



DIALOGUE
a journal of mormon thought

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and to examine the relevance of religion
to secular life. It is edited by
Latter-day Saints who wish to bring
their faith into dialogue with
human experience as a whole and to
foster artistic and scholarly
achievement based on their cultural
heritage. The Journal encourages a
variety of viewpoints; although every
effort is made to ensure
accurate scholarship and responsible
judgment, the views expressed are
those of the individual authors and are
not necessarily those of the
Mormon Church or of the editors.

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Roger Camp

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

prophecy or expediency?

I would like to respond to Mr. Daryl J. Turner's "new semiofficial position of the Church" regarding the former status of blacks and priesthood eligibility (*Dialogue* XII:4, Letters).

With a tone of deep moral indignation Mr. Turner argues that "we" (the Church) never had a rational "excuse" for the doctrine in the first place, maintaining that "It was necessary for a time, until most whites matured sufficiently to see that all men are brothers. At that time it (the ban) was discarded, having served its purpose." He concludes from this line of reasoning that, at best, church leaders, and God himself, were acting from justifiable expediency (which here would be something like justifiable homicide, sparing whites a little discomfort at the expense of the blacks, who no doubt in this scheme were the result of an unfortunate miscalculation in the original genetic programming of the human race).

Lumping such crucial practices as priesthood eligibility and even polygamy into the tolerant arms of *expediency* seems to deny the Church truly divine direction in favor of an apparently rational and historically conditioned motivation.

The central issue in this: Are members of the Church, and the world in general, reliant on incompetent prophets who are themselves reliant on the capricious winds of historical fashion and social expediency? Carried to its logical consequence, our effort to justify (instead of explain) in turn each of the Lord's mandates to the prophets becomes a denial of the Lord's right to dictate those doctrines and policies. We might also humbly recall that the Lord has categorically informed us that, "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." (Isaiah 55:9)

In the instance of denial of the priesthood to blacks, it should also be recalled that the vast majority of the earth's inhabitants up to this point has been denied any and all access to the gospel in its fullness, let alone to the priesthood!

To blatantly deny the Church's prophets and members of their generally acknowledged, profound sense of justice and charity is to label, ironically, the most socially progressive institution on earth callous and inhumane. Moreover, such labeling would effectively make a shambles of the claim to true "conversion" of the Christian, that process that changes one from a selfish state to a (hopefully) charitable one. This denial is especially illogical when we accept the restoration of the true gospel of Christ with its gift of direct and constant revelation.

Mr. Turner's efforts at doctrinal updating fail to impress. More tragically, they completely deny the prophets and apostles their right to special insight and divine communication. We see once again the word of prophecy made the servant of the skeptic's earthbound notion of cause and effect. Mr. Turner has applied the "tail wagging the dog" formula; I suggest he take a broader look at his own version of a Creator victimized by a capricious history.

Steve Porter

Los Angeles, California

to act or to be acted upon?

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and those who work on *Dialogue* for a truly excellent publication. As I have read through the back copies and present editions, I have never failed to be absorbed in *Dialogue*. I have found it informative, controversial, uplifting, annoying, parochial and as many adjectives as there have been contributors. One thing is always consistent: *Dialogue* is always, always a jolly good read!

I noticed that among the Board of Editors there are one or two sociologists, and I wonder if I may be so bold as to make a suggestion with them in mind. As I have ransacked the University of Victoria at Manchester, particularly the mountains of obscure American periodicals, I have found many articles about "Mormons." A good proportion of these are "factual" in that they report Mormon activities. The remainder seek to find in

the history of the saints factors that explain what the Mormons are. Implicit in the latter are arguments about the authenticity of the claims of Joseph Smith, and Mormonism as a product of particular socio-economic conditions in the America of the time. (There is a tendency to forget the many British and Scandinavian converts who helped build the Church in Utah.)

Why don't sociologists look at an ordinary ward and attempt to use the beliefs held by its members as a resource for understanding how Mormons form a community into an ongoing dynamic achievement? Such an approach would avoid sterile arguments about transcendental social forces and the validity of beliefs and concentrate upon people as *creators* of society rather than as *creations* of society.

I hope someone may see something in this approach that would avoid further rambling into the "us and them" problem of "who is right?" and would instead treat Mormons as a group in Western society coping with an everyday existence, armed with certain resources which are seen as useful.

To those who see such a subjective approach as anathema to "science," I would point out that science hasn't become a new religion as some commentators suggest; rather, in trying to apply itself to "society" it has forgotten to tell us it is amoral. I feel it important to connect the subjective to the objective because then we have a fuller picture of people as people rather than as objects. I feel this strongly because in my society much of what is "scientific" is also popularly de-emphasized "right," and the consequence seems to be confusion and social dislocation.

Science (in this instance, social science) should look more closely at its research material and less at paradigms that get confused with faith. In fact, the less Latter-day Saints will treat science as a sacred cow, the more likely they will be able to find the mechanisms that allow us all to be "free will" actors in a world that is more than the correlation of variables. Compté's religion of positive philosophy eventually looked ridiculous; perhaps in

this century we should be as critical of the claims of empiricism and scientific ethos.

The individual is the concern of God. Should it not be ours too?

Nigel Johnson
Manchester, England

kudos

I would like you to know how much I appreciated the issue which featured T. Edgar Lyon. He was always my favorite church teacher, but I thought that might be because he used to say he could always get the right answer from me, and I was flattered. Now I see that he probably made everyone feel as special as he did me.

I do thank you for your devotion to *Dialogue*. We all know that it has to be a labor of love. The content is good now, and it's coming on time. Please accept our heartfelt thanks.

Beth Greenhalgh
San Mateo, California

I've been an avid *Dialogue* reader from the very first issue, and I feel a deep debt of gratitude to you and the others who have brought this vital breath of fresh air into my life.

Jerald Izatt
Quebec, Montreal, Canada

Wow! Congratulations to Mr. Michael Graves for the first well-designed cover ever to appear on the journal! (Winter 1979—how come I just got it?)

Graydon Briggs, D.D.S.
Salt Lake City, Utah

We changed printers and so were delayed. Ed.

jingles jangle

I look forward eagerly to getting my copies of *Dialogue*, and when they reach me, they are really read. Even those awful poems. The poems, or most of them, impress me as the equivalent of the poems I used to read in Mrs. Butcher's *Relief Society Magazine*.

I am of the Carlyle school of appreciation and think a poem must, as he said, express a deep thought in beautiful words, and that thoughts not of that quality should be set forth in plain words and not be put in a jingle. He said that, or

something like that, in his essay on Shakespeare and Dante as Heroes. I accepted that principle in my early youth, and still hold to it as a true definition of a poem.

Harold J. Butcher
Anchorage, Alaska

who is curtis wright?

In our introduction to "A Conversation with Hugh Nibley" we inadvertently left off the biographical information for one of our interviewers. Curtis Wright is Professor of Library Science and Religion at Brigham Young University and the recipient of the second degree in Greek to be awarded at B.Y.U. under Hugh Nibley in 1951. *Ed.*

Gene Sessions, *Dialogue's* book review editor since 1978, has been released with more than the usual vote of thanks. Though he will continue to write his Brief Notices he must turn his energies to finishing his book: *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant*. Our readers and our staff are grateful for Gene's independent spirit and his indefatigable attention to Mormon publishing.

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

THE ORSON PRATT-BRIGHAM YOUNG CONTROVERSIES: CONFLICT WITHIN THE QUORUMS, 1853 TO 1868

GARY JAMES BERGERA

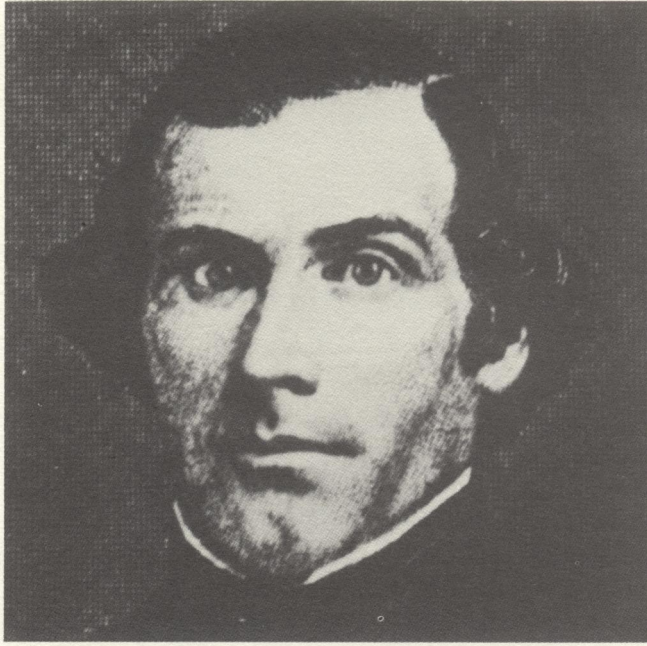
Brigham Young and Orson Pratt are both regarded as valiant leaders during the first generation of the restored Church. Both worked mightily in the missionary field and showed themselves stalwart defenders of the faith. Yet there were differences between them. Those differences were not hidden to the Latter-day Saints of the past century; they were referred to in conference sermons and in statements and retractions in the Deseret News and Millennial Star. In retracing the fascinating course of theological differences Gary James Bergera reminds us that dedicated leaders could disagree on points of doctrine and that the capacity to submit to higher authority when larger interests of the Kingdom are involved is itself a mark of greatness. It is worth emphasizing, too, that the differences sometimes separating Brigham Young and Orson Pratt were never as great or as fundamental as their common bonds.

[N]early every difficulty that arises in the midst of the inhabitants of the earth, is through misunderstanding; and if a wrong in intent and design really exists, if the matter is canvassed over in the manner I have advised, the wrong-doer is generally willing to come to terms.

—Brigham Young¹

AMONG THE MANY PERCEPTIONS shared by faithful adherents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, few are as strongly inculcated or pervasive as that of harmony among church leaders. From their faith's 1830 inception,

GARY JAMES BERGERA is a senior in psychology at Brigham Young University. His article, "I'm Here for the Cash:" Max Florence and the Great Mormon Temple, appeared recently in the Utah Historical Quarterly.



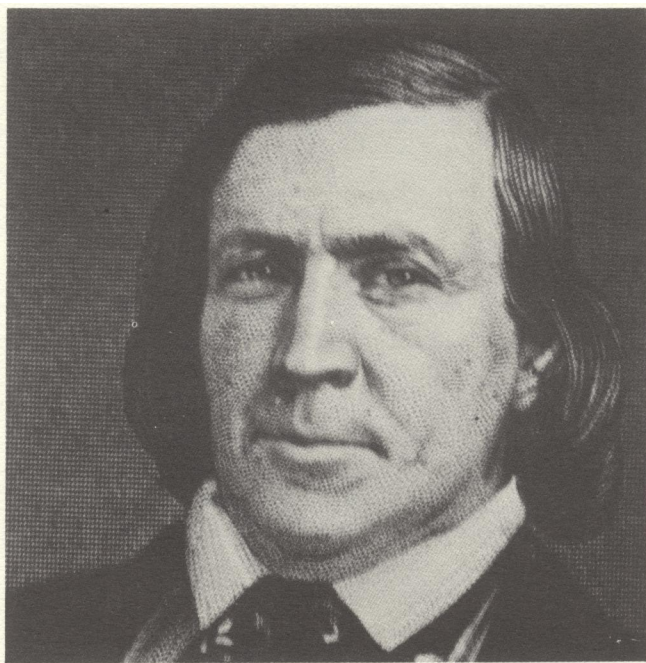
Orson Pratt (late 1840s or early 1850s)

Mormons have been commanded, “[B]e one; if ye are not one ye are not mine.”² Nowhere is this sentiment more keenly asserted than within the presiding quorums of the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles—collectively, a small, tightly-knit group of Mormonism’s elite. Former President and Historian Joseph Fielding Smith said, “There is no variance among the teachers in Israel concerning the principles of the gospel. We are united concerning these things. There is no division among the authorities, and there need be no divisions among the people, but unity, peace, brotherly love, kindness and fellowship one to another.”³ In spite of such well-intentioned reassurances, Mormonism’s own turbulent history suggests that even within these church councils interpersonal conflict occasionally flares up.

Specifically, the little known conflict between President Brigham Young and Apostle Orson Pratt extended throughout the web of Mormon interpersonal and ecclesiastical relationships.

II

Five years after their arrival in the West, Mormon leaders began a public relations move calculated to offset public outrage over their recent announcement of plural marriage. High-ranking church authorities were called



Brigham Young (1850s)

to large cities in the West, the mid-West and the East to oversee publication of pro-Mormon newspapers. Their purpose, as specified by Brigham Young, was to provide non-Mormon readers with a more positive view of church activities in the Rocky Mountains, with special emphasis on plural marriage.

Apostle Orson Pratt was the first church official to receive such an appointment.⁴ His call came at the close of the August 1852 special conference held in conjunction with the public announcement of polygamy, which Pratt himself had delivered at Young's request. Pratt's early assignment showed, in part, his high standing and esteem among church councils and members.⁵

Arriving at his field of labor, Washington, D.C., in early December, Pratt began immediate negotiations for the publication of his brainchild, *The Seer*—named in honor of the martyred Joseph Smith. When the first sixteen-page issue appeared during the last week of December, Pratt reported to Young, "I have taken the *Seer* to seven different book Stores and periodical depots in this city, and left them for sale on commission, but I have not heard of even one copy being sold.

. . . I have had large hand bills about 2 feet square handsomely printed on good paper to be posted up in front of the book stores; many are so prejudiced that they would be ashamed to have such a bill before their door; while other booksellers, after reading the *Seer* refused to offer them for sale and requested me to take them away, and the people generally dare not enquire for a Mormon paper, because they are ashamed to do so.⁶

Much of the Washington-based book trade's apprehension no doubt stemmed from Apostle Pratt's characteristically bold presentation. His prospectus left no room for question as to his intentions: "The views of the Saints in regard to the *ancient Patriarchal Order of Matrimony, or Plurality of Wives*, as developed in a Revelation, given through JOSEPH the SEER, will be fully published." [Emphasis in original.]⁷ Ever true to his word, Pratt printed in the inaugural number Smith's 1843 revelation on "celestial marriage," appending to it an extended commentary by the Apostle himself.⁸

The effort of writing, editing and publishing the monthly journal was considerable. Since he had other responsibilities as the Church's east coast representative, the weight of his calling was heavy indeed. "Every item," Pratt wrote to Young, "yet admitted into the Seer has been new matter of my own composition. It is no small task to write 112 pages of printed matter as large as the Seer."⁹ I am confident that I will have to rest my mind a little and exercise my body more in order to preserve my health."¹⁰ He left the United States that month for England, an earlier and much loved field of missionary labor, remaining until September. While there, the diligent Pratt took his sixth plural wife.

Following his return home to the nation's capital, he wrote his older brother, Parley, expressing his own hopes and fears:

Writing has always been tedious to me, but seeing the good that may be accomplished, I have whipped my mind to it, till I am nearly bald-headed, and grey-bearded, through constant application.

I almost envy the hours as they steal away, I find myself so fast hastening to old age. A few short years, if we live, will find us among the ranks of the old men of the earth; and how can I bear to have it so without doing more in this great cause? . . . [Y]ou would no doubt counsel me to be patient, but I would remark, that I sometimes fear that while I am waiting with *patience* that the day of my probation will be past and that I may be called away before I have prevailed with God as did the ancients. I will try, my dear brother, to be patient, but sometimes my anxieties are so great that it is hard to wait. [Emphasis in original.]¹¹

In his role as defender of the faith, Pratt had few equals. In time, however, these very gifts would earn him not only distant respect but the fear of his own church president.

The first inkling he had of Young's growing disapprobation came by mail in early November 1853. In a letter dated September 1, Young advised Pratt that certain points of doctrine treated in the pages of the *Seer* "are not *Sound Doctrine*, and will not be so received by the Saints." [Emphasis in original.]¹² This criticism was general, not specific. Pratt had received a letter from a close friend at church headquarters who, evidently privy to a less reserved Young, was able to alert Pratt to several of the President's more pointed accusations. On November 4, Pratt hurriedly wrote President Young a six-page letter, to which he attached a short confession.

It appears that Brigham Young was at odds with the Apostle's reasoning on a plurality of Gods, a doctrine publicly proclaimed by Joseph Smith two months before his violent death in June 1844.¹³ Pratt had defined God as a quality or attribute rather than a corporeal being. He explained to Young,

[T]he Unity, Eternity, and Omnipresence of God, consisted in the oneness, eternity, and Omnipresence of the attributes, such as *'the fulness of Truth,'* light, love, wisdom, & knowledge, dwelling in countless numbers of tabernacles in numberless worlds; and that the oneness of these attributes is what is called in both ancient & modern revelations, the One God besides whom there is non other God neither before Him neither shall there be any after Him. [Emphasis in original.]

Pratt had also written, "The Father and the Son do not progress in knowledge and wisdom, because they already know all things past, present, and to come."¹⁴

Significantly, he saw his efforts as designed to reconcile teachings on the Godhead found in the Bible with those contained in Mormon canon. "[W]ithout these arguments I have not the most distant idea how to reconcile them," he lamented to Young,

without these arguments I could not stand one moment before arguments brought by our opponents; without these arguments, it would be entirely vain for me to try & enlighten the world upon this subject by reason. I could only bear my testimony that there was but one God as clearly declared in our revelations, & that there were many Gods as asserted in the same revelations, and there I should have to leave it, as a stumbling block before the world and as a stumbling block before many that are honest, though uninformed.

Pratt's sympathies were clearly with those who questioned contradictions, as they saw them, in Mormon dogma. It was his desire that church teachings be amenable to human understanding and reasoning rather than a "stumbling block." In fact, the majority of his writings stressed the rationality of the Church. At the onset of *The Seer's* publication, Pratt had challenged his non-Mormon readers, "[C]onvince us of our errors of doctrine, if we have any, by reason, by logical arguments, or by the word of God, and we will be ever grateful for the information. . . ." ¹⁵ His treatment of plural marriage, for instance, was founded on the premise of its existence among the prophets and leaders of ancient Israel.

Clearly, he thought Brigham Young should also be expected to meet standards of rationality and consistency. "[N]either can I persuade myself, even now," he wrote, "that minds accustomed to severe thought and meditation as yours have been these many years, can, after due reflection, and reading the vast number of revelations which seem most clearly to teach differently, still believe in a doctrine which appears to be so contrary to what is revealed."¹⁶ He added, "It is not through self-will or stubbornness that I have published what I have upon this subject. I have published, whether

right or wrong, what I verily and most sincerely believed to be the true doctrine revealed. . . .

I hope that you will grant me as an individual the privilege of believing my present views, and that you will not require me to teach others in the temple, or in any other place that which I cannot without more light believe in regard to the eternal progression of all Gods in knowledge. I do not ask any one else to believe as I do upon this subject. . . . [H]ad I been persuaded that you did in reality entertain permanent views contrary to what I have published, I should have kept my views away from the public, for it is not my prerogative to teach publicly that which the president considers to be unsound.

Pratt enclosed a short, carefully worded confession to be published at Young's discretion in the church-owned *Deseret News*. Though never printed, Pratt's statement was no doubt greeted with relief. His disclaimer read, in part, "I do most earnestly hope that the Saints throughout the world will reject every unsound doctrine which they may discover in the 'Seer' or in any of my writings. Whatever may come in contact with the *settled & permanent* views of our president should be laid aside as emanations of erring human wisdom." [Emphasis in original.]¹⁷

The stage, however, had been set for further confrontation. Pratt would submit to the demands of President Young, yet he would tenaciously retain the right to freedom of thought he felt to be beyond Young's ecclesiastical mandate. In the absence of binding declaration, he saw as his privilege the right to arrive at knowledge and truth through any means available. Pratt's reluctance to admit error would serve as the most significant cause of Young's continued criticism.

Pratt's conversion to Mormonism had come from independent thinking which led to a disaffection from traditional creeds. Similarly, Brigham Young's acceptance of the new religion had come after a careful weighing of the claims of the infant church in terms of his own experience and understanding. Some two years had passed between his initial contact with Mormon missionaries and his baptism in 1832. As he later recalled, "I wished time sufficient to prove all things."¹⁸ Privy to private conversations of the hierarchy since his appointment to the quorum of the Twelve in 1835, Young knew well the consequences of extravagant doctrines. Both men realized that many of the Saints' first attraction to the Church had been brought on by intellectual questioning. Yet each church authority viewed his basic value from subtly different perspectives. Young, as president, feared the potentially dangerous effects of Pratt's logic, while Pratt appreciated the value of a reasoned faith. The difference, one of emphasis, would become increasingly polarized.

Pratt returned to the Great Salt Lake Valley to deliver his homecoming report to Church leaders on 3 September 1854. Two weeks later to the day, Young privately reproached the Apostle during a prayer meeting of ranking general authorities. He warned Pratt that his interpretation of the omniscience of God "was a fals doctrin & not true that thare never will be a time to all Eternity when all the God [s] of Eternity will seace advancing in power knowl-

edge experience & Glory for if this was the case Eternity would cease to be & the glory of God would come to an End but all of celestial beings will continue to advance in knowledge & power worlds without end." The President also took issue with Pratt's acceptance of Adam's having been created out of the dust of this earth. Young maintained that Adam "came from another world & brought Eve with him partook of the fruits of the Earth begat children & they were Earthly & had mortal bodies & if we are faithful we should become Gods as [Adam] was." Apostle Wilford Woodruff recorded that the President "told Brother Pratt to lay aside his Philosophical reasoning & get revelation from God to govern & Enlighten his mind more . . . [he] said his [Pratt's] Philosophy injured him in a measure. . . ."19

Pratt was not the only member unwilling to embrace certain of Young's views. Yet his calling as Apostle placed him at the forefront of dissent. Following a strong Adam-God statement delivered by Young during the October 1854 general conference, one member observed, "[T]here were some that did not believe the sayings of the Prophet Brigham. Even our beloved Brother Orson Pratt told me that he did not believe it. He said he could prove by the scriptures it was not correct. I felt sorry to hear Professor Orson Pratt say that. I fear lest he should apostatize."²⁰ The day after these observations, Pratt addressed the faithful in the Old Tabernacle. Vaguely alluding to present difficulties, he cautioned those members gathered for the semi-annual conference:

So far as I have ever preached abroad in the world, and published, one thing is certain, I have not published anything but what I verily believe to be true, however much I may have been mistaken, and I have generally endeavored to show the people, from the written word of God, as well as reason, wherein it was true. This has been by general course . . .
 . . . Previous to declaring a doctrine, I have always inquired in my own mind, "can this doctrine be proved by revelation given, or by reason, or can it not? If I found it, could be proved, I for the doctrine; but if I found there was no evidence to substantiate it, I laid it aside; in all this, however, I may have erred, for to err is human."²¹

Eight days later, again facing Mormon faithful, he intimated that his error, if he had indeed committed one, had not been in writing or preaching doctrines out of harmony with those of the church president, for he had not previously learned of Young's own views: "I do not know that I have this day presented any views that are different from his: if I have, when he corrects me, I will remain silent upon this subject, if I do not understand it as he does."²² His error, as he saw it, was not necessarily in espousing faulty beliefs, but in possibly expounding doctrines considered contrary to the opinions of the president—which conflict he was unaware of at the time.

