with clasps, and containing from eight to forty sheets to the book."⁴⁴ Such was the ill-fated record of Ben. Eli, "written and bound between two cedar boards."⁴⁵

Quarles set out to verify the existence of such books, directing letters to Christian circles in Constantinople. Requests to examine St. Sophia's library involved the American ambassador, now Lew Wallace himself. Elias Riggs, respected missionary-linguist of a half-century's residence in Turkey, wrote a letter reporting careful attempts to find Mahan's originals. He stated that St. Sophia held no manuscripts in either Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, and that no such persons as Mahan or McIntosh had examined books there, a fact established by an American delegation of officials, scholars, and interpreters:

Zia Bey, the librarian, received us courteously and gave us every facility for freely inspecting the Library. We found it to consist of some five or six thousand volumes, nearly all Arabic or Persian. We found nothing like the large uncial Greek Bible from the days of the Emperor Constantine, or the Jewish Talmud, or any ancient Hebrew records or manuscripts. We looked over the catalogue of the Library, and found no information of the existence of any such works. The librarian assured us *that no such works exist in the Library, nor anything whatever remaining from the time of the Turkish conquest. . . .*

He stated, in answer to our inquiries, that he had been librarian of this Library for about twenty-five years, and that in that time the only foreigners who have had access to the Library, before our visit of this morning, were the French Empress Eugenie, the Emperor of Austria, and the Shah of Persia.⁴⁶

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE PRESENT EDITION

The lack of manuscripts proves the counterfeit content of the *Archko Volume*. Its present form (without "Eli's Story

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 118.

⁴⁵Mahan, *Archeological Writings*, p. 113.

⁴⁶Elias Riggs to Rev. J. A. Quarles, D. D., Constantinople, 21 February 1885, cited in J. A. Quarles, "Further Evidence as to Mr. Mahan's Book," *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, 27 March 1885, and the *Weekly Topic* of the same date. Cf. confirming information and documents in *Lew Wallace, An Autobiography*, 2:943-45, though the editor is mistaken in stating that Riggs was not present at the formal examination. Goodspeed, *Hoaxes*, pp. 40-41, documents a second attempt (in 1898) to locate Mahan's originals, with a totally negative official report returned. Quarles' private notes indicate similar searches and similar results for Mahan's supposed Vatican documents. See the *Boonville Weekly Topic*, 20 February 1885.

of the Magi”), includes Mahan’s long introduction plus documents attributed to ten ancient personalities. One of these is authentic: Constantine’s letter to Eusebius requesting the fifty copies of the scriptures. Yet Mahan could not even tell the story straight about that, since he maintained that he “transcribed” it from the “first page” of the massive Bible with the gold plate on the top, whereas it is word for word the stilted English of the translation of the *Life of Constantine* circulating in Mahan’s day.⁴⁷ Since remaining “manuscripts do not relate to known history, a brief survey in sequence will display their fairy-tale atmosphere.

“*Jonathan’s Interview with the Bethlehem Shepherds.*” An investigator from the Sanhedrin talks with two shepherds, who tell of seeing the sign on the night of Jesus’ birth. Although Luke gives few details of the experience, the many given here mostly correspond with those in *Ben-Hur*. For instance, Lew Wallace portrayed a light “soft and white, like the moon’s” starting at an immeasurable height, and “dropping as from a window in the sky,” resting with a “pale corona” along the hilltop near the town. Mahan’s shepherds experienced the same light, flaring “high up in the heavens” like “the brightest moon,” which would then “descend in softer rays and light up the hills and valleys.”⁴⁸ That night, said the shepherds, the people gathered “almost scared to death,” and the village priest, Melker, joyously reported the fulfillment of prophecy. So Jonathan also visited him, and Melker remembered the wise men in terms suspiciously reminiscent of *Ben-Hur*. He also showed Jonathan “many quotations on the tripod respecting the matter”—a duplication of Wallace’s scene of Hillel reading prophecy about Bethlehem from “the parchment on the tripod.”⁴⁹

“*Melker, Priest of the Synagogue of Bethlehem,*” to the Jerusalem Sanhedrin. Jonathan had called the author of this letter “well versed in the prophecies.”⁵⁰ Judged by his writing, he is a great name-dropper of prophets but has not

⁴⁷Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 61-62, and Eusebius Pamphilus, *Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, vol. 1 in *The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1845), 1:202-3. In the letter of about 250 words, only two words are different in these versions, plus two plurals reduced to singulars, proving that Mahan “transcribed” an English translation, not a Greek or Latin document.

⁴⁸Cf. Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 65, with Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, pp. 53, 57.

⁴⁹Cf. Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 66 with Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, p. 68.

⁵⁰Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 67.

one prophecy to discuss. The ten pages of digression say little with much jargon, including this gem referring to the births of Mary and Elizabeth:

It is, however, most satisfactory to see and hear that the divine grandeur and authority of the sacred oracles are in no way dependent on the solution of carnal critics, but rest on an inward light shining everywhere out of the bosom of a profound organic unity and an interconnected relation with a consistent and united teleology; overleaping all time, the historical present as well as the past, and all the past brought to light in these two events that have just transpired.⁵¹

The village priest is indeed learned, but not in Hebrew thought or idiom. The more lucid parts of the Melker letter read like a Bible dictionary or Christian sermon on prophecy, but give no history of Jesus or his time.

"*Gamaliel's Interview*" with Joseph, Mary and Messalian. Though the Gospels speak of Jesus as the carpenter's son from Nazareth, Gamaliel finds his parents in "Mecca" in "Ammon or Moab."⁵² Mahan's Joseph is an exaggerated copy of Wallace's. In *Ben-Hur* Jesus' father's face is "stolid as a mask," and in the Gamaliel interview he is "gross and glum"; in *Ben-Hur* Joseph's "will was slow, like his mind," and in the Gamaliel interview he is "but a poor talker, and it seems that yes and no are the depth of his mind."⁵³ The last phrases are more at home in rural Missouri than ancient Palestine, and they are liberally supplemented with Gamaliel saying that Jesus comes from "a third-rate family"; that Joseph does not think "he will ever amount to much"; that Mary reports that Jesus always prevails, "no odds what was the subject," though he takes "little interest in . . . the great questions of the day."⁵⁴ The interview picks up other personages, Mary, Martha, Lazarus, and Messalian. The latter, perhaps a corruption of the Messala of *Ben-Hur*, is an old ex-priest near Bethany, "a man of great learning, and well skilled in the laws and prophets." This is favorite language for Mahan's Jews, since his Jonathan called the Bethlehem priest "a man of great learning and well versed in the prophecies."⁵⁵ Messalian and

⁵¹Ibid., p. 69.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 79, 82. A possible event for a stopover on the way from Egypt, but in Mahan's setting, the family is living there and Jesus was born "some twenty-six years before" (ibid., p. 93; cf. p. 82).

⁵³Cf. ibid., pp. 79-80 with Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, p. 47.

⁵⁴Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 80-81, 84-85.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 87, 67.

Jesus read the law and prophets together, though one wonders why, since Jesus “could read from the beginning” without instruction and is infallibly right in quoting every scripture by memory.⁵⁶

Two Reports “of Caiaphas to the Sanhedrin.” Mahan’s favorite mechanism is a report to an investigating body, in this case the Sanhedrin, requiring information from its chief officer on Jesus’ trial. In the real world such a report would be superfluous, since that body itself heard Jesus and needed no such information. But Mahan’s Caiaphas sentenced Jesus with “the whole court belonging to the high priest, containing twelve members,” a contradiction of the account in the Gospels of Jesus’ trial before “all the council,” seventy besides the high priest.⁵⁷ Mahan’s Caiaphas tells how he sent Jesus to Pilate for an interview and “did not expect him to execute him,” but “it seems that Pilate thirsted for his blood”—the very opposite of both the Gospel trial accounts and Mahan’s report of Pilate.⁵⁸ Mahan’s Caiaphas finally has a personal vision of Jesus, who takes a rather casual view of his scheming: “You condemned me that you might go free. . . . Your only wrong is, you have a wicked heart.” Mahan’s high priest next resigns, requesting the Sanhedrin to “appoint Jonathan” in his place, a jarring story to anyone who knows from Josephus that Roman governors appointed high priests and deposed them (as they did Caiaphas) and not the Sanhedrin.⁵⁹ No matter if the educated leader speaks a jumble of impossible English, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—asserting that Jesus proved “hypostatical” or displayed his “unity of trinity” (*trinitatis unitas*).⁶⁰ This Jewish official does not come from antiquity, but from *Ben-Hur*, where the crucifixion caused “the altered behavior of the high-priest,” who with his followers fearfully whispered on Calvary: “The man might be the Messiah, and then—But they would wait and see.”⁶¹ Although Mahan’s Caiaphas knows the resurrected Christ through an appearance, he weakly adopts the agnosticism of the novel. “If this strange personage is from God . . . I have

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 91-92.

⁵⁷Cf. *ibid.*, p. 113 with Matthew 26:59 and Mark 15:1.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 115-16.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 126-27.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 105.

⁶¹Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, pp. 541-42.

been the means of crucifying him . . . but I will wait and see how these things will develop."⁶²

The History of Velleius Paterculus. Mahan misspells the name of this Roman historian (calling him "Valleus") but doubly perverts his history, first claiming "his works have been thought to be extinct." That is a strange statement, since Mahan's detailed data on Velleius obviously came from a standard classical dictionary (the wording is close to Anthon's), which would also have described the well-known contents of Velleius' history. But after creating the fictitious vacuum, Mahan proceeds to fill it by claiming to have found a lost manuscript "in the Vatican at Rome." Velleius' real history says nothing of Palestine, but Mahan invents a Judean visit for this Roman, who can then report "one of the most remarkable characters he had ever seen," Jesus, who heals, helps the poor, and alienates rich Jews because of his popular following. By apparent accident Mahan picked a historian known for laudatory language, but Velleius penned praise to Tiberius, not Christ, whom he evidently never knew.⁶³

"*Pilate's Report.*" This nucleus of Mahan's publications was printed in the "word for word" transcript in 1878, only to be expanded by about 1400 words in the 1884 edition, a forty percent growth. Its first form was historically unconvincing and Pilate's character sentimentally Victorian. But the post-*Ben-Hur* rewrite added that novel's atmosphere, down to the precise detail of finding the aged Balthasar's corpse on Golgotha as the gloom lifted and the earth ceased to shake.⁶⁴ Mahan's fabrications emerge clearly in such changes of the story, which originally had Pilate with "a handful of soldiers" unable to save Jesus, though the overdone conclusion had 2,000 troops marching into Jerusalem a day too late. In the 1884 revision this ending disappeared, and Pilate stood against the Jewish nation with "only one centurion and a hundred men at my command."⁶⁵ Rome may have had marginal numbers in Judea, but this is absurd, as the reader of the account of Paul's arrest in Jerusalem knows. The Roman commander determined that Paul's life was endangered and quickly called "two cen-

⁶²Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 126-27.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 128-29, the source for all quotations on Velleius.

⁶⁴Cf. *ibid.*, p. 142 with Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, book 8, chapter 10.

⁶⁵Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 130. Such numbers make Caiaphas' worry contradictory: "But Tiberias [sic] has turned against us; Pilate has removed the army from Caesarea to Jerusalem" (p. 112).

turions" with orders to muster 400 soldiers and 70 horse by nightfall to escort Paul out of Jerusalem (Acts 23:23). This tribune commanded a "cohort" (Greek *speira*, Acts 21:31), a unit that Josephus states was either "a thousand infantry" or "six hundred infantry and a hundred and twenty cavalry."⁶⁶ The same word describes Jesus' torment "by the whole band" (King James Version: Matthew 27:27, Mark 15:16), meaning the Jerusalem cohort or, in present terms, "battalion" (Revised Standard Version). And this was only a part of the manpower available to the governor, including other units in Caesarea.

"*Herod Antipater's Defense Before the Roman Senate.*" The charge is apparently slaughtering the infants at Bethlehem, which makes the title (and supposed signature at the end) the first blunder, for Herod the Great was not called Antipas. His basic answer: "So I saw an insurrection brewing fast, and nothing but a most bloody war as the consequence." Caiaphas had made his report in the same Missouri idiom: "So that I saw that a bloody insurrection was brewing fast."⁶⁷ The only events related in Herod's report are those imagined in the fiction of *Ben-Hur*. Melodramatic details that Wallace added to Matthew are lifted by Mahan's Herod: the strange men inquiring at the gate for the Jewish king, Herod calling a regular body of scholars headed by Hillel, and reading the Bethlehem prophecy from a parchment as the climax of this scene.⁶⁸ Since such details are not in ancient records, the interrelationship of the Archko documents and modern fiction is again apparent.

"*Herod Antipas' Defence Before the Roman Senate.*" In real history Herod Antipas travelled to Italy to influence the Emperor Caius (or Gaius, nicknamed Caligula) against his brother Agrippa. But Agrippa learned of the plot and sent his emissary with letters accusing Antipas of having conspired with Sejanus before his fall and continuing his disloyalty by planning revolt, proof of which was his storage of equipment for 70,000 soldiers. As told by Josephus (*Antiquities* 18.7.22) Antipas admitted holding these supplies and was ban-

⁶⁶*Jewish War* 3:67. For military units in Palestine see T. R. S. Broughton, "The Roman Army," in F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 5 in *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1939):439-41.

⁶⁷Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 137, 130.

⁶⁸Wallace, *Ben-Hur*, book 1, chapters 6, 13.

ished. Mahan adapted this story, which he obviously found in Josephus. In the new version, Agrippa writes the Roman Senate to answer for holding the 70,000 arms, referring to "my accuser, Caius" and mentioning the charge of conspiring with "Sejonius." This form of Sejanus' name is not historical, but is Mahan's adaptation, like the "Sejane" of one of his earlier documents.⁶⁹ He consistently modified his names to approximate real ones, just as he clearly altered history to create his stories.

"*The Hillel Letters.*" Mahan appended nearly 90 pages as a tedious finale, seven letters "regarding God's providence to the Jews" by "Hillel the Third." Hillel the Third is numbered from Hillel the Great, contemporaneous with Herod the Great, personalities immediately prior to the Christian era. Mahan adds two namesakes unknown in history. "Hillel the Second" supposedly compiled records "soon after the destruction of the holy city" (about A. D. 70).⁷⁰ There is another reference to a compiler Hillel, who "lived about one hundred years after the Christian era,"⁷¹ either Mahan's second or third Hillel, so the latter can be no earlier than the second century after Christ. This much squares with quotations by "Hillel the Third" from Tacitus and Suetonius, who both wrote at the beginning of that century. That Mahan intended this time-frame is proved by repeated references to the destruction of the temple in the Hillel letters. The letters mourn the "forsaken and desolate" city and temple;⁷² city, temple, and nation "are all gone";⁷³ "our holy city is no more," and the temple is "razed to its foundation."⁷⁴ Nothing could be more settled—until one picks up the line, "I heard Peter preach the other day, and as he and John came out of the temple there was a man that had been lying around at the gates and public crossings for years."⁷⁵ Suddenly the temple is just as it was, and the healing of the lame man at the gate is narrated with the full details of Acts 3, with a date of about A. D. 35. Since

⁶⁹Mahan, *Archko Volume*, pp. 158, 111. Mahan's fictitious Jewish official "Hilderium" (p. 158) is an apparent modification of the *Ben-Hur* sheik, Ilderum.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 58.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 30.

⁷²Ibid., p. 163.

⁷³Ibid., p. 212.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 179.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 165.

this chronology is hopeless, the four-page sermon of Peter afterward could be no better.

Indeed, "Hillel the Third" is not merely a man without a homeland, but a man without a time. He can quote second-century authors and yet date Alexander the Great's accession "three hundred and eighty years ago": with a writing date of A. D. 44.⁷⁶ Sometimes he can stay in this framework, naming Pompey's invasion of Palestine "about one hundred years ago," with a writing date of about A. D. 37.⁷⁷ But he regresses a generation by stating that Croesus' kingdom fell to Cyrus "five hundred and forty years ago," with a writing date of about 6 B. C.⁷⁸ Harmonious with this, Rome was founded "about seven hundred and fifty years ago": using 753 B. C. as the founding, and a writing date of 3 B. C.⁷⁹ These statements have "Hillel the Third" writing before he was born. Yet that contradiction is minor compared to the shock of the next page, where the Roman Senate is "a body, which, for more than a thousand years, for talent, for weight, for wisdom and experience, was unrivalled in the history of the world."⁸⁰ What is intended is precise, for "their monarchy lasted about two hundred years" from the founding.⁸¹ So the Senate dominated (as popular history once stressed) from the sixth century before Christ to the fourth century after Christ, an amended writing date of A. D. 491. Since Hillel the Third is not Methuselah, this performance does more than raise doubt.⁸²

Such confusion only hints at the historical oddities contained in the meaningless essays of "Hillel the Third." They are dreary historical romanticizing in nineteenth-century prose, to which pages of Christian apologetic are added. We are asked to believe that a Jew steeped in scriptures and law would speak of Athens "with her exquisite arts, her literature, and her science, with her constellations of genius just ready to burst upon the world."⁸³ The learned Rabbi sets aside his own culture and religion to award first prize to the Greeks,

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 194.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 201.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 198.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 199.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 198.

⁸²After the above material was in finished manuscript, I received Quarles' critique of the Hillel III section, published in the Boonville *Weekly Topic*, 9 January 1885. It is both a coincidence and a vindication that he exposes the same chronological weaknesses, ending with the parallel to Methuselah.