Pratt could not help but realize, however, that at least one, perhaps two, of his teachings were not well received by Young. It may be that Pratt's public comments were intended to be a not-so-subtle invitation purposely designed

to incite Young's equally public response. With their disagreements known by members other than those of the church's top-level leadership, Pratt may have felt he would have stood a better chance at defending his beliefs.

One month later, the *Deseret News* announced the publication of Pratt's edition of *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, by Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet.²³ During his fall 1852 journey to Washington, D.C., Pratt had obtained a manuscript dictated by Joseph Smith's mother relating past events of the Smiths' lives. Pratt, quick to realize that printing costs in the United States would prohibit its American appearance, had the manuscript published in England during the summer of 1853 by church representative Samuel W. Richards. In his eagerness, he had not sought official approval, nor had his editing corrected several textual errors. Young had been told of Pratt's intentions on 31 December 1852, though it is doubtful that Pratt thought official approval really necessary. Four months after the book's appearance in Utah, Pratt informed readers of the *Deseret News* that Smith's history did contain some inaccuracies; that Joseph Smith could not have reviewed it before his death—as Pratt had earlier assumed—and that all future editions “will be carefully revised and corrected.” Obviously Pratt thought the problems were minor and did not seriously detract from the book's value. “If the schools of our Territory would introduce this work as a ‘Reader,’ he wrote, “it would give the young and rising generation some knowledge of the facts and incidents connected with the opening of the grand dispensation of the last days.”²⁴ As additional errors became apparent, however, Pratt's failure to first secure church sanction resulted in strong condemnation from some leaders. “[T]he brethren would have made it a matter of fellowship,” Young explained five years later. “[I] did not have it in [my] heart to disfellowship but merely to correct men in their views.”²⁵

During the latter part of 1854, and continuing into the early months of 1855, the Church's English organ, *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, edited by Samuel Richards, had been reprinting several of Pratt's writings from *The Seer*. By late January 1855, Brigham Young learned of them and asked Richards to discontinue republication of the controversial articles. Richards received Young's letter in early May, and at the latter's request, printed pertinent extracts. Though Pratt had earlier hinted that his writings may not have met Young's unqualified approbation, Young's 1855 letter marked the first public announcement of this disapproval. Taking note of *The Seer's* “many items of erroneous doctrine,” the President wrote:

As it would be a lengthy and laborious operation to enter minutely into their disapproval, I prefer, for the present, to let the Saints have the opportunity to exercise their faith and discernment in discriminating between the true and erroneous; and simply request them, while reading the ‘Seer,’ to ask themselves what spirit they are of, and whether the Holy Ghost bears testimony to the truth of all the doctrines therein advocated.²⁶

Throughout the intervening months, the discourses, both private and public, of Pratt and Young revealed that neither man had substantially altered his conflicting views. In Sunday morning services at the Old Tabernacle in early 1855, Pratt commented on the Mormon concept of opposition as connected to Adam and Eve in the Garden. He also announced "the plurality of Gods as written by [me] in the 'Seer' [was] for the benefit of Elders who might be abroad at any [time] preaching to the world." During the afternoon session, Young, who had attended the morning services, arose and "spoke to the Meeting in a very interesting manner referring to several points touched upon in the morning by Bro. Pratt. Did not seem fully to fancy Orson's idea about the 'Great Almighty God' referring so especially to his attributes."²⁷ Less than two months later, Young, in Pratt's presence, explained his super-scriptural vision of the creation of this earth. Adam and Eve, Young held, arrived upon this world having previously earned their exaltation upon another. Their eternal reward consisted in peopling this earth, "redeeming [Adam's] posterity & exalt[ing] them to all the glory they were capable of receiving."²⁸ Young's interpretation contradicted Pratt's belief in man's physical creation from the dust of this earth, his subordinate position in relation to Deity and the eventual acquisition of all knowledge by those who attained ultimate exaltation.

On 17 February 1856, during a council meeting of the Twelve, Young pointedly asked Pratt's opinion, of his belief that "intelligent beings would continue to learn to all Eternity." The outspoken Apostle, with customary frankness, responded that "he believed the Gods had a knowledge at the present time of every thing that ever did exist to the endless ages of all Eternity. He believed it as much as any truth that he had ever learned in or out of this Church." Young retorted that "he had never learned that principle in the Church for it was not taught in the Church for it was not true it was false doctrine. For the God[s] & all intelligent beings would never cease to learn except it was the Sons of Perdition they would continue to decrease until they became dissolved back into their native Element & lost their Identity."²⁹

Three weeks later, both men again locked horns. Samuel Richards recorded,

A very serious conversation took place between Prest. B. Young and Orson Pratt upon doctrine. O. P. was directly opposed to the Prest's views and freely expressed his entire disbelief in them after being told by the President that things were so and so *in the name of the Lord*. He was firm in the position that the Prest's word in the name of the Lord, was not the word of the Lord to him. The Prest did not believe that Orson would ever be *Adam*, to learn by experience the facts discussed, but every other person in the room would if they lived faithful. [Emphasis in original.]³⁰

Elder Woodruff, present during this clash, added, "Elder Orson Pratt pursued a course of stubbornness & unbelief in what President Young said that will destroy him if he does not repent & turn away from his evil way. For when

any man crosses the track of a leader in Israel & tries to lead the prophet—he is no longer lead by him but in danger of falling.”³¹

Yet Brigham Young recognized Pratt’s leadership abilities. It seems doubtful that the Apostle’s numerous missionary assignments were motivated only by Young’s unwillingness to tolerate such dissent among Utah Mormons. In April 1856, Pratt departed the Valley for England where he had twice earlier assisted in the founding and organization of the church’s European mission. He arrived in Liverpool in mid-July to begin his tenure as mission president. Shortly thereafter, inflamed by the fires of Mormonism’s then-in-progress Reformation, Pratt published a small pamphlet on the “Holy Spirit,” rewritten in part from a work he had first issued in 1850.³² Despite reassurances to Young that he would avoid discussion of such topics, Pratt again outlined his concept of God and associated attributes, adding an additional commentary on the nature of the Holy Spirit. Pratt conceived this spirit “as a boundless ocean,” possessing “in every part, however minute, a will, a self-moving power, knowledge, wisdom, love, goodness, holiness, justice, mercy, and every intellectual and moral attribute possessed by the Father and the Son.”³³ Through this omnipresent spirit a fullness of godly attributes was to be obtained. Indeed, for Pratt the spiritual tabernacles of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, if organized at all, were the result of the many varied combinations and unions of the particles of this indescribable spirit matter. Implicit in this view was the possibility Young found so distasteful: The Holy Spirit existed for and enlightened to some extent the Sons of Perdition.

When the work reached Utah, President Young’s criticisms were prompt and unequivocal. Young first made mention of Pratt, still abroad, during a private meeting in his office on 29 December 1856. Wilford Woodruff reported that the President said “if he [Pratt] did not take a different course in his Phylosophy & [illegible] he would not stay long in the Church.”³⁴ Young’s personal reservations were rapidly becoming public knowledge. Less than two months later, he openly decried “our brother philosopher Orson Pratt”:

With all the knowledge and wisdom that are combined in the person of brother Orson Pratt, still he does not yet know enough to keep his foot out of it, but drowns himself in his own philosophy, every time he undertakes to treat upon principles that he does not understand. . . . [H]e is dabbling with things that he does not understand; his vain philosophy is no criterion or guide for the Saints in doctrine.³⁵

Admittedly dramatic, perhaps purposely so, Young’s public position, unlike past ambiguities, left no room for question in the minds of Mormons: Apostle Pratt’s teachings were not to be relied upon by members as statements of binding (or even accurate) church doctrine.

Not surprisingly, Pratt felt Young’s blanket denunciation unjust, his criticisms too general, condemning as they did virtually all of Pratt’s writings. On 24 March 1858, two months after his arrival home, Pratt brought formal complaint against his President before the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. Apostle Woodruff, who presented Pratt’s complaints, explained that Pratt

did not believe in some of the teachings of President Young and thought Young had reproved him unjustly. The subject was discussed at length by the Twelve and President Young. much instruction was given at the close Orson Pratt confessed his faults and said that he would never teach those principles again or speak them to any person on the earth we all forgave him and voted to receive him into full fellowship.³⁶

What had begun as an official inquest initiated by Pratt himself resulted in near disfellowshipment for the outspoken Apostle.

For nearly two years Pratt's public discourses were remarkably free of speculations. However, on Sunday, 11 December 1859, he again proclaimed his notions of the Godhead to church members gathered in the Tabernacle for weekly religious services, explaining that "it was the attributes of God that he worshiped and not the person & that he worshiped those attributes whether he found them in God Jesus Christ Adam Moses the Apostles Joseph Brigham or in anybody Else."³⁷

It may never be fully known why Orson Pratt undertook public espousal of a topic he knew to be inviting official reprimand. He may have consciously attempted to initiate a formal response to his doctrinal writings. If so, his calculations proved unquestionably successful, for they precipitated two official statements of censure.

III

Orson Pratt's December sermon prompted several general authorities to suggest that they meet to discuss the apostle's continued excesses.³⁸ Within less than two months, Young called to order in his Council Room a high level meeting of Church leaders on Friday, 27 January 1860, at 6:00 P.M. This august group included members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Presidents of the Seventy, the Presiding Bishop, church secretaries and lesser authorities.

At the onset, Young announced, "[T]he object of the Meeting [is] to converse upon Doctrinal Points to see if we see alike & think alike. I Pray that we may have the spirit of God to rest upon us that our minds may be upon the subject & that we may speak by the Holy Ghost."³⁹

The President asked Apostle Albert Carrington to read the press copy of Pratt's recent discourse. Young had seen to it that of those present, only Carrington, Pratt and Young himself had been informed of its authorship. Yet it is doubtful that the majority present were unaware of Pratt's guilt. When Young asked those who supported Pratt's views on "attributes" to manifest it by saying "Yes," the room was silent. He then announced,

This is O Pratts sermon prepared for the Press. I do not want it published if it is not right. Brother Orson worships the attributes of God but not God I worship not the attributes but that God who hold and dispenses [them] if Eternity was full of attributes and not one to dispense them they would not be worth a feather . . . Joseph [Smith] said

to us I am a God to this people & so is any man who is appointed to lead Israel or the Kingdom of God if the people reject him they reject the one who sent him but we will let that drop, and turn to the other subject now.

"[S]uppose," he postulated, "we were all to receive a fulness of the attributes of God and according to Orson Pratt's theory the Lord had a fulness and he could not advance but we could advance till we were equal to him then if we worshiped the attributes instead of God we would soon worship ourselves.

. . . [Y]ou would then worship the attributes & not the dispenser of those attributes 'this is false doctrine' God did not say worship Moses because he was a God to the people. you may say to your wife or son do so & so. they will say I will not but I will go to a greater man I will go to Brigham Young. you might say I am your councillor Dictator or you [r] God. Either would be correct and they should obey your Just & righteous Command yet they should not worship you for this would be sin. Orson Pratt has differed from me in many things. But this is a great principle & I do not wish to say you shall do so & so I do not know of a man who has a mathematical turn of mind but what goes to [o] Far The trouble between Orson Pratt & me is I do not know enough & he knows too much. I do not know everything There is a mystery concerning the God I worship which mystery will be removed when I come to a full knowledge of God . . . When I meet the God I worship I expect to [meet] a personage with whom I have been acquainted upon the same principle that I would to meet my Earthly Father after going upon a Journey & returning home.

Several apostles voiced their support of Young's remarks. Some added similar views. Apostle Woodruff, in comments seconded by others, remarked,

[I]t is our privilege so to live as to have the spirit of God to bear record of the Truth of any revelation that comes from God through the mouth of his Prophet who leads his people and it has ever been a key with me that when the Prophet who leads presents a doctrine of principle or says thus saith the Lord I make it a policy to receive it even if it comes in contact with my tradition or views being well satisfied that the Lord would reveal the truth unto his Prophet whom he has called to lead his Church before he would unto me, and the word of the Lord through the prophet is the End of the Law unto me.

Throughout the evening's lengthy meeting, Pratt had remained remarkably subdued. Though the solitude of his position weighed heavily upon him, his convictions were solidly founded. He finally mentioned his desire to speak.

I have not spoken but once in the Tabernacle since conference I then spoke upon the revelations in the Doctrine & Covenants concerning the Father & son & their attributes . . . I sincerely believed what I preached. how long I have believed this doctrine I do not know but it

has been for years I have published it in the Seer. I spoke of a plurality of Gods, in order to worship God I said that I adored the attributes wherever I found them I was honest in this matter. I would not worship a god or Tabernacle that did not possess Attributes if I did I should worship Idols . . . Now the reason I worship the Father is because in him is combined the attributes if he had not those attributes I would not worship him any more than I would this chair. I cannot see any difference between myself and Prest. Young. . . . I must have something more than a declaration of President Young to convince me I must have evidence.

I am willing to take President Young as a guide in most things but not in all. President Young does not propose to have revelations in all things. I am not to loose in my agency I have said many things which President Young says is False I do not know how it is I count President Young equal to Joseph and Joseph equal to President Young. . . . When Joseph teaches any thing & Brigham seems to teach another contrary to Joseph . . . I believe them as Joseph has spoken them . . . I have spoken plainly I would rather not have spoken so plainly but I have no excuses to make President Young said I ought to make a confession But Orson Pratt is not a man to make a confession of what I do not believe. I am not going to crawl to Brigham and act the Hypocrite and confess what I do not Believe. I will be a free man President Young condemns my doctrines to be fals I do not believe them to be fals which I published in the Seer in England. . . . I will not act the Hypocrite it may cost me my fellowship But I will stick to it if I die tonight I would say O Lord God Almighty[y] I believe what I say.

Pratt's dramatic declaration caught most by surprise. Young said, "Orson Pratt has started out upon false premises to argue upon his foundation has been a false one all the time and I will prove it false.

"You have been like a mad stubborn mule," he turned to Pratt,

and have taken a fals position in order to accuse me you have accused me of worshiping a stalk or stone or a dead body without life or attributes you never herd such a doctrin taught by me or any leader of the Church it is fals as Hell and you will not hear the last of it soon. You know it is false Do we worship those attributes No we worship God because he has all those Attributes and is the dispenser of them and because he is our Father & our God. Orson Pratt puts down a lie to argue upon he has had fals ground all the time tonight . . .

Again, those authorities in attendance sided with their President. Apostle Hyde said to Pratt, "My opinion is not worth as much to me as my fellowship in this Church." Others added their words of harsh rebuke. Pratt, according to the official minutes, offered no further defense. Before the close of the six-hour meeting, Young remarked,

I will tell you how I get along with Joseph. I found out that God called Joseph to be a Prophet I did not do it. I then said I will leave the Prophet in the hands of that God who called and ordained him to be a Prophet. He is not responsible to me and it is none of my business what he does. It is for me to follow & obey him. . . . I told Brother Joseph he had given us revelation enough to last us 20 years when that time is out I can give as good revelation as their is in the Doctrine & Covenants.

. . . [N]o man can live his religion without living in revelation but I would never tell a revelation to the Church unless Joseph told it first. Joseph once told me to go to his own house to attend a meeting with him he said that he should not go without me. I went and Hiram Preached upon the Bible Book of Mormon & Doctrine & Covenants and says we must take them as our guide alone he preached very lengthy until he nearly wearied the people out when he closed Joseph told me to get up. I did so I said that I would not give the ashes of a rye straw for all those books for my salvation without the living oracles. I should follow and obey the living oracles for my salvation instead of anything else when I got through Hyrum got up and made a confession for not understanding the living oracles.

“It may be thought strange by the Brethren,” he added, “that I will still fellowship Elder Pratt after what he has said but I shall do it, I am determined to whip Brother Pratt into it and make him work in the harness.”

Though the veteran Apostle had no doubt anticipated, perhaps even initiated the tense meeting, it may have come as personally unsettling that he had stood against his President. Intelligent, courageous, unyielding and now very much alone, Pratt painfully began to realize the gravity of the situation in which he found himself—not only in relation to his quorum, but with increasing importance to his church.

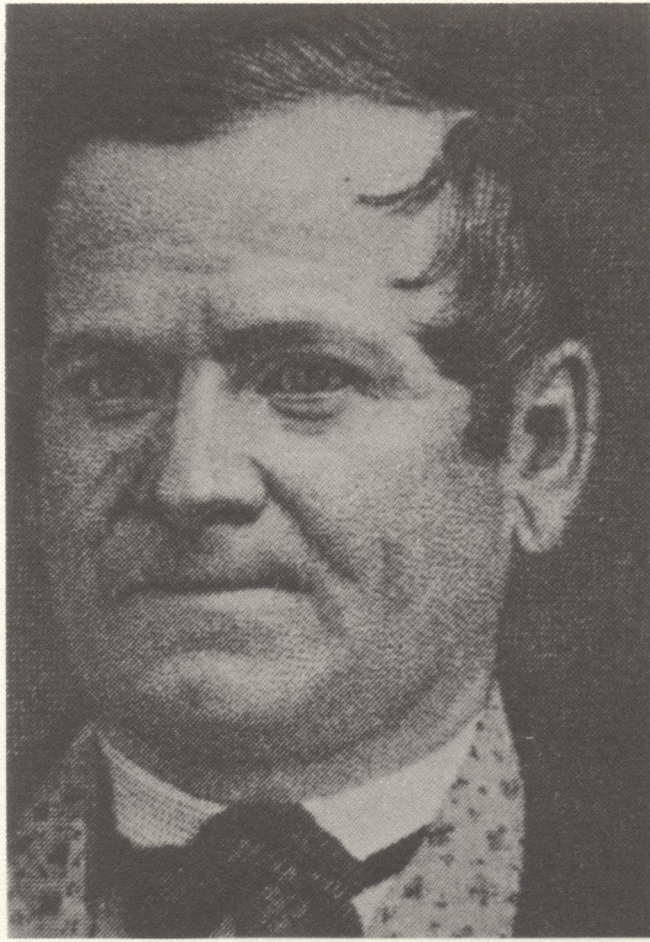
The following day, Pratt called early upon Young at the latter’s office. The bearded Apostle readily admitted “he was excited, and for the future would omit such points of doctrine in his discourses that related to the Plurality of Gods, &c. but would confine himself to the first principles of the Gospel.” He asked if Young could not find a vacancy for “his son Orson” as a clerk. To his surprise, the President replied that he would attempt to appoint Apostle Pratt as a teacher, “as [Young] meant to promote education as much as possible.”

Young again remarked that “much false doctrine arose out of arguing upon false premises, such as supposing something that does not exist, as a God without his attributes, as they cannot exist apart.” Pratt replied, as he had also on past occasions, that “many of his doctrinal arguments had been advanced while in England in answer to the numerous enquiries that were made of him by reasoning men.” Young was not sympathetic, and added, “[W]hen questions have been put to me, by opposers, who did not want to hear the simple Gospel message [I] would not answer them.” Young asked Pratt “why he was not as careful to observe the revelations given to preach in plainness and simplicity as to so strenuously observe the doctrines in other revelations.”⁴⁰ Existing records give no mention of Pratt’s response, if, indeed, one was made.

As leading General Authorities and faithful church members met in Sunday morning services at the Old Tabernacle the next day, only one man present—other than Pratt himself—was aware of the potentially momentous discourse to be delivered from the podium.⁴¹ Pratt had earlier discussed with fellow Apostle, Ezra T. Benson, the propriety of publicly commenting on Friday evening’s meeting. Wilford Woodruff, one of many Saints in attendance, recorded his own amazement and relief at Pratt’s apparent confession:

Orson Pratt was in the stand and Quite unexpected to his Brethren he arose before his Brethren and made a very humble full confession before the whole assembly for his opposition to President Young and his Brethren . . . I never herd Orson Pratt speak better or more to the satisfaction of the People, then on this occasion. he would not partake of the sacrament untill he had made a confession then he partook of it.⁴²

In the course of his continuing confession, Pratt made direct reference to his recent encounter with church leadership. As he gained the pulpit he asked his audience, "Where are there two men in the world who see eye to eye?—that are of the same mind? They can scarcely be found. I doubt whether they can be found in the world. Within a world dominated by disunity and confusion stands before all men and women a standard: the Gospel of Jesus Christ.



Orson Hyde

The authority of Jesus Christ sent down from heaven, conferred upon man by His Holy Angels, or by those that may have previously received divine authority, is the true and only standard here upon the face of our earth; and to this standard all people, nations, and tongues must come, or be eventually taken from the earth; for this is the only authority which is everlasting and eternal; and which will endure in time and throughout all eternity.

“There are some points of doctrine,” he said, “which I have unfortunately, without knowing beforehand what the views of the First President of this church of God were, thrown out before the people.” Echoing earlier apologies, he maintained that initially he “did most sincerely believe that they were in accordance with the word of God.” Only later was he to learn from “the mouth of our President Brigham from the mouth of that person whom God has placed at the head of this church, that some of the doctrines I had advanced in the ‘Seer’ at Washington were incorrect. It was my duty as a servant of God to have at once yielded my judgement to his judgement,” he admitted. “But I did not do it.”

I did not readily yield. I believed at the time that he was as sincere in his views and thoughts as I was in mine; and thought that I had made up my mind upon the word of God in relation to the matter, and concluded that it was not my duty to yield my judgement to him. . . . The consequence has been, I have oftentimes felt to mourn, have been sorrowful in my own mind in relation to this matter . . .

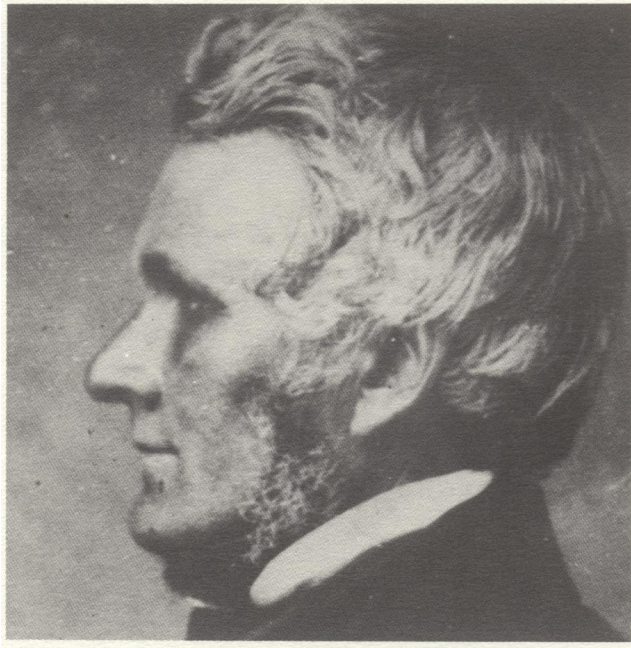
When I say, I am going to repent of these things, I mean that I am going from this time henceforth, through the grace of God assisting me, to try and show by my acts and by my words, that I will uphold and support those whom God has placed over me to govern, direct and guide me in the things of this kingdom.

I do not know that I shall be able to carry out those views; but these are my present determinations. I may have grace and strength to perform this’ and perhaps I may henceforth be overcome, I feel exceedingly weak in regard to these matters.

The errant Apostle briefly mentioned other areas of disagreement between the president and himself. In every instance, however, whether those involved be apostles or rank-and-file church members, Pratt said, when one’s personal beliefs or opinions come in conflict with those of the church president, one must yield to his more authoritative judgment:

If the Prophet of the living God, who is my standard, lays down a principle, whether it be a principle of doctrine, or a principle in philosophy, or a principle in science, or a principle pertaining to anything whatever, it is not for you nor me to argue against it, and set up our standard, and our views, and our judgement in order to make a division goes no further than our own individual selves. We must bow, if we would bring about the oneness spoken of in the revelations of God. We must yield to those things; and it is my determination to do so.

And if a prophet “should lay down a principle in philosophy which to all human appearance appears to be perfectly incorrect?” Then, Pratt replied, “I



John Taylor (1850s)

would say I am weak . . . If I cannot fully understand his views, it is my duty at least to be silent in regard to my own."

"These, " the Apostle concluded, "are my feelings to br. Brigham. I will make reconciliation to him . . . in so far as I have been stubborn and not yielded to the man God has ordained to lead me. I consider these to be true principles, however imperfect. I may have been; it has nothing to do with the principles; the principles are from heaven, let br. Pratt do as he will: Amen."

Relief no doubt engulfed the forty-eight-year-old general authority as he regained his seat. He had openly acknowledged his error in publicly espousing beliefs and doctrines regarded as incorrect by his President; reaffirmed his own conviction in the necessity of aligning one's thoughts and actions with those of God's appointed servants; and committed himself to refrain from further public speculation, though expressing his deep-felt concern at his ability to do so. His confession and repentance genuine, Orson Pratt probably settled back a little more comfortably into his chair.

Two days after his confessional sermon, Pratt called again upon Young at the president's office and there "made a personal acknowledge to the President admitting he had a self willed determination in him." Young consoled him: "he had never differed with him only on points of doctrine, and he never had had any personal feelings, but he was anxious that correct doctrines should be taught for the benefit of the Church and the Nations of the Earth." The President also remarked that Pratt "had been willing to go on a mission to any place at the drop of the Hat and observed you might as well question my

authority to send you on a mission as to dispute my views in doctrine." Pratt responded, though indirectly, that "he had never felt unwillingness in the discharge of his practical duties."⁴³

Despite Young's apparent congeniality, the Apostle's Sunday discourse had not solved the problem. Before the close of the week, Young, aided by his second counselor, Daniel H. Wells, was examining extracts from Pratt's *Seer* writings.⁴⁴ Saddened and angered, Young related to Wells that "there were many principles that the world were unworthy to receive; for they would only trample on it." The President confessed, "If [I] had ever erred it was in giving too much revelation; instead of not giving enough. The Lord designed keeping those in ignorance who would not Seek unto him; and would impart knowledge to those who Kept his commandments."⁴⁵

Twelve days later, Elder Ezra T. Benson, at Young's request, visited with the President in his office where he "had some conversation with the Prest about Orson Pratt's discourse, on the subject of attributes."⁴⁶ Later, on March 4, Young, together with First Counselor Kimball and Apostles Woodruff, Taylor, and Lorenzo Snow, met with Counselor Wells, convalescing from a recent illness, at his home. During their visit, Young again affirmed,

I did not say to [Pratt] that God would increase to all Eternity. But I said that the moment that we say that God knows all things Comprehends all things and has a fulness of all that He ever will obtain that moment Eternity ceases you put bounds to Eternity & space & matter and you make an end and stoping place to it. . . . No man can understand the things of Eternity And Brother Pratt and all men should let the matter of the gods alone I do not understand these things Neither does any man in the flesh and we should let them alone.⁴⁷

What had been for Pratt a sincere, painful declaration of personal repentance was proving to be but one additional source of conflict.

In keeping with established procedure, Pratt's January sermon had been scheduled to run verbatim in the *Deseret News*, Wednesday's edition, February 22. Mention of it had previously appeared in a brief, front-page blurb in the February 1 issue of that Mormon newspaper. The day before its complete printing, however, a dissatisfied Young ordered the discourse removed from the front page and an insertion explaining its absence put in its place.⁴⁸ Ironically, the closing comments of Pratt's lengthy sermon, which had been pasted-up to run on the second page, were printed before the oversight was detected. The editor of the *News* obliquely said, "Through some inadvertency, part of a sermon that had not been intended for publication in this number got inserted on the second page and that side of the paper was struck off before the mistake was discovered."⁴⁹ Aside from this notice, however, no other mention was made of the deletion. When Wednesday's edition appeared, it contained only the ending of Pratt's confession.

Brigham Young had purposely delayed formal action on Pratt's discourse until April 4, when a majority of apostles would be assembled in Salt Lake City for church general conference. Unlike January's meeting, this was attended by only a select few of the church's authorities. United again, with Young

presiding, were Apostles Hyde, Taylor, Woodruff, Benson, Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter and Elder George A. Smith, who alone had not been present at the January 27 meeting. They were belatedly joined by Elders Erastus Snow and Charles C. Rich.⁵⁰

As those present began to take their seats, Young turned to Pratt and asked, "Bro. O. Pratt, has Bro Benson spoken to you about that for which we have met to night?" The Apostle responded quickly and emphatically, "No!" "Well it is this bro. Orson," Young returned, echoing an earlier scene:

Your late sermon had like to get into the paper, I want to get an understanding of your views, and see if we see things aright perhaps if I could see it as you Orson does perhaps its all that I could ask, but if not we want to have the matter talked over and laid before the Conference in a manner that we all see eye to eye . . . I presume bro. Pratt you have no objections to our taking this course and having it all laid before the Conference satisfactorily.

Young asked Secretary Thomas Bullock to read Pratt's confessional sermon from *Deseret News* galley proofs. As Bullock finished, Young faced those members of the Twelve present. "Are the 12 satisfied with this & [with] what Bro. Pratt has put forth to the People? I do not want to do anything but what will be for the best and promote the public good."

Orson Hyde responded first. "I thought when the prophet pronounced upon favorite doctrines, it was for us to repudiate ours, and sustain his. . . . As to whether we should sustain the prophet in every scientific subject contrary to our judgement, it might not be policy to say that for invoking a principle of absolutism which would not look well."

Elder Snow, who had missed the bulk of Young's opening comments (as well as the Pratt speech itself) followed suit. He launched into a rambling statement of support for the Lord's anointed, prophets whom he understood to be "kind fathers, not . . . tyrants & oppressors." Young, perhaps sensing a drawn-out sermon, interrupted. "Erastus, a few words, be short, the evening will be spent." Snow hurriedly finished his thought and Young began his rehearsed criticism. "The sermon is splendid," he said, "but no confession of his errors, but a confession to me. As though a confession was to be made to me or I will take off Orson's . . . head." He reached for a copy of the discourse. "I wish to correct this," he mentioned, "with items preached by Orson in the Seer. . . ."

Orson wants a revelation to know that I am wrong No matter whether the men are right or wrong who lead the church. This is not the retraction that the statements made by Orson demands . . . I'm willing to go into the endowment house & dress before an[y] Quorum or as we are now, & or before Conference & lay down item upon item & let them decide you made attributes Deity [you might] as well say no deity now, or that we have to be dispersed to receive those attributes [and] go back to atoms before we get an exaltation. . . . It's a confused mess & I want to wipe it carefully out & hurt nobody.

Young gestured to Pratt, "Bro. Orson's honest integrity I know, I dont doubt them, I never did. When going to England first, he said [he was] incapable of taking hold of a paper, he could not treat on new doctrine, he has gone a head of all the seers & prophets have written & deleanated upon.

"Im either of giving to have the quarelle there or having it go through in a parental spirit," he said, exasperated.

I want to save bro Orson. I feel calm like an old shoe. If his confession had been right, I would [have] bound up my particle so that it would not have hurt his influence. [M]aybe tho he dont think I have revel[ations], if I dont I dont magnify my calling There are hundreds of thes I could write revelations as fast as dog[s] trot. When I write & send forth my Revelations [they] are then . . . as the Rev[elations] of etern[ity] I never look at my sermons, I dont cross my tracks. . . .

Turning to face President of the Quorum of the Twelve, Orson Hyde, Young demanded, "I want a confession that I can send to the whole of the people that will cover the church & preserve bro. Orson a whole Apostle, before the whole church, then we want bro Orson that can save him I want such a thing published all over the world. . . . Thus saith the Lord, '[G]o do that.' Now you understand what I want, . . . It's not the matter Bro. Orson has at heart its the manner . . . Bro. Orson Pratt should say I have no judgement upon the matter, or should have had none. Brother O. Pratt what do you think about it?"

Pratt could see but one response. "I have no doubt but what the first pres[idency] & Twelve can get up such a thing that would suit them, I have tried very hard to bring my feelings & judgement with Bro. Y[oung]s & that for several years. [I]ts my duty to get my judgement I can feel that when a man's made up he may have strong faith in regard to views that he considers to be true Revelation.

"There are certain points," he said, "taught by Bro. Y as being true that there does seem to be disputed between those & the Revel[ations]

& when I reflect that there is—item upon item, doctrine upon doctrine—I would be a hypocrite if I came out & said that these [are] views on which I have strong faith [I] would be acting too much a hypocrite . . . I would like to ennumerate [those] items. first preached & publish[ed] that Adam is the fa[ther] of our spirits, & father of Spirit & father of our bodies. When I read the Rev[elations] given to Joseph I read directly the opposite.

"Your statements to night," Young retorted, "you came out to night and place them as charges, & have as many against me as I have [against] you. One thing I have thought I might still have omitted," he said. "It was Joseph's doctrine that Adam was God when in Luke Johnson's. . . .⁵¹ Joseph could not reveal what was revealed to him, if Joseph had it revealed, he was told not to reveal it. . . . [There] is not a contradictory thing in what I have said. . . . If I have said anything that the people were not worthy of," he confessed, "I have prayed that it might be forgotten.

I have prayed fervently when Orson published the sealing ordinance that it might be forgotten. Orson, it is for you to call the 12 together & do as I have suggested or do as you please. It will [then] be brought before conference and you will be voted as a false teacher, & your false doctrines discarded. I love your integrity, but your ignorance is as great as any philosophers ought to be.

In the face of Young's ultimatum, Pratt's response was deliberate. "I am willing you should publish what you have a mind to. I cannot retract from what I have said. I sometimes feel unworthy of the apostleship which I hold."

As he finished, a flurry of comments exploded. "These are temptations of Satan." "It is a trick of the Devil to ruin a man, when it is suggested to him that those who are trying to put him right, are trying to put him down." Pratt merely responded, "I am willing the twelve should publish all they consider necessary for the salvation of the church."

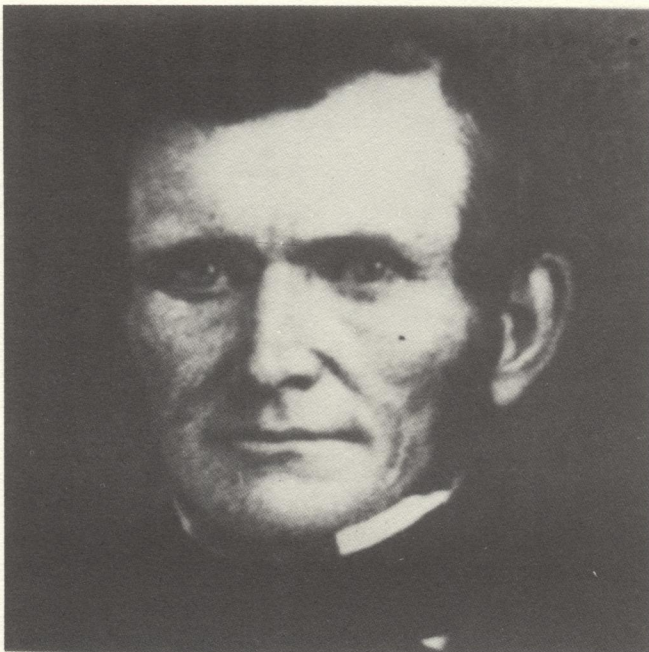
At this perceived defiance, Elder George A. Smith took the initiative and moved that Pratt's controversial doctrines be formally presented before church membership two days later in conference. Most present, however, did not share Smith's views and instead voted to have the matter brought up again the following day before the Twelve. At their action, Young "wished the Twelve to take hold & pray with Bro. Orson & have a good flow of the Spirit, & it will go off smooth." The less emotional President added, "Bro Pratt counts too little on his standing & calling too little, or he would not let his private judgement, stand between him & his salvation, or he would yield. But I attribute it to his ignorance."

While offering no additional insights into the fundamental areas of Young's and Pratt's conflict, except, perhaps, to highlight the issue of Adam-God more clearly, the 4 April 1860 meeting did serve to further alienate Pratt from his brethren. Young clearly saw his duty as preventing the freedom of thought Pratt demanded. Young could hardly disagree with the Apostle's firm insistence upon revelation as the ultimate determiner of truth. Yet Pratt's tenacious belief that only personal revelation to himself would provide the impetus necessary to publicly proclaim his error was greeted by Brigham Young with understandable frustration. Young was not the revelator Joseph Smith had been; nor did he lay claim in any significant way to the kind of theological innovations Smith had earlier imparted to his followers. Young did not share Pratt's view that direct divine intervention was indispensable in the formulation of doctrine. Pratt's repeated references in his January 29 discourse to Young as God's appointed representative on the earth strongly implied, as Young had sensed, that the President did not necessarily represent the views of the general membership of the Church. Though no doubt genuinely sincere in his declaration of personal subjection to his Prophet, Pratt, in the apparent excitement of the moment, exaggerated the extent to which such subjugation was binding upon members. In the same breath, however, he contradictorily implied that he would continue to think as he saw fit, attributing this to his weakness. Correct in his explanation that church leaders were not infallible, Pratt essentially offset the impact of his logic by

illustrating his point with only the most extreme of possibilities. Not surprisingly, Young felt threatened as President and insulted as an individual. No compromise was possible; the time had long since passed; and Young, for the sake of church unity and his own self-esteem, saw no other possibility but to demand that Pratt recant, preferably before the Twelve, and publicly announce his error. Otherwise, the dangerous Apostle would be presented to the conference faithful as a false teacher and sustained as such.

The much-traveled Pratt had successfully withstood a seemingly endless barrage of intellectual attacks on his religion during his earlier missions to England and the eastern seaboard of the United States. His keen reasoning had served him well, and he could not, in good conscience, abandon it now. For Pratt, freedom of thought was apparently of greater value and ultimate worth than was his church fellowship. Because the Apostle also idolized the martyred Joseph Smith, he could not admit to himself or to anyone else that any revelations, written or oral, received through Smith might be outmoded. His ties to the first Prophet were strong and complex. He saw himself, not as expounding new doctrine, but rather as adding to the collection already established.

When Young had first announced points of doctrine with which Pratt could not agree, or which contradicted Smith's earlier teachings, the Apostle kept his silence, anticipating that supporting revelations would be forthcoming. No such revelations had been advanced, however, and Pratt was to



Wilford Woodruff (late 1840s or early 1850s)

perceive his views as valid as those of Young or any other member of the Twelve. Pratt's allegiance was to the truth as he saw it, and as he believed Joseph Smith had revealed it—not to any one man or organization. Young's continual insistence that Pratt acknowledge his faulty doctrine merely served to convince Pratt of the fundamental truthfulness of his position. In honesty not only to himself, but more to his beliefs, Pratt could not admit error where he saw none, even if it meant severance from his church.

At the new day's meeting, Brigham Young was conspicuously absent. Elders Hyde, Pratt, Taylor, Woodruff, Smith, Rich and Richards arrived at the church historian's office early. As they were reaching their seats, Pratt said, "I have come here by Bro. Taylor's request, and if there are any objections I will withdraw."⁵²

"We want you here," Elder Hyde replied. "[W]e dont want you to withdraw, we have been together so long in Mormonism, that we are spoiled by anything else, it is too late to talk of casting out, or separating."

Following the opening prayer, Hyde immediately confessed, "I do not feel competent to take up the points of difficulties in doctrine between bro. Pratt, & bro. Young. . . . [But] to acknowledge that this is the Kingdom of God, and that there is a presiding power, and to admit that he can advance incorrect doctrine, is to lay the ax at the foot of the tree. Will He suffer His mouthpiece to go into error? No. He would remove him, and place another there. . . .

"[B]ro. Brigham,"—he said, turning to face Pratt—"is responsible for the doctrine taught in this Church, and if he did not watch us, and reprove us when wrong, he would not do his duty,

and again if any of the Twelve was abroad, and any Elder was propagating a false doctrine, we dealt with that man, then why could we not be dealt with in the same manner? Shall he mourn and we not respond? It is a duty we owe to ourselves; he is the presiding authority of God on the earth, then he is legitimate, and every thing opposed to him, is not legitimate. bro. Pratt said he was discouraged and felt reckless, he ought not to be so! God is a jealous God, and His servants are jealous with a godly jealousy, that the stream may roll in purity.

Elder Woodruff spoke next. "[T]he remarks of bro. Hyde are dictated by the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit of the Lord. [O]ur position, is very responsible, and we could not aspire to anything greater, having received the Apostleship, we should try to honor it;

when bro. Pratt made his confession, it made me rejoice, because I thought it was the first time that he felt to fall into the Channel, I would not do any thing to lose my Apostleship, I would rather lose my hand, or my life, I think bro. Pratt has gone too far in advancing the doctrine of the Godhead, they come in contact with the presidency of the Church. . . . I feel to thank the Lord for giving us as good a leader as bro. Brigham. no man had a right to call into question what Joseph did. He was led by the spirit of God. bro. Brigham is careful, cautious, and wise, and is a Father, his feeling is to save the people, every thing is Godlike and is filled with wisdom, I want to have bro. Pratt saved, to be one with the Presidency and his brethren.

Facing the errant Apostle, Woodruff commented, "[I]f bro. Pratt has taught a false doctrine, it is no worse for him, than me, or bro. Hyde, and should retract, when a man takes a stubborn course, all Israel feels it; I desire that he may right that matter up. The moment we launch out into unrevealed doctrine, we are liable to get into error, bro. Pratt ought to make the thing right with Pres. Young. . . ."

"[T]he Majority of the Church feels that some of his writings are open to serious objections," said Erastus Snow ". . . I have read some sweeping declarations in his writings, and thought some of them were dipping into deep water. He can qualify those words, so as to wipe them out. . . ."

"[I]t has been sorrow to me that there has [been] any difficulty arisen between bro. Brigham and bro. Pratt," Elder Charles C. Rich said. "I feel very anxious on this subject.

it is simply for bro. Pratt to remove the objectionable items, the brethren rejoiced at his confession, and it was an increase to his influence, it is not right for a member to have a doctrine opposed to his quorum, or the Presidency, he can cure the evil that is wanted to be cured, I would not want to yield the good that I can do, for any light thing, I would be glad to see bro. Pratt make it right. . . .

"[F]or one member to advocate new doctrine without common consent," reminded Apostle Hyde then, "is beyond our pale or jurisdiction."

"I do not see how I can mend the matter, one way or the other," Orson Pratt began. "I think the brethren are laboring under a wrong impression,

in all my writings on doctrine, I have tried to confine myself within revelation . . . in regard to Adam being our Father and our God, I have not published it, altho I frankly say, I have no confidence in it, altho advanced by bro. Kimball in the stand, and afterwards approved by bro. Brigham⁵³ . . . I have never intended to advance new ideas, but to keep within revelation. It is said the revelations given to Joseph Smith, answered them, and if Joseph would translate now, it would be so very different, if that was so, I should never know when I was right, in fourteen years hence, all the revelation of Brigham may be done away, but I do not admit it, The Lord deals with us on consistent principles, there may be apparent contradictions, but to suppose that the meaning would be different, I do not believe [it]. . . .