⁸³Mahan, *Archko Volume*, p. 190.

who "went on to create the most beautiful literature and the profoundest philosophy that human genius has ever produced."⁸⁴ Nor is he more convincing as the wordy Christian of the last letter, enthusiastically arguing for the "unobjectionable testimony" of Matthew and John and the "collateral proof" of Luke and Mark, who heard the apostles "rehearse over and over the wonderful story of the teachings and miracles of Jesus."⁸⁵ Here Mahan does too well, not only rising above the identity of his Jewish Rabbi, but exceeding his own style so far that plagiarism from history texts and Christian works must be assumed. Those excited by searching out sources might begin with some modern historical clichés of "Hillel the Third": Rome as "a straggling village on the banks of the Tiber" or Alexander "entering Asia with the sword in one hand and the poems of Homer in the other."⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

In perspective, Goodspeed was well justified in labelling Pilate's report "a weak, crude fancy, a jumble of high-sounding but meaningless words, and hardly worth serious criticism," a judgment just as applicable to all 200 pages of "ancient" sources in the present *Archko Volume*.⁸⁷ And the same weaknesses characterize Mahan's 50-page introduction, a verbose and misleading survey of scholarship on early manuscripts, with his own discoveries added to the honor role. The same mind, with its talent for historical adaptation, modified names, and anachronism, created both. Yet survival of the *Archko Volume* might even encourage the historian, since it proves deep concern for the world of the Bible. Hopefully such interest may be channeled into responsible works on New Testament archaeology and authentic translations from Jesus' century, as the Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus,⁸⁸ who even with his shortcomings is yet "a competent historian whose works have done much to enrich our store of knowledge."⁸⁹ Only the opposite can be said of the author of the Archko collection.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 193.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 247.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 171, 195.

⁸⁷Goodspeed, *Hoaxes*, p. 33.

⁸⁸In addition to easily available translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus, see C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (New York: Macmillan, 1961).

⁸⁹G. A. Williamson, *The World of Josephus* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964), p. 287.

Christmas Snows, Christmas Winds

Donald R. Marshall*

The snow fell today in the streets where trucks and buses spun it into a gray wet spray and left it splattered on parked cars and curbs, pantlegs and soggy shoes; and I feel that it must be falling now too somewhere on the fields and the fence posts, and that somewhere out there tonight when the light turns an icy blue and the dusty snow slithers along the highway like smoke, a black horse standing still in a white field will suddenly shiver and ripple its mane, and maybe a lone figure in coat and overshoes will trudge across that cold expanse with a pail of oats, puffs of steam trailing in the brittle air.

I passed a window where the head of an electric Santa Claus rotated from side to side. Along the crowded sidewalks a loudspeaker blared Fa-la-la-la-la over the muffled heads of passersby. In a crowd on a corner I saw a child licking at a clear red unicorn on a thin stick, and the snowflakes stung my cheeks and burned my eyes.

I remember those glass-candy animals; and I remember other things. I remember the days, the weeks, the months of waiting, interminable hours when December seemed worlds away. I remember tinselled moments even before October's leaves had turned to blue-gray smoke in the November air, when a sudden woody smell of pine or the far-off jingling of a bell sent crystal-shatters of Christmas tingling through my veins. I remember the smell of the new Sears and Roebuck catalogue when it came, and how the pages felt, and how,

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reaching with some inexplicable power through the endless blur of days ahead, it could steal a handful of Christmas and scatter it instantly, sugared and glittering, before us on the parlor rug where we lay. Every page was Christmas: even a simple plaid bathrobe became magically invested with hollyberries and mistletoe, and an ordinary pair of socks triggered immediately a chorus of carolers accompanied by chimes.

I remember the long afternoons at school when the radiator hissed, and bare branches, black against a chalky sky, made soft tapping noises at the windows. Weary of making crayon Christmases on sheets of paper, I would let my pencil plow a little furrow of dirt from the cracks in the floor while I longed for the passing of weeks and waited for that special day. And we would practice the songs for the Christmas program, and I would squirm restlessly on the little painted chairs, excited by visions conjured by musical fragments—the little town of Bethlehem lying so still with its dreamless sleep and its silent stars, the three kings bearing gifts and traveling from afar, and, perhaps the most glorious of all in those days, jolly old Saint Nicholas leaning his ear and promising not to tell a single soul.

After the endless days of painting and cutting and pasting and shellacking, the secret gifts—plaster of paris plaques or wind chimes of glass rectangles dangling by yarn from a Kerr lid—would lie drying on the low shelves by the radiator, while we filed, in homemade costumes of rabbits or snowflakes, tin soldiers or shepherds, into the little rows of chairs to perform at last before the nebulous faces of relatives and townspeople in the darkened auditorium. “Hark, the herald angels sing!” we chanted, the words to most of the carols garbled even to us, and our minds forever straying to the glossy images in the Sears catalogue. Then the program would be over and there would be no more going back to school for almost two weeks, yet the waiting would go on, only now it would continue in the home—watching from the parlor window for the first sign of a snowflake, carefully printing the letter and trusting it would reach the North Pole in time, studying the blackened flue of the fireplace and wondering how the whole miraculous thing could possibly be brought about.

I remember the days of Christmas card-making, my materials strewn out on the rug or set up temporarily on a bridge table but inevitably before the fire so that I could savor the piney smell and be as near as possible to the popping and crack-

ling fire, its sizzling sap seeming to whisper, "It's coming, it's coming, it's coming!" I recall the snips and scraps of colored paper; the homemade cards with cut-out windows; the obligatory winter scenes drawn laboriously with colored pencils, the village houses and steepled churches somehow owing more to calendar New Hampshires than to the Marysvales and Junctions and Circlevilles strung around me.

I remember helping to shake the snow from the tree propped frozen against the porch and running behind as Papa and my brothers dragged it inside through the door, fearing that its branches would be broken and lamenting that its trunk must be shortened. I remember my uneasiness as they grafted boughs in the empty spaces and my surprise and my joy at discovering pine cones and maybe even a bird's nest hidden somewhere in its upper branches. I loved the dusty-sweet and spicy smell loaned by the tree to the parlor; I loved even the sugary pine gum that stuck to my fingers and resisted soap and water, giving way finally only to the salty slipperiness of Mama's butter. And when the dusty boxes were brought up from the basement and opened on the parlor rug, I loved the smell of the candles as we unwrapped them from their crumpled tissue; I loved seeing each tangle of colored lights finally glow against the rug as we tightened every globe and tried each string in the socket to discover which burnt-out bulb was holding back the others; and I loved rediscovering each ornamental bell and ball, old friends momentarily forgotten since that January day nearly a year before when they were wrapped between the Sunday pages of *Maggie and Jiggs* and *Little Orphan Annie* and tucked away in shoeboxes to await December's resurrection. In those days our decorations were a melange of Christmases past and all the dearer for the memories they evoked; almost no ornaments—from the magenta foil cone awaiting candy and nuts to the fragile glass bird with the spun glass tail—were alike, and the tree lights themselves, many enhanced by metallic reflectors in the shape of water lilies or stars, ranged from a rotund little Santa Claus to an intricate and marvelous Chinese lantern. And when each member of this bizarre menagerie had found a hospitable bough, and when all the foil icicles had been hung until they dripped, silver and shimmering, from almost every needle, we hid the homemade tree stand under a cotton matting, sprinkled it with glistening mica flakes, and set up on its snowy whiteness a miniature cardboard vil-

lage, a colored bulb in each tiny house glowing softly through a doorway or stained-glass window.

I remember that spicy piney scent suddenly mingling with the smell of whole cloves and cinnamon bark simmering in the hot juices of apples, pineapples, lemons, and oranges that would become wassail to be ladled out in steaming cups for all visitors; and I remember it mingling with the smell of mincemeat pies and rhubarb pies as they bubbled in the oven, and with the smell of doughnuts sizzling in oil, waiting to be fished out and rolled in sugar and eaten hot. I remember peeking over the breadboard as the cranberries and oranges oozed through the grinder to become a sweet relish that tasted like Christmas; I remember the nuts and candied fruit dropping into the spicy batter that would be poured into pans and transformed into golden-brown fruitcakes inside the oven. I remember the annual appearance in the kitchen of figs and dates, an exotic touch of the East that suddenly seemed as right and as welcome as the camel-borne kings parading across our mantel amidst the pine boughs and scented candles.

By Christmas Eve the mound of presents growing under the tree had almost obscured the cardboard village, and each ribboned package there for more than one day had been rubbed and poked and pinched from every angle. But it was what was not there that we waited for most—not the hastily wrapped shapes that would inevitably appear sometime on that final eve, but those other things, finally placed unwrapped and glittering in the glow of colored lights, that would never appear until we had eventually drifted off to sleep, with or without visions of sugarplums.

A snowfall on that eve of eves had seemed beyond question, and I remember standing one year in my pajamas looking with incredulity through the window at only a gray-blue bleakness settling in on the dead and naked grass. Santa Claus's sleigh, even flying through the stars, seemed unnecessary and impossible without that obligatory frosty whiteness that *had* to fall and cover the world. And fall it did. As I pressed a wet cheek against the cold glass, feeling somehow cheated, I saw the first tiny flakes, like lint fluttering in the wind, slithering down the cold blue sky. The snow was necessary. In order for the miracle of Christmas to be, the everydayness of mud ruts and frozen gutters had to be lost under the sparkling magic of snow.

I remember the snow and I remember other things. I remember the year my stocking hung alone on the string by the fire. My brothers and sisters, suddenly grown away from such things, had turned to dances and caroling atop a horse-drawn hay wagon, and I would peek out of the window into the frosty night, at the faintest rustling of bells, to see them pass or hear them singing above the steady clapping of the mare's hoofs on the icy road. From my window, too, I could see down the block to the giant Christmas tree erected in the middle of the town. I could see its lights reflected in the shiny whiteness of the street and I could watch late shoppers balancing packages as they crept carefully across the ice, calling last-minute wishes to passing friends and then disappearing into the cold night.

I remember lying in my bed under the heavy blankets, wanting to capture every sound—would I hear a tap-tap on the roof or a slithering down the chimney or the clicking of a cup on a saucer as Santa drank the milk and ate the doughnut left for him by the fire?—yet I longed at the same time for sleep to come quickly in order to make the night disappear and the morning come. And when I awoke in the stillness of that blue-violet hour separating night and morning and crept down the darkened hall and through the front room where the big clock ticked away the last minutes of the night, I always stood entranced on the threshold of the parlor. What other moment could match that moment as I hesitated, scarcely breathing, my eyes taking in the pure magic of each carefully placed and glistening item reflecting the still-burning treelights and the rosy warmth of the still-smouldering fire, and retaining yet some vestige of the aura surrounding the white-bearded figure whose hand had placed them there—and left only a few sugary crumbs on the saucer by the hearth—perhaps only minutes before?

Careful not to break the spell, I would kneel down quietly to examine, first with my eyes and then with my fingers, each precious piece of a farm set with its hard-rubber pigs and cows, or, another year, a rustic fort with metal Indians and cavalry; once the featured item was a set of Tinker Toys, another time Lincoln Logs, and, still another, a shiny and complicated Erector Set. This was the special hour, that quiet hour before dawn, the room bewitched by the lights of the tree and the only sound an occasional popping of a spark or the

soft shifting of coals as the pine logs, now charcoal, crumbled into rose-gold embers. I worshiped this hour, these enchanted moments, when Christmas and I touched, and nothing broke the spell. Even the taking down of my stocking, which now bulged lumpily and heavily on the sagging string, was a ritual. As I turned it upside down, emptying the contents into the lid of a box, I loved every nut, every piece of ribbon candy or multicolored hardtack, even the silver quarter that sometimes rolled down among the cream-centered chocolate Bunker Hills and the inevitable glass-candy Santa Claus or lion or unicorn. There would be an orange, too, and though it was exactly like those colder ones from the kitchen, it seemed marvelous and special; for just as the little nut-covered balls with the cream centers or the pastel-colored sugary mounds were identical to those in bowls on the bookcase, just as each almond and pecan and brazil nut, still in its shell, was no different from those waiting in the wooden bowl with the nutcracker, each one, like the orange, had been blessed by the hand of Santa Claus, and each one had been chosen and placed there especially for me.

Later on in the morning, when the parlor rug was lost under a storm of wrapping paper and ribbon, we would take turns winding the phonograph to hear Bing Crosby sing "White Christmas" and "Happy Holiday," and the smell of roasting pheasant or duck—shot the day before by one of my brothers—would be drifting from the kitchen while neighbors and uncles and aunts were stomping the snow from their feet outside the door and bursting in, arms full of presents, shouting out the greetings that we all loved. I never tired of showing one more time that marvelous portion of the chaos under the tree that was mine alone, and only in the late late afternoon when I lay drowsily on the rug before the fire and the house was quiet again, would I feel the melancholy seeping in, the sad sad thought that night was coming on and then it would be tomorrow and that tomorrow would be Christmas no more.

But there is something else I remember too. Sometimes I forget it—always I *try* to forget it—but it keeps coming back like a cold and brittle wind. It claims a part of those Christmas memories too—a part not willed to it or even acknowledged. Unwelcome guest in that memory world of gumdrops and candy canes, it sneaks along the edges of the mind, demanding

it be seen, heard, remembered. It is always there, tapping at the back windows like branches in the night.

There was a German family that had a farm a few miles from our town. We scarcely knew them for they spoke little and their English was poor and broken. But we would see them in the town in their faded pickup—the old man with dried manure on his boots, the woman with frightened eyes and a yellowish braid wound around her head. They had a daughter a year or two younger than I, a very quiet girl with pale skin and pale hair who wore hand-me-downs and moved through the halls of school with scarcely a word. Her English was probably as good as mine yet we never somehow remembered it that way. We referred to her derisively as Consolation; her real name was Helga or Inger or something like that but we always called her Consolation because someone, I think, had seen her once with her arm around a child who had hurt his knee on the playground. Sometimes she too wore braids around her head and then she looked like a strange little mother, grown old before her time. She never had any close friends as I recall, yet we often linked her name, in jest, with anyone we wanted to tease or get back at for something they had done.

One Christmas, when my friends and I were struggling to announce our maturity to the world—no stockings by the fire *that* year—we slid on the ice and wrestled in the snow outside the schoolhouse until the last cars had driven up in the dark, and the program had already begun with a rousing carol. We then trudged in, during that opening number, and noisily appropriated some empty seats on the front row. We poked each other while the second graders bellowed “Hark, the Herald Angels Sing” in bathrobe-and-towel shepherd costumes, and we traded whispered comments and stifled giggles at the fourth-grade angel with one wing flopping and at Mary with her tinsel halo askew. Then suddenly the junior high band was performing “O Holy Night” and Consolation, we realized to our great mirth, was playing a brief French horn solo. It began wobbily, two or three of the notes were blurbled, and once she even seemed to falter as though she had lost her place. We snickered, and tried, unsuccessfully, to pinch our legs to keep from laughing outright. She finally finished, her frightened eyes, resembling her mother’s, dropping to her music stand and never leaving it until the program ended. When

it was over and we pushed our way through the crowd outside to where car doors slammed and sputtering engines sent up clouds of white exhaust, we passed by the faded pickup and I saw the old man there in the dark with his arm around the girl. She was sobbing against the heaviness of his mackinaw, and the woman was smoothing her hand over the girl's braids. "Race ya to the corner!" somebody yelled, and we took off, slipping and sliding on the ice and into the night.

Today the snow fell in the streets and the cars slipped and slid and spun around snarling traffic at every corner. The sidewalks are lost under a gray-brown slush, but maybe the snow will mercifully continue to fall and cover it all. Maybe down the highway where the snow blows like smoke across the road and a lone horse shivers in the wind, the snow will be thick and deep and white. Consolation, where are you now that the snow is falling once again on the fences and the fields? I didn't cry for you then, but I cry for you now.

Are Christians Mormon?*

Truman G. Madsen**

For a hundred and fifty years the question has been repeatedly asked worldwide, "Are Mormons Christian?" We have struggled through the semantic tangles to answer that with an unqualified "yes." In his heart every Mormon knows that this question is much like asking, "Is Hamlet Shakespearian?" It might be said, "After all, Hamlet is a manifestation of Shakespeare. In fact, Hamlet *is* Shakespeare." Precisely. And so, the Mormon knows that Mormonism is the most vital twentieth century manifestation of Christ. Unlike Hamlet, it is alive. If it is less than that it is nothing.

Here the plan is to reverse the question and ask, "Are Christians Mormon?" This is not mere word play. In our time there are renowned and influential spokesmen and writers in all the major wings of Christendom—and they are not on the periphery but at the center—who are defending and teaching what, a century ago, Joseph Smith almost alone taught. For teaching it he, and his immediate heirs, gave their lives. No one of these spokesmen has pulled it all together, but there are pieces and fragments everywhere.

Before we outline these in a way that must be at best, a beginning, may I offer just four cautions:

First, tracing trends and movements and shifts is always a selective affair. Just as powerful as the movements I am going to chronicle are counter movements equally influential that could lead one to the conclusion that Christianity today has never been farther away from its original moorings. Moreover, those who have swung towards us have sometimes swung pendulum-like too far the other way.

Second, terminology is deceptive. Men may speak similarly

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but *mean* and *feel* differently. And, as you know, the theological vocabulary is notoriously vague.

Third, the focus on belief is misleading because religion is much more than belief—it involves values, commitments, kinds of loyalty, and cultures.

Finally, there is—as our missionaries more than anyone in the world may know—a tremendous chasm between what professional writers may say theologically, philosophically, and what actually penetrates to the grass roots. Between the theoretician and the layman there is an ocean.

But after those precautions, let us proceed with boldness.

THE NATURE OF GOD

When the Boy Prophet emerged from the grove now called Sacred, he announced an unqualified testimony that God is a person. In doing so he offended the traditional sensitivities of every official Christian church. They had used the word “person”—and still do—but only in a most attenuated form, ascribing to the Eternal, consciousness, will, some kind of individuality, but denying the full-bodied characteristics of personality that we associate with the word.

Today that has remarkably changed. There are many who are saying that either the God of the Christian heritage *is* a person—a God like Jesus the Christ—or Christianity is simply false. Nels F. S. Ferre, for one, has said, “We must return to the categories of the New Testament and abandon the categories of the philosophers.”¹ Three recent articles have almost identical titles, “Is the God of the Philosophers the Same as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?”² And their answer is

¹“The Christian faith, we have said, needs to develop its own framework for expressing its universal message. Too long has it been limited by being couched within the thought stance of substance philosophy, while the newer process metaphysics is also unable to do full justice to the universal nature of the Christian faith. . . . The three categories of the New Testament which fundamentally define God, the Ultimate, are spirit, personal purpose, and love. We turn, therefore, to . . . these categories as the substrates from which the Christian framework can be formulated without recourse to alien, limiting, and distorting philosophies.” Nels F. S. Ferre, *The Universal Word* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), p. 91.