For me to publish to the world, that the writings that I have sent out to the world, backed up by Joseph's revelations, are untrue, would be to say, how do we know that in sixteen years time, all these revelations will be overturned, as Joseph's now are, they are written plain. I was willing that things should slumber. I made a confession as far as my conscience would allow me, to be justified. I could not state it from knowledge. I suppose it was all right, until I heard bro. Brigham declarations from the stand; that threw a damper on my mind, I will leave the event in the hands of my brethren . . .

"I really believed in regard to the omnipresence of the Spirit," he pleaded, "I did really believe that bro. Brigham had preached the same doctrine. I have

not tried to introduce new doctrines into the church, bro. Young's sermon was published by me as soon as I received it, without comment, *and I do not intend it shall come from me, while I believe in Joseph Smith's revelations*. I do believe that bro. Brigham errs in judgement." [Emphasis in original]

"When there is a want of union," Hyde interjected, "it requires us to speak plain.

bro. Pratt does not claim any vision or revelation, but keeps within the scope of Joseph's revelations. . . . I see no necessity of rejecting Joseph's revelations, or going to War with the living ones, that is the nearest to us . . . I do not see any contradiction or opposition between B. Young & J. Smith.

"B. Young must have feelings towards me," Pratt then said. "I wish the brethren would point out to me where my pamphlet on 'the Holy Spirit' is wrong."

"[W]hen bro. Brigham tells me a thing, I receive it as a revelation," returned John Taylor. [S]ome things may be apparently contradictory, but are not really contradictory."

"It was the Father of Jesus Christ that was talking to Adam in the garden," Pratt pressed on. "B. Young says that Adam was the Father of Jesus Christ, both of his spirit and Body, in his teachings from the stand. Bro. Richard publishes in the Pearl of Great Price, that another person would come in the meridian of time, which was Jesus Christ."

"David in spirit called Jesus Christ, Lord," Hyde offered. "How then is he his Son? It would seem a contradiction, I went to Joseph and told him my ideas of the Omnipresence of the Spirit, he said it was very pretty, and it was got up very nice, and is a beautiful doctrine, but it only lacks one thing, I enquired what is it bro. Joseph, he replied *it is not true*." [Emphasis in original.]

"If Christ is the first fruits of them that slept," Apostle Taylor similarly commented, "there must be some discrepancy, he must have resumed his position, having a legitimate claim to a possession somewhere else, he ought not to be debarred from his rights. The power of God was sufficient to resuscitate Jesus immediately, and also the body of Adam."

Perhaps anticipating a drawn-out exchange, Orson Hyde announced, "We have come here to arrange that discourse, to the sanction of bro. Young, that it may go forth under the sanction of bro. Pratt . . .

is he willing to put that discourse in shape to recall or qualify certain points of doctrine, not extorted, but in an easy way to show reflection, and that truth has led him to make that confession, and to leave bro. Young out as a dictator, and what would be satisfactory to bro. Young I am pleased with the leniency extended by bro. Young to bro. Pratt, it is more than has been extended to me, or others.

Despite Hyde's attempted reconciliation, Pratt remained uncompromising. "I have heard brother Brigham say," he remarked, "that Adam is the Father of our Spirits, and he came here with his resurrected body, to fall for

his children, and I said to him, it leads to an endless number of falls, which leads to sorrow and death: that is revolting to my feelings, even if it were not sustained by revelations . . . [A]nother item, I heard brother Young say that Jesus had a body, flesh and bones, before he came, he was born of the Virgin Mary, it was so contrary to every revelation given."

As Pratt paused, Hyde turned to George A. Smith. "Bro. Geo. A. Smith just tell us what will be satisfactory to the Church?"

"[F]or him to acknowledge Brigham Young as the President of the Church, in the exercise of his calling," Smith informed. "[B]ut," he declared, "he only acknowledges him as a poor drivelling fool, he preaches doctrine opposed to Joseph, and all other revelations. If Brigham Young is the President of the Church, he is an inspired man. If we have not an inspired man, then Orson Pratt is right . . . The only thing," he continued, "is for bro. Pratt to get a revelation that bro. B. Young is a Prophet of God."

"I don't think," Elder Snow added, "that any light can come to bro. Pratt, while he resists it."

"I did make a confession with my heart," Pratt conceded. "I am only an individual, I can not possibly yield to say I have published false doctrine.

I did say it was only my belief, and not revelation, I thought I could go on with the Twelve, and preach and exhort, I leave it entirely in the hands of the Church, I am willing to take out the article, but not willing to say I have taught false doctrine. I have been in the Church many years, and have learned that so long as we want to keep things smooth, we can do so, any modification you feel to make in that sermon, will be right, even to cutting it down one half.

"I feel," remarked Hyde, "you will yet acknowledge that you have taught false doctrine. I don't think you will receive a revelation, only thro brother Brigham, and you will yet confess that you have stubbornly resisted the Council. I tell you, you will not get a revelation from God on the subject. . . ."

"I have wondered why the Lord could not have cooked up something easier," Apostle Woodruff admitted, "than to see the human family going to hell, or to send his Son to be crucified. I would follow the leader and do the best I could."

"We will dress and pray," Hyde followed, "then have that sermon, and read over item by item, and see what will agree with bro. Pratt's conscience."

"I don't like any patching," Elder Taylor rejoined, "but follow the dictates of our Presidency, I don't believe in having things thrown out on bro. Brigham. If that mouthpiece has not power to dictate, I would throw all Mormonism away, all that can be asked is to carry out the doctrine in this sermon."

"I have always felt," Pratt responded, "if I can be convinced, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to make a confession."

Wilford Woodruff placed the 29 January sermon with secretary Thomas Bullock. Soon, vested in their temple robes, all present unitedly formed a close prayer circle, and Apostle Benson led the sacred ritual. After the prayer, which not unexpectedly centered on Pratt's rebellion, Hyde invited Bullock to

read the lengthy discourse. For the following two to three hours, suggested corrections were offered by various quorum members, discussed, and, when accepted, recorded by Secretary Bullock. The bulk of the Quorum's corrections consisted of omitting points of opinion and personal judgement felt to be inappropriate in particular reference to Brigham Young. A few clarifying comments were also incorporated into the new text. When finished, approximately twenty-five percent of Pratt's controversial remarks had been removed with the Apostle's tacit approval. John Taylor moved that the Quorum accept Pratt's revised confessional sermon. His action was seconded, and then carried by the sustaining vote of those present.

At their showing, Pratt commented, "[B]rethren I must say I am very thankful for the many items that are struck out, if this will suit the Presidency, I pray that from henceforth, I may be one with you, and preach with you."

President Young had apparently anticipated the course of the Quorum's actions. Later that evening, with the Twelve, in the Historian's Office, Young's enthusiasm was evident. "[T]his day I have seen the best spirit manifested.

I have heard 15 or 16 men all running in the same stream. I was delighted. Tomorrow the Church will be 30 years old, about the age that Jesus was when he commenced his mission.

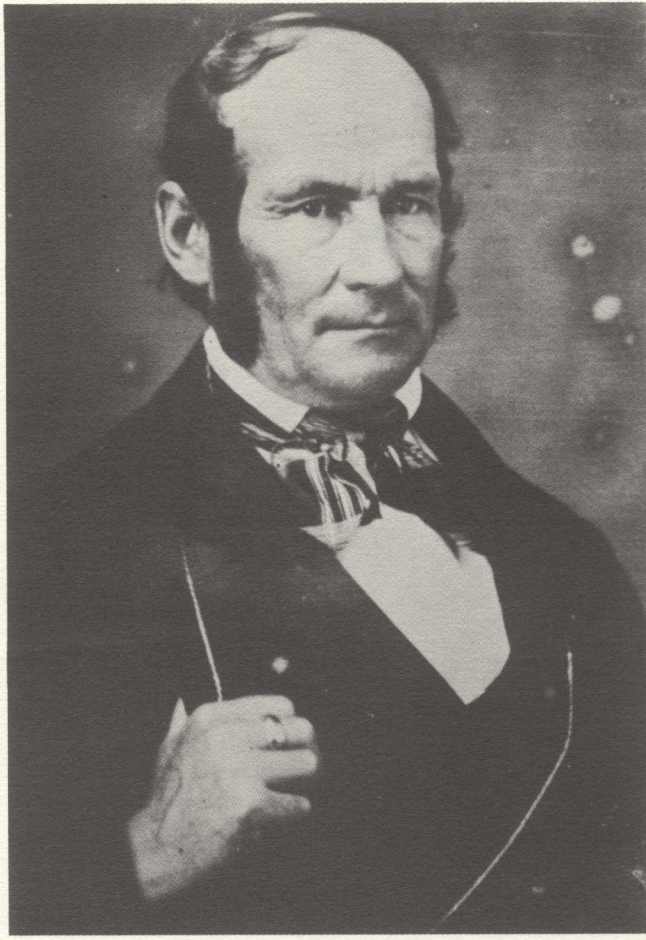
We are improving, and I just know it, my path is like the noon day sun, and I could cry hallujah! hallujah! Praise to God who has been merciful to us, and conferred on us His Holy Spirit. A private member in this church is brighter than the power of Kings and Princes of the world, to secure an eternal existence for ever, written in the Lamb's book of life.

"[B]ro Orson Pratt," Young continued, "I want you to do just as you have done in your Apostleship, but when you want to teach new doctrine, to write those ideas, and submit them to me. and if they are correct, I will tell you. There is not a man's sermon that I like to read [more], when you understand your subject, but you are not perfect," he said; "Neither am I."

Pratt handed Young the corrected copy of his discourse and explained which alterations had been included. Young added that he would later see that some few additional remarks were attached to Pratt's sermon before it appeared in print. Then Pratt asked Young if this would mark the end of all discussion on the subject, or if the affair would be "resuscitated again." The President assured him that "he never wanted the subject to be mouthed again, and wished those in the room, not to mention it."⁵⁴

True to his word, Young, aided by Counselors Kimball and Wells, saw to the composition of several brief "Remarks" in the early part of July.⁵⁵ The First Presidency's comments were then appended to the revised text of Pratt's public confession, with both articles eventually appearing in the *Deseret News*, Wednesday, 27 July 1860.

Following a short, prefatory note which side-stepped the issues Pratt had raised about Adam-God, the First Presidency quoted verbatim excerpts from the Apostle's controversial writings. Four references were made to *The Seer*



Heber C. Kimball (1855)

and one to a small pamphlet he had published while in England in 1851, "Great First Cause, or the Self-Moving Forces of the Universe." Of the four passages from *The Seer*, three referred directly to Pratt's notion of the literal omniscience of God. The fourth dealt with both God's omniscience and the attendant attributes of godliness. The one quotation from Pratt's English publication touched indirectly upon the attributes of godliness in their variations and combinations as being "the Great First Cause of all things and events that have had a beginning." These five excerpts were the only points of Pratt's theological excesses identified by the First Presidency as incompatible with existent church doctrine and revelation. They did not make reference to the Apostle's "Holy Spirit," which also contained ideas Young could not sanction. Within less than five years this pamphlet would be similarly condemned.

"This should be a lasting lesson," Young and his counsellors said "to the Elders of Israel not to undertake to teach doctrine they do not understand. If the Saints can preserve themselves in a present salvation day to day, which is easy to be taught and comprehended, it will be well with them hereafter."⁵⁶

In the Fall the Apostle received a call to serve a mission in the Eastern United States. There he was to help financially destitute church converts gather to the West. Three days before his 26 September departure, Pratt met with other general authorities and departing missionaries in the Historian's Office. Pratt and missionary companion Erastus Snow were customarily blessed by their brethren at the onset of this new church assignment. Then, separating themselves from rank-and-file members, the leading councils retired to an adjoining prayer room where, as Wilford Woodruff wrote, "we had a very interesting meeting."

Heber C. Kimball, one of several who thought that Pratt's revised confession did not adequately address the issue of his erroneous doctrines and stubborn insistence upon unsound notions, asked that the Apostle "make satisfaction to Presidt Young" before leaving the city. Yet Young responded that "he did not wish [Pratt] to make any acknowledgement to him." Pratt, Young remarked to all present,

was strangely constituted he had acquired a great deal of knowledge upon many things but in other things he was one of the most ignorant men [Young] ever saw in his life He was full of integrity & would lie down & have his head cut off for me or his religion if necessary but he will never see his error untill he comes into the spirit world then he will say Brother Brigham how foolish I was . . .

"I will hold on to Brother Pratt," Young continued, "& all those my Brethren of the Twelve notwithstanding all their sins, folly & weaknesses untill I me[e]t with them in my Fathers Kingdom, to part no more because they love God and are full of integrity."

Pratt said, in turn, "I do not believe as Brother Brigham & Brother Kimball do in some points of doctrine & they do not wish me to acknowledge to others that I do not believe."

"No," Young rejoined, "you cannot see the truth in this matter until you get into the spirit world."⁵⁷

Why was the subject of Pratt's doctrines again brought up, considering Young's 5 April admonition to the contrary? Is it reasonable to assume that Kimball was unaware of Young's request since he had not been present at the time and so felt it important enough that Pratt be once more confronted with his perceived disobedience? Given Young's and Kimball's close friendship,⁵⁸ it is doubtful the President would not have informed his First Counselor of the entire matter. It is possible that Kimball acted upon his own initiative. Whatever the reasons, Kimball's statements served to renew the Pratt-Young conflict.

IV

During the years before the non-Mormon influx into Utah's Great Basin, Brigham Young, with other leading church leaders and members of his entourage, traveled throughout the Rocky Mountain area on official tours of Mormon colonies and settlements. Young's efforts to both keep abreast of the temporal and spiritual developments of the early pioneers and to minimize the austerity of his own calling were, for the most part, successful. It was during such a tour of northern Utah's Cache Valley in the early part of May 1865 that Young learned Orson Pratt's unsound sermons and doctrinal teachings had not been abandoned by the people, nor had his edition of Lucy Mack Smith's history of Joseph Smith disappeared from the homes of Latter-day Saints. Indeed, it now enjoyed a prominent place as a territorial school "Reader."⁵⁹ Pratt's popularity seemed nearly indefatigable.

At 2:00 P.M., 13 June 1865, Young called Counselor Kimball and Elders Woodruff, Richards and George Q. Cannon to the Historian's Office. The President had earlier discussed his concerns with Apostle Cannon, whom he called upon to read aloud from Pratt's English pamphlet, "The Great First Cause." The men then adjourned for one hour. When they reassembled at 4:00 P.M., they were joined by Elder George A. Smith. The first sections of Pratt's "Holy Spirit" tract were then read aloud, after which Young asked those present "what should be done with these works written by Orson Pratt."⁶⁰ After some discussion, a vote was taken, and Pratt's writings were condemned as false doctrine.⁶¹ It was also decided that a public announcement censuring these points was required, because the earlier 1860 statement had not met the reception which had been hoped for.

Young addressed church members five days later, and in the course of his remarks on the personality and attributes of God, he lambasted the views of "a certain celebrated philosopher:"

Elder Orson Pratt has written extensively on the doctrines of this church, and upon this particular doctrine. When he writes and speaks upon subjects with which he is acquainted and understands, he is a very sound reasoner; but when he has written upon matters of which he knows nothing—his own philosophy, which I call vain philosophy—he is wild, uncertain, and contradictory.⁶²

Public reference to Pratt's works was apparently not made again until Wednesday, 23 August 1865, when Young saw to the publication of two separate, though overlapping official declarations—the earlier 1860 proclamation, and the more recent one, carrying the signatures of the First Presidency (except for Second Counselor Daniel H. Wells) and all members of the Quorum of the Twelve (except Pratt)—on the front and second pages of the day's edition of the *Deseret News*. Those sections authored by the Cannon-Smith-Richards (CRS) committee dealing with the Smith history and Pratt's "Great First Cause" prefaced the 1860 declaration.

The somewhat longer denunciation of Pratt's "Holy Spirit" treatise, which had also come under the committee's scrutiny, completed the whole of the

statement over both governing Quorums' approval. The absence of Wells's and Pratt's names from the list of signatories is explained by both men's being out of the country on church missions at the time. The two complementary statements, which, in essence, form one extended commentary, constitute to date the most comprehensive official denunciations of Pratt's theological excesses. For Young the statements represented the final resolution of some twelve years of interpersonal conflict with his fellow authority.⁶³

At the onset, the CRS committee expressed their unequivocal condemnation of the Smith biography: "[It] is utterly unreliable as a history, as it contains many falsehoods." They recommended that "every one in the Church, male and female, if they have such a book, to dispose of it so that it will never be read by any person again." They attributed the apparently rampant inaccuracies to the advanced age of "Mother Smith" and were especially critical of her favorable treatment of her other, less endearing son, William. They bemoaned Apostle Pratt's admitted involvement. "[B]rother Pratt," they contended, "had it printed, and published it, without saying a word to the First Presidency or the Twelve about what he was doing. This is the way the book came into being. It was smuggled, juggled and foisted into existence as a book." Pratt's error, the CRS committee concluded, was in extending his own personal theological arguments beyond the realm of revelation, with his stature and confidence such that his teachings often had been greeted by the Saints as official church doctrine.

"[T]o teach these ideas," the committee wrote, "and to make them public to mankind, after so many ages of ignorance respecting them, has been reserved, according to his own arguments for brother Orson Pratt." And in the remote possibility that his theories may be true, they cautioned, "we would think it unwise to have them made public as these have been." Yet "we know that we have had no revelation from God respecting them, except to know that many of them are false, and that the publication of them is unwise and objectionable."

Keenly aware of their position—"The interests of posterity are, to a certain extent, in our hands"—the committee felt that allegiances exterior to a perpetuation of the faith were of little consequence:

We know what sanctity there is always attached to the writings of men who have passed away, especially to the writings of Apostles, when none of their contemporaries are left, and we, therefore, feel the necessity of being watchful upon these points. Personal feelings and friendships and associations ought to sink into comparative insignificance, and have no weight in view of consequences so momentous to the people and kingdom of God as these.

Where the Apostle's writings were found to appear in bound volumes, Mormons were advised to carefully remove them so as not to unnecessarily damage the binding, and to see the works destroyed. "No member," the committee warned,

has the right to publish any doctrines, as the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, without first submitting them for examination and approval to the First Presidency and the Twelve . . . And any man who so far forgets the order instituted by the Lord as to write and publish what may be termed new doctrines, without consulting with the First Presidency of the Church respecting them, places himself in a false position, and exposes himself to the power of darkness by violating his Priesthood.

While upon this subject, we wish to warn all the Elders of the Church, and to have it clearly understood by the members, that, in the future, whoever publishes any new doctrines without first taking this course, will be liable to lose his Priesthood.

At the close of the lengthy statement, the First Presidency and Twelve officially disowned segments of *The Seer*, the "Great First Cause," both articles on the "Holy Spirit," and the 1853 edition on the Smith biography "so that the Saints who now live, and who may live hereafter, may not be misled by our silence, or be left to misinterpret it."⁶⁴

The Church proclamation was not published abroad until 21 October when it appeared in the English *Millennial Star*. Some days later, Pratt, still overseas, handed Editor Brigham Young, Jr., a short notice addressed, "TO THE SAINTS IN ALL THE WORLD." Pratt wrote:

I, therefore, embrace the present opportunity of publicly expressing my most sincere regret, that I have ever published the least thing which meets with the disapprobation of the highest authorities of the Church; and I do most cordially join with them in the request, that you should make such disposition of the publication alluded to, as counseled in their proclamation.⁶⁵

Less than three months later, on December 21, Pratt wrote President Young a short note in which he was to come as close to acknowledging erroneous reasoning as he had at any time in the past. He had learned from the recent statement of the General Authorities that several of his writings had not only not received Church sanction, but that members were now asked to see them suppressed. "Permit me," the Apostle wrote,

to express my most sincere regrets, in having put you and the highest authorities of this church to so much trouble and expense. I most sincerely hope that the experience of the past may have a salutary influence on the future, and that I may live near enough to the Lord, to avoid all error, and cleave most steadfastly to the forgiveness of all saints, as touching anything which may have come from my pen, either erroneous or unwise. In relation to doctrine, or prophecy, or philosophy, or science, *truth, and truth alone*, is all that I desire. Let my name be recorded among the righteous; let me enjoy the society of my brethren; let me bear a humble part with them in bringing forth and establishing Zion, and my soul will be satisfied—this only is the height of my ambition; this is the great joy of my life—my hope—my salvation—my all.

Please present my kind love to the Council, and may God bless you and them forever, is the humble sincere prayer of your brother in Christ. [Emphasis in original.]⁶⁶



Brigham Young (1860s)

The vicissitudes of the past twelve years had begun to take a weighty toll on the independent Pratt.⁶⁷

Throughout the ensuing years until Young's death in 1877, conflict between the Apostle and his President submerged markedly, as both time and a variety of sacred and secular callings took on positions of greater priority in each man's life. Only one incident, public or private, is known to have occurred between the two.⁶⁸

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a rival of the larger Utah Church, published during the closing months of 1867 the posthumous Joseph Smith "Inspired Translation" of the *Holy Scriptures*. Young asked the Apostle to evaluate the publication for possible future use among church faithful. Pratt apparently overstepped Young's expectations, however, when on two separate occasions he publicly expressed his personal

approval of the Smith Bible. Elder Woodruff wrote of the first occasion, which occurred during a Sunday, 31 May 1868, meeting of the Provo School of the Prophets: "O Pratt [word unclear] spoke upon the New Translation of the old & New Testament as translated By the Prophet Joseph Smith before his death & it had Been Published of Late by the followers of Young Joseph . . . it was published in its purity & we felt much rejoiced that a copy had fallen into President Young hands."⁶⁹ Three weeks later, Pratt addressed the same group of priesthood holders. Brigham Young attended this session, and, following Pratt's few remarks, "bore testimony in strong terms that Joseph did not finish the New Translation of the old & New Testament which young Joseph had lately published."⁷⁰ Eleven days later, sensing the possibility of renewed conflict and its inevitable misunderstanding, Pratt once again addressed to Young an unusually to-the-point, compassionate letter acknowledging not only their disagreement about the Smith translation, but all past differences of opinion, belief and doctrine.