²Norbert Samuelson, “That the God of the Philosophers is Not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” *Harvard Theological Review* 65 (January 1972): 1-27; Robin Atfield, “The God of Religion and the God of Philosophy,” *Religious Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1 (March 1973): 1-9. Catholic Karl Rahner also makes the distinction in “Visions and Prophecies”: “Out of the infinite possibilities of his freedom (who is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, not that of the philosophers) God could reveal this or that. . . .” Rahner, *Inquiries* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1964), p. 106.

"no." Judah Halevi, Pascal, and Martin Buber, to name three recent philosophers, have said so.

A new interest in the question of whether we must delimit the word "being" and add the word "becoming" in our understanding of God is widespread.³ Having studied under two well-known theologians, I can report a like instinct in them. One, still alive, has written in summary, "The Mormons are right." This is Charles Hartshorne of the University of Texas who has said that God is in some senses perfect but in other and important senses not; that there is yet process in God; that we must avoid, as Whitehead once said, "paying metaphysical compliments to God" which turn out to be insults.⁴

The other, dead, is Paul Tillich. And I happen to know, as few do, that shortly before his death, having written three volumes identifying God with "Being Itself," with the Ground of Being, and denying all personal attributes, he keenly and tragically regretted it and fervently said, "If only I could do it over I would rewrite my book in terms of 'Spirit.'" ⁵ The next step would have been "person."

Robert McAfee Brown,⁶ John Cobb, Jr., and many others are taking similar ground. We are no longer alone.⁷

Related to this is a comment of a prominent philosopher

³One of the classic systematic presentations of the strength of "finitism" in theology is William Pepperell Montague's *Belief Unbound* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930). The "process philosophy" movement, involving such men as William James, Alfred North Whitehead, Charles Hartshorne and others, is particularly concerned with the subject. Cf. Hartshorne's *Man's Vision of God* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1941); Charles Hartshorne and William L. Reese, eds., *Philosophers Speak of God* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); and Paul Tillich, "Tillich's Doctrine of God," in *The Theology of Paul Tillich*, ed. Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall (New York: Macmillan, 1961).

⁴In a personal letter dated 31 December 1972, Hartshorne, speaking of "tendencies in modern thought with affinities to Mormonism," also referred to Fechner, Leguier, Bergson, W. E. Hocking, Varisco, James Ward, and John Elov Boodin.

⁵This according to conversations in his last months with Nels F. S. Ferre and John Dillenberger. See Tillich's volume, *Biblical Religions and the Search for Ultimate Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). This book has been called a "brilliant compromise" between Being and personality. Careful reading will show it retains the word "person" only as an unavoidable human projection.

⁶In Brown's response to Sterling McMurrin's *Theological Foundations of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), he speaks of tendencies in contemporary theology toward a positive estimate of personality. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1966), especially pp. 112-13.

⁷John B. Cobb, Jr., *A Christian Natural Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965). See my review in *BYU Studies*, 6 (Spring-Summer 1965), pp. 186-88.

of education who has gone through, one by one, the traditional theistic categories like immutability, self-fulfilledness, absolute happiness, and then said, "I see no evidence in the scriptures nor any reasons discovered in logical analysis to believe that Jesus attributed any of these mythological traits to God."⁸ Jesus spoke of God as "Father."

THE NATURE OF MAN

Intertwined with this is the remarkable testimony we have struggled to bear as to the nature of man, the witness that there is something, even now, divine in mankind. This was offensive to anti-religionists and humanists for on their view man is much less than a superman and has only this life to work out his folly; offensive to the traditional Catholics because in their view there is a chasm between the nature of man and God and man only has dignity to the degree that he receives what they call "salvific grace." It was offensive to Fundamentalists and Calvinists because in their view man is afflicted with pride and in the worst view utterly depraved—a worm. The doctrine has seemed even more out of step with the mental weather of our time, for national and world catastrophe in the last fifty years has so shaken our confidence in man, so undercut the foundations of assurance, that today nihilism is popular and it is as if writers have chosen up sides to see who can declare the most sophisticated despair.

Out of step with all this, we have gone on saying that these writers are not describing all of real life, but only life without God; not being honest, but only morbid; not being true to experience, but only to a projected face of experience; and not undercutting genuine faith in God, but only their disillusioned false faiths.

Today others are seeing man's potential. Rufus Jones, the Quaker mystic, has written in nearly thirty books, "The old dualism must go"—the dualism that absolutely separates man and God.⁹ Henri Bergson closes his book, *Two Sources of Re-*

⁸Dean E. Turner, "The Careful Heart," (unpublished manuscript). Professor Turner's work also contains a complimentary section on the Mormon defiance of the traditional reading of "omnipotence," "omniscience," and "omnipresence."

⁹"The two-world theory has become impossible to those who think in the terms of this generation. It is a dead conception. We have come back, by the help of psychology and modern philosophy, to the position of the first apostle of Christianity that every person lives and moves and has this real being in God." Rufus Jones, *The Radiant Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 150.

ligion and Mortality, saying, "The universe is a machine for the making of Gods."¹⁰ Elton Trueblood has recently written, "Christianity is palatable not only because Jesus is like God, but because God is like Jesus."¹¹ And so may man be.

The Jesuit paleontologist, Teilhard de Chardin, in *The Phenomenon of Man* cited evidence that the ultimate purpose undergirding even the cells and matter-in-motion of the cosmos is to produce Christs—Christogenesis, the emerging of a great and glorious personality.¹² Karl Rahner, certainly the most influential and also the most officially renowned Catholic theologian, has written, "It is not possible to speak theologically about God without at the same time saying something about man and vice versa."¹³ Exactly.

Third, there was the claim that caused all to wince, of con-

¹⁰Henri Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality in Religion* (New York: Henry Holt, 1935). Bergson's concluding lines read: "Mankind lies groaning, half crushed beneath the weight of its own progress. Men do not sufficiently realize that the future is in their own hands. Theirs is the task of determining first of all whether they want to go on living or not. Theirs is the responsibility, then, for deciding if they want merely to live, or intend to make just the extra effort required for fulfilling, even on their refractory planet, the essential function of the universe, which is a machine for the making of gods" (p. 306).

¹¹"The deepest conviction of all Christian theology is the affirmation that the God of all the world is like Jesus Christ. Because the logical development is from the relatively known to the relatively unknown, the procedure is not from God to Christ, but from Christ to God." Elton Trueblood, *The Humor of Christ* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 32.

¹²"Though frightened for a moment by evolution, the Christian now perceives that what it offers him is nothing but a magnificent means of feeling more at one with God and of giving himself more to him. In a pluralistic and static Nature, the universal domination of Christ could, strictly speaking, still be regarded as an extrinsic and super-imposed power. In a spiritually converging world this 'Christic' energy acquires an urgency and intensity of another order altogether. If the world is convergent and if Christ occupies its center, then the Christogenesis of St. Paul and St. John is nothing else and nothing less than the extension . . . of the noogenesis in which cosmogenesis—as regards our experience—culminates. Christ invests himself organically with the very majesty of his creation. . . . Evolution has come to infuse new blood, so to speak, into the perspectives and aspirations of Christianity. In return, is not the Christian faith destined, is it not preparing, to save and even to take the place of evolution?" Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 296-97. See also "Pierre Teilhard de Chardin: The Christianization of Evolution," *Critical Issues in Modern Religion*, Roger Johnson and Ernest Wallwork, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 122-33. See also Dietrich Bonhoeffer: "The image of Jesus Christ impresses itself into daily communion on the image of the disciple. . . . That image has the power to transform our lives, and if we surrender ourselves utterly to him, we cannot help bearing his image ourselves. We become the sons of God, we stand side by side with Christ, our unseen Brother, bearing like him the image of God." Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 337. The concluding chapter, "The Image of Christ," pp. 337-44, is devoted to this subject.

¹³See Rahner's *Spirit in the World* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), p. xvii.

tinual revelation. The Christian churches, in the absence of revelation, had tightened their views protectively, defensively, either around a holy man, the pope and hierarchy, or around a holy book, the Bible, which was alleged to be all-sufficient and only-sufficient. Religious knowing came only through that word and all other claims were treated as emotional extravagance.

OF CONTINUAL REVELATION

Today it is different. Again the Quakers, George Fox, Rufus Jones, Elton Trueblood, speak (in these exact words) of continual revelation, by which they mean the cultivation of the inner light.¹⁴ And they have abandoned the more extreme forms of mysticism—its world-hating, its denying of the subject-object distinction, its plea that one day we may be, in a metaphysical sense, one with the Ultimate. Instead, they are talking very intimately about what we would mean by the present influence of the light of Christ.

Among the Catholics, theologian Avery Dulles (son of John Foster Dulles) has argued there cannot be a Christian church without prophets.¹⁵ Among the Protestants the traditional ap-

¹⁴See, for example, George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911); Rufus Jones, *The Inner Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), *Spiritual Energies in Daily Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), *The Testimony of the Soul* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), *Spirit in Man* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1941), *New Eyes for Invisibles* (New York: Macmillan, 1943); and David Elton Trueblood, *The Common Ventures of Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), *The Essence of Spiritual Religion* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), and *The Knowledge of God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1939).

¹⁵"Through documents such as those just mentioned ["The Decree on Ecumenism," nos. 4, 6, 7; and "The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," nos. 4, 11, 33, 44 of Vatican II] Vatican II expressed the Church's need for prophetic guidance and in so doing faced up to the needs of our day. . . . The current demand for prophets in the Church is due in part to the revolutionary changes in our time. . . . The rapidly evolving secular culture of our day puts questions to the Church for which there are no ready-made solutions. Scrutinizing the signs of the times, Christianity must re-interpret its own doctrine and goals in relation to the world today. To effect this transposition without loss of substance is a task calling for prophetic insight."

"Churchmen are always tempted to suppress prophecy, for it is a disturbing element. By upsetting men's settled views and destroying their complacencies, it continually threatens the unity and stability of the institutional Church. Yet the Church needs prophecy." Avery Dulles, S. J., *The Survival of Dogma* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971), pp. 131, 132 and the entire chapter, "The Permanence of Prophecy in the Church," pp. 125-33; see also, Dulles' *Revelation Theology* (New York: Herder & Herder, c1969), *Revelation and the Quest for Unity* (Washington: Corpus Books, [1968]), and "The Succession of Prophets in the Church," in *Apostolic Succession: Rethinking a Barrier to Unity*, vol. 34 of *Concilium—Theology in the Age of Renewal* (New York: Paulist Press, 1968).

proach to mystery has slowly collapsed. Karl Barth had insisted that one could only speak dogmatically of what had been written;¹⁶ Bultmann, that one could speak only of its so-called existential impact,¹⁷ Emil Brunner, that a revelation comprehended would not be one,¹⁸ Martin Luther, that God is hidden (*deus abs conditus*);¹⁹ and the mystics, that God is known, if at all, "in a cloud of unknowing."²⁰ Tillich likewise insisted that God is essential mystery not simply the not-yet-known, but an in-principle-unknowable. One comes away from the encounter with two things: 1) the knowledge that he has had the encounter with the mystery, and 2) that the mystery is mysterious.²¹

All that has changed.

There is new recognition that the word "mysteries" as it appears in the New Testament and in its background literature means something more, something one can reach through with knowledge or gnosis—not simply on the ground of faith

¹⁶"Where it happens that the biblical authority authenticates itself by actually obtaining a hearing and obedience, there it has evidently spoken understandably and been understood; there, evidently, exposition of the Bible has taken place. . . ."

"Who is it that expounds the Bible? We answer with the ancient axiom which must be the axiom of all hermeneutics: *Scriptura scripturae interpretis*. With respect to the Holy Scriptures, that means: These writings, as God's Word in human words, expound themselves, are in themselves . . . everywhere perfectly clear and transparent." Karl Barth, *God Here and Now* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 52; also pp. 18, 40-41, 45.

¹⁷Rudolph Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology," reprinted in *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. Hans Werner Bartsch (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 1-44. Also, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 2:237-41.

¹⁸"The first and most important fact that we can know about God is ever this: *we* know nothing of Him, except what He Himself has revealed to us. God's revelation of Himself always occurs in such a way as to manifest more deeply His inaccessibility to our thought and imagination. All that we can know is the world. God is not the world. Therefore He is also exalted above all our knowledge. He is Mystery." Emil Brunner, *Our Faith* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), pp. 11-12.

¹⁹Martin Luther, "Bondage of the Will," in *Martin Luther*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961), especially pp. 190-92. See also John Dillenberger, *God Hidden and Revealed* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1953). For further sources, Dillenberger's bibliography and footnotes include references for Barth, Boehme, Brunner, Harnack, Heim, Hendry, Hermann, Luther, Otto (especially), Ritschl, and Watson.

²⁰See the expressions of this view in Thomas S. Kepler, comp., *The Fellowship of the Saints* (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury, 1948).

²¹"Knowledge of revelation is knowledge about the revelation of the mystery of being to us, not information about the nature of beings and their relation to one another." ". . . the ground of revelation is neither a cause which keeps itself at a distance from the revelatory effect nor a substance which effuses itself into the effect, but rather the mystery which appears in revelation and which remains a mystery in its appearance." Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 129, 156.

(which was the Protestant claim), but with knowledge.²² All together more susceptible now to the claim of revelation, even the pope speaks frequently of it, uses the word, and prays for a restoration or renewal."²³

It has been terrifying to men in charge of men's souls to be so bereft. They now recognize that while damning prophets, they themselves have been cast in the role. For any man at any time to say, "If you will do so and so, you will be saved," is to make prophecy. It is either true or false. And suddenly the recognition comes that Christ did not say there would be no prophets (that would have been a categorical way of enabling Christians to avoid deception). Instead he gave tests for distinguishing the true from the false.²⁴

Recently I attended a New Life Mission with a group of ministers who reported on their efforts to regain the young blood of various churches. "Brethren," one of them said after the report (which was all negative), "we are supposed to be teaching good news. That is what the word 'gospel' means. Brethren, I wonder if we have any good news to preach!" When we left, a close Methodist friend of mine said, "You know, Madsen, I think I can write a book now. It will be titled *The Gospel That Is Really Good News*. It will be about you Mormons." It is the essence of the trend to deny that no news is good news and to affirm that a living prophet would be a more reliable guide than a dead one.

The experience of the absence of revelation has led often to disillusion and a "sell out" to secularism, to quote Robert Fitch.²⁵ But there is now a new concern to let God speak, whatever he may say, even in condemnation.

That leads to the implicit insult in the Mormon witness, namely, that there has been an apostasy. We have offered to Christians, in a way, their own medicine. They have usually

²²Raymond E. Brown, *The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

²³See passages cited in Hugh Nibley's *Since Cumorah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), chapter 1.

²⁴"Since, then, all this is possible, it becomes a matter of great importance to recognize what it is in a particular case that answers the cry of the tormented heart: the empty echo in which, all unawares, one hears only oneself, or the answer in which God is perceived. Hence the problem of a criterion for the discerning of prophets, their voices and visions, will ever and again become urgent in the Church." Karl Rahner, *Inquiries* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1964), p. 90. Cf. Matthew 7:15, 16; 24:11, 24; and Mark 13:22.

²⁵Fitch was reviewing critically the immensely popular book by Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), which commends the "secularization" of Christianity.

insisted that only when you come to recognize how sinful you are can you become receptive to the redemption. But while maintaining that man was totally sinful they yet believed that the church was invincible. Joseph Smith came to report not that the apostasy was evidence of the restoration but that the restoration was evidence of the apostasy.

It is as if a group had fallen off a sinking ship and a hundred individual dinghies were now around struggling for life and someone announced, "Let's get together at least close enough to vote on which way is north." And someone then said, "A ship is approaching." One does not wisely cling to his raft when he can board a luxury liner. Yet many have preferred their rafts.

Today, we need no longer clamor about changes that have occurred since the ancient and primitive New Testament church. Theologians themselves are saying it and saying it in agony. They are providing diagnosis and are hopefully more open to the Lord's therapy.

Just in terms of factual almanacs the evidence is clear that the churches have declined in self-esteem, in status, in numbers, in financial support, and in what is now being called a "clergy shortage." While population has expanded, church attendance has diminished.²⁶ And yet we can be grateful much is still alive, much is still productive.²⁷ (Joseph Smith did not con-

²⁶While U. S. population increased an average of 1.4% per year from 1960 to 1970, within the last ten years mainline Protestant denominations have reported a serious decline in church membership. The Chicago Tribune reports that American Baptist Churches have lost 5%; Episcopal, down 4.8%; United Presbyterian, 3.5%; and the Christian Church (Disciples), 2.4%. (*San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, 5 May 1974, p. 21) Between 1965 and 1970 United Methodist membership dropped by 400,000 (3.6%), and between 1968 and 1970 the three largest Lutheran bodies in the United States lost 130,000. (Dean Kelly, *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing* [New York: Harper & Row, 1972]). "Weekly or near-weekly church attendance by Protestants dropped only 2%, from 38% to 36%, from 1972-1973, while Jewish attendance also fell 2%, from 9% to 7%. However, among Catholics, it took a steeper plunge, falling 13% from 61% to 48%. (George Cornell, "Statistical Look at Faith in the U. S.," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 February 1974).

²⁷"Cash contributions reported by 39 Protestant bodies increased \$229 million to \$4.6 billion in 1972. Average contributions per person rose to \$9.16 from \$3.35. . . . Seminary school enrollments totaled at 31,698, an all-time high" (*San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, 5 May 1974, p. 21).

From 1958 to 1970, "conservative" churches in the United States showed a healthy increase in membership: Assemblies of God, 2.1%; Church of the Nazarene, 2.6%; Salvation Army, 2.9%; Seventh-day Adventists, 3.2%; Pentecostal Holiness Church, 3.9%; Jehovah Witnesses, 5%; Latter-day Saints, 5.6%. From 1967-1970, the Southern Baptist Convention increased 2.26% per year (approximately to 12 million, presently). Kelly, *Conservative Churches*.

demn people; he condemned, in the name of God, certain suffocating creeds.)

Today many are saying of the original vitality in radical form, "it's gone." Dozens of articles speak of things "lost"—lost dimension, lost radiance, et al. The Paulist fathers of the Roman Catholic faith have been writing painfully about the "impasse" the church has reached.²⁸ Kierkegaard, a hundred years after his death, has become as influential as any living man. And he wrote ceaselessly that the church was "sick unto death"—not because he hated Christ, but because he loved him.²⁹ And to a similar degree, though from a different plateau, Nietzsche wrote, not against Christ as he appears in the New Testament, but against what he called the "burial" of Christ in the official doctrines.³⁰

When, ten years ago, the altogether brief and faddish movement, Christian Atheism, arose, *Time* magazine printed on their cover, "Is God Dead."³¹ Our answer would have been: "The God of whom you speak was never alive." The God of the creeds is an idolatric fiction (this is now being acknowledged widely) and as a result the church is sick—it is worse than sick, say some, it is dead. That tree, originally nourished by divinity, has become barren and unfruitful. What can be done? Well, they say, "the reformation continues" among the Protestants. But so also does the decline.³²

OF ONE CHURCH

And this has given new status to the next staggering statement we made, that there *ought* to be *one church*. Time was

²⁸*Concilium's* General Secretariat article, "Prophets in the Secular City," concentrates on "prophecy as a general religious phenomenon and on the assertion that the Churches need a new prophecy in order to emerge from the present impasse" (New York: Paulist Press, 1968), 37:133. See also "Le eveil du prophetisme," *Informations Catholiques Internationales* 303 (1 January 1968): 3-12; and Cardinal F. König, "Propheten Mussen Lästig Werden," in *Worte Zur Zeit* (Vienna, 1968), pp. 249-55.

²⁹Soren Kierkegaard, *Attack Upon 'Christendom'*, trans. Walter Lowrie (Boston: Beacon Press, c1968), and Kierkegaard, *The Sickness Unto Death* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954).

³⁰Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968).

³¹"Is God Dead?" *Time*, vol. 87, no. 14 (8 April 1966).

³²At a Wittenberg University symposium on "The Relevance of the Reformation to Our Day" in 1967, Roman Catholic theologian James E. Kraus declared, "We must have reform—we must have it to be the free sons of God we are called to be. . . . If the Reformation is dead, we are dead. It is as simple as that. . . . I may wonder here with you, how alive in your church [speaking to Protestants] is this spirit of the Reformation, today on its 450th anniversary?" The Reverend James E. Kraus, quoted in, "If Reformation Dead, We are

when the churches rejoiced in diversity, when they said, we are enriched by our differences, when the standard approach to conflict was, God has taken account of all the individual traits of men and therefore does not require the same patterns for *any* set of men. All of us can speak for him and with him and by him. We need not worry.

No longer. Today there is the recognition in the ecumenical movement that the diversity of Christendom is not a compliment but a scandal.³³ There have been literal organizational reunions as the Congregational merger with the Evangelical Reform Church or the harmonizing of the United Church of Canada. There is talk of one American Protestant church numbering some twenty million that would bring together the larger segments of Protestantism.³⁴ The official Catholic hierarchy has tried to encourage dialogue—to agree to talk even if that talk does not yield agreement.³⁵ There has been a Federation or World Council of churches where at least policy decisions relating to universal world problems can be hammered out.³⁶

Henry Leiper has written, "Unless individual Christians become united first of all in the will to obey Christ's command

Dead,' Theologian Says," the Springfield, Ohio *Sun*, 1 November 1967. See also *Concilium* issue entitled, *Ongoing Reform of the Church*, ed. Alois Muller and Norbert Greinacher (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972).

³³"Christ the Lord founded one Church and one Church only. However, many Christian communions present themselves to men as the true inheritors of Jesus Christ: all indeed profess to be followers of the Lord but differ in mind and go their different ways, as if Christ himself were divided. Such division openly contradicts the will of Christ, scandalizes the world, and damages the holy cause of preaching the Gospel to every creature." "Decree on Ecumenism," Article 1 (Vatican II), quoted in Xavier Rynne, *The Third Session* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1965), p. 351.

³⁴The Consultation on Church Union began preparations in 1963 for the union of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ, and Evangelical United Brethren Church (See Kyle Hanselden, "Fusion at Oberlin," *The Christian Century* 80 [3 April 1963]:422-23.) For the past few years, COCU has been foundering. Several denominations have withdrawn active support, and the entry of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the A. M. E. Zion, and the Christian Methodist Episcopal, have created additional difficulties. (See "Will COCU Survive?" *Christianity Today*, 16 (28 April 1972):33; "COCU Fragmented," *Christianity Today*, 16 (9 June 1972):27; and "Ecumenism and COCU," *America*, 126 (24 June 1972):643-44.

³⁵"Today, in many parts of the world, under the inspiring grace of the Holy Spirit, many efforts are being made in prayer, word and action to attain that fulness of unity which Jesus Christ desires. The sacred council exhorts all the Catholic faithful to recognize the signs of the times and to take an active and intelligent part in the work of ecumenism." Article 4, "Decree on Ecumenism," Vatican II, in Rynne, *Third Session*, pp. 354-55.

³⁶Norman Goodall, "A New Era for the World Council of Churches," in *Ecumenical Progress* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 1-20, and Thomas Wieser, ed. *Planning for Mission* (London: Epworth Press, 1966).

that they be one in love, then never will the sin of ecclesiastical disunity be overcome."³⁷ To which we would add that until we are united under the power of God in his church we will not fully regain the power to love and be one. Thus comes the admission, all but universal, that radical disarray is division, is misreading of divine intent, is distortion of Christ's prayer before Gethsemane that "they all may be one."

PATTERNS OF REVISION

Out of this concern came Vatican II, the second Ecumenical Council for the Catholics. It is a standard joke (I meet it frequently talking to priests) that Pope John said, "Let us open the windows," and that Pope Paul has been trying in vain to close them. Let's just look at these three categories:

First, the abandonments that resulted from Vatican II: 1) The rejection of what had heretofore been sacred tradition. No longer is it sacred. The Aristotelian overlay, as it is called, the Thomistic (St. Thomas Aquinas) philosophicalizing of the Gospel tradition, is now rebuked in favor of a return to "Biblical theology."³⁸ 2) Abandonment of many of the classical arguments for a purely rationalistic God, trying to find God at the end of a syllogism. As Gustave Weigel put it, "We must begin with the New Testament revelation of God and then connect him to the cosmos. We cannot do it the other way."³⁹ 3) The rejection of the Roman curia that condemned all heretical books.⁴⁰ 4) The rejection of many of the traditional shrines

³⁷Henry S. Leiper, "Reunion and the Ecumenical Movement," in *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Arnold S. Nash (New York: Macmillan, 1951), pp. 249-71.

³⁸"Bible and Church—these have been the two great growth points in twentieth-century Catholic theology. Today we have a new ecclesiology and a new biblical theology—both new to us but more faithful than what they replace to the Church and the Bible as in truth the latter have always been." Adrian Hastings, *A Concise Guide to the Documents of the Second Vatican Council* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968), 1:147. Cf., H. Vorgrimler, ed., *Dogmatic vs. Biblical Theology* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1964); also, Roland E. Murphy and Carl J. Peter, "The Role of the Bible in Roman Catholic Theology," *Interpretation* (January 1971), pp. 78-112. See also Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, *An American Dialogue* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1960), and Weigel's "The Scriptures and Theology," in *Catholic Theology in Dialogue*, ed. Gustave Weigel (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), chapter 2.

³⁹In a statement to the author.

⁴⁰Joseph Clifford Fenton, "The Roman Curia and the Ecumenical Council," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 148 (March 1963):185-98; "Catholic Updating—How Far and How Fast?" *U. S. News and World Report*, 9 October 1967; Peter Hebbleth Waite, S. J., "A Brief Guide to the Reformed Roman Curia," *Month*, vol. 39, no. 3 (March 1968):164.

and pilgrimages.⁴¹ 5) A toning down of Mariology.⁴² 6) An outright denial of Leo the XII's exclusivistic claims that there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church.⁴³

Second, what did they embrace? They embraced putting the mass in the vernacular.⁴⁴ Now there is a spate of articles which say the mass is not the original ceremony.⁴⁵

They embraced further involvement of the laity. There is an article saying that the Mormon missionary program which involves young laymen and laywomen is one hundred times more effective than others. That is an unhealthy ratio. They have revived, as they put it, the "deaconate." What does that mean? It means that a layman—not an ordained and professional priest—can take the mass into homes.⁴⁶ More, they have

⁴¹"Catholics Concerned in Lack of Devotion to Virgin Mary," *Atlantic Journal* (21 November 1972); "Mary Devotions Drop," *Arizona Republic* (10 February 1973).

⁴²Catholic theologian Right Reverend Jorge Medina Estevez, commenting on Vatican II's treatise on Mary (chapter 8 of "Constitution on the Church") said, "The promulgated text is much more cautious than the original official text. It says nothing about universal mediation [of Mary], nor does it determine its content. Whenever it uses the title it does so together with others and with two explanations: first, that it is to be understood in such a way that nothing can increase or diminish the dignity and efficacy of Christ, the unique mediator; that consequently such mediation is by way of participation in the divine goods in a way that it cannot be placed on the same level as Christ's mediation or become one with it." John H. Miller, ed., *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal* (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 311. The title of "co-redemptress," common to many other official pronouncements on Mary does not appear in Vatican II documents.

⁴³Article 15 of Vatican II's "Constitution on the Church" states, "The Church recognizes that in many ways she is linked with those who, being baptized, are honored with the name of Christian, though they do not profess the faith in its entirety or do not preserve unity of communion with the successor of Peter. . . . They are consecrated by baptism, in which they are united with Christ. . . . They also share with us in prayer and other spiritual benefits. Likewise we can say that in some real way they are joined with us in the Holy Spirit, for to them too He gives His gifts and graces whereby He is operative among them with His sanctifying power. . . ." Cited in Rynne, *Third Session*, pp. 308-9. Cf. also, Article 3 of "Decree on Ecumenism," pp. 353-54.

⁴⁴See "Mass in Vernacular," *Christianity Today*, 8 (11 September 1964): 53. See also, William F. Buckley, Jr., "The End of the Latin Mass," in *The Jeweler's Eye* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1968), pp. 319-24.

⁴⁵For example: Reginald H. Fuller, "The Double Origin of the Eucharist," *Biblical Research* 8 (1963):60-72; Oscar S. Brooks, "The Johannine Eucharist," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 (September 1963):293-300; George W. Polley, Jr., "Toward a More Biblical View of the Lord's Supper," *Foundations* 7 (October 1964):335-40; E. E. Thornton, "Lord's Supper: A New Form and Renewed Authenticity," *Pastoral Psychology* 18 (April 1967):12-19; and A. R. C. Leaney, "What Was the Lord's Supper?" *Theology* 70 (February 1967):52-56.

⁴⁶"It is the duty of the deacon . . . to administer baptism solemnly, to be custodian and dispenser of the Eucharist, to assist at and bless marriages in the name of the Church, to bring Viaticum to the dying, to read the Sacred Scripture to the faithful, to administer sacramentals, to officiate at funeral and burial services. . . ."

"Since these duties . . . can be fulfilled only with difficulty in many

reinterpreted the passage about anointing with oil in James. No longer is it last rites or extreme unction. Today they view it, closer to the original, as administering to the sick. And Catholic "home teachers" for so they are, do that.⁴⁷ They've embraced "collegiality,"⁴⁸ which is another word for the counselor idea, presidencies, trinities of organization. They have embraced Abraham as the rock rather than, or in addition to, Peter.⁴⁹ And they have regained the idea of covenant and the notion of an ancient Israel of which the Church must be the modern expression.⁵⁰

Third, they are considering abandoning many other things. They have talked about the doctrine of the "real presence" in the Eucharist. Many progressive theologians favor an "analogical" presence doctrine.⁵¹ They have given up or are recommending giving up a strict reading of papal infallibility as in the writings of Hans Kuhn.⁵² They have outvoted the pope on the rights of divorce and birth control. Eight hundred American bishops simply said, "We do not accept what you have said."⁵³ They are troubled by their heretofore ven-

regions . . . the diaconate can in the future be restored as a proper and permanent rank of the hierarchy." Article 29, "Constitution on the Church," pp. 320-21.

⁴⁷Frederick R. McManus, "The Neglected Sacrament of Anointing," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. 160, no. 1 (January 1969):47-53.

⁴⁸"The order of bishops, which succeeds to the college of apostles and gives this apostolic body continued existence, is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church, provided we understand this body together with its head the Roman pontiff. . . . The power of binding and loosing, which was given to Peter, was granted also to the college of apostles, joined with their head." Article 23, "Constitution on the Church," pp. 313-14. Chapter 3 of the Constitution (Articles 18-29) is concerned with collegiality.

⁴⁹Abraham. See footnotes to Hugh Nibley's article, "Setting the Stage—The World of Abraham," *The Improvement Era* 73 (January 1970):60.

⁵⁰This arises from the renewed emphasis on Israel as the people of God, and the Pope's frequent use of the phrase, particularly in "Constitution on the Church."

⁵¹Conservatives insist on the "real presence" (Christ is corporeally and substantially present in both the wafer and the wine), while progressives want to say that there is a similarity, a relation, between the element and the presence of Christ. Cf. Raymond A. Adams, S. J., "The Holy Spirit and the Real Presence," *Theological Studies* 29 (March 1968):37-51, and "Sacramental Theology; The Eucharist in Recent Literature," *Theological Studies* 32 (June 1971):233-77.

⁵²Hans Küng, *Infallible?* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972).

⁵³"Statements on the Encyclical Human Life by U. S. Bishops, Washington Theologians, Cardinal John Heenan, Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle, Bishop John J. Wright," *Catholic Mind* (September 1968), pp. 1-8; "Catholic Priests: Growing Split over Birth Control," *U. S. News & World Report* 65 (16 September 1968):16; "Encyclical Crisis," *Commonweal* 88 (6 September 1968):588-94; "Bishop's Ruling on Birth Control," *U. S. News & World Report* 65 (25 November 1968):10; and "Pope and Birth Control," *Time* 92 (9 November 1968):40-42.

erated notion of natural law which is absolute, acknowledging that if there are such laws we do not fully know them.⁵⁴ One Catholic scholar has just written an article saying, "Farewell to the Original Sin."⁵⁵ They are concerned about pedobaptism.⁵⁶ They are modifying certain forms of the classical view of hell and they are campaigning to abandon celibacy.⁵⁷ These are all steps toward the original revelations of Christ, ancient and modern.

OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

And now the category of spiritual gifts. We insist on the part of the restoration that *all* of the gifts and blessings and powers that one can trace historically in the Book of Acts or trace as promises in the counsels of prophets, need to be central to the church or the church is no longer Christ's. That has been met with the charge that these gifts ended with John the Revelator, that those who claimed face-to-face communion with God or spiritual charismatic gifts from Him were lunatics. First they claimed these gifts were absent, then unimportant, then undesirable, and finally, impossible.

But it is clear in our generation that as nature abhors a vacuum, a religious man cannot abide the absence of these gifts. Everything in the Book of Acts has been sought, often in counterfeit forms. There are prophetesses and soothsayers, clairvoyants and numerologists, astrologers and horoscopes, witch-cultivation, demon worship, dark rituals, death scenes, ouija boards, and mind-blowing drugs. Now among both Protestants and Catholics and even to a lesser extent among Ortho-

⁵⁴N. H. G. Robinson, "The Problem of Natural Theology," *Religious Studies*, vol. 8, no. 4 (December 1972):319-33.

⁵⁵Julius Gross, "Abschied von der Erbsünde," *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, vol. 23, no. 4 (1971):369-73. See also his "Abalards Umdeutung des Erbsündendogmas," *Zeitschrift*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1963):14-33.

⁵⁶Gross, "Abschied von der Erbsünde," pp. 369-73.

⁵⁷"In fact the initial draft constitutions, sent to the bishops before the Council [Vatican II] began, included one on the deposit of faith which had a chapter devoted to the 'last things'. This was very much akin to the approach of the manuals, an individualistic approach; it included a lengthy section on the punishments of hell. This draft constitution never, in fact, got discussed at all, but the last things reappeared two years later in our chapter 7 [of the "Constitution on the Church"], but now with an altered approach." Hastings, *A Concise Guide*, p. 59. "A Statement on Celibacy by U. S. Catholic Bishops," (November 1969), *Catholic Mind*, January 1970, pp. 55-64; "Celibacy in the Church, vol. 78 in *Concilium—Religion in the Seventies*, ed. William Bassett and Peter Huizing (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972); "Statement by U. S. Bishops on Clerical Celibacy," (November 1967), *Catholic Mind* (January 1968), pp. 6-7.

dox Jews, the plea is that we must seek God's way of feeling, God's way of responding.

So there are what are called the underground church movements, the holiness movements, the cultivation of glossolalia or spontaneous speaking in tongues.⁵⁸ In Ann Arbor, for example, Protestants and Catholics meet together each week in a Catholic basilica to cultivate the gift of tongues and interpretation of tongues, the gift of healing, and the gift of prophecy.⁵⁹ "Faith-healing" has become almost big business in this country.⁶⁰ And the other gifts are no longer officially or unofficially claimed to be unessential. We can argue whether the phenomena are genuine or counterfeit. What we cannot argue is the thirst for them and the new recognition that they were anciently part and parcel of the church.

OF SACRED MARRIAGE

That leads to the remarkable and somewhat strange teaching central from the beginning in the restoration that marriage is of God and that the traditional views disparaging the relationship of man and woman were not true to the Gospel but were a distortion, often through the unbiblical influence of the Greek distrust of matter.

One verse has been widely used against marriage in the New Testament and it can be used just as well as evidence for it. The question, you remember, was put by the Sadducees who were playing on the view that there could be marriage in heaven. The nub of their question was, "*Which* marriage will

⁵⁸Maria von Trapp, for example, in her autobiography, *Maria* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Creation House, 1972), offers a personal testimonial ascribing the "new Pentecost" to Pope John who had prayed for it. She says the initial outburst occurred at Notre Dame University and then spread to Ann Arbor, Michigan. Her group takes seriously the idea that evil spirits work upon them and all seek baptism in the Holy Spirit. This charismatic renewal has brought her to a new sense of prayer, to a new conception of the gifts spoken of in the Book of Acts. She believes that she "uttered some beautiful, very melodious words" but she does not remember. The following day came love and joy and peace (p. 196). Similar events occurred in Indonesia, Africa, India, Pakistan, and the South Sea Islands.