I am deeply sensible that I have greatly sinned against you, and against my brethren of the school, and against God, in foolishly trying to justify myself in advocating ideas, opposed to these which have been introduced by the highest authorities of the Church, and accepted by the Saints. I humbly ask you and the school to forgive me. Hereafter, through the grace of God assisting me, I am determined to be one with you, and never be found opposing anything that comes through the legitimate order of the Priesthood, knowing that it is perfectly right for me to humbly submit, in all matters of doctrine and principle, my judgement to those whose right it is by divine appointment, to receive revelations and guide the Church.⁷¹

With this letter, Apostle Pratt voiced eloquently those personal values which meant the most to him. The tempering effect of time had shown Pratt the futility of extended conflict from which no one emerges victorious.⁷²

The closing, bittersweet years of Orson Pratt's life were witness to both noteworthy achievements and profound disappointments. In mid-August 1870, the Tabernacle walls rang with his famous debate on Mormon plural marriage with Dr. John P. Newman, Chaplain of the United States Senate. From 1869 until 1880, he ably served seven sessions as Speaker of the House, Utah Territorial Legislature. In the summer of 1874, Pratt was officially appointed church Recorder and Historian.

On 10 April 1875, some two years before Brigham Young's death, the church President rearranged the order of seniority in the Quorum of the Twelve, placing three others before Pratt, though the latter chronologically preceded them based on date of original ordination to the quorum, Pratt did not succeed to the presidency as would have otherwise occurred if the order not been realigned. While Young maintained that such action was necessary because of Pratt's 1842 excommunication,⁷³ it would not be entirely incorrect to assume that Young was motivated by his unwillingness to permit Pratt's eventual succession as Church President. Interestingly, Young's successor, John Taylor, enlisted Pratt's assistance in 1877-78 in publishing several of

Joseph Smith's revelations which had previously appeared only in the small English pamphlet, *The Pearl of Great Price* (1851). In preparing these revelations for publication in 1878, Pratt used the 1867 RLDS edition of Smith's *Holy Scriptures* translation as a source of comparison and correction.⁷⁴

Shortly before his death on 3 October 1881, Pratt, suffering from diabetes, dictated his own epitaph. Whatever disappointments and difficulties he had known throughout the course of his full life, his indestructible faith in the fundamentals of Mormonism soared: "My body sleeps but a moment; but my testimony lives and shall endure forever."⁷⁵

V

Time has been unusually kind to Orson Pratt. In his 1932 biographical study T. Edgar Lyon observed,

As one pauses at a vantage point and looks back over the first century of Mormonism, it becomes increasingly evident that Orson Pratt did more to formulate the Mormons' idea of God, the religious basis of polygamy, the pre-existence of spirits, the doctrine of the gathering of Israel, the resurrection, and eternal salvation than any other person in the Church, with the exception of Joseph Smith.⁷⁶

Brigham Young's speculations on Adam-God continued to be the center of no small controversy among church members. His belief⁷⁷ that Adam was at once the spiritual as well as the physical father of all persons born on this world, including Jesus Christ, was never completely accepted during his lifetime despite frequent reference to it by various church authorities. Even within the presiding quorums, it appears that Pratt was not alone in his discomfort with Young's theological innovation. Apostle George Q. Cannon, counselor to Young, may have been alluding to Adam-God when he recorded in his journal, after Young's death,

Some of my brethren, as I have learned since the death of President Brigham Young, did have feelings concerning his course. They did not approve of it, and felt oppressed, and yet they dared not exhibit their feelings to him, he ruled with so strong and stiff a hand, and they felt that it would be of no use. In a few words, the feeling seems to be that he transcended the bounds of the authority which he legitimately held. I have been greatly surprised to find so much dissatisfaction in such quarters. . . . [S]ome even feel that in the promulgation of doctrine he took liberties beyond those to which he was legitimately entitled.⁷⁸

While plural marriage enraged the American populace, Young's ill-fated Adam-God doctrine exerted a similar, though less intense effect within Mormon Israel.⁷⁹ The unpopular doctrine declined in official espousal during the succeeding administrations of John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, and church faithful today who entertain such a heretical notion become liable to official church censure.

Several of Pratt's unpopular ideas have now found acceptance among such influential twentieth century church exegetes as Joseph Fielding Smith. Elder Pratt would have no doubt agreed with Smith's doctrine: "I believe that *God knows all things* and that *his understanding is perfect, not 'relative.'* I have never seen or heard of any revealed fact to the contrary. I believe that our Heavenly Father and his Son Jesus Christ are *perfect*. I offer no excuse for the simplicity of my faith." [Emphasis in original]⁸¹ Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* shows a kindred debt to Pratt's theories in his sections on "God," the "Godhead," and "Eternal Progression."⁸² Reliance on Pratt is strong and surprising.⁸³

Recent studies of Joseph Smith's "inspired translation" of the Bible have contributed to a much greater Utah appreciation of the Prophet's efforts.⁸⁴ The Church's 1979 publication of the King James version, with Joseph Smith's amendments, unquestionably helped lay to rest the majority of Brigham Young's reservations. Even Lucy Mack Smith has been largely vindicated in modern research.⁸⁵

Both Orson Pratt and Brigham Young found themselves inextricably united in a common cause—Mormonism and its expansion. Each man, however, pursued this goal from subtly different points of view—which, as a direct consequence, were to produce seemingly different views. Young, as President and Prophet, saw his fundamental responsibilities as overseeing official church doctrine and maintaining unity within the Church as a whole. Freedom of thought, although important, was tolerated only when subsumed under "higher" laws: The supremacy of the office of church president, the dissemination of sound doctrinal truth, and the unity of church membership. Such freedom existed only if its presence was not disunifying or detracting. Pratt, while no doubt sensing the same dangers, did not perceive his espousal of beliefs contrary to those of Young as disunifying or detracting. Indeed, the Apostle was consistent in affirming the unifying aspects of his theological theories as well as their validity in relation to present scripture and past revelation. Pratt viewed his acceptance of doctrines Young found distasteful no more harmful than Young's own support of teachings Pratt considered scripturally unsound.

In retrospect, the main issue does not appear to be differences about the attributes of godliness, the omniscience of God, the omnipresence of the Holy Spirit, the "great first cause," the position of Adam in an earlier existence, the propriety of publishing Lucy Mack Smith's history of her son, or the "inspired translation" of the Bible. Rather, it emerges as conflict between Young's notion of dynamic revelation, which provided for the possibility of superceding past revelation, and Pratt's fundamentalist adherence to the written word of divine canon and past revelation. As each LDS authority was to perceive his own particular bias, antagonism was born and reconciliation became a virtual impossibility.⁸⁶ However, their conflict was not that each value was mutually exclusive, but rather that both men viewed them as such.

Young's efforts, beginning in 1855 with his public letter to Samuel W. Richards, were calculated to reduce the impact of Pratt's speculative theories,

rather than the status of the Apostle himself. In turn, Pratt, whether in a demonstration of unusual naivete, or of passive aggression, hoped to indirectly support his teachings with the claim that he had not been explicitly told what points were under official condemnation. This gave him the opportunity to speculate further on his controversial teachings, for no other reason than that he was merely adding upon a foundation he had earlier begun, not advancing new ideas. Pratt was not to disagree strongly with his President until after Young publicly expressed his objections to Pratt's writings. Young's criticism, perceived as a personal attack by Pratt, came as the result of Pratt's thinly veiled insistence that he be shown which of his doctrinal teachings were in error. Young's early statements did not satisfy, so Pratt continued to press the issue. The President, in turn, eventually responded to Pratt's charges with the official statements of 1860 and 1865, and the popularity of Pratt's questionable notions waned.⁸⁷ As often occurs, however, the boundaries separating the two positions have become less identifiable and victory only a matter of perspective.

NOTES

¹Discourse, Salt Lake City, 3 July 1870, reported in the *Journal of Discourses*, 26 Vols. (Liverpool: 1854–1882), 14:278. (This collection of LDS sermons is hereafter cited JD, followed by volume and page numbers.)

²Revelation, 2 January 1831, recorded in *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1971), page 38, verse 27.

³Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1954–1956; Bruce R. McConkie, comp.), 2:245–6.

⁴In addition to Orson Pratt, other General Authorities called were John Taylor to New York City in 1854, where he founded *The Mormon*; Erastus Snow to St. Louis, also in 1854, where he edited *The St. Louis Luminary*; and in 1856 George Q. Cannon to San Francisco to publish the *Western Standard*. Elder Wilford Woodruff noted that Apostle Pratt's mission was "to preach Salvation & Eternal Wrath to President Senators & Legislators that they might be left without Excuse." (Wilford Woodruff Journal, 22 December 1852, Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Woodruff's Journal is hereafter cited WWJ; the Archives division of the Church's Historical Department is simply cited LDS Archives.)

⁵Early church stalwart and confidant William Clayton, accompanying Pratt to the East, wrote Brigham Young: "If sound reason coupled with revelation would convince a man of the error of . . . a doctrine, one discourse from Brother Pratt would settle the question . . ." (William Clayton to Brigham Young, 4 October 1852, LDS Archives). James Henry Moyle, father of LDS Apostle Henry D. Moyle, recalled of his youth in 19th century Utah: "I would not have missed as a boy in my late teens the discourses of Orson Pratt for anything. I remember his sermons as being magnificent, and believe many of them will someday be honored and glorified" (memorandum, May 1943, in James Henry Moyle, "Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle" (Salt Lake City: Published by the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1975, Gene Sessions, ed., p. 55).

Pratt's prowess as an effective orator was evident as early as January 1834 when a reporter for the *Brookville Enquirer*, Brookville, Iowa, wrote,

If a man may be called eloquent who transfers his own views and feelings into the breasts of others—if a knowledge of the subject, and to speak without fear—are a part of the more elevated rules of eloquence, we have no hesitancy in saying ORSON PRATT was eloquent; and truly verified the language of Boileau: 'What we clearly conceive, we can clearly express' (Reprinted in the Latter-day Saints' *Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio) 1:77 (emphasis in original).

Time has not diminished Pratt's reputation. In 1969, Leonard Arrington asked approximately fifty LDS intellectuals to list the five most eminent intellectuals in Mormon history. Thirty-eight

persons responded. Orson Pratt was second only to B. H. Roberts, ahead of Joseph Smith, James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe and Pratt's own brother Parley. (See Leonard J. Arrington, "The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 4 (Spring 1969), pp. 13–26.)

⁶Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 31 December 1852, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

⁷"Prospectus," *The Seer* (Washington, D.C.), December 1852.

⁸*The Seer*, Vol. 1 (January 1853), No. 1, pp. 7–16.

⁹This would indicate that Pratt was at least some four months ahead of printing schedules. *The Seer* was not a hastily written or superficially conceived theological discussion. It represented the fruition of years of study. It is known that Pratt was seriously speculating on the nature and origin of God during the Mormons' 1847 trek West (see WWJ, 26 June 1847). William Clayton, as well as William Gibson, reported that Pratt apparently completed a series of articles dealing with the preexistence of Man during his Fall 1852 trip East (see William Clayton to Brigham Young, *op cit.*; and the Journal of William Gibson, LDS Archives).

¹⁰Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 4 March 1853, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

¹¹Orson Pratt to Parley P. Pratt, 2 November 1853, Parley P. Pratt Collection, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

¹²Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 1 September 1853, as cited in Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 4 November 1853, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

¹³See Joseph Smith, Jr., "The King Follett Sermon," Sunday, 7 April 1844, reported in Joseph Smith, Jr., *et al.*, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Period I.*, 7 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1950), 6:302–17. For an excellent discussion of the Smith sermon and controversial doctrines, see the entire Winter 1978 issue of *Brigham Young University Studies* (Vol. 18, No. 2), especially articles by Donald Q. Cannon (pp. 179–92), Stan Larson (pp. 193–208) and Van Hale (pp. 209–25).

¹⁴*The Seer*, Vol. 1 (August 1853), No. 8, p. 117, paragraph 97.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. 1 (January 1853), No. 1, p. 15.

¹⁶The specific doctrine to which Pratt here made reference is probably Adam-God, discussed at some length in this paper.

¹⁷"Confession," Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 4 November 1853, *op cit.*

¹⁸Discourse, Great Salt Lake City, 8 August 1854, reported in JD 3:91.

¹⁹WWJ, 17 September 1854. Young also chastised Pratt for having printed the LDS temple marriage ceremony. (See *The Seer*, Vol. 1 [February 1853], No. 2, p. 31.) It was later printed in the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool), Vol. 15 (Saturday, 2 April 1853), No. 14, pp. 214–15. (This English review is hereafter cited as LDSMS.)

²⁰Joseph Lee Robinson Journal, 6 October 1854, typescript of original in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

²¹Discourse, Salt Lake City, 7 October 1854, in JD 2:58–9.

²²Discourse, Salt Lake City, 15 October 1854, in JD 2:246–7.

²³The *Deseret News*, 16 November 1854, p. 3. (Pratt's edition sold for \$1.75.)

²⁴The *Deseret News*, 21 March 1855, p. 16.

²⁵Office Journal of President Brigham Young, 31 January 1860, LDS Archives (hereafter cited as POJ).

²⁶LDSMS, Vol. 17 (Saturday, 12 May 1855), No. 19, p. 298. Young's letter also took note of errors in the Smith biography, though it did not condemn Pratt's involvement.

²⁷Samuel W. Richards Journal, 25 March 1855, typescript of original in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter cited as SWRJ).

²⁸WWJ, 6 May 1855.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 17 February 1856. For Young's speech which prompted their exchange, see Discourse, Salt Lake City, 17 February 1856, reported in JD 3:203.

³⁰SWRJ, 11 March 1856.

³¹WWJ, 11 March 1856.

³²See LDSMS, Vol. 12 (15 October 1850), No. 20, pp. 305–09, and Vol. 12 (1 November 1850), No. 21, pp. 325–28.

³³"Holy Spirit," in *A Series of Pamphlets* (Liverpool: Published by Franklin D. Richards, 1856), p. 53. Pratt's writings were apparently not enjoying the brisk sales his earlier works did. On 8 January 1857, Pratt's second counselor in the mission presidency, James Amasa Little, "suggested to brother Pratt several reasons why I thought it might be well to curtail for the present the publication of his series of tracts, and he concluded to stop for a time with the publication of the eighth chapter and wait awhile to see how the works sold" (Journal of James Amasa Little, microfilm of transcript, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University). Pratt issued no additional tracts.

³⁴WWJ, 29 December 1856.

³⁵Discourse, Salt Lake City, 8 March 1857, in JD 4:267. As he met that evening for a prayer meeting, Young requested that Pratt's "Holy Spirit" be read aloud. Then, Wilford Woodruff recorded, "he made the following remarks . . . He said that Brother Pratt had got beyond the stars He had corralled them & Got beyond them" (WWJ, 8 March 1857).

³⁶WWJ, 24 March 1858.

³⁷As quoted in WWJ, 27 January 1860; see also footnote 39. Pratt's reasoning is evident in the early "Holy Spirit" (1850) treatise: "[T]he qualities [of godliness] are the real object of worship, and not the essence. . . ."

A search through available records housed in LDS Archives has failed to uncover the complete text of Pratt's Sunday sermon. For a brief summary, see the *Deseret News*, 14 December 1859, p. 328.

³⁸POJ, 25 January 1860.

³⁹All citation, whether direct or indirect, is taken from "Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidency & Twelve Presidents of Seventies and Others assembled in President Youngs Council Room," WWJ, 27 January 1860. It appears that this account was copied by Woodruff from the original minutes kept by George D. Watt (see POJ, 27 January 1860). Although it is not entirely clear why Woodruff went to the trouble of transcribing the official minutes into his personal journal, the impact of the meeting is evident. Even for the usually precise Woodruff, the extent of this journal entry is staggering: it covers some ten pages, easily the longest entry in his extensive journals.

⁴⁰POJ, 28 January 1860. Later that day, Pratt attended a customary Sunday prayer meeting with other members of his quorum. Apostle Woodruff reported that Pratt "did not dress but said he wanted to be in the society of the Twelve. He seemed much more soft in his spirit than he had been" (WWJ, 28 January 1860).

⁴¹The original text of Pratt's sermon in *Deseret News* galley proof sheets is in the Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives, and appears as a companion piece in this issue of *Dialogue*.

⁴²WWJ, 29 January 1860. See also Henry Hobbs Journal, 29 January 1860, LDS Archives; and Charles L. Walker Journal, 29 January 1860, typescript of original in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

⁴³POJ, 31 January 1860.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 4 February 1860.

⁴⁵Young was to express virtually identical views less than five months later; see the *Deseret News*, 27 June 1860, pp. 129–30.

⁴⁶POJ, 16 February 1860.

⁴⁷WWJ, 4 March 1860.

⁴⁸POJ, 21 February 1860.

⁴⁹*Deseret News*, 22 February 1860, p. 401.

⁵⁰All quotations, direct or indirect, are taken from "Minutes of Meeting at Historian's Office, April 4, 1860," Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives. (For brief summaries of this meeting, see POJ 4 April 1860, and WWJ, 4 April 1860.) Most of the minutes were recorded by Robert L. Campbell (whose handwriting has been identified by Dean C. Jessee). There are, however, sections written by Thomas Bullock. Campbell's handwriting is at times difficult to read and, though every effort has been made to reproduce the recorded comments, some textual misreadings may exist.

⁵¹This is the earliest known instance of Brigham Young's attributing the Adam-God theory to Joseph Smith. For other occasions, see WWJ, 16 December 1867, and the *Journal History*, 14 May 1876, LDS Archives. During 1852 to 1877—the effective period of official espousal of Adam-God—Young attributed this belief to his predecessor only three times. (Young did allude to Smith's impact on his own theological teachings in a sermon delivered Sunday afternoon, 8 June 1873. See the *Deseret News*, 18 June 1873, p. 308. The particular value of this latter discourse is the light it sheds on the probable origins of this doctrine: a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Joseph Smith's earlier teachings about Adam.)

⁵²All quotations, direct and indirect, are taken from "Minutes of Council of the Twelve in upper room of Historian's Office, April 5, 1860," Thomas Bullock, scribe, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives. For brief summaries, see POJ, 5 April 1860, and WWJ, 5 April 1860.

⁵³Pratt's comment lends support to T. B. H. Stenhouse's statement implicating Kimball's doctrinal speculations as a basis for Young's Adam-God teachings. See T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), p. 561 footnote.

⁵⁴Young's statements are taken from "Minutes in office of Pres. Young, April 5, 1860," Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

⁵⁵See POJ, 10 April, 6 July, and 14 July 1860.

⁵⁶This statement, appended to Pratt's revised confessional sermon, is now in James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 6 Vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1965–75), 2:214–223.

⁵⁷WWJ, 23 September 1860. It is unfortunate that after his 1847 entry into the Great Salt Lake Valley, Pratt did not continue his personal journal. During the particularly trying first six months of 1860, virtually nothing is known about the Apostle's own feelings toward himself and his fellow brethren of the Twelve and First Presidency other than what is to be found in official minutes and diaries. Pratt family oral tradition, however, as related by T. Edgar Lyon, suggests that he harbored no lasting negative feelings toward Young. Rather, Pratt apparently felt that the Church President acted without fully understanding his own ambitions. As Lyon reported, "On such occasions he asked his family, as they engaged in their secret and family prayers, to petition God to open Brigham Young's mind. . . ." (Libby Pratt Eldredge to T. Edgar Lyon, in T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt—Early Mormon Leader," master of Arts thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Church History, 1932, pps. 86–7).

⁵⁸See Stanley B. Kimball, "Brigham and Heber," *Brigham Young University Studies*, Vol. 18 (Spring 1978), No. 3, pps. 396–409.

⁵⁹The Historian's Office Journal, LDS Archives, records that Brigham Young, accompanied by Elders John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Franklin D. Richards, George Q. Cannon and several other church authorities, left the city on Wednesday, 3 May 1865. They returned a week later on Thursday, May 11, at 4:30 p.m.

For the account of the Smith biography as a "Reader," see Gottfredson Family History, p. 7, typed transcript available at Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁰The Historian's Office Journal, 13 June 1865.

⁶¹WWJ, 13 June 1865.

⁶²Remarks, Great Salt Lake City, 18 June 1865, in JD 11:121.

⁶³The 1865 church declaration summed up Young's real fears and deep concerns. There can be little question that the President had considered the initial 1860 statement sufficient at the time it was first issued, or had hoped that it would be. Only in intervening years did he come to realize

that it had not laid to rest the popularity of Pratt's doctrinal theories. Ironically, Young himself had contributed to the stature of the heterodox General Authority among church faithful. Pratt's excesses were offset by his evident leadership and organizational abilities as well as his superior intellect.

Though Young rarely allowed his exasperation to exceed the bounds of propriety, at least one outburst is known. In late September 1865, he launched into brief diatribe against Pratt during a forty-minute discourse to fellow adherents. Wilford Woodruff reported that Young "spoke his Feelings in great plainness concerning O. Pratt & his publications. He said Orson Pratt would go to Hell . . . He would sell this people for gold. What would I give for such an Apostle, not much and yet we hold him in Fellowship in the Church" (WWJ, 24 September 1865). Young occasionally entertained the belief that Pratt's motives in publishing were primarily pecuniary. See *ibid.*, 9 September 1860. Young's fundamental fear was that "If . . . some [doctrines] by O Pratt be preached & Published as the doctrines of the Church & not contradicted by us it would not be long before there would be [schisms]" (*ibid.*, 26 December 1866).

⁶⁴The entire statement has since been reprinted in Clark, *op cit.*, pps. 229–40. Clark, however, errs in identifying two separate statements.

In fairness to Pratt and the cloudy circumstances surrounding the publication of Lucy Mack Smith's biography, it should be noted that while he did not technically seek approval of his governing quorums, he did advise Young of his intentions on 31 December 1852. "I think I will . . . publish . . . another work," he wrote, "which will be very interesting, namely, the narrative of Mother Smith, giving the genealogy of Joseph, back for seven generations, and a statement of many facts, visions, dreams, and incidents, connected with the finding & translating of the plates, and I think that they will do much good both to the church & the world" (Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 31 December 1852, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives).

⁶⁵LDSMS, Vol. 27 (Saturday, 4 November 1865), No. 44, p. 698.

⁶⁶Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 12 December 1865, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.