⁵⁹"New Charismatic Age," interview with Leo Jozef Suenens (Roman Catholic) by D. R. Campion, *America* 126 (13 May 1972):503-5; W. Hendrick, "Tongues: A Critical Analysis," (4 parts) *Christian Standard*, 17, 24, 31 January, and 7 February 1970; W. Mills, "Reassessing Glossolalia," *Christian Century* (14 October 1970), p. 1217; S. L. Bergquist, "Revival of Glossolalic Practices in the Catholic Church," *Perkins School of Theology Journal* 27 (Summer 1973):32-37; "Spiritual Healing," ed. E. M. Stern, *Journal of Pastoral Counseling* 6 (Fall-Winter 1971-72):2-67.

⁶⁰See, for example, "Oral Roberts: Rousing Return to T. V.," *Christianity Today* (28 March 1969), p. 40.

be binding." Later, on the misreading of Paul and further the misleading of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, who placed celibacy above parenthood, Christendom came to frown somewhat on marriage.

We have rarely appealed to the glorious symbolism that Jesus himself used. He called himself the bridegroom. He hinted of the sacramental meal as the marriage feast, and likewise spoke of the eventual parousia—his great and glorious second coming, his descent in the clouds of heaven with his worthy hosts. Through symbolism he taught, we believe, that divine families encircled by his fire and light are the very essence of life and eternal life and that without them this earth—indeed this cosmos—will have missed the measure of its creation.

Today we are no longer alone. Spokesmen as varied as Mrs. Norman Vincent Peale,⁶¹ Presbyterian Peter Marshall (the man called Peter),⁶² atheist-become-Anglican C. S. Lewis,⁶³ the Swedenborgians,⁶⁴ reformation theologian John Dillenberger,⁶⁵ and a New Testament scholar named William E. Phipps,⁶⁶ have argued in effect that the separation of man and woman is the fall and that wickedness will persist until they are reunited.

In the new discovery of a Gospel of Philip at Nag Hammadi in upper Egypt we read, according to R. Wilson,⁶⁷ not only of the origin of mankind but the necessity for the reintegration of humanity by means of [listen] baptism, the sacrament, and sacred marriage.

We have (and this is only a footnote) spoken, oh so cautiously, of a heavenly mother. Traditional Christianity, following the Romans, has placed a mother in heaven. She has been, says the dogma, assumed bodily into heaven.⁶⁸ (And I

⁶¹Ruth Peale, *The Adventures of Being a Wife* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1971).

⁶²See, for example, Catherine Marshall, *Christy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971). See also LeGrande Richards' interview with a Baptist minister in the *Conference Report* for October 1971, pp. 84-85.

⁶³C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1961).

⁶⁴Cf. Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Delights of Wisdom Pertaining to Conjugal Love* (1768); Sig Synnestvedt, *The Essential Swedenborg* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), pp. 66-75.

⁶⁵In conversation with the author.

⁶⁶William E. Phipps, *The Sexuality of Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

⁶⁷R. McL. Wilson, "Introduction," *The Gospel of Philip* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

⁶⁸Mary was "adorned by God with sanctifying grace from the first instant of her existence," hence was not subject to original sin, and was therefore taken

said humorously to my friend, the Jesuit, "That's exactly what she was—*assumed* into heaven.") They have said that Mary, the mother of Christ, was in some ways co-redemptress with Christ and is the intimate channel for our communion with the divine⁶⁹ We do not want to follow that form. But we have from the beginning said there are two, there is God and Goddess, in the ultimate scheme of things.

And today? Well, again Tillich speaks in lamentation about what he called the "intolerable male character" of Protestant symbolism.⁷⁰ Too often, too much, the Christian had spoken only the pronoun "he" and there needed to be somehow—and he had no recommendation on how—the recognition of "she" and "they," that is both male and female. But multiplying metaphysical mirrors does not increase the light. It remained for the restoration to clarify this. Today too many refuse, because guilt and terror yield slowly, the recognition that marriage is of God in some eternal sense.

THE DOCUMENT EXPLOSION

Now let me be even more rapid in a kind of summary. These changes have come about under pressure—not only ours, but the pressures of the real world. But something else is happening that is bringing about this revolution. And it is happening almost under our noses and without our notice. It is the revolution caused by the uncovering and recovering of ancient documents. Since 1947 over one hundred thousand documents have come to light which shed a tremendous flood of light on the world before Christ as well as the world shortly after. The Dead Sea Scrolls was just a little wave; there is

directly into heaven. See Karl Rahner, *Mary, The Mother of the Lord* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1963), especially p. 43.

⁶⁹Ambrose (A.D. 339-397) taught that through Mary "salvation was given to all" (*Expositio in Lucam* 2.17) and ". . . worked the salvation of the world and conceived the redemption of all [in Christ]" (*De Ubstitutione Virginis* 33), cited in Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), p. 83. Anselm (d. 1109) taught that Christ was the "judge of the world" and Mary the "reconciler (*reconciliatrix*) of the world." Graef, *Mary*, p. 212.

Eadmer (d. 1124) taught that "sometimes salvation is quicker if we remember Mary's name than if we invoke the name of the Lord Jesus" because "Her Son is the Lord and Judge of all men, discerning the merits of the individuals, hence he does not at once answer anyone who invokes him, but does it only after just judgment. But if the name of his Mother be invoked, her merits intercede so that he is answered even if the merits of him who invokes her do not deserve it." Graef, *Mary*, p. 216.

⁷⁰In his lectures on religious symbolism at Harvard.

⁷¹Footnote cancelled.

now a flood—a total Christian library from upper Egypt⁷² confirming, embellishing, establishing a world view that is incredibly similar to that which Joseph Smith taught the world.

I studied at Harvard during what was called the "Welhausen Era," an era that is now defunct. The approach to the Old Testament was to deny its historicity almost *carte blanche*, to speak of it as great literature, to speak of it as poetic allegory, and to separate it rather completely by the Marcionite heresy from the New Testament. That will no longer do. No scholar with any sensitivity to the documents can say this.

The Qumran community—only a part of their records are so far translated—was, as Frank Cross⁷³ calls it, a "church of anticipation." Many things that Christians had heretofore supposed were original, unique, and singular in Jesus are very patently there—as much as two hundred years before. That, to them, is a terrible indictment of Christ. For us, it is exactly what he himself has taught—a dispensation plan and pattern of history. Christ came before; and Christ will come after. *He* was the Jehovah who manifested himself to the Old Testament prophets. And Adam and Eve, both genuine historical persons, were by him taught the fullness—the all—of the gospel.

Today there is a temple scroll, still not completely translated into English, twenty-eight feet long confirming our own understanding.⁷⁴ There is a gospel called the Gospel of Thomas which rings like the King Follett Discourse, assuming that man is already in one sense divine.⁷⁵ There is a Gospel of Philip

⁷²There are over 2,000 books, articles, reviews, and dissertations already published on this spectacular discovery, as recorded in David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography: 1948-1969*, vol. 1 in *Nag Hammadi Studies* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971). This bibliography is continued in annual supplements which bring the total items to 2,998 as of 1972. See David M. Scholer, "Bibliographia Gnostica Supplementum I," *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971), pp. 322-336; "Supplementum II," *Novum Testamentum* 14 (1972), pp. 312-31; and "Supplementum III," *Novum Testamentum* 15 (1973), pp. 327-45. One of the earliest accounts of the discovery and its contents is Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: The Viking Press, 1960). For reports of recent progress see James M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *New Testament Studies* 14 (1968), pp. 383-401, and James M. Robinson, "The International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Progress Report," *New Testament Studies* 18 (1972):236-42.

⁷³Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968), e. g., pp. 181-84.

⁷⁴Being presently translated by Miguel Yadin and Father Millet.

⁷⁵(49) Jesus said: Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you shall find the Kingdom; because you come from it (and) you shall go there again. (50) Jesus said: If they say to you: "From where have you originated?", say to them: "We have come from the Light, where the Light has originated through itself. It [stood] and revealed itself in their image." If they say to you: "(Who) are you?" say: "We are his sons and we are the elect of the Living

which reads like Section 132, that marriage is the highest sacrament.⁷⁶

"Is the Gospel of Thomas a fifth gospel?" I asked Helmut Koester at Harvard? He replied, "No, but it is another witness for Christ." "Do the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest that the expectation of Christ presupposes a restitution of all things?" I asked Krister Stendahl, a world authority on Matthew. He replied, "Definitely." "Do the gifts of the spirit," I asked historian Timothy Smith at Johns Hopkins, "characterize the New Testament? Was there a pentecostal movement in Acts?" He replied, "Yes."

Such a cosmology is shown in these documents! It involves the preexistence of all mankind, all intelligences; it involves teaching of living prophets, councils, groups, twelves. It involves patriarchs and prophetic blessings, a panoply of angels and archons who visit mankind, descending and ascending. It involves ordinances which are *eternal* and *exceptionless* through which men have contact with the mysteries and powers of godliness. It speaks of sealing. It speaks of becoming possessors of the all, the fullness of the glory of the Father—not simply becoming like Christ in some distant behavioral sense, but like him in nature. It speaks of the sacredness of ancient Israel, its scattering and gathering; of the creation drama; of the patterns of rising and falling which resemble in breathtaking similarity the ups and downs of the Book of Mormon. It speaks of glory, of light, of fire. It speaks of transmitting these blessings by the laying on of hands. (And within the current year, the Anglicans, who had not heretofore done it, began laying on hands in their ordination procedures.) It speaks of the early Church as the extension of Christ's will for mankind.

In Coptic, in 1969, we discovered a prayer—the sacramental prayer it was alleged—and the words are almost identical to those in 3 Nephi.⁷⁷ There is the notion that the worthies could come and sup and feast with Christ and that even the Lord's Prayer, which asks "give us this day our daily bread," is a plea

Father." If they ask you: "What is the sign of the Father in you?", say to them: "It is a movement and a rest." *The Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959, p. 29 [Log. 49-50, pl. 89, 27-34; and pl. 90, 1-7]).

⁷⁶R. McL. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip: Translated from the Coptic Text with an Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962). See also an article by Robert M. Grant, "The Mystery of Marriage in the Gospel of Philip," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961):129-40.

⁷⁷Sacrament. See volume 66 of BIFAO (*Bulletin de L' Institut Francais d' Archeologie Orientale*).

for a sacramental foretaste—the identical pattern one finds in the Doctrine and Covenants Section 27.

There is talk of priesthood authority, Aaronic and Melchizedek orders. There is talk of church authority so close to what we teach that the New English Bible, which has now been done without anti-papists as translators, teaches our doctrine of authority—clearly. There is talk of geographic changes in the cosmos, of worlds without number, of temples with their molten seas and qualifications of entry and holies of holies, of ordinances—including marriage—and even of mirrored bridal chambers.⁷⁸

One can read these today and feel that the Doctrine and Covenants itself is a giant apocalypse, that the great and ancient prophets Enoch and Abraham and Moses and Adam fit our descriptions and not the traditional and philosophical overlays. How could the Boy Prophet, who has been dead more than a full century, have done this? Only when an Arab boy near the Dead Sea or archaeologists in Northern Egypt stumbled onto records easily translatable did we suddenly have the sources. What do they show? The laws of evidence become more and more compelling. Joseph Smith had special contact with the original Authors.

The terminology of these books and even of contemporary theological writing picks up phrases which we thought we alone knew. For example: the new and everlasting covenant, Zion—the people of God, the measure of creation, the New Jerusalem, charismatic gifts, the special role of Enoch and Elijah, sealing, the winding up scene, Abrahamic astronomy, anointing, dispensation, Michael the Adam, the garments of the priesthood, white covenant robes, prayer patterns and orders, work for the dead, records on plates, Urim and Thummin, etc.

WHAT NOW?

What is the conclusion? Let me bring it to three points. First, we should rejoice and be exceedingly wary. For while during the first generation Mormonism was thought to be utterly outlandish, we may live to see the generation in which it will be thought to be utterly obvious. The attending attitude in each case is the same—indifference. Unless we can testify

⁷⁸See the *Gospel of Philip*, saying 61 (113:12).

with spiritual splendor that God has restored more than a pastiche, a glorious divine unity, unless we can bear witness that there is power from God in all that we witness, others will simply say, "We already have it. There is no more. Goodbye."

Second, it is alleged that Brigham Young offered a tantalizing prediction a century ago.⁷⁹ He said the time would come when the elders would no longer testify and face rigid persecution of the basic truths of the gospel, for the constraint of evidence would have led much of the world to recognize them. The one thing they would go forth to the world to bear witness of was authority. The ultimate question would be, "Who has been commissioned of God?" And the final evidence for authority is not words. It is life, it is radiance, it is the expression of the Christ that is genuinely within.

And so I close with these words. If we would only testify to the truth as we see it, it would turn out at once that there are hundreds, thousands, millions of men just as we are who see the truth as we do; are afraid, as we are, of seeming to be singular by confessing it; and are only waiting, again as we are, for someone to proclaim it. As Leo Tolstoy is reported to have said to President Andrew White of Cornell, if Mormonism could be true to its foundation and remain unchanged for four generations, it might well become the most powerful social influence in the world. Tolstoy was concerned with the social; we are concerned as well with the vertical—with the divine. Social transformation can only come in the wake of individual transformation under the power of the living Christ. I bear witness that this is so in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

⁷⁹We say "alleged" because we have not been able to find a printed source to footnote, although the statement seems to be fairly widely known.

A Computer Analysis of the Isaiah Authorship Problem

L. Lamar Adams and Alvin C. Rencher*

Biblical scholars have been arguing the Isaiah problem—whether or not the same man wrote all 66 chapters of the book of Isaiah as it stands in the Old Testament—at least since the Twelfth Century. The divisionists separate the authorship into 1st Isaiah—chapters 1-39—and 2nd, or Deutero-Isaiah—chapters 40-66. Some critics have proposed that all evidence points to more than two divisions written by different authors.

The greater part of the critical attack on the unity of Isaiah has concerned itself with the literary unity of the book, with the multiple author theorists claiming that variables such as vocabulary, syntax, textual forms, contents, and poetic style differ from section to section.¹ They generally attribute similarities in the various sections cited in defense of the single author claim as the work of Isaiah's disciples who patterned their work after his, or even copied the prophet. The result is that in many cases, both sides cite the same sources to support opposing conclusions.²

Since the stylistic elements frequently cited by critics are amenable to statistical analysis, many linguists have suggested that statistical research methodology be applied to problems of authorship, using subject matter and contextually oriented word families as a base. Two such studies have been done,³

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¹R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1969), pp. 775-76.

²L. Lamar Adams, "A Statistical Analysis of the Book of Isaiah in Relation to the Isaiah Problem" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 28-29, 37.

³See Asa Kasher, "The Book of Isaiah—Characterization of Authors by Morphological Data Processing" (Essay, Department of Mathematics, Bar-Ilan University, 1970), pp. 1-54; Yehuda Radday, "Isaiah and the Computer: A Preliminary Report," *Computers and the Humanities* 5 (November 1970):65-72.

but they failed to solve the problem because a different researcher applying the same assumptions, variables, and statistical methods to different texts by known authors will get widely divergent findings.⁴ As a matter of fact, the studies noted were inter- and even intra- contradictory.

PROCEDURES USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

In the investigation of authorship style of literary works, variables should be sought that are consistent from work to work for a given author and at the same time vary from author to author. This type of variable is referred to as a *marker variable* and may be used to identify the literary style that is unique to a given author compared to other authors. Many characteristics of the Hebrew language provide excellent sources of pertinent stylistic elements in authorship identification.⁵ These include function prefixes, certain parts of speech that remain constant from text to text for a given author, and special vocabulary, even word families, providing there is consistency and reliability in usage rates for the given author.

Function prefixes include all prefixes except those which are pronominal, verbal, and participial. The latter three types were considered to be too contextual to serve as reliable literary elements for authorship determination. Vowels in the Hebrew language are referred to as points. Ancient Hebrew scriptures were written without these points, which were later added by scribes and other transcribers. This study is based on the unpointed Hebrew texts. Morphology of the Hebrew word includes the basic word root plus suffixes and prefixes. One phase of this study is based on the Hebrew root to avoid effects of later changes by scribes and transcribers. Function prefixes are perhaps the most useful stylistic element in determining authorship from a Hebrew text. In Hebrew, these prefixes constitute a major stylistic element corresponding to the habit-prone parts of speech in English.

The major division in this study for analyzing style in the

⁴Adams, "Statistical Analysis," pp. 86-101.

⁵In any language some stylistic elements are less reliable for determining authorship than others. Some of the less reliable elements in Hebrew include word families which are subject to contextual influences, parts of speech that are subject to contextual influences, and certain prefixes and suffixes that are influenced by contextual orientation and by the audience to which the text is addressed.

book of Isaiah consists of the commonly used two-fold division, chapters 1-39 and 40-66. In addition, stylistic elements are examined using several different types of subdivisions in the book of Isaiah for intratext analyses. Some of these smaller divisions are (1) a subdivision of the second half of the book, chapters 40-55 and chapters 56-66; (2) divisions used by Radday plus the section he omitted, chapters 1-12, 13-23, 24-35, 36-39 (the omitted section), 40-48, 49-57, and 58-66; and (3) a combination of the divisions postulated by S. R. Driver⁶ and Alois Barta,⁷ 1-12, 13-23, 24-27, 28-33, 34-35, 36-39, 40-48, 49-55, 56-62, and 63-66.

Perhaps one of the most determining factors in authorship identification is the comparison of intertext with intratext variation. Changes between the two Isaiah divisions take on more meaning when compared to variations between control texts and within control texts. It must be determined whether or not intraauthor variation is smaller than interauthor variation for a given element if that element is to be used as a stylistic marker variable in determining authorship.

The literary style in the complete book of Isaiah is compared with the style in random samples from the following Old Testament books: Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Micah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Daniel, Ezra, Malachi, and Nehemiah. These eleven samplings serve as Hebrew control texts for comparisons with the book of Isaiah.

This study is the most extensive to date. Specialists in the areas of Semitic languages, statistics, and computer science were involved. Over seventy different types of stylistic elements were examined and several hundred linguistic variables were analyzed.

STATISTICAL RESULTS

A number of stylistic elements from the unpointed Hebrew text of Isaiah indicate a literary style in both parts of the book that is characteristic of that book in contrast to the other books of the Old Testament examined. Stylistic elements that support single author unity include function prefixes, Hebrew marker roots, special vocabulary, certain parts of speech, rep-

⁶S. R. Driver, *An Introduction into the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 206.

⁷Alois Barta, *Syntax of the Sentence in Isaiah 40-66* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1901), pp. 3-4.

etition of phrases, first letter and last consonantal letter of the Hebrew word. These letters of the Hebrew word show individual habits of speech because of morphological characteristics of the Hebrew language.

Among all stylistic elements examined, the function prefix appears to be the most salient. The book of Isaiah has a surprisingly large number of function prefixes which indicate single authorship. Out of 36 different prefixes and types of prefix combinations examined in the Hebrew texts, 24 occurred in the book of Isaiah. Table 1 contains frequencies for 18 of these 24. Although each of the 18 prefixes is used in both sections (chapters 1-39 and 40-66) in the book of Isaiah, some have zero frequencies in a number of the control texts.

It is evident from the last two columns (Isa-A and Isa-B) in Table 1 that for a number of prefixes the rates of usage exhibit a similarity between the two Isaiah texts at a rate peculiar to the book of Isaiah contrasted to the control texts. For example, both Isaiah sections have a rate of two (equivalent to .02 per 50 prefixes) for the prefix $\text{נָּ$ compared to .00 for each of the control texts.

A "correlation" measure was devised to compare rates of usage of these 18 prefixes between any two texts. It can vary from zero to one, with zero indicating no relationship, and one showing perfect relationship; all gradations between these two extremes are possible. Among the eleven control books and two sections of Isaiah there are 78 possible pairings of texts. The correlation between the two Isaiah sections is .98, indicating a very high degree of overall similarity in rates of prefix usage. Only three of the other 77 comparisons are as high, a lower number than would be expected from the laws of chance when this many comparisons are made. These results show a closer unity between texts in the book of Isaiah than there is in accepted single author texts.

The analysis was repeated with prefixes eliminated which were not characteristic of the style in Isaiah. Correlations were obtained based upon the remaining six prefixes: כ , $\text{בַּ$, $\text{מֵ$, מָה , וּב , and וּל . The average correlation for the control texts was .46 with a range from 0 to .89. The correlation between the two sections of Isaiah is .997, which can easily be rounded to 1.00. These results are indeed strong evidence for authorship unity in the book of Isaiah.

An investigation of marker roots discovered approximately

Table 1
Average Frequencies* per Prefix Block from Old Testament Sample
Texts and the Two Sections of the Book of Isaiah
for Certain Function Prefixes

Prefix	AM	DN	EZ	HB	HS	JR	MC	ML	NH	ZC	ZK	Isa-A	Isa-B
כ	920	325	400	733	900	750	966	600	200	625	950	688	676
כ	1120	425	925	700	233	1125	566	700	1225	1475	800	752	467
כ	120	25	50	233	633	50	300	33	200	175	50	231	219
ל	500	625	825	833	900	850	666	500	500	400	375	700	863
ל	360	100	325	500	333	300	666	533	475	150	375	446	521
ל	1700	1700	1425	1800	1833	1650	1633	2266	1650	1950	1650	1834	1884
ככ	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	2	2
ככ	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	1	2
ככ	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	4	6
ככ	00	00	25	33	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	2	6
ככ	20	00	25	00	00	00	00	00	25	00	75	15	10
ככ	40	50	125	00	00	00	00	00	50	00	50	11	2
ככ	80	50	125	00	66	100	33	166	175	00	150	68	80
ככ	40	125	75	100	00	75	33	166	200	25	150	76	56
כככ	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	25	00	00	1	2
ככ	00	50	00	00	66	00	66	33	00	25	00	15	47
ככ	00	75	50	00	00	50	00	00	200	150	00	68	67
ככ	80	50	125	00	33	00	33	00	50	00	00	56	73

*Average frequencies were multiplied by 100 for statistical applications.

350 which have rates of usage characteristic of the two Isaiah texts in contrast to the control texts. Correlations for various groups from the 350 marker roots is 0.95. This is an extremely high index of style similarity compared to the control text indices which range from 0 to .74 for the same variables.

Intertext variation was compared with intratext variation for prefixes, marker roots, and other stylistic elements to determine the degree of similarity between the various texts. Statistical comparisons of intratext with intertext variations indicate that a high degree of similarity exists throughout the book of Isaiah contrasted with the control texts. The correlations between pairs of sections in Isaiah range from .97 to 1.00 for the following sections: chapters 1-12, 13-23, 24-35, 36-39, 40-48, 49-57, and 58-66. Intratext correlations for the other Old Testament books sampled range from .83 to .93. Thus Isaiah shows greater internal consistency than any of the other books examined.

Another example of uniqueness in the book of Isaiah for the usage rate of the prefix לְ (in Table 1) may be observed in the English text. Isaiah 19:24 concludes with a description of a condition that will exist in the millennial era: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt *and with* Assyria." In this phrase the Hebrew prefix לְ is rendered "*and with*." This prefix combination may also be translated as follows: וְ : *but, for, then, or, etc.*, and לְ : *to, unto, at, into, for, etc.* Thus, the same prefix is *and to* (King James) in Isaiah 60:9 from the phrase, ". . . to bring thy sons . . . unto the name of the Lord thy God, *and to* the Holy One of Israel. . . ." This has reference to the gathering of exiled Israel in the last days.

The rate usage for לְ is unique to the book of Isaiah, occurring approximately 68 times for every 1,000 function prefixes in Isaiah 1-39, and 67/1,000 in Isaiah 40-66, compared to a zero rate (i.e., almost never) for such books as Amos, Micah, and Ezekiel. Usage occurs at a high rate of 200/1,000 in the book of Nehemiah, as exemplified in Nehemiah 2:16: ". . . neither had I as yet told it to the Jews, *nor to* the priests, *nor to* the nobles, *nor to* the rulers, *nor to* the rest that did the work."

A number of other stylistic elements also support authorship unity. Table 2 contains a representative sample of correlations for a number of literary elements that are character-

Table 2
Correlations for Old Testament Control Texts and the
Two Sections of the Book of Isaiah for
Three Stylistic Elements

	Marker Conjunctions	Parts of the Body	Repetition of Phrases
Old Testament Control Texts*	0.65	0.18	0.42
Sections of the Book of Isaiah	0.99	0.99	0.71

*Indices for control texts are means for the indices of several texts.

istic of the style found throughout the book of Isaiah. William Harper lists Hebrew roots for a number of parts of speech and word families.⁸ Frequencies from the Harper prepositions and conjunctions were analyzed using the correlation as well as other statistical measures. The two sections of Isaiah are more closely associated to each other in stylistic usage of prepositions and conjunctions than are the control texts. For example, the correlation for the Isaiah texts is 0.99, while the average index for the control texts is 0.65 (see Table 2).

Harper lists roots for a number of word families found in the Old Testament.⁹ One word family found to be an exceptionally strong marker family consists of words for different parts of the body. Approximately one dozen words from this word family have a more consistent rate of usage in the two Isaiah texts than in any of the other Old Testament texts examined. Correlations for the rates of usage of the roots for these words are also listed in Table 2. The index for the two Isaiah texts is again higher than any other set of comparisons. These results also tend to support unity of the book of Isaiah, with 0.99 contrasted to a mean of 0.18 for the control texts.

Since some conservative scholars argue that, in comparison to the rest of the Old Testament writers, Isaiah had a greater tendency to repeat or quote himself, repetition of phrases was examined to test the validity of this claim. Roots which have high frequencies in the Old Testament texts were submitted to the computer program to obtain phrase frequencies. Repetitions were counted for nine-word phrases that had four or more identical roots or roots and prefixes. Correlations were obtained for comparisons between the two Isaiah texts and the

⁸William R. Harper, *Hebrew Vocabularies*, 8th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 1-32.

⁹Ibid.

combined sample texts. In repetition rate, the two Isaiah texts have a higher degree of similarity to each other (correlation of .71) than to the combined sample texts (.42).

Additional stylistic elements were examined and found to support the unity of the Book of Isaiah. These include the first and last consonantal letter of the Hebrew word, both of which contribute significantly to morphological characteristics of the Hebrew language.

The majority of stylistic elements examined in this study were also analyzed using other types of statistical procedures. The results confirm the inferences drawn from the correlation measure and support authorship unity of the book of Isaiah.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The statistical results in this study do not support the divisionist claim that little or no evidence exists for unity of the book of Isaiah. To the contrary, results from the statistical analyses over a wide range of types and numbers of stylistic variables strongly support the authorship unity of the book. Several different types of stylistic elements were found to have marker variables unique to Isaiah chapters 1-39 and chapters 40-66. These elements include function prefixes, marker words, prepositions and conjunctions, certain word families, first letter, and last consonantal letter of the Hebrew words, and repetition rates of certain types of phrases.

The two parts of Isaiah most often claimed to have been written by different authors, chapters 1-39 and 40-66, were found to be more similar to each other in style than to any of the control group of 11 other Old Testament books. The book of Isaiah also exhibits greater internal consistency than any of the other 11 books.

These computerized results do not exclude the possibility that minor changes in the text have been made by scribes and editors since the time of its origin. However, the evidence indicates that in spite of such possible changes, deletions, or additions, an overall style has been retained, as measured by the literary variables examined.

The results of our research bear witness that the book of Isaiah has a literary unity characteristic of a single author.

He Bore Our Anguish*

Jacobus Revius
(Dutch, 1586-1658)

It was not the Jews, Lord Jesus, who crucified you,
Nor the traitors who dragged you to the law,
Nor the contemptuous who spit in your face
Nor those who bound you, and hit you full of wounds,
And it was not the soldiers who with evil hands
Lifted up the reed, or the hammer,
Or set that cursed wood on Golgotha,
Or cast lots and gambled for your robe;
It is I, O Lord, it is I who have done it,
I am the heavy tree that overburdened you,
I am the rough bands that bound you,
The nail, the spear, and the cords that whipped you,
The bloodied crown that tore your head:
All this happened, alas! for my sins.

*"Hy Droech Onse Smerten," translated from the Dutch by Charles D. Tate, Jr., associate professor of English at Brigham Young University.

To My Father

Rita Ann Best*

When your mind broke down
Like your old Chevrolet, exposing naked
Wires, scratching us with need,
We hung inside your wiry arms
Like unplugged sockets searching for safe
Walls; a hospital would do.
You begged us not to leave you there
Alone. I saw your eyes in me
And almost stayed.

*Mrs. Larry G. Best is a student at Brigham Young University.

The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

The continuing intent of the Historians Corner is to introduce our readers to little-known and important documents that enrich their understanding of some phases of LDS Church history. Sometimes we have directed the corner toward a particular theme. This time, however, we present three very different documents, each of which is interesting in its own right, each giving us a new dimension on the Church or its leaders. The first entry presents a memorandum that reveals an interesting gentile proposal for a Mormon settlement on the island of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean. The second is a very human document which shows the frustrations of a leader of the Church, Wilford Woodruff, as he prepares to go into hiding to escape arrest by anti-Mormon Federal marshals in the 1880s. The last entry is also from Wilford Woodruff, but it reveals a very different side of his nature from that which most Church members view him: a hunting and fishing enthusiast.

"IS NOT THIS OF GOD?":
AN 1847 PROPOSAL FOR MORMON SETTLEMENT

Davis Bitton*

On 30 September 1847, Charles Root Dana, who had been sent on a fund raising mission to the East by Brigham Young, got off the train in Washington, D.C. For the next month he worked diligently in the capital city to enlist support for his fellow Mormons, asking for "liberal donations commensurate with the suffering circumstances of an afflicted and oppressed people." Newspaper editors cooperated by running several articles appealing for help. Clergymen endorsed the campaign

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and participated in meetings. Most dramatically, perhaps, a group of young ladies organized a lavish tea party and enlisted the volunteer participation of the Marine Band and the Euterpean Minstrels, a popular musical group. We do not have accurate figures on the total amount collected from the Washington campaign, but Dana's diary in the Church Archives gives a good idea of the strenuous efforts exerted.

If the Washington campaign was a success at least in arousing strong support from prominent individuals, it was largely due to a sympathetic friend Dana met the day after his arrival. This was General Duff Green, the father of Dana's landlady and a figure of considerable reputation. Born in 1791, he was the right age for military service in the War of 1812, reaching the rank of captain. After the war he moved from Kentucky to Missouri, built up a large mercantile business, served as postmaster, speculated in land, established the first stagecoach line west of the Mississippi and entered the practice of law. He served in the Missouri legislature and became a brigadier general of militia serving on the Indian frontier.

In 1823 Green purchased the *St. Louis Enquirer* and supported Andrew Jackson in the election of 1824. Then he moved to Washington, purchased the *United States Telegraph*, and continued to support Jackson. Not surprisingly, when Jackson was elected president in 1828, Green was rewarded. He was made printer to Congress and a member of the "Kitchen Cabinet." Not a strict party man, Green fell out of favor in the 1830s, but he continued to publish his newspapers, and in 1840 he was appointed by President Tyler as unofficial representative to England. Regarded as a master trouble-shooter, Green was sent in 1844 as consul at Galveston, Texas. After the Mexican War he was agent of the United States in implementing the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Through all of this Green was involved in private investment schemes of one kind or another, and he repeatedly urged government reforms. Sometimes the proposed government policies and the interests of the promoter were impossible to disentangle. After speculating in land in Missouri, he went on to promote American emigration to Texas and Santo Domingo. He bought and developed mineral lands in Virginia and Maryland and had a financial interest in the development of canals, harbors, and railroads. During the Civil War he operated iron works for the Confederacy but also used his good offices to

promote peace discussions. After the war he wrote on a variety of subjects and tried to organize projects to assist in the reconstruction of the South. He died in 1875.

Duff Green's sympathetic assistance to the Mormon Charles Dana in 1847 thus meant the support of a man of many contacts, recognized as a "doer." As Dana wrote in his diary, "In a word all sects and parties are bound to listen to Genl Green."

On 2 November 1847, the day after Dana had left Washington to return to Philadelphia, Green wrote a brief note to the Mormon elder. "Yours of yesterday is received," he wrote.

I will hand it to Mr Reed who will submit it to the benevolent ladies who have exerted themselves to raise a fund for the relief of your suffering people. I sympathise with you & hope that you will find your family & friends in good health. Should your people send a deputation to Washington as I think they should do, it will give me pleasure to aid them as far as I can. I will send you papers containing your card. May God in Mercy preserve & bless you.

The "card" was Dana's statement of gratitude that was printed in Washington newspapers.

Of more interest than the letter was an accompanying memorandum, printed below, in which Green advocated Mormon settlement of Santo Domingo, one of several suggested places for settlement received by the Mormons from the 1840s to the 1870s—Vancouver Island, Texas, various places in Central America, Alaska, and even Japan being suggested at different times. Motives varied, of course, but at least in the case of Green's proposal there is clear evidence that the promoter had financial interest in his plan. It should probably be said, however, that Green, while willing to benefit from any development that would take place on the island, was also anxious to aid the Mormons with his good offices. If both he and they benefited, so much the better.

Of particular interest is a passage in the memorandum stating that "there is no other place on the face of the habitable globe on which the persecuted Mormons could establish with any prospect of becoming an independent and sov[e]reign nation." Were the hopes of some Mormons for independence widely known? Was Dana privy to the discussions of the Council of Fifty? We do not know, but it is interesting that a non-Mormon like Green would be so casually confident that

the Mormons wanted to become an independent and sovereign nation.

Memorandum for Mr. Dana

The Island of St Domingo was first colonised by the Spaniards, and here Columbus was buried. The French made a settlement on the western part and occupied about one fourth of the Territory.

St. Domingo is 400 miles long and 200 miles wide in its widest part. The whole was for a time subject to the Hatien government, but the whites after a severe conflict obtained possession of the Spanish part being about three fourths of the whole Island, and having adopted a written constitution are now seeking to obtain from other nations a recognition of their Independence. With this view they sent agents to the United States and to Europe.

The peculiar relations between Great Britain [,] France & Spain and their possessions in the West Indies prevent either of them from giving their sanction to a measure which would convert what was a colony of Spain into an independent government. Not so the United States. They have sent agents to enquire into the condition of the new government whose reports represent the whites as capable of maintaining themselves [and state] that their Constitution is framed on the same fundamental principles as ours, with the exception that the Roman is made the Religion of State with toleration to other sects.

The population in 1798 was 115,000 whites & 10,000 slaves. War has since diminished their numbers. The Original Indian tribes are extinct. It follows that if the "*Latter-day Saints*" remove in a body their present number would give them a great influence and very soon enable them to alter the government to meet their own views. When we see what our armies are doing in Mexico we may anticipate what such a body of our people would do in the midst of a people similar in all respects to those of Mexico.

The country is mountainous, but has large savannas or Prairies, on which feed immense herds of wild horses, mules & horned cattle. The forests abound with hogs and other game, and the Rivers and Sea abound with almost every variety of fish. There is no frost, and the Earth gives two and three crops per annum, without regard to seasons, and a great variety of tropical fruits especially the guava, Pine apple, banana, and other fruits, which grow and ripen at all times of the year.

The Valleys on the Rivers & low lands on the coast are subject to fevers, but there are immense plains and valleys on the mountains fanned by constant breezes from the sea, remarkably healthy and capable of sustaining many millions of people.

The mountains abound with valuable timber—the Live Oak—Mahogany & Dye woods and also in mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, lead [,] zinc and other materials. The principal products now are sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco [,] Indian Corn [,] potatoes & vegetables.