⁶⁷During this general period of time, Pratt was to also witness the separate apostasies from the Church of his first wife, Sarah, and his eldest child, Orson, Jr. Sarah's disaffection had been an ongoing process dating from the early 1840s. For the strong willed Sister Pratt polygamy was unacceptable regardless its advocates. Orson Jr.'s apostasy was likely similarly devastating, if not more so. The day of the announcement of his excommunication at St. George, Utah, Sunday, 17 September 1864, he explained,

. . . I have come to the conclusion that, Joseph Smith was not specially sent from the Lord to establish this work, and I cannot help it, for I could not believe otherwise, even if I knew that I was to be punished for not doing so; and I must say so, though I knew that I was to suffer for it the next moment.

When I was brought up before the High Council they said that I bore a good character, and that they had nothing against me, only I did not believe in some of the principles of Mormonism that I believe to be good, though there are others that I cannot believe in. Now let me mention that, let a man be guilty of ever so heinous a crime, if he can stand up and say that he believes the same as you, you will hold to him and keep him in fellowship, and I admit that it makes me feel somewhat strange that, when I find that, because I don't believe the same as you, although nothing can be said against my moral character, yet I must be dropped off. This is the way I feel. I see many friends around me in this congregation who don't believe as I do, yet I can respect them for all that, for I don't care what they believe. And I claim the same privilege for myself. I am confident of one thing, that, while conscience does not upbraid me, and I do not sin against my Heavenly Father, none, by their actions can shut me out of the light of His presence. ("Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," James G. Bleak, scribe, pp. 172–75, typescript of original in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.)

Apostle Pratt's intellectual bent and deep emphasis on reasoning found a willing disciple in his son, whose youthful desire had been to discover for himself the validity of the church in which he had been raised. However, what was a foregone conclusion for Pratt, Sr. was for his eldest son less convincing. As a result of his father's influence, Orson Pratt, Jr., in honesty to himself, his ideals, and his upbringing, could not accept the basic foundations of his father's religion. His own declaration echoed a similar proclamation made by his father four years earlier. Yet while his father retained his membership, Pratt, Jr. did not. The personal revelation Apostle Pratt had demanded during his confrontations with Young and others of the general authorities he received in large measure with his son's excommunication.

⁶⁸T. Edgar Lyon, using both Stenhouse (op cit., p. 496) and Pratt family tradition, reported that during the closing months of 1868 a meeting was held in Bear Valley in northern Utah to discuss the issue of seniority in the Quorum of the Twelve. Pratt balked and the question was not resolved at that time. See Lyon, op cit., pps. 160–1. I have been unable to substantiate such a meeting with materials currently available.

One year earlier, a minor altercation did occur. Woodruff noted that on 10 September 1867, Pratt announced to other General Authorities “he did not worship attributes asside from the Personage of God but believed that God was an organized Being the same as Man & that man possessed the attributes of God if he kept the Celestial Law” (WWJ, 10 September 1867). Two days later, however, Woodruff added, without details, “The President & Twelve held a Council in the evening upon the difference of opinion with O. Pratt” (ibid., 12 September 1867). With Pratt’s recent about face regarding the attributes of godliness, one can only speculate as to the exact nature of “the difference of opinion with O. Pratt.”

⁶⁹WWJ, 31 May 1868.

⁷⁰Ibid., 20 June 1868.

⁷¹Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 1 July 1868, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives. Later that month, Young made direct reference to Pratt’s letter during a brief speech delivered to members of the theological school. See “Minutes of the School of the Prophets, held in the Provo Meeting House,” 20 July 1868, copy in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

⁷²In his attempts at reconciliation, Pratt was to contradict several of his earlier beliefs. Reference has previously been made to his reversal respecting the attributes of godliness. See note 68. He even went so far at one point as to refer to Adam as God. See Discourse, Salt Lake City, 7 October 1869, in JD 13:187. It is not known to what extent Pratt actually embraced without reservation the notions he here declared.

⁷³The difficulties surrounding Pratt’s 1842 excommunication, 1843 reinstatement, and *ex post facto* 1875 realignment are legion, and rightly merit a separate treatment.

⁷⁴Pratt’s edition of *The Pearl of Great Price* was also used as a correctional text for the Mormon temple endowment ceremony. See Journal of L. John Nuttall, 15 June 1884, typed transcript in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

⁷⁵As recorded by Joseph F. Smith, *The Contributor*, Vol. 12 (October 1891), No. 12, p. 462.

⁷⁶T. Edgar Lyon, op cit., 125.

⁷⁷Young maintained that the doctrine of Adam-God was revealed to him by God. See the *Deseret News*, 18 June 1873, p. 308. He was to also assert that he was merely espousing what had been earlier revealed to him by Joseph Smith. See note 51. There exists, however, no reliable evidence contemporary to Smith’s lifetime which lends support to such a view. The more likely candidate is his First Counselor, Heber C. Kimball. Both Stenhouse (op cit., p. 561 footnote) and Pratt (note 53) attributed the initial creation of Adam as God to Kimball. With his death in 1868, Young lost perhaps the only church authority whose personal commitment to Adam-God equalled his own.

As mentioned, Young also claimed to have received this teaching from God. No amount of research can prove (or disprove) the personal nature of revelation, divine or otherwise. Yet whether Young attributed Adam-God to Joseph Smith or revelation, the church President was not above inventing support for beliefs where none existed previously. Consider his comments to fellow Mormons on 8 October 1854:

[W]ere I under the necessity of making scripture extensively I should get Bro. Heber C. Kimball to make it, and then I would quote it. I have seen him do this when any of the Elders have been pressed by their opponents, and were a little at a loss; he would make a scripture for them to suite the case, that never was in the bible, though none the less true, and make their opponents swallow it as the words of an apostle, or [one] of the prophets. The Elder would then say, ‘Please turn to that scripture, [gentlemen] and read it for yourselves.’ No, they could not turn to it but they recollected it like the devil for fear of being caught. I will venture to make a little. (Speech, 8 October 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives.)

On several occasions the President declared that his words were as legitimate as any found in the standard works of Mormon canon: “I say now, when they [Young’s sermons] are copied and approved by me they are as good Scripture as is couched in this Bible” (Discourse, 6 October 1870, in JD 13:264).

⁷⁸Journal of George Q. Cannon, 17 January 1878, as cited in Joseph J. Cannon, "George Q. Cannon—Relations with Brigham Young," *The Instructor*, Vol. 80 (June 1945), p. 259.

⁷⁹For the unpopularity of Adam-God among rank-and-file members during Young's lifetime, see the *Deseret News*, 18 June 1873, p. 308; LDSMS, Vol. 16, p. 482; and JD 5:331.

⁸⁰Most treatments of Adam-God are severely marred by their authors' personal beliefs. Fred C. Collier has compiled a useful collection of statements relating to Young's speculations, entitled "The Mormon God" (1974) (unpublished). Rodney Turner's 1953 master of Arts thesis, "The Position of Adam in Latter-day Saint's Scripture and Theology," is perhaps the most balanced, though incomplete.

⁸¹Joseph Fielding Smith, *op cit.*, 1:8. Smith's views on Adam-God also parallel those of Pratt. See *ibid.*, pp. 96–106.

⁸²See Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd Edition (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1966), pp. 317–21, and 238–9, respectively.

⁸³Several of Pratt's theories on the attributes of godliness and omnipresence of the Holy Spirit were adapted by later church writers. See, Charles W. Penrose, Discourse, Salt Lake City, 16 November 1884, in JD 26:18–29; B. H. Roberts, *The Seventy's Course in Theology, Third Year, The Doctrine of Deity* (1910), p. 198; and Hyrum L. Andrus, *God, Man and the Universe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1968), pp. 109–43.

⁸⁴See Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible—A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975); and Stephen R. Knecht, *The Story of Joseph Smith's Bible Translation—A Documented History* (Salt Lake City: Associated Research Consultants, 1977).

⁸⁵In Richard L. Anderson's opinion, "Lucy Smith's memories of the early years of the rise of Mormonism have a demonstrable degree of accuracy" (Richard L. Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences," *Brigham Young University Studies*, Vol. 9 (Spring 1969), No. 3, p. 391).

⁸⁶Augmenting their already existing differences were 1) ambiguous ecclesiastical jurisdictions, 2) communication barriers resulting from Pratt's numerous missionary labors away from Church headquarters, 3) the implicit need for unity within the quorums, 4) behavior regulations ultimately imposed upon Pratt by Young, and 5) unresolved past conflict, particularly Pratt's excommunication and reinstatement, and his initial opposition to the formation of the First Presidency in 1847. (For this latter opposition, see "Minutes of Councils, Meetings, & Journey on a mission to the Saints on the Pottawatomie Sands, Sunday, Dec. 5, 1847," Brigham Young Collection, LDS Archives. Pratt, at the time, declared, "I do consider the head of this Ch[urch] lays in the Apostleship united together—Paul says Apostles [are] set in the Church—not one individual of the Apostles, without counselling on the subject . . . I consider that our Prest does not control the Quorum." Pratt's convictions here also bear upon ambiguous ecclesiastical jurisdictions. After some deliberation on the subject, Pratt seconded the motion that Young be appointed President of the Church.)

⁸⁷Pratt's popularity continued to plague church leaders even after his death. On 11 June 1892, President Wilford Woodruff addressed stake leaders at St. George, Utah. Several of the local brethren had been "advancing false doctrine," that "it was right to worship the intelligence that was in God the Eternal Father and not God." Woodruff refuted the idea, and went on to discuss Pratt's previous excesses. President Woodruff

toled of orson's unyielding stubbornes, and of upbraiding the twelve for not being manly, for not declaring their views the way he looked at it, and branding them as cowards &c. &c. spoke of the firmnes of Pres Young in correcting Orson Pratt and setting him aright. of orsen wishing to resign his position in the Quorum. of Pres Young saying 'No you wont orson I'll rub your ears until I get you right;' and had it not been for the firmness of Pres Young in maintaining the Right, and assiduously laboring and showing him his gross errors, Orson would have been out of the Church (Charles L. Walker Journal, 11 June 1892, *op cit.*).

*“LET BR. PRATT DO AS HE WILL”
ORSON PRATT’S 29 JANUARY 1860
CONFESSIONAL
DISCOURSE—UNREVISED*

PREFATORY NOTE:

THE FOLLOWING SERMON is taken from a mock-up of Pratt’s Sunday discourse in *Deseret News* galley proofs located in the Brigham Young Collection, Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Spelling errors in the original have been corrected, together with realigning certain sections which were obviously placed out of sequence. Aside from this, it remains unaltered. For the reader’s convenience, all omissions from the final text as printed in the *Deseret News*, 25 July 1860, are in italics. The few additions are shown in brackets.

While one of the more obvious advantages of presenting Pratt’s unrevised confession is the opportunity afforded the reader of noting what areas Young and others found objectionable, more justifiable is the insight it reveals into the complex personality of one of nineteenth century Mormonism’s leading intellectuals. What, on 29 January 1860, was for Elder Orson Pratt a sincere declaration of repentance and confession, would prove two months later to be but one additional thorn in a seemingly irreconcilable difference in value perception between the stubborn Pratt and his equally demanding church President, Brigham Young.

(G. J. B.)

ORSON PRATT’S 29 JANUARY 1860 DISCOURSE—UNREVISED
(REPORTED BY G. D. WATT)

I will read a passage of scripture to be found in Isaiah, lii. chap., 8 verse—
“Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing:
for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion.”

I will, this morning, take the words of the ancient Prophet as the foundation for a few remarks, applying them more directly to myself. And if they should be applicable to the congregation before me, I hope that they, together with myself, will be benefited by the same.

It is very evident from this passage of Holy Scripture that there is a period of time to come in the last days, in which all of the Elders of Israel and all the watchmen of Zion will understand alike, see alike, and have the same views in regard to doctrine and principles, and all division of sentiment will be entirely done away. Then that scripture will be fulfilled recorded in our Lord's prayer as he taught his disciples how to pray: "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven."

When I reflect that in heaven there is a perfect union of spirit and feeling among the celestial throng; when I reflect that in that happy place there is no disunion one with another; no different views; but that all will have the same mind and feeling in regard to the things of God; and then reflect that the day is to come when the same order of things is to be established here upon the earth; and then look at the present condition of mankind, I am constrained to acknowledge that there must be a great revolution on the earth. Where are there two men abroad in the world that see eye to eye?—that have the same view in regard to doctrine and principle?—that are of the same mind? They can scarcely be found. I doubt whether they can be found in the world.

How is it among us, the Latter Day Saints? One thing is true in regard to some few of them; shall I say few? No; I will say many of them; they do actually, in the great fundamental principles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, see eye to eye. I cannot suppose that in our infancy and childhood we can attain to all this great perfection in a moment, and be brought to see and understand alike. But there is one great heavenly standard or principle to which we must all come. What is that heavenly standard or principle? It is the restoration of the Holy Priesthood, the living oracles of God to the earth; and that Priesthood, dictated, governed, and directed by the power of revelation, through the gift of the Holy Ghost, that is the standard of which all the Latter Day Saints and the Kingdom of God must come, in order to fulfill the prophecy I have read in your hearing.

It matters not how much information any man may have before he comes into this Church. It matters not how extensively he may be taught in the arts and branches of learning; it matters not how much natural wisdom he may be qualified with; it matters not whether he has occupied a high station in the eyes of the world, or a low one; it matters not what his prior condition may have been, when he repents before God and enters into covenants with the Father and the Son and with his brethren, and manifests before them and the whole world that he forsakes the world and the wisdom thereof: that is, that which is called wisdom by the world: that he is willing to forsake all things which are of the world that are inconsistent with the character of God, His attributes, His word, and His kingdom; that very moment he comes to that point, and goes forward in baptism, he becomes subject to a different power

from what he had before been subject to. He becomes subject to a certain authority that is different; he becomes subject to an authority which has come from heaven; not an authority ordained of man; not an authority which has been originated by human wisdom, or by the learning of mankind; not by inspired or uninspired books; for books never yet bestowed authority, whether inspired or uninspired.

The authority of Jesus Christ sent down from heaven, conferred upon man by His Holy Angels, or by those that may have previously received divine authority, is the true and only standard here upon the face of our earth; and to this standard all people, nations, and tongues must come, or be eventually taken from the earth; for this is the only authority which is everlasting and eternal; and which will endure in time and throughout all eternity.

This brings to my mind a revelation which was given in a general conference on the 2d day of January, 1831; the church then having been organized about nine months. All the Saints were gathered together from various little branches that had been established, in the house of old Father Whitmer, whose sons became conspicuous in this last dispensation as being witnesses of the Book of Mormon—whose house also became conspicuous as the place where the Prophet Joseph Smith received many revelations and communications from heaven. In one small room of a log-house, nearly all the Latter Day Saints east of Ohio were collected together. They desired the Prophet of the Lord to inquire of God and receive a revelation to guide and instruct the church that were then present. Br. Joseph seated himself at the table; br. Sidney Rigdon, who was at that time a member of the church, having just arrived from the West, where he embraced the Gospel through the administration of some of the elders, he was requested to act as scribe in writing the revelation from the mouth of the Prophet Joseph. I will read a portion of this revelation—“And again I say unto you, let every man esteem his brother as himself; for what man among you having twelve sons, and is no respecter of them, and they serve him obediently and he saith unto the one, be thou clothed in robes and sit thou here, and to the other, be thou clothed in rags and sit thou there, and looketh upon his sons and saith I am just. Behold, this I have given unto you as a parable, and it is even as I am: I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine.”

This I consider is a very important item.—Behold “I say unto you—be one, and if ye are not one, ye are not mine.”

This is very pointed, plain, and definite language, that no man can misunderstand. Upon what principle are we to be one? It is by hearkening in all things to that eternal and everlasting priesthood which has been conferred upon mortal man upon the earth. When I say that priesthood, I mean the individual who holds the keys thereof—is the standard, the living oracle to the church. But, says one, suppose that we hearken to the word of God in the Old and New Testament; suppose that we hearken to the word of God in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants; suppose we hearken to the word of God in the Book of Mormon, and at the same time we feel disposed in our hearts to lay aside the living oracles, what then? I would answer, in the first place, that

the premises are false. Why? Because the revelations of God command us plainly that we shall hearken to the living oracles. Hence, if we undertake to follow the written word, and at the same time, do not give heed to the living oracles of God, the written word will condemn us; it shows that we do not follow it according to our profession. This is what I wish to bring home to myself as an individual and, if the same thing will suit any other person in the congregation, I hope that he will take it home to himself. But, inquires one, how is it that you are going to apply this to yourself? I will tell you. But first let me quote from another revelation, contained in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. Perhaps I had better read the passage which I wish now to bring to your understanding—"Behold there shall be a record kept among you, and in it thou shalt be called a Seer, a Translator, a Prophet, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and Elder of the church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, being inspired of the Holy Ghost to lay the foundation thereof, and to build it up onto the most holy faith, which church was organized and established in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty, and in the fourth month, and in the sixth day of the month, which is called April. Therefore meaning the church, thou shalt give heed unto His words and commandments which he shall give unto you as he receiveth them, walking in all holiness before me; for His word shall ye receive as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith."

Here then we perceive what is binding upon the church of the living God; what was binding upon them thirty years ago; and what has been binding upon them ever since, from the day that it was given, until the day the Prophet was martyred down until the year 1860 and until the present moment of time. All this time there have been a kingdom and church of the living God on the earth, and a man placed at the head of that church to govern, direct, counsel, preach, exhort, testify, and speak the truth to the people, and counsel them in the things pertaining to their duties, and pertaining to the kingdom of God.

Now, then, let me get back again.

The great subject before me this morning, is the words I have been repeating before you, and how they apply to myself. There have been a few things wherein I have been wrong; wherein I have disobeyed these instructions that are here laid down—wherein, no doubt, I have also brought at many times darkness upon my own mind. I want to make a confession to-day. I do not know that brother Brigham or any of the rest of the Twelve who have come here this morning, except brother Benson, knew of my intentions. I did tell brother Benson I thought of making a confession this morning, but the others were not aware of this. There are a few things which have been a source of sorrow to myself, at different times, for many years.

Perhaps you may be desirous to know what they are. I will tell you. There are some points of doctrine which I have unfortunately, *without knowing before-hand what the views of the First President of this church of God were*, thrown out before the people.

At the time I expressed these views, I did most sincerely believe that they were in accordance with the word of God. I did most sincerely suppose that I was justifying the truth. But I afterward learned [from my brethren] *the fact from the mouth of our Prophet Brigham from the mouth of that person whom God has placed at the head of this church* that some of the doctrines I had advanced in the "Seer" at Washington were incorrect. Naturally being of a stubborn disposition *myself*; and having a kind of self-will about me; and moreover supposing really and sincerely that I did understand what true doctrine was in relation to these points, I did not feel to yield to his judgement, but believed he was in error. How was this right? No, it was not. Why? Because [the Priesthood] *he is the highest [and only legitimate] authority [in the church in these matters] there is here on the earth in this kingdom. He is the living oracle of God to the church—to all the quorums of the church—and to all individuals of quorums.*

It was my duty as a servant of God to have at once yielded my judgement to his judgement. But I did not do it. I did not readily yield. I believed at the time that he was as sincere in his views and thoughts as I was in mine; and thought that I had made up my mind upon the word of God in relation to the matter, and concluded that it was not my duty to yield my judgement to him.

How is it about this? Have we not a right to make up our minds in relation to the things recorded in the word of God, and speak about them, whether the living oracles believe our views or not? We have not the right. Why? Because the mind of man is weak: and this man may make up his mind in this way, and another man may make up his mind in another way, and a third individual may have his views, and thus every man is left to his own authority, and is governed by his own judgement which he takes as his own standard.

Do you not perceive that this would, in a short time, cause opposition, disunion, and division of sentiment throughout the whole church? That would never fulfill the words of my text—would never bring to pass the sayings of Isaiah, that their watchmen should lift up their voices, etc.

In this thing I have sinned, and for this, I am willing to make my confession to the Saints; I ought to have yielded [to the views of my brethren] *my stubborn disposition to his will*. I ought to have said as Jesus did to his Father on a certain occasion, "Father, thy will be done."

I ought to have said to him that holds the keys, Br. Brigham, thy will be done in relation to this matter; thy judgement be correct; let that guide, and govern, and dictate my mind, and the minds of all the people of God. That was my duty; but I did not do it. The consequence has been, I have oftentimes felt to mourn, and have been sorrowful in my own mind in relation to this matter.

If I had not sense in all things, I had sense enough to know that it was not my place to correct the public mind; it was the place of him who holds the keys; and it was my place to yield; and if I had published a doctrine that was incorrect, it is his place to pronounce it incorrect; for me to get up and declare it to be true from the word of God, in contradiction to his voice, would be sinning still more before God.

"You have made this confession," says one, "and now we want to ask you a little question on the subject. What do you believe concerning those points

now? *You may say it is incorrect for you to withstand the ideas of the President, who holds the keys of the kingdom; but what are your views, what do you know concerning these points of doctrine now?"*

I will answer in the words of Paul. "I know nothing of myself; yet am I not hereby justified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord." So far as revelation from the heavens is concerned, I have had none in relation to those points of doctrine.

I will tell you what I have had revealed to me. I have had revealed to me that the Book of Mormon is from God; I have had revealed to me that the Book of Doctrine and Covenants is also from God; I have had revealed to me that this is the church and kingdom of God; I have had revealed to me that this is the last dispensation of the fullness of times; these things are matter of knowledge with me; I know them to be true, and I do know about many things in relation to God and to future events.

But when I reflect upon the subject, I have very little knowledge concerning many things. *What do I know, for instance, about God's being infinite in knowledge? This is the point I had reference to in the Seer. I have said in the Seer that God comprehends all things past, present, and to come—that there is not a solitary thing that ever did exist, that now exists, or that ever will exist, but what he fully comprehends.*

But when I come to ask the questions, how I know this? Have I had any revelation on this subject? I am constrained to acknowledge that I never had any revelation on this subject to myself. The vision of the heavens never has been opened to me to unfold this point of doctrine, and consequently I do not know this for myself. If there are any prophets who ever did know concerning it, they are the ones to testify of it and not me. Consequently I have no business to stand up and argue against a man that holds the keys of the kingdom of God upon a point of doctrine of this nature. I have done it; I have set up my natural judgement on this point as a standard of my own mind.