Why is it that God in his Providence has permitted this Island, second only to Cuba in extent, and, as all accounts agree greatly superior to it in soil [,] climate and resources, to remain for fifty years in a state of anarchy, governed by ferocious and savage negroes? Why is it that at this moment he has enabled the whites to organise a government whose right to the country is not denied by any of the great powers of Christendom, but which, being surrounded by other Islands, subject to European governments those governments hesitate to acknowledge their independence fearing the influence it may have on their own colonies? Do you not see that thus situated the Dominican government will seek to recruit their numbers and encourage colonisation? Do you see that being but few in numbers the present population have paved the way for your people to occupy the country? There is no other place on the face of the habitable globe on which the persecuted Mormons could establish with any prospect of becoming an independent and sov[e]reign nation. Here they may establish themselves in the mountains. Here they may grow and become a great people. Here they may raise their standard and invite all nations to unite with them in building up the Messiah's Kingdom. Is this not of God?

St Domingo is on the route by which all ships going from any part in Europe to the Gulf must pass. Your people can go there from Norfolk, New York, Philadelphia or New Orleans in eight or ten days and at an expense not exceeding from five to ten dollars. The means of subsistence and of Individual wealth are greater than you can find in any other part of the habitable globe. And the writer of this has under his control a large tract of land containing valuable copper mines, and can as he believes obtain a most advantageous contract for colonisation under which the whole or any part of your people can remove.

Aware of the prejudice that exists against your people as a body it is indispensable that all the arrangements should be made before an intimation goes to the public that they contemplate such a removal and then it would be better for a small colony should be first formed as the nucleus on which the whole may hereafter concentrate.

Your principal settlement should be in the mountains remote from the sea, and central to the whole Island to be hereafter connected with the coast by rail ways. Should your people propose to remove there, they should first send some persons in whom they have confidence to confer fully with the writer of this, and in case that conference is satis-

factory he would go with them to explore the country and make a contract of colonisation and introduce and sustain them in all their rights and privileges. Thus you would avoid all the suspicion and jealousy which would attach to a deputation from your own body, because he has been for some time in negociation for [a] colonisation contract with a view to work large and extensive copper mines on the Island.

Whatever is done should be done without delay and it is necessary that there should be great caution and discretion.

"IN ORDER TO BE IN FASHION
I AM CALLED ON A MISSION":
WILFORD WOODRUFF'S PARTING LETTER TO EMMA
AS HE JOINS THE "UNDERGROUND."

William Hartley*

Rummaging through the contents of a rarely disturbed old trunk in her basement, Maxine G. Daynes of the Salt Lake Monument Park First Ward picked up a framed family photograph. Thinking that the gold frame might serve a better purpose, she emptied its contents. When the cardboard backing was removed from the photograph, out fell a neatly folded piece of old paper. Opening it and quickly scanning the four small pages of scrawled handwriting, Sister Daynes discovered it to be an original letter written by Wilford Woodruff, grandfather of her husband, Byron Woodruff Daynes.

Penned in slightly faded brown ink, the letter is a farewell message to Emma Smith Woodruff, a plural wife. Patiently Sister Daynes and other family members deciphered Elder Woodruff's sometimes difficult handwriting, then researched in Church history to discover the threatening circumstances which prompted Elder Woodruff to dash off this hurried good-bye.

The letter's date, 14 January 1885, has particular historical importance. (Although Elder Woodruff wrote 1884, he meant 1885—like many of us it took him a few days into the new year to lose the habit of writing the previous year's date.) Seventy-seven years old at the time, he was the President of the Council of the Twelve and also Church Historian. During

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the preceding year he and other Church leaders had experienced increasing harassment from government officials committed to enforcing a tough new anti-polygamy law. As federal marshals, deputies, and judges energetically—and sometimes illegally—sought to arrest and convict leading Mormons for “unlawful cohabitation,” hundreds of Saints fled into exile on the Mormon “underground” as it was called. On the day this letter was written, the First Presidency and most of the Twelve, including Elder Woodruff, found it necessary to go into hiding—being “called on a mission” as Woodruff jokingly termed it—something he had had to do before.

As this letter shows, it was no easy thing for a husband and father to be suddenly separated from his family and leave them on their own. Here, Elder Woodruff’s character as a family man permeates his message: his concern about solving his family’s economic needs while he is away; his humor in announcing his departure and in advising his family how to talk to federal officers; his pride in his children’s individual activities; his desire to take family “likenesses” (pictures) with him; and his hope that family letters will be forwarded to him.

Emma Smith Woodruff (1838-1912) married Wilford Woodruff in 1853, becoming his second wife when she was fifteen years old. She bore him eight children, of whom Asahel, “Nellie,” and Clara are discussed in this letter. The other people mentioned are also relatives except for John Jaques and James Jack, both clerks at the Church offices.

After writing the letter, Elder Woodruff spent the next three nights lodged at a room in the Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward meetinghouse, then inconspicuously boarded a train for Nephi and within a few days was in St. George, using an assumed name. His days in exile were spent laboring in the temple and visiting stakes and settlements in southern Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. Everywhere he went the local Saints ministered to his needs and protected his identity.

When his wife Phoebe died in November 1885, Elder Woodruff ended an eleven month exile and secretly returned to Salt Lake. But even then his fugitive status remained: he did not dare to attend the funeral, but could only watch the funeral procession tearfully from a hiding place in the Historian’s Office.

Three months later he was again forced to flee Salt Lake City to spend another year on the Mormon “underground.”

A copy of this valuable letter has been donated by the Daynes, through the efforts of their daughter, Mrs. Michael (Christine) Rhead, to the LDS Historical Department.

Salt Lake City Jan 14/84 [1885]

My Dear Emma

In order to be in fashion I am Called on a Mission. I Cannot say whare now But I shall keep you advised. As Circumstances to day Deprive me of *home Office & Clerk* you must try to make out my own scroll. I should have been much pleased to have had an interview with you before I left but I do not Expect to be Able to. I had rather be a free man any where than to be in the hands of my Enemies. Any Communication you wish to make to me within two days if given to Orion will reach me. I would like Asahels last Letter before I leave you. Keep *Henrys & Nellies* letters. I have told Brother Jaques to send to you all of Asahels Letters to me, & when you have read them return them to Bro Jaques & He will forward them to me. I have made arrangements with Brother *Jack* to give you \$30 order at the beginning of Every other Month. You call at his Office on the 1. March for it. I have ownly received about mony Enough since Christmass to pay the present tuition of *Clara & Lucy* of the present term. Nearly all my rents have stoped payment, but I am in hopes they will be better when spring opens. I will try to make arrangements for you to have some Mony when it comes in.

I now wish to say that if you or any of your family are called before the *Court* dont *Perjure* yourselves. Tell nothing but the truth and as *little of that* as you Can. I do not want any of my family to injure themselves on My Account. Kiss the Children for me, give my love to them. I want the prayers of my family & friends. All the *Elders* of *Israel* Need the prayers of the Saints these days. God Bless you and the Children. I thank the Lord that we have one Son in the *Vinyard* preching the Gospel. I hope Clara will do well in school and not get her mind more than she can help on any thing Else. I see Asahel is located in London in his last Letters. I think He will have a pleasanter field to work in. I think in the Spring Azmen had better Stay the best he Can untill Henry comes after him.

Ever yours Affectionately

W Woodruff

I shall take a copy of your family likenesses with me.

WILFORD WOODRUFF, SPORTSMAN

James B. Allen and Herbert H. Frost*

Latter-day Saints are well acquainted with Wilford Woodruff as a missionary, apostle, and as President of the Church. Seldom are they aware of another side of his nature: the avid sportsman. In a letter in an important letterbook recently donated to the Church Archives, however, Wilford Woodruff writes of his long interest in hunting, fishing, and the great outdoors. While the letter says little about Church history as such, it reveals much about the interests and personality of President Woodruff.

Dated 24 August 1892, the letter was written while the eighty-five year old President of the Church was on a ten-day camping trip near the headwaters of the Weber River in the Uintah Mountains. Just the fact that he would take such a trip and at that age says something about his energetic nature. We find the details of the venture recorded in President Woodruff's journal beginning with the entry for Thursday, 18 August, when, in company with George Q. Cannon and his wife, President Woodruff and his wife Emma took the Utah Central Railroad to Park City, then drove in a carriage to a camp belonging to the Clayton brothers, traveling some sixty-five miles that day.

The next day was an enjoyable one for President Woodruff as he went out into the hills. Among other things he went fishing and caught six trout and also saw several game birds. By Saturday, however, he was somewhat weary, so he stayed in camp while the others went hunting grouse.

As the camping trip included a Sunday, 21 August, we can observe how the President of the Church spent his Sabbath in the mountains: He had the group come into his tent for a sacrament meeting, where he presided, and President George Q. Cannon administered the sacrament. Then President Woodruff addressed his friends, giving them a history of his joining the Church and subsequent travels. He was followed by President Cannon.

During the next few days President Woodruff spent time

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in camp while other members of the group went fishing or hunting, or traveled to nearby places. He also traveled to some nearby camps, but his health was poor and on 27 August he recorded "I had a bad night. Altitude too high for my breathing." The following day he left for home, arriving the next night.

Throughout the camping trip President Woodruff showed a great deal of interest in the fish and game in the area, and on several occasions recorded in his diary what had been caught or observed during the day. On 24 August, for example, he noted that the Clayton brothers caught thirty-five trout; and on 25 August, he mentioned that he saw several black squirrels in the trees near the camp, writing "I did not know that there was a Black squirrel in the Territory." Most probably what he saw was a dark variety of the common red squirrel, for these vary widely in color and some become almost black. The black squirrel, as such, does not exist in this area. It was in this relaxing mountain setting that Wilford Woodruff composed the letter printed below on Wednesday, 24 October. After he returned home he had the letter typed and sent to *Forest and Stream* magazine, where it was published in the 22 September 1892 issue, with slight editing. The letter copied here is taken from his letterbook with footnotes added by Professors Allen and Frost.

In Camp, Head Waters Weber River,
Utah Territory, August 24th, 1892.

EDITOR FOREST AND STREAM:

I peruse "Forest and Stream" with much interest: it cer-
[sic] contains a great amount of valuable information.

I was born on the 1st day of March 1807, at Avon, Hartford County, Conn., on the banks of a trout brook which had turned the wheels of a flour mill and a saw mill owned by my grandfather and father, for many years. As soon as I was old enough to carry a fish-rod I commenced catching trout, which I have continued to do, from time to time, for nearly 80 years.

Several years of my life were spent in Ashland, Oswego Co., New York, on the east border of Lake Ontario. While there I assisted, one morning in catching 500 salmon, very few of which were under 20 pounds, while a few weighed 40 pounds.¹ My first experience in fishing with a fly for

¹This was probably the native Atlantic Salmon, which is now extinct in the Lake Ontario Basin. C. L. Hubbs and K. F. Lagler, *Fishes of the Great Lakes Region*, Bulletin No. 26 of the Cranbrook Institute of Science, July 1949, p. 37.

trout and salmon was in England and Scotland in 1845; but I met with little success there.²

At the time of the early settlement of Utah Territory, the mountains and canyons were thickly inhabited with the elk, deer, antelope, panther, mountain lion, wild cat, and grizzly, cinnamon and brown bear; some of which were of immense size.³ These animals are still found in our mountains, and are frequently killed. I never shot a bear, although I have seen quite a number of grizzly and cinnamon bears after they were killed. In one instance a very large grizzly, with two large cubs, passed within 30 yards of me while I was concealed in the brush. I was, at the time, holding in my hands, a muzzle-loading gun, and the manner she treated her cubs, while apparently trying to wean them, plainly indicated the wisdom of my letting her pass unmolested, and assured me if I should fail to kill her the first shot, she would attack and kill me. Hardly half a mile after passing

²On 8 May 1845, Wilford Woodruff recorded in his diary his first experience with fly fishing. He was in England on a mission and on that day went fishing in the River Ribble, near Chatburn. His diary entry, which will be of interest to most sportsmen, follows: "I went to fishing with Father Richard Smithies in the river ribble he is 70 years of age & is considered the greatest fisherman in the country, He fishes with the fly which is the greatest art in in fishing ever introduced his fish pole or rod, was about 14 feet long something like cane vary slender & delectate his long fine line made of hair & cat gut was wound around a small brass wheel with a little crank to it fastend to the but end of the pole the line then runs through half a dozen brass rings or ilet held or fastend at a sutible distance along on the rod to the small end of it one the end of the fine fish line is fastend 5 or 6 artifisal flies about 2 feet apart—these are upon a small cut gut—almost as small as a single hair, 25 or 30 feet of the line is unwound from the reel at the but of the rod running through the rings to the point the line is then flung upon the water the same as though it was tied at the end of the rod and the flies with a hook concealed in each swims down the stream the trout instantly take it considering it the natural fly they are hooked as soon as they strike it if they are large trout & run they of their own accord unwind as much line as they want from the reel at the but of the pole or rod the fisherman does not pull the fish out of water on the bank by the pole but warring the fish in the water with the line untill he will not struggle then he draws him up to the shore by the line if he stands on the bank or to him if he stands in the water he then takes a small hand net—with a light pole 5 or 6 feet—puts it under the fish & takes him very deliberately out of the water, Father Smithies cought 17 trout & two Cheven [i. e. Chevin, a European chub not generally considered good eating] in this way while we were with him, It was the first time I had seen the fly used in my life in the way of fishing, it was delight with it. the rod & line was so light & flung with such skill & dexterity that the trout are beguiled & whare ever they are are generally taken the fisherman has flies different for almost ever month calculated to imitate the flies that float upon the water at the time they fish the flies are made of the feathers of birds some of various colors the trout will often take them before the natural fly I was much gratified with this days fishing, we returned to Chatburn & Sister Parkinson cooked the trout for us which made a good meal we spent the night at Br Parkinson" Wilford Woodruff Diary, 8 May 1845, Wilford Woodruff Collection, Church Archives, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³Most of these animals are still found in these mountains, although the grizzly bear is now considered to be extinct in the state. S. D. Durrant, *Mammals of Utah* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Museum of Natural History, 1952), p. 407.

she came upon a camp, some of the men fired at her several times but she got away, with her cubs. I have killed deer and antelope but never elk although upon one occasion a band of more than 200 came within 300 yards of me, and were headed towards me, but were frightened off in another direction by a man without a gun who came running to see me shoot an elk a companion hunter, however, shot and killed one of them. We think deer are increasing in our region.⁴ A good many elk and sheep are still in our mountains, but difficult to get at. Deer, antelope, and elk are quite plentiful north of us, in the Snake River country, now Idaho, and moose are taken occasionally. Some six years ago I met a young man up there who shot 16 elk and 2 moose out of one band, and he said he might have killed more, but to do so would only have been to waste them.

Now concerning the trout of Utah, I will say that Utah, Bear, Panguich and Fish Lakes, as well as other lakes, rivers and streams abound with the largest and finest trout when we first reached the Territory, but as the country has become settled they have steadily decreased; still our waters supply quite an amount of trout at the present time. Some years ago, one warm day in June, I helped to make a haul at the mouth of Provo River, the trout⁵ having gathered about the river mouth for cooler water, the fishermen had made several hauls during the day, out in the lake, and took some 500 pounds of fish and when the net was drawn, the draft was judged to be about 4000 pounds. A great number of the trout weighed 40 pounds each, on the scales. As it was night, and having a great amount of dead fish on hand to be saved, after taking out several hundred pounds of the largest fish, the rest were turned into the lake alive. I saw one trout caught in Utah Lake, by net, which weighed 18 pounds.⁶

Trout and salmon have been successfully hatched here, under the supervision of Hon. A. P. Rockwood, who is now dead; the eggs having been supplied by the late Fish Commissioner, Seth Green. The fry were put into Utah Lake and the tributaries of Bear Lake. Mr. A. M. Musser, our local

⁴Deer were not, as many believe, plentiful when the Mormon pioneers arrived in the Great Basin. Escalante reported seeing very few deer in 1776. After the pioneers arrived, however, excessive grazing changed the vegetative picture from many types of grasses to a shrubby habitat which is more suitable for deer, hence the increase in the deer population observed by Wilford Woodruff.

⁵This refers to the Utah cutthroat trout. This species is now extinct in Utah Lake. Its extinction was brought about by overfishing, adverse conditions in the lake and adjoining spawning streams, and pollution. W. F. Sigler and R. R. Miller, *Fishes of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Department of Fish and Game, 1963), p. 158.

⁶At this time licenses were issued to allow commercial fishing on Utah Lake. In 1895, for example, fourteen persons were so licensed and caught 4,000 pounds of trout, 40,000 pounds of bass, 133,324 pounds of carp, and 189,900 pounds of other fish for a total catch of 367,224 pounds. *Forest and Stream* 46 (29 February 1896):177.

Fish Commissioner, about three years ago, put into Utah Lake, 1,000,000 shad fry, and I am happy to say that this effort to stock Utah Lake with shad bids fair to be a success.⁷ Although this fish are as yet protected by law, some of them, on one occasion, found their way to the market and weighed two and a half pounds. I assisted Mr. Rockwood, several years before, to put in our River Jordan 4000 shad fry, but the venture was not a success.

About 12 years ago I visited Bear River valley and fished 4 hours in a creek leading into Bear River, with a rod and reel, and caught 20 trout, four of them weighed a little over 4 pounds each. Upon this occasion I hooked and brought to sight, one trout, I think, of 10 pounds weight; but on account of the perpendicular height of the bank I could not land him.

Concerning wild fowl: for years our lakes, ponds and streams were alive with pelican, geese and ducks; and chickens⁸ and sage hens were numerous in the hills; but as the country is being settled, our feathered game, too, correspondingly diminishes. Chickens are now mostly confined to the distant hills and canyons. During the last few days we have killed 30 chickens near our camp. One of our company started a flock and shot 9 times on the wing, dropping 9 birds, and the 10th shot brought down 2, the balance of the charge striking the side of a rock, glance and hit a young man as he was mounting into the saddle. Seven shot lodged in the man and eleven in the horse the man was hit in the throat, sholder, back of head, and right knee. Nothing serious, however, resulted from the accident.⁹

Respectfully, Wilford Woodruff [signed]

P.O. Box B, Salt Lake City Utah.

⁷Unfortunately, President Woodruff's optimism about the future of the shad was premature. Nine unsuccessful attempts were made to introduce the American Shad into the area between 1871 and 1892. This species was one of eleven unsuccessfully introduced into Utah. Sigler and Miller, *Fishes of Utah*, p. 23.