I have had many arguments with President Young upon this point; really supposing he was wrong, and that I was right; and that my understanding of the revelations upon this point true. But when I come to reflect upon the subject, how do I know I understand this revelation correctly? Am I not liable to be mistaken in determining the meaning of this revelation? Are there not many things contained in the word of God we do not any of us understand?

What do I know, for instance, about much of what is revealed in the last book of the New Testament, called John's Revelations? What do I know about much written in the Book of Daniel? Some few things are quite plain; but what do I understand in relation to some few of the predictions in the 11th chap. of Daniel? I doubt whether there is a person, unless he has been favored with direct revelation from heaven, who knows but very little about John's Revelations.

What do I know about many things in relation to the celestial kingdom? Was the celestial kingdom been opened to my mind? No. Have I gazed upon it in vision? No. Have I seen God sitting on his throne, surrounded by his holy angels? No. Have I knowledge of the laws, and order, and government, and rule which regulate that kingdom? No. *How then can I bear testimony that*

God knows all things past, present, and to come? If the revelations seem to apparently convey this or that idea, still I may be entirely mistaken in regard to the meaning of those revelations.

We are told by the living oracle upon the earth that this is incorrect doctrine. We are told that every God will continue to progress in knowledge to all ages of eternity; and we are told this by the highest authority on the earth. Must not I yield? I will at least say, I will be silent upon the subject, until I learn the facts from the heavens, and am counted to bear testimony of them, and then I can do it in truth.

There is one thing I will assure you of, God will never reveal anything to me, or to any other man which will come in contact with the views and revelations which he gives to the man who holds the keys. We never need expect such a thing.

"But," inquires one, "have you not felt anxious that the church should follow your ideas as laid down in the Seer?" I have not; if I had, I should have preached them; I should have tried to reason with you to convince you of their apparent truth.

I have always been anxious that the church should be governed by him who has the right to govern it—to receive revelations, and to give counsel for its guidance, through whom correct doctrine ought to come and be unfolded to the children of men.

"But," inquires one, "Do you not believe that God will suffer a man, standing at our head, sometimes to be mistaken?" That is none of my business. If God suffers any man, standing at the head of this kingdom, to be mistaken, I am not to blame.

God placed Joseph Smith at the head of this church. God has likewise placed Brigham Young at the head of this church; and he has required you and me, male and female, to sustain those authorities thus placed over us in their position. He has never released you nor me from those obligations. We are commended to give heed to their words in all things,¹ receive their words as from the mouth of God, in all patience and faith. When we do not do this, we get into darkness. *It matters not what they teach, what principles they advocate, God has placed them here, and God requires you and me to continue in our faith and patience to receive [the truth at their hands] their words and the doctrines which they advance.* I am going to do it. I am going to repent. I arose on this stand this morning to unburden my feelings in regard to these matters.

What is repentance? Is it merely to say we will do thus and so, and then go and do directly the contrary? When I say, I am going to repent of these things, I mean that I am going from this time henceforth, through the grace of God assisting me, to try and show by my acts and by my words, that I will uphold and support those whom I do know God has placed over me to govern, direct and guide me in the things of this kingdom.

I do not know that I shall be able to carry out those views; but these are my present determinations. I may have grace and strength to perform this; *and perhaps I may hereafter be overcome.* I feel exceedingly weak in regard to these matters.

I know what I have got to conquer—I have to conquer Orson Pratt, my [natural] disposition, judgement, and feelings, and bring them to bow to the

authority God has instituted. I see no other way. This is the only way for me, and the only way for you. I see no possibility for the words of my text to be fulfilled, and brought to pass in any other manner. You cannot devise or imagine any other way. The world have tried for six thousand years to become united, and they never have been, and never will be able to do it, if they should continue to remain as nations, kingdoms and peoples for six million of years to come. They never can bring about this oneness of sentiment and feeling by each man's being his own standard. No; it never was ordained by the Almighty to be brought about in that way.

The only way for us is to have a true standard which must be from heaven—a standard ordained of God, which we can follow with the upmost confidence—a standard we can have faith in—a standard to which all human wisdom and human judgement must give way. Such a standard only will be eternal, and will prevail when all other standards will fail.

There are some few other points, I have named one. I do not know that it is necessary for me to name all the various little items. There are some few points of philosophy wherein I really supposed I was right, and wherein I really supposed in my heart, in times past, that the man who holds the keys was wrong in his judgement. But all the arguments I have brought forth in relation to the one point mentioned are equally applicable to all other points of apparent differences of opinion.

If the Prophet of the living God, who is my standard, lays down a principle, whether it be a principle of doctrine, or a principle in philosophy, or a principle in science, or a principle pertaining to anything whatever, it is not for you nor me to argue against it, and set up our standard, and our views, and our judgement in order to make a division in the church of the living God—even if the division goes no further than our own individual selves. We must bow, if we would bring about that oneness spoken of in the revelations of God. We must yield to these things; and it is my determination to do so.

"But," inquires one, "suppose a Prophet of God should lay down a principle in philosophy which to all human appearance appears to be perfectly incorrect, what would you do then?" I would say I am weak—that my judgement is not to be set up against the judgement of the man placed at my head. If I cannot fully understand his views, it is my duty at least to be silent in regard to my own.

Do my ideas suit anybody else? It matters not whether they do or not; they suit me, and I am going to put the coat on. I am preaching to myself this morning. I did not come here to preach to the world, nor particularly to preach to the Saints, but I wanted to preach to myself, and see if I could not convert myself, and when I can get converted myself, perhaps I may do some good in preaching to the Saints and to the world.

I have not yet partaken of the sacrament this morning. I was determined to unbosom my feelings before I partook of these holy emblems, ordained of God for none to partake of only those whose hearts are honest and pure and upright before him. I recollected a certain scripture before I came here: "Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remember that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother; and then come and offer thy gift."

These words came forcibly to my mind before I came to this house; and inasmuch as there may have been any feelings in the hearts of the Latter Day Saints that are now before me, I desire to do all in my power to bring a complete reconciliation.

I wish the whole Territory were here, and all the good people of England, and all the Saints that have ever seen any of my writings or read my views; I would say to them all—brethren, I make a confession; I have sinned; I have been so stubborn; I have not yielded as I ought; I have done wrong; and I will try to do so no more. And if the whole kingdom of God can be reconciled with me, I shall be very glad. At least I will do all I can to obtain their reconciliation.

These are my feelings to br. Brigham. I will make reconciliation to [the Presidency] *him*, and to the Twelve, and to [the Church] *all people*, so far as it is in my power, so far as I have *been stubborn and not yielded to [my brethren] the man God has ordained to lead me*. I consider these to be true principles, however imperfect I may have been; it has nothing to do with the principles; the principles are from heaven, *let br. Pratt do as he will: Amen.*

NOTES

¹This marks the beginning point of the inadvertent printing of Pratt's sermon in the *Deseret News*, 22 February 1860.

The corrected version of Pratt's confessional sermon was later reprinted in the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 22 September 1860, and was eventually published in the *Journal of Discourses*, volume 7, pages 371 to 376. Usually appended is the 1860 Church statement over the signatures of the First Presidency detailing the specific points of Pratt's theories considered false. Both are more conveniently reprinted in James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965), pp. 214–223.

A GOSPEL-CENTERED THERAPY: AN INTERVIEW WITH CARLFRED BRODERICK

Carlfred Broderick, therapist, author, professor, sexologist and raconteur (as well as sometime guest on the Johnny Carson Show), is also a stake president, the father of eight children and a witty observer of Mormon life. His frank and helpful books on marriage and family are deservedly popular: Couples: How to Confront Problems and Maintain Loving Relationships (Simon and Schuster) and Marriage and the Family (Prentice-Hall). Dr. Broderick was interviewed for Dialogue by Ruth Stanfield Rees, Maureen Derrick Keeler and Dialogue's former editor, Robert A. Rees.

Dialogue: Do you use gospel principles in your counseling?

Broderick: I do, first, because gospel principles are subconsciously integrated into my thinking, and second, because they are principles other people can accept and act upon even though they don't understand the ultimate source. Many non-members have discovered the truth of them independently. I'm impressed with how many people in my profession are using the same principles of therapy the gospel would dictate: If you're nice to each other, that works better; if you're true to each other, that works better. Those are universal principles and Mormons have no copyright on them.

I also employ gospel principles that are not in general use. For example, I've often said to patients: "There's a Mormon scripture that may help you. It says, 'There is a law irrevocably decreed before the foundations of this world upon which all blessings are predicated, and whenever you receive any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated.' Now, you're just not obeying the laws of getting well. And you're not going

to get well until you do." And they say, "That's a neat scripture!" I've never had anybody resist it yet. I have on occasion given blessings to non-members. I have given them to members more often. When I give a blessing as part of the therapy, I don't charge for the session, because I would consider it simony. I've given nonmembers blessings in situations where I've felt they were of a mind to appreciate and receive them. Because they're not used to the experience, the blessing often sticks with them more than it does with a member. Those who are not accustomed to the spirit remember and later quote the blessings back to me, saying they were turning points in their therapy. So I use the gospel more directly if I think it'll be received.

Dialogue: You seem to have a good deal of confidence in your profession as a whole. Isn't this an unusual attitude for a Latter-day Saint psychotherapist? Often in the Church one hears considerable criticism of psychotherapy.

Broderick: Well, caution is warranted. That's why people in or out of the Church ought to use the spirit of discernment when seeking a therapist, to discern whether this person's values are compatible with their own. Frankly, I would rather have a highly competent, honorable non-Latter-day Saint counselor than an unskilled or incompetent Latter-day Saint counselor.

Dialogue: Would you care to comment on what you think the general state of the art is among Latter-day Saint counselors, both within the church Social Services as well as among other practicing psychotherapists?

Broderick: The church Social Services system is terrifically overburdened. The director of the Southern California division told me that they could triple their staff and still not meet the need. As a result, they employ some who are scantily trained. I think we're fortunate that more bad things don't happen in Social Services because of the enormous range in training.

Two things please me about Social Services counseling, though. One is that the Church sees the need for trained people to augment family, priesthood leaders and Relief Society leaders, friends and neighbors. It also pleases me to know that even scantily trained people can be helpful with a wide range of problems even though they probably don't handle the more difficult ones well. Most of us can be helped by someone who'll just listen to our problems.

Dialogue: Do you think that the Church will ever move to a point where those people who are entrusted with the ecclesiastical and spiritual counseling will receive professional training?

Broderick: I give a lot of thought to that because I'm a stake president myself and have the responsibility for training bishops in my stake. I've trained bishops throughout the Church in afternoon workshops by invitation of other stake presidents. And I see the Church moving toward training tapes and films on listening and counseling, to get basic principles across.

It is the Church's position that ecclesiastical leaders ought to operate by inspiration. They ought to open themselves to the keys that they have that a counselor doesn't have. The two are different functions. If the bishop tries to be a counselor, then he may fail through lack of skill. But if he exercises his keys as bishop and judge in Israel, he can be effective in doing the things that a counselor can't do. But he can't do some things that the counselor can do. He needs to understand the special role and function of a counselor.

I have the privilege of being both, so I can switch from one role to the other in my own stake. There are some things I can do as a stake president that I can't do as a counselor, because as a stake president the person I'm talking to and I both understand that I have a revelatory relationship toward him. And I have said to some, including on occasion to non-Mormon Christians, "I want to tell you something in the name of Jesus Christ that is true. And you'll be held accountable for what I tell you." And then I tell them what by inspiration I feel they need to do. I've had people that were so resistant to therapy be touched by the spirit where the spirit, just like in missionary work, bore witness of what I said.

That's why I sometimes use blessings when I feel stuck. The Spirit of the Lord can cut through and get right to the core of a problem in a way that a counselor has a hard time doing. I honor the priesthood, and I don't think it will ever be replaced by professional counseling although it can be augmented by it. A bishop doesn't have time to deal with endless compulsions and obsessions.

Dialogue: Isn't there some confusion about that, though? Doesn't a bishop generally feel that he is supposed to be the solver of all problems and therefore spend considerable time dealing with neurotic and psychotic character disorder behavior? And because of the very problem you've described, he gets himself in trouble and still doesn't really help the people.

Broderick: Yes, that's true. The biggest mistake he's liable to make is giving advice that comes out of his own personal experience, without inspiration or sophistication. I often wince when I hear what someone's bishop told him about a problem. Of course we tend not to hear of the thousands of instances when bishops were right on target.

Dialogue: What solutions do you see for the problem where there is an increasing need for sound therapeutic services, and the Church is trying to provide these but apparently without a high degree of success?

Broderick: There are two strategies that the Church has used and will use more in the future. One is to take a traditionally non-therapeutic approach to solving problems that differs from the therapeutic approach. President Kimball, Elder Packer, Elder Ashton and others have suggested that we use a therapeutic model based on gospel principles. You know: "Homosexuality is selfishness." Well, a therapist might have said narcissistic, but it's the same

thing. And if you can use principles of gospel commitment to help somebody change their behavior or get a new insight on their behavior from the pulpit, that's terrific, and it does work that way sometimes.

The other thing they're trying to do is develop a therapy based on findings of the Values Institute at BYU. Allen Bergin and Victor Brown, Jr. are trying to develop what amounts to a gospel therapy—a therapy that is based on gospel principles and integrated with the gospel—and then teach that in and out of the Church. I don't know what luck they'll have out of the Church; they are more optimistic about that than I am. But in the Church, both bishops and therapists can benefit from pooling their respective experience as to what really works, integrating the best of both. The Church is investing considerable money in trying to develop a gospel therapy that will reach our people without challenging their faith. So those two things are happening, and I'm excited about them both. How effective they'll be, I can't say. I think the brethren know what they're doing in this area. For example, I don't find Elder Packer out of line on this at all. While some many feel that he's anti-therapy, most of the things he's said about therapy are true; for instance, that people tend to enter therapy for a spiritual handout because they aren't willing to work with their bishops or their spiritual leaders—or, I would add, their therapists—for true spiritual change. I train my counselors at USC to see therapy as a joint effort, a cooperative measure. The job of the therapist is to coach while the patient does the work.

I know people who have been in therapy for ten years, and they've spent all that time analyzing their dreams and reviewing their childhood. They never talk about how they ought to behave differently right now. I don't consider that sound therapy or consistent with the gospel. I'm not dissatisfied at all with the attitude of the Brethren toward the issues of the profession.

Dialogue: Earlier you mentioned the work of Allen Bergin and Victor Brown at the BYU Values Institute. Some of your thinking seems parallel to theirs. Is this just a coincidence, or have you discussed these ideas with them?

Broderick: My thinking just happens to coincide with theirs. These ideas and concepts seem to have been independently discovered by a number of people. In fact, the first time I sat down and talked to the people at the Values Institute about these things, they asked me what I considered were the gospel principles that apply to therapy, and when I gave my answer they just looked at each other, and Truman Madsen said, "This isn't fair. We've been hammering away at this for six months and he comes in with the package all ready."

But this illustrates that the principles are not that elusive. I believe they're spelled out in the scriptures. For example, I consider the best marriage manual in the world the twelfth chapter of Romans coupled with the 121st section of the Doctrine and Covenants. Nothing that I've written or that anybody else has written improves on those two scriptures. And the first five verses of the seventh chapter of I Corinthians, with a little help from Solomon, is a terrific guide to sexuality. The gospel principles are there, and it's not surprising that they're discovered similarly by spiritually sensitive therapists.

Dialogue: You see a number of LDS couples in your total practice. Can you make any generalizations about LDS couples in relation to non-LDS couples?

Broderick: I see many LDS couples. Perhaps people will not be pleased to know that I cannot discern the difference between Latter-day Saint couples and non-Latter-day Saint couples in terms of their problems. Latter-day Saint couples have different resources for dealing with some of those problems, but they have exactly the same power struggles, exactly the same vicious cycles, exactly the same problems with fidelity or infidelity, exactly the same problems over money or in-laws or the children or the expectations they have of each other or feelings that the other was selfish or frigid or oversexed or whatever. One time a good member of the Church came up to me with a copy of my book, *Couples*, and wanted me to sign it. I asked him if he had had a chance to look at it. He's an awfully good man and holds a responsible position in the Church. He said, "Well, I've had a chance to look through several of the chapters. I didn't think I really needed to read the chapter on sex." And his wife turned to him and said, "You need to read that chapter worse than any other chapter in the book."

I found that absolutely delightful, and I feel that it's generally true that people in the Church are not spared any of the common ills of marriages. I'm not sure if that's true because they aren't using the gospel principles they know, or why. Maybe it's just that God never promised us a rose garden. But whatever it is, I can't tell the difference.

Dialogue: Doesn't that surprise you?

Broderick: Not any more. It used to.

Dialogue: If you can't discern a difference in the kinds of problems people have, what about the resources for dealing with these problems? Can you generalize about whether or not it is easier to deal with Latter-day Saint couples? Are Latter-day Saint couples more successful in therapy because of the gospel background?

Broderick: I'm not sure. I've never undertaken a study to determine whether they are or not. You know, some people—Mormons and non-Mormons—are tough no matter how much you love them and no matter how long you work with them. They just can't seem to break out of the vicious cycles they're in. Others get better in a short time, whether they're in the Church or not.

But there are some things that a therapist can do with church members that he can't do with nonmembers. You can have the husband give his wife a blessing. That's a powerful thing because it is capable of breaking a vicious cycle. It's a serving and loving thing for him to do. It's a powerful, strong thing for him to do. To put himself in the position to give her a blessing changes the relationship for that moment and helps the couple to break out of the negative, antagonistic bind they are in.

Another example of what you can do with LDS couples is have them go to the temple and stand in the prayer circle together. I'm not altogether sure why this helps, but generally it is a powerful thing for couples to do.

If I am working with a Latter-day Saint husband who is domineering and exercising his priesthood unrighteously over his wife, I read the 121st section of the Doctrine and Covenants to him, and he has no defense against it. That's a power that as a therapist I don't have with a non-Mormon.

Or if I am counseling a Mormon woman who grew up in a family where she was badly treated, perhaps even sexually molested, and as a result she has turned away from her sexuality, I can talk to her about her sexual stewardship: "How are you enlarging this part of your life? What are your goals? How have you taken the talents and potentials that your Heavenly Father has given you in this area and enlarged them?" This is a whole new way—it's a gospel way—of looking at a problem, and if I can touch her with the spirit so that she understands and feels the importance of that stewardship, she has a whole new way of dealing with it.

As a therapist I try to connect my patients with their Father in Heaven. That's a very valuable thing to do.

Dialogue: It seems from what you have just said that the ability to connect LDS patients with the resources of the gospel would make a difference in their ability to work through problems, and yet earlier you said that you couldn't really say that there was a difference between Mormons and non-Mormons.

Broderick: Well, upon reflection I guess those seem like powerful instruments. But since I've never studied it empirically, I'm reluctant to say they work much better. Certainly with a Latter-day Saint couple, it's faster getting started, because I can assume more things, and so I suppose it's faster with them. But I have pretty good luck with people who aren't Latter-day Saints, too. It's true I'm handicapped to some extent with them; there are some things I can't do with them that I can with Latter-day Saints. I guess on reflection there probably is a stronger intervention with Latter-day Saints.

Dialogue: The divorce rate among Latter-day Saints with temple marriages indicates that we're doing better than the general population in terms of holding couples together.

Broderick: That's true. One of my students is currently doing a study on this. He finds that the ratio of Melchizedek priesthood holders to members and to the general population in a given area in Utah (he compared Utah County with Weber County) is a very good indicator of separation, divorce and illegitimacy rates, all indicators of marital breakup. So although Utah has a fairly high divorce rate, it's not among active Latter-day Saints. Provo has one of the lowest divorce rates in the world. Only the Vatican has a lower divorce rate, but they don't have a very high marriage rate either!

Dialogue: Is such a low divorce rate a mixed blessing? While there are obviously many positive things that come with strong commitment to temple marriage, do some stay in unfulfilling marriages simply because of the temple? Does this increase the incidence of serious marital problems?

Broderick: Well, for some, the commitment itself probably motivates them to resolve problems, but I'm sure it's also true that some people feel trapped in a marriage, and things get worse and worse.

Dialogue: Some may feel that if they get a divorce then they not only have the disapproval of the Church, but of God and of their family as well. These are strong deterrents.

Broderick: They are, although it's well to remember that we do permit divorce. It's possible in the Church to get a divorce and have your bishop on your side when you get it, although he's not supposed to recommend it. There are people in the Church who, because they're battered wives or subject to adultery or other kinds of abuse, get the support of priesthood leaders and others in their divorces. So there is such a thing as a Mormon-supported divorce. But then we tend not to support the person once he or she is divorced. We're not very good at that. We're more supportive of their getting a divorce than we are of what to do next. I don't know what the solution is but the life of the single person, men and women, in the Church is still sad. We do better than we used to, but it's hard to find solutions. You talk to them and their cause is just, but we can do nothing for them. I get a lot of invitations to talk to them, and I always talk about pain and how you deal with it, because it's really hard to live a chaste and fulfilling life if you're a single Mormon.

Dialogue: In your recent book, *Couples*, you indicate that you don't feel it's a particularly good idea for couples to come in for periodic marital maintenance checkups.

Broderick: I don't. It's too intrusive. One of the virtues of a marriage is its intimacy. If you violate that, either by telling all your business to your friends and relatives or to a marriage counselor, it taxes your relationship, and it ought to be done only under serious circumstances.

Dialogue: At what point should a couple come in for counseling, say a couple with a temple marriage?

Broderick: When they are caught in a vicious cycle, where the harder they try the worse things get, or when the pain is so great that the only solution they can really see is to get out of the relationship, and they feel there must be some alternative to that, and they want to explore whether there is or not. I think that is a time to get help.

I remember one time seeing a couple who had been having sexual problems. At the beginning of one session I asked, "Well, how did sex go this

week?" The wife replied, "I don't want to talk about it." I asked, "Was it that bad?" "No," she responded, "it was that good." I said, "Great! I will be happy when we have nothing to talk about at all, when everything is so good you don't want to talk about it." And that's the way I feel about it. I want to be excluded. I don't want to be part of their relationship. I want to be excluded from their relationship just as soon as possible—to get in and do the job and get out as fast as I can.

Dialogue: This confirms the reputation you have as a short-term therapist. Why do you work with people for short periods of time when the majority of therapists work with them for periods of months or even years?

Broderick: For exactly the same reason that we have short-term welfare instead of long-term welfare: to get people back to solving their own problems, not to become part of their lives. My job is to diagnose what small changes I can make to return them to their own stewardships. For example, a man came in one time who had been a regional representative. I stopped at one point and said, "You shouldn't be seeing me." "What do you mean?" he asked. I replied, "With your spiritual experience, you should be counseled by the Lord, You're coming in for terrestrial or telestial counseling and you ought to be getting celestial counseling. You know how to do it and you're not exercising it here. I have valuable service to render, but you're coming in for second class help when you've got first class help available." I saw him later and asked, "How are you doing?" He said, "Why should I tell second class help?"

Dialogue: Do you feel there is anything in Mormon culture that makes it difficult for people to seek counseling when they need it?

Broderick: Yes, two things. The first is a grave mistrust of therapists in general, which is not altogether unfounded, because there are counselors out there who are hostile to the values of the Church. Secondly, we are a people who like to be self-sustaining. We're told to be self-sustaining, to solve our own problems and not go running elsewhere for help, financial or otherwise. Both of these operate against people coming in for help.

Dialogue: You tend to prefer to work with couples and, as we indicated earlier, on a short-term basis. Do you ever work with individuals and over a sustained period of time?

Broderick: At times. When I see the pain that some individuals are in and how badly they function and the degree of their depression, I can't turn my back on them. It is a more powerful intervention to see them as couples or families, but I see some patients individually. I don't feel I'm doing therapy with them; I am just someone who listens to them. My job, of course, is to get them to a place where they don't have to pay somebody an hour a week to be their friend. There are many isolated people who have never developed the skills

or the self-confidence to function well in life, and I would not want to make a categorical statement that such people shouldn't be in long-term supportive therapy.

I don't advise or support the kind of long-term therapy which is narcissistic, where you spend all your time examining your motives, examining everything everybody says to you—where you're so busy examining your life that you don't live it. That analytic model is a terrific way of finding out about people, but it's not a good form of therapy, in my opinion. I've seen people wasting what seems to me years and years of their hope and life in it without change. But there are lost souls that it doesn't seem to me you can say shouldn't have individual therapy. Until they find something better, therapy may be a great help to these people. I have clients that I've seen off and on for little bursts of time through crises for years. They don't seem to have anybody in their lives to perform that function. That seems a legitimate service for me to perform.

Dialogue: The issue of Mormons seeking professional counseling is one of the major issues that emerged from the television program on "Depression and Mormon Women." Have you seen it?

Broderick: Yes. I think it was a landmark piece of LDS mental health journalism, but I gather that it got all kinds of responses, both negative and positive. For example, it was reported to me that a faculty member at Ricks wanted to show it and an administrator wouldn't let him. It was finally negotiated that he was able to show it under controlled circumstances.

Apparently some people were threatened by it because they felt that we ought to be a missionary church, we shouldn't show the soft underbelly, but rather the strengths, the happy family. But that approach does a disservice to people. For example, I know a Latter-day Saint woman who had been sexually abused by her father and her grandfather, and who at the age of fourteen finally had the courage in a Sunday School class—they were talking about the commandment to honor your father and mother—to raise her hand and ask, "But what if they want you to do something bad?" And the teacher said, "Oh, your parents would never want you to do anything bad. Parents only want what's good for their children." That was a grave disservice to that young woman.

There needs to be acknowledgement that everybody doesn't have good parents, that not all mothers are wonderful to their children, that not all marriages are good. There needs to be room in the Church for people to understand that.

Lavina Fielding Anderson is someone who writes that way in the *Ensign*. Her honesty is a fresh breath of air. People tell me after reading one of her articles, "Oh, it's so good to hear somebody who's open and honest, who writes about real people and real problems. I'm beginning to feel there is a place for me in the Church. I have been wondering why I'm the only one who has these problems and everybody else is so sweet." It's important to look at life realistically, not always idealize it.

Dialogue: Do you ever feel that you give into the temptation to idealize your own marriage and family?

Broderick: Well, as it turns out, I have an exceptional family and I can't deny that. Also, I value the privacy of my family. I don't think it serves the family well to expose our problems publicly, although, as you know, I do talk about them, but not without permission. A couple of times I really made myself unpopular by using an object lesson from something that had happened in my own family that I felt was benign but that made the person involved feel exposed.

I remember one time an article in *Newsweek* quoted a throw-away line about one of my kids who was in fourth grade, and he was humiliated. After that my wife would say, "Careful what you say at the table, children. It'll be splashed all over *Newsweek* next week." And so I try to be more careful.

Dialogue: And she really does not complain about your being gone so much, about your giving so much time and energy to others?

Broderick: No, she really never complains about my not being home more. She's very supportive. Also she's an intelligent, independent-minded woman. There's no issue of dominance between us. One time early in our marriage I forbade her to do something that she wasn't enjoying doing. She was all tied up in this organization that was just tearing her to pieces with expectations because they weren't used to having a Mormon who did everything. And so all the different committees were asking her to do things, and she was just going crazy. I said, trying to be helpful, "This is ridiculous. You're not getting out of this organization what you were hoping to get out of it. I forbid you to have anything more to do with it." And she said, "You what?" And I said, "I forbid you to—" and she said, "Let me understand this. Is that just a suggestion or is that an order?" Well, I decided very quickly that it was just suggestion. I don't second-guess her in her decisions and she doesn't second-guess me in mine. We have divided all the decisions in the world between us and so we negotiate.

We don't agree on everything. There are times when we have differences in style. She's a worrier and I'm not a worrier, and she wishes I would get more upset about some things, and I wish she would get less upset about some things, but that's it. We don't leave the house or storm out.

Dialogue: Do you feel our propensity in the Church to have lots of activities puts pressure on families and causes stress?

Broderick: Yes, I do, and we've got to protect our families from that stress, and not be afraid of doing so. I feel an obligation to protect my kids and my wife from excessive demands. When the bishop checks with me, as he's supposed to before he calls one of them, I won't hesitate to say, "I really don't think this is a good time for that." So I think that we have some obligation to protect our families.

Often these calls aren't coordinated through anyone. These different calls are coming from different directions, not only position calls but telephone calls asking someone to fix a casserole or to do this or that or the other. Those asking aren't always aware of the fact that you may be preparing the choir to sing a special program or getting a talk ready for Sacrament meeting or that something is weighing heavily upon you, such as an illness in the family. Generally, they don't ask about these things when they ask you to come to the inventory or fix a casserole or bake four dozen cookies for the open house. They just have a list of people they're going through. Under those circumstances I'm very supportive of someone saying no. I won't say "No" to a definite call, but prior to that there are many points of communicating about over-extension.

Elder Packer said something to me when he set me apart which I appreciated. He said, "Now there will come times when you will have conflicts between your family and your stake calling. You can always delegate things in the stake to your counselors, but there's no way you can delegate your role as father and husband."

Dialogue: In one of your recent talks you spoke about the pressures on Mormon women. Could you elaborate on that?

Broderick: Mormon women have enormous pressures on them. They face high expectations as wives and mothers, and they have high standards in terms of spirituality and church participation. But beyond that, they're supposed to have gardens, to can their own fruit and bake their own bread, to do their genealogy work and to fellowship new members, to have the missionaries in for dinner and their neighbors in for dinner. People have studied the role of a bishop and found that it's not possible for a bishop to do more than about half of the things that he's expected to do in a week. I'm sure the same thing is true of women in the Church. As a stake president and as a father and husband we are expected to make righteous choices in relation to the times and seasons of our lives. For example, the time when your children are young may not be the best time to do your genealogy work. I tell women that they ought to make judgments about what their priorities ought to be in a given time and place, and further, that they are perfectly within their rights in letting people know what those priorities are. They don't always get much understanding for that from Church, but in my stake they do. I support my own family in doing that, and encourage the members of my stake to do the same.

Dialogue: You're suggesting that there's a real need for women to take more initiative in getting the pressures off themselves?

Broderick: Yes, to define their own space, righteously. Within the wide range of things we are all expected or called upon to do, to decide which are most important and to do those. As Ecclesiastes reminds us, there's a time for

everything under the sun. Well, we don't give much support to that concept in the Church because we're afraid we're going to say "No" too often. But for the right reasons, people should say "No." Again, not to callings. For me, those are different, because I have covenanted to make all my talents available to the Lord.

But if I am called, I will ask such questions as, "Are you aware of these circumstances? Are you aware that my wife's been sick, that we're moving in three months, and that I already have six jobs?" If he replies, "Yes, we've taken all that into consideration and we feel inspired to call you," I might further ask, "Have you prayed about this?" I might even ask, "Would you pray and fast with me about this, because I certainly won't turn it down, but I need to feel good about it." But I will never say "No" to the Lord because I've already said "Yes" to him and I can't see how I can pick and choose and still be honorable. But there are many things that aren't calls, that are just church pressures, such as the pressures to go to a church supper: "I didn't see you at the church supper last Friday." "Well, no, one of my children was in a play at school." "Well, you didn't make the one last month either." "No. Last month I was out of town." Those pressures don't bother me at all. I just smile and say, "Well, church suppers aren't high on my list of things to do." And I don't let anybody intimidate me into doing them.

Dialogue: In the special issue of *Dialogue* on the family (Vol. II, No. 3), you and Lowell Bennion seemed to have different points of view about the place of sex in the eternal scheme of things. Lowell Bennion challenged your assertion that there would be sex in the next life.

Broderick: Actually, he tried to get me to cut that out of the article, but I refused to do it and, as I remember, I had to resist some pressure from the editors also. Lowell was concerned that we don't know very much about sex in the next world, that we ought to let well enough alone and just talk about sex in this world. It may be that we don't know very much about it, but I think we know enough about it to discuss it. I feel that the great symbol of our sexual stewardship is found in Genesis 2:7, where Adam and Eve, upon discovering their nakedness, make an apron of fig leaves. To me that fig leaf apron is a vivid symbol of sexual stewardship. On the one hand it's an apron, a covering, and as such represents modesty, chastity, fidelity and privacy. On the other hand, it's alive: it's green, it's living, it's fertile. It represents motion. It's not white or black, it's green. And I feel that in our sexual stewardship we have those two components. In the Church we're much better at emphasizing the privacy, chastity and fidelity than we are the life and vitality that are also integral to our sexual stewardships. In Mormon doctrine sexuality is good as long as it conforms with gospel principles.

It's interesting that the brethren have added a significant new question in the temple recommend interview: "Is there anything unholy, unnatural or worthy of repentance in your intimate relationship with your spouse?" This suggests to me not only that some things are unholy, but that some are holy

in a sexual relationship, that there is a purpose and a higher design to sexual expression. Most couples don't even see that as a stewardship. When I ask them, "What have you done to perfect your sexual stewardship?" most people give me a blank stare. They don't have any idea of what I am talking about. As long as they haven't transgressed sexually, they feel fine. They don't have any idea of how to set goals sexually or how to perfect that unity of body and spirit that Paul talks about.

And I perceive from everything the scriptures say, from the first words said to Adam and Eve—to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, to fill the earth—that our generativity is one of the chief parts of our stewardship. But it's not the only part. The other part is unity. We know a lot about unity and about generativity. The gospel's shot through with those two themes. "If ye are not one, ye are not mine," and so on. (It is interesting that for the early church fathers sexual unity between a husband and wife was a primary symbol of man's union with God.) I suspect that those two components, unity and generativity, will be elements of our sexuality forever in the celestial kingdom, although we aren't told that explicitly. The silence in the scriptures about these things should not be interpreted negatively, in my opinion. Everything that we do know about our sexuality and about eternity suggests that those two qualities at least, unity and generativity, are eternal.

Dialogue: Is sexual stewardship an individual or a joint stewardship?

Broderick: In marriage, I see it not as two individual stewardships, but as a couple's stewardship. Couples need to take prayerful thought of what their gospel goals should be in their sexual life. The scriptures suggest what some of these goals should be. For example, Paul says that husbands and wives ought to be generous in giving. So I would ask myself, "Am I exercising my sexual gifts and talents righteously, and am I being giving and generous with them, or withholding and mean with them?" "Am I taking responsibility for my fertility?" One of the things that's not very modern and not very comfortable that Latter-day Saints have to deal with is that the Lord seems to want them to have fairly large families. We're not in the position, happily, of saying that you have to have a child every time you can have one. Some people say that. But I think we are expected to bring children into the world, exercising judgment as to how many and how they're spaced. That's part of your sexual stewardship. We should ask ourselves if we are building sexual unity in our marriages. I like what Paul says in Romans 12:1–2 about bodies being a sacrifice of righteousness, of being transformed; not of the world, but transformed. Also, I am persuaded that wickedness never was happiness, that the best sex is in a monogamous, faithful, integrated, loving relationship.

Dialogue: Would you say that part of the stewardship would be to develop the capacity both to take and to give sexual enjoyment?

Broderick: I would indeed. Of course, within the bounds of the gospel. We find joy in our lives altogether, in giving and taking.

Dialogue: Do you share the concept that men and women are different in their ability to achieve sexual enjoyment, that it is more difficult for a woman to achieve sexual fulfillment?

Broderick: I don't think that's part of the design of things. I think that women are wired quite adequately for that purpose. However, we are very partial toward male sexuality in our culture, giving considerably more support for it than for female sexuality. There is absolutely no evidence that God created man and woman unequal in this regard.

Dialogue: Conditions in the world, some of which exist in the Church . . .

Broderick: All of which exist in the Church.

Dialogue: . . . seem to work . . .

Broderick: . . . against female sexuality. That's true. That's true.

Dialogue: Do you accept the hypothesis that men and women mature sexually at different stages?

Broderick: That's not the design of things, either. That was Kinsey's observation, that it took women about ten or twelve years longer to reach their sexual "peak." Again, I think the premise is wrong. There is no evidence that men and women differ in their ability to enjoy sexuality.

I wish we did a better job in the Church of teaching people the chastity ethic without making it more difficult for them to enjoy sexual fulfillment under the proper conditions. When I interview young people for the temple, I ask, "Is there anything you want to talk about?" And they often say, "Well, we've had a hard time holding out for the temple. It's been difficult for us." And I say, "That's good. I'm glad that you're holding out, because it's really important that you keep your obligations towards God. And I'd be disappointed if it was too easy for you, because those yearnings to be close and to express yourself in those ways are holy. They are from God. It's appropriate that you should feel that way toward the person you're going to marry in a week. Now, you need to continue holding out, but I'd sure feel bad for you if you weren't having fantasies and having to plan your time so that you weren't spending too much time together. That would really be a shame." Please don't misinterpret what I say. I'm 100 percent committed to chastity, but not the fearful attitude about chastity that destroys men's or women's sexual potential. I don't think our Heavenly Father teaches that.

Dialogue: Is there any way that the Church could teach sexuality in a more positive way?

Broderick: Yes. For one thing we should stop the negative teaching of sexuality. I've told members of my stake, "I hope I never hear of another fireside in

our stake where they pass around the gardenia and have everybody handle it until it turns grubby and brown and spotted and then say, 'Girls, is this the way you want to be on your wedding day?' or something like that. . . ." That's unwholesome imagery.

Secondly, we can teach what the gospel and the scriptures say: that we have been given a sexual stewardship that we're responsible for. The reason that sex is treated so specially in the scriptures is because it's one of the two or three most important components of a celestial person. We are expected to place our sexuality in its proper perspective so that we can make it an eternal part of ourselves. If you understand what your sexuality is, it makes it easier to be chaste, and easier to be fulfilled in marriage. And giving people understanding of this is the way we ought to teach about sex, rather than simply giving them prohibitions.

Dialogue: So in some sense you feel that ideally the gospel should lead us to a higher plane of sexual fulfillment not only for women but for everyone.

Broderick: Yes, I do. And to every other kind of fulfillment. I think that's true for every one of our talents, every part of ourselves.

Dialogue: What are the most important things parents can do to give their children a good sex education?

Broderick: First, they can actually model good sexuality in the household. By that I don't mean that they should violate their own privacy, but that they shouldn't try to hide their sexual attraction for one another from their children. For example, I don't think my own children have any doubt that my wife and I love each other, and it wouldn't stretch their imagination to imagine that we love each other sexually because I kiss her in their view, I let her sit on my lap in their view, I touch her when I go by her. They understand that touching and kissing and holding are a natural, normal part of a marriage relationship. And incidentally, I touch them too, so they not only have a model, but they have an experience that touching and holding are good. Secondly, I try to find opportunities to talk to them about these things and to let them get my perspective on them. I can't prevent them from getting sexual information from other children or from *Playboy*, but I can certainly upstage those sources with my own perceptions. So my kids ask questions like, "Is it fun when you're married?" "Do you have to?" "Do you do it all the time or only when you want a baby?" I want them to hear what I have to say about these things and not just what *Playboy* or the boy down the street have to say about them.

Dialogue: How do you handle being a stake president who has written a book with a very explicit chapter on human sexuality?

Broderick: That causes me a lot of concern because I am aware that that chapter might offend some Latter-day Saints who don't think stake presidents

ought to be advocating those things. When I was writing the book I had the opportunity of discussing this matter with one of the general authorities, someone I trust and care about, and I told him I was concerned about this. I told him I didn't think the chapter was a bad chapter, but that it was immodest and that the Church took a strong position that in public, in announcements from the pulpit and so on, we ought to be modest in these matters. Moreover, I didn't want to do anything that would embarrass the brethren, the people of my stake, or myself. His response was, "I haven't read your chapter and I don't know if I'd like it if I did read it, but I think if you're concerned about it, what you ought to do is say at the beginning of the chapter that you're concerned about the issue of privacy and offending people with some of this material and then say why you think you need to include it anyway." Making an analogy to what a doctor does in his office, he said, "In a doctor's office you have to take off your clothes. I realize that's not a modest thing to do, but in that context, we set aside that convention for a good purpose."

And so I went back and said in effect, "Look, there happens to be a lot of sexual pain in the world (including in the Church). And my observation is that there are things that can be done about it that are helpful and my best judgment at this time in my life is that these are things which would be helpful, and I don't want to offend anybody by what I say." If anyone thinks they might be offended, they don't have to read that chapter. (My mother has never read it!) On the other hand, there are people who find it helpful to have somebody, even a stake president, say some of those things. But I feel a little uncomfortable because there are others who feel uncomfortable.

Dialogue: Are there any activities that you have curtailed or ceased that you felt comfortable with before and would feel comfortable with now except for the fact that you are a stake president?

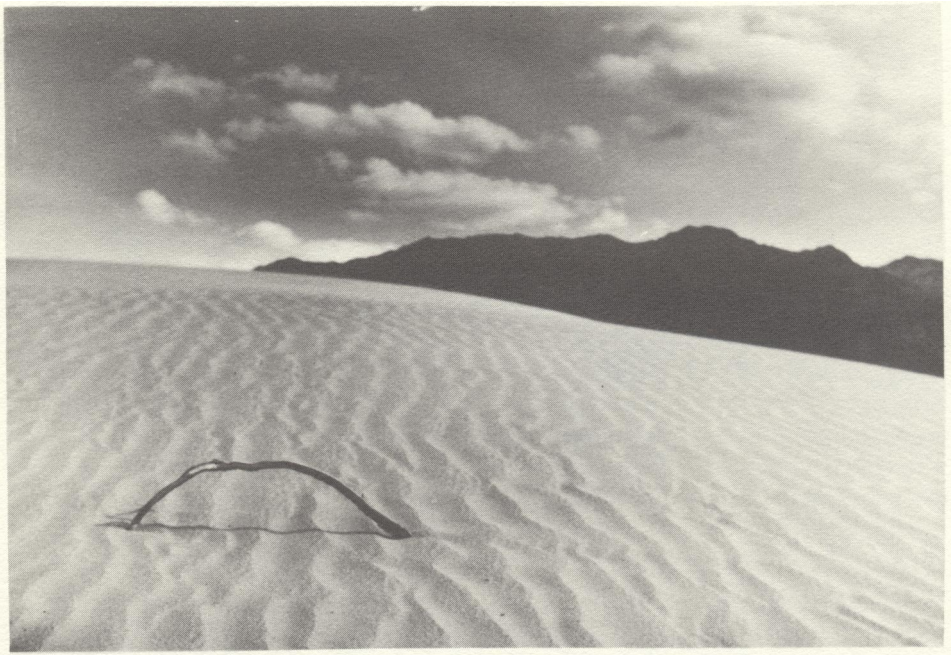
Broderick: Yes. For example, I used to be on the Johnny Carson show pretty regularly, where I was always introduced as a sexologist, and engaged in some banter with Mr. Carson about that. When I became a stake president, I asked my counselors how they felt about that. And they said, "Well, President, it's up to you, but we don't think that that exposure does your image any good." My condition was that if I were ever going back on the show again I would have some control over the way I was introduced and what I talked about, and so I wasn't on for four years. I've been on once since, but it was as an author of a book so the circumstances were different.

I feel my job is to help get the people in my stake back to their Heavenly Father. I think if you were to ask the people in my stake how they would characterize me, they would say that the Savior is very important to me, and that that and the worth of people were the themes that I talked about most. I think if you were to ask them what the theme of my administration was they would say it was our relationship with the Savior.

Dialogue: What do you see as the next important work that you would like to do as a scholar or as a therapist?

Broderick: I'm very interested in a gospel approach to therapy. I'm really excited about exploring the interrelations between the principles of the gospel and therapy. I'd like to write a book that does not adduce gospel principles explicitly but that incorporates them into a discussion of therapy, sort of a book on telestial marriage counseling. I would use true gospel principles such as prayer, blessings and sacrifice, but I probably would not refer to them in ecclesiastical terminology.

Dialogue: This has been a most stimulating discussion.



PERIPHERAL MORMONDOM: THE FRENETIC FRONTIER

JERALD R. IZATT AND DEAN R. LOUDER

A CONCEPT CALLED THE "CENTER PERIPHERY DICHOTOMY" is sometimes used by social scientists to illustrate and analyze regional disparities.¹ *Center* or *core* usually refers to those areas so richly endowed