⁸The term "chicken," both in this letter and in the diary, probably refers to the Sharp-tailed Grouse.

⁹The young man who was hurt was named Tyler Clayton and, according to the diary, it was his brother who accidentally shot him. This was on 20 August, four days before this letter was written. President Woodruff marveled in his diary that the accident did not maim either man or horse, but the following day Tyler was resting comfortably and by 24 August he could ride over the mountains with his brother.

A Note on Reviewing Books

Chad J. Flake*

In sorting through some of the books owned by the late Dale Morgan, I came upon a typescript of his review of Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* (1958). He praised the work with such remarks as "I cannot imagine that anyone seriously interested in Mormon history . . . will be able to do without it" and "as a good descriptive work, *Great Basin Kingdom* is an immense accomplishment." However, and much more important, he performed the real task of a book reviewer: that of giving a tough evaluation of the work. He pointed out, for instance, that while the subtitle stated that the work was an economic history of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1930, the period before Utah was "treated in only the most sketchy manner, and without much real comprehension of the operative economic factors." He also chided Dr. Arrington that his omission of non-Mormon economics was actually unrealistic for the task he proposed to complete. Finally, Morgan wrote that Dr. Arrington, unable to resist the wealth of information he had amassed, took it along the "road toward conversion into a general history of the Mormons in Utah—without, however, following through as he would have had to do had the writing of such a history been his announced purpose."

In every sense, this review is that of a superb scholar reviewing an equally eminent scholar. The reviewer has three basic functions: (1) to inform both readers and practicing scholars that the book is available and to tell them whether it is worth purchasing or not, (2) to evaluate the work so that the reader has a guide to its strengths and weaknesses,

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and (3) to notify an author that his book will be subjected to a good critical review to force him to be more honest in the work. What was disquieting about reading Mr. Morgan's fine review is the fact that it pointed up the real lack of tough reviews of most of the works published recently by Mormons on Mormonism. Possibly part of the problem is that most authors and reviewers are well acquainted with each other, both belonging to the Mormon History Association and, in many cases, being on the same faculty. One has the disturbing fear that the lack of critical reviewing could be in the hope that the reviewer's own works will be treated kindly, or that it will be uncomfortable to face a colleague after having just torpedoed his work.

An example of such weak reviewing are the reviews in *BYU Studies*, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and *Dialogue of Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, edited by F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973). It is a collection of essays on Mormonism, only a few of which are of any quality; the rest are pedestrian, adding little to the knowledge of Mormonism. After studying the book, I was interested in what the reviewers had to say. The first review I read was in *BYU Studies*. I was appalled that the reviewer saw none of the faults that I thought were so evident. In this case the problem was a tactical one. As noted above, no book should be given to a friend or a close colleague of the author. It places too great a burden on the reviewer and the result too often is less than critical, as was the review in *Studies*.

The second review was in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. It also praised the book calling it refreshing, for an obscure reason. What enchanted this reviewer most was that the work contained essays by both LDS and RLDS scholars, and he used an obscure meaning of the word "essay" to show that it is just a beginning of this kind of scholarly collaboration.

The reviewer in *Dialogue* had lavish praise of the work, noting that the material had not been published elsewhere. In this he might be technically right, although most of the material is certainly available elsewhere. The problem in this review is that it is in the wrong place. If it were in a newspaper or general periodical, it would point the uninformed to

aspects of Mormonism. But for the mature reader of *Dialogue*, a much more serious review should have been done.

It is not my purpose to review *Restoration Movement*; however, its reviewers certainly demonstrate graphically the problem of the lack of critical reviewing. One does not expect a hatchet job such as the one in *Dialogue* on Gustive Larson's *Americanization of Utah for Statehood*; one must hope for reviews done with fairness, such as Thomas Alexander's review of the same work in *BYU Today*.

Book Reviews

Marshall, Donald R. *The Rummage Sale*. Provo, Utah: Heirloom Publications, 1972. 141 pages. \$3.75 hardback. \$2.50 paperback. Reprinted, Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1975. \$4.95 hardback.

(Reviewed by Elouise Bell, who is assistant professor of English at Brigham Young University, where she teaches creative writing.)

The opening line of "The Pines," the final selection in Don Marshall's anthology of short stories called *The Rummage Sale*, begins with this question: "Are you really going to let him take you back to Utah?" The question is asked of Lida Burrows, whose second husband, Verdell, wants her to return with him to Utah, where they both grew up. But in a larger sense, the question applies to every reader of *The Rummage Sale*, and the answer for most readers—certainly the answer for this reader—will be, Yes, I'm going to let him take me back to Utah.

For this is, in fact, what *The Rummage Sale* is all about. When Verdell Porter, in "The Pines," proposes to Lida, he tells her he has turned his back on his heritage long enough. Now he wants to go back to the family homestead and "pick up the neglected pieces of the past." In this book, Marshall has embraced the Utah subculture as one returning to the family homestead. He has picked up the neglected pieces of the past in order to show us their impact on the present. He has taken us—including those reared far from the Rocky Mountains but now, by choice or marriage, by faith or fate, part of the culture—back to Utah in a way no other Mormon writer has yet done. It is a serious and worthwhile undertaking, and we must not let the delightful humor that shines throughout the pages mislead us as to the basic importance of the book. Rummage sales occasionally produce rare treasures, especially for those willing to look patiently and carefully at the items displayed.

Let us think about that treasure for a moment. Joseph Campbell, in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, describes the fundamental archetype of the journey, a pattern underlying much of the central literature of the world. The hero, he says, leaves his homeland, makes a voyage, and in its course descends into a dark world, an underworld, where he wages a great battle but triumphs and returns victorious with a prize. Surely Marshall's heroes make the same journey. It is more than coincidence, more even than the author's own background of world travel, that accounts for the many travels taken in the anthology. Virtually all the key characters travel—Thalia to California, LaRena Homer to the Middle East, Cecil of "The Parasites" to Mexico, Ila Rae Dodds from coast to coast in search of her destiny, Owen Goulding to Italy, and Lida Burrows to California and finally back again. Each hero ventures out and battles various demons. But this is realistic, rather than epic, fiction, so not all return with a prize, even the prize of self-knowledge. Some of them *do* earn that treasure, however, and when they do, it is at a genuine price. There are no easy victories in Marshall's stories, which is one reason they rate so high in the (as yet) rather small library of Mormon fiction.

Some readers of *The Rummage Sale* have "rummaged" too quickly, too casually, and have said, "The stories are depressing." It is a comment worth considering. To answer the charge, I refer readers again to "The Pines." Marshall has clearly placed his stories where they are in the book with good reason, and none better than "The Pines." The book begins with the story of a woman who fulfills a life-long dream by going for a brief, daring vacation to Carmel. And it ends with the story of a woman who had lived most of her life happily in California, with no dream of returning to Paradise, Utah. In this piece, her first husband, Orville, represents California and Lida's feelings about it. Symbolizing Utah is Verdell, a man she had known long ago, when he was a "marvelous honey-haired boy." In fact, we are told, "she loved him . . . long before Orville, before she had even heard of names like San Marino, Sierra Madre, and Hacienda Heights." This little story is an epitome for the entire book, for every hero who ventures forth, perhaps to stay half a lifetime, but who, in one way or another, returns to acknowledge and love "the neglected pieces of the past." Every fragment in *The Rummage*

Sale is a piece of the past and its ongoing continuation, the present; and each is shown for what it is, without romanticizing, but with real understanding and compassion.

One interesting manifestation of that compassion is Marshall's treatment of his women characters. All of them, even the most misled, like Minna, or the most imperceptive, like LaRena Homer, are portrayed with a certain tenderness and sympathy. One might ask how the author gets away with using women as his central characters so much, when writers are usually advised to stay with protagonists of their own sex, for greatest credibility. I think the answer is in the lack of introspection in most of the characters. They are real women, and very credible, but none is really self-aware, none probes her own motivations very far. That disturbing business is left to the men. There are only two adult men as protagonists in the book, and both are introspective. Perhaps as a result, or perhaps for other reasons, neither is very sympathetic. Both Cecil of "The Parasites" and Owen of "The Sound of Drums" are rather selfish, egocentric misfits, and if they gain a prize as the result of their voyages, it is the bittersweet one of greater self-knowledge.

Another manifestation of compassion is a device many readers will think of as a mere gimmick—Marshall's careful linking of characters. Central figures in one story will be casually mentioned in another. As Lida returns to Utah, she stops by to visit Thora, who had a key role in "All the Cats in Zanzibar." Viola Pratt, whose calendar notes make up one piece of the anthology, is a relative of Calbert Dunkley, whose letters form another story. And so it goes throughout the whole book. This device does more than illustrate the known truth that Utahns, and especially Utah Mormons, are widely inter-related. It underscores a kinship that is deeper than genealogy. It says, not to put too fine a point to it, what the Jungle Boy said: "We be of one blood, me and thee."

An especially strong point of the book, and its affirmation, is the balance Marshall achieves. There is no "message," no propaganda. People can err in all directions, can tangle their lives in brambles on either side of the road. There is Minna, who never goes out but endlessly smothers her children; there is also Reula Fay, who in the story is literally always gone and neglects husband and child. There is LaRena Homer, who travels widely, yet in a sense never leaves home; there is also

Owen, who, even when he is home, is not at home. Yes, some of the foibles of small-town folk are mocked, but many of the affectations of the would-be sophisticates are even more strongly ridiculed. And these small towns also produce Thoras, who travel and benefit from it, or Thalia Beales, who maintain dignity and duty, and dreams as well, or Neils, who can set the Owens of the world straight about the values of home and family and caring. Marshall succeeds with virtually every form he attempts—even with such experiments as “Contents of an El Roi Tan Box Found Under a Bed,” or “Notes on a Calendar Found in an Empty House After the Death of Viola Pratt,” or the marvelous monologue, “Somehow They Always Seem to Change It On You,” which I predict will become a favorite “reading” in this area in years to come. The one genre which is not a total success, at least as he attempts it here, is the story-in-letter-form. This is not a fault of the form itself; there have been great short stories written in the form of letters, including “Address Unknown,” and “Some Like Them Cold.” But in “May the Good Lord Bless and Keep You” and “You’ll Never Believe It,” Marshall tries to paint his humor with too wide a brush, and the resulting farce is a bit heavy, the characters rather undeveloped. These stories are, however, very popular with many readers, who can perhaps identify with the missionary situations involved, but it seems to me that in both Marshall sacrifices subtlety and texture for the easy laugh.

May I end, again, with a suggestion that the reader “rummage” carefully at this particular *Sale*? By doing so, he will find many treasures and bargains he might otherwise have missed. To return whence we began, many readers have felt that “The Pines” is a downbeat story because it ends with Lida weeping. But words give off charges, positive or negative (upbeat or downbeat connotations, if you prefer). Listen to the words—and hence the tone—of the closing paragraph of “The Pines”: “Plums cooling in the sycamore shade,” “through the willowed evening . . . bob-o-links and crickets called them on,” “they ate peaches and cream at the kitchen table,” “through the clean green fields . . . where the wind hurried the white clouds through the endless blue skies and carried with it the sweet scent of hay, freshly mown and moist,” “the tall cool pines.” Yes, of course Lida weeps at the end. She

has come home, with, and *to*, her first love. One suspects Don Marshall has done the same.

Miller, David E., and Della S. Miller. *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph*. Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974. 262 pp. \$10.00.

(Reviewed by Glen M. Leonard, a senior historical associate with the Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City. Dr. Leonard is a former Publications Coordinator for the Utah State Historical Society and serves on the editorial staff of the *Journal of Mormon History*.)

Mormon Nauvoo is an easily defined subject. It begins in 1839, ends seven years later, and incorporates such essentials as the move to Illinois, city and temple building, the Nauvoo Legion, political stresses, and the death of Joseph Smith. The Millers' attractively printed narrative history recites all the generally known facts. In addition, it supplies newer information on land purchases and the operations of city government, plus descriptions of important landmarks now the object of historic restoration.

Nauvoo: The City of Joseph originated a dozen years ago as a dual-purpose report. Compiled for the National Park Service, which was considering the Mormon westward movement for its Mission 66 program, it also served as an initial historical summary for Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

As published, the study proceeds in six segments. In the first, the Mormons move quickly from their beginnings in New York to the expulsion from Missouri and the purchase of an inheritance in Nauvoo. Section two briefly describes church government, then chronicles the daily routine of municipal affairs under the Nauvoo Charter. A lengthy third section touches on church activities and general growth, lists major economic developments, describes social and cultural life in Nauvoo, and identifies major public buildings. In the fourth division, the narrative moves forward through political conflict to the assassination of the Smith brothers and the succession crisis. Section five describes the death of Nauvoo and traces plans for the westward trek. A final part sketches the post-Mormon era and attempts an interpretation of the period's influence on subsequent events in Utah. A helpful survey of pre-Mormon Nauvoo is relegated to an appendix but deserves

to be read in its chronological position at the beginning of the book.

The initial report of 1963 described the Nauvoo experience in Latter-day Saint history with a straightforward description and numerous maps, pictures, and lengthy quoted excerpts. In adapting the manuscript for publication, the authors wisely deleted many of the long extracts. They reworked the text, retained selected maps and photographs, and inserted some new information on such things as Masonry, population, the Missouri background, the Council of Fifty, church activities, polygamy, and the martyrdom. Nevertheless, though newly published, the book is dated. It very much reflects the needs and the historiographical climate of the original report, which should have been published while the detailed reconstruction of land purchases and the on-the-scene investigation of historical buildings were fresh.

In their research the authors relied heavily upon Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*. In this, they give the Prophet greater responsibility for the preparation of the history of the Nauvoo years than he rightfully deserves; Dean C. Jessee demonstrated in *BYU Studies* three years ago that the Nauvoo history was compiled, albeit from primary sources—including the Prophet's diary—by scribes between 1845 and 1856. The Millers freshened their study with much new detail gleaned from Hancock County records and from the massive Southern Illinois University microfilm collection.

The Millers, it must be noted, did not intend a synthesis of scholarly interpretation. Leaving that for other writers, they have reconstructed a basic narrative which will be most useful to the Mormon traveler wanting a succinct review of the story behind the landmarks at restored Nauvoo. The authors dismiss out-of-hand the popular works of "able novelists and pseudo-historians." In numerous instances, however, they would have increased their service to the general reader had they worked into their narrative more of the findings of investigators who have written since the original report. They offer instead their own factual narrative which some professionals will regard as tending to defend the faith. *The City of Joseph* provides an alternative to the polemical work of B. H. Roberts, the sentimental recitals of E. Cecil McGavin, and the secular analysis of Robert B. Flanders. Of special note in this latest retelling of the Nauvoo story are Professor Miller's dis-

tinctive attention to place, his interest in the intrinsic value of history, and his ability to entertain while informing by the inclusion of quoted material often bordering on the dramatic, all of which combine to infuse this study with a straightforwardness characteristic of this well-known Utah historian. The book will serve a useful purpose until a needed comprehensive study of the Nauvoo period appears.

Godfrey, Kenneth. *Charles Shumway, A Pioneer's Life*. Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1974. 188 pp. \$7.50.

(Robert F. Owens is an attorney practicing in St. George, Utah.)

Mormon biography has typically been a small province bordered on three sides by family pride, and on the fourth by misspelled words, to paraphrase Guedalla.

Kenneth Godfrey breaks out of this province in his excellent study, *Charles Shumway, A Pioneer's Life*. The pioneer patriarchs often seem to have been selected by destiny for greatness. The long trek across half a continent and half a century turned bland New England farmers into charismatic leaders, who, seen from a distance, tower like mountains between the foothills of their ancestors and the plains of their descendants. If they had several wives, as Charles had, their fourth generation descendants are usually of sufficient number to justify publication costs for a biography, and the Shumway family is fortunate to include a Dr. Godfrey to undertake this job.

Since Charles Shumway was a man of action and not of the written word, the author has had to rely largely on secondary sources which tell us where Charles went, what he did, but not, however, what he felt. Godfrey places the narrative in the context and background of the history of the Church.

Born in Massachusetts in 1806, Charles Shumway joined the Mormon church in Illinois in 1840. His family name is of mysterious origin. It sounds English, but is not, and may have come from the French *chamois*. In any event, like his Huguenot ancestors of the 1600s, Charles Shumway fled religious persecution. Even after he reached the safety of the Great Basin, though, he continued to travel. *A Pioneer's Life* traces Shumway's many moves, always pushing out the borders of Zion: Manti in 1849, Cache Valley in 1859, Kanab in 1875, and

finally the virtual exile of the Little Colorado Valley in Arizona in 1879. Wherever he went, he built mills and left grown children who had taken root. As a career pioneer, he was always on the colonizing edge of Brigham Young's vision of empire.

He died at the age of 92 in Shumway, Arizona, a small town in the northern part of the state named for him, and which in this century has exported much produce—and many Shumways—and like many other Mormon villages, is now in a state of decline.

A measure of conflict was endemic in the Shumway family, as in most families, and it is to Dr. Godfrey's credit that he includes the warts and blemishes in his story. Thus, the difficulties between Charles and his son Wilson are chronicled, and Shumway is portrayed as an eccentric grandfather who presented a trimmed toenail to a grandson as a keepsake, and who made his own casket years before his death and tried it out periodically to see if it were still the right size.

These human insights ensure the story will be read and valued, for simple eulogies defeat their own purpose. A true, human picture of an ancestor is more inspiring and serviceable to his descendants than one which has been sanitized through editing.

Charles Shumway emerges from these pages not as a smooth, symmetric, Appalachian hill, but as a craggy, rough mountain on the divide of Mormon history. He was a mountain that could be moved by faith, and frequently was:

“Brigham Young had told father that he desired to see him farther south,” his son Wilson records. “Father considered that a call, and he believed in being responsive to all calls when they came from the right source, and as that was the right source he decided to sell out at once and go to the land of cotton.”

His response seems casual and undramatic: yet this was the caliber of obedience that built a church and kingdom. Dr. Godfrey, in “looking back to his origins with love and trust” has done a service, not only to the large Shumway family, but to all who share an interest in Mormon history and the men and women who made it.

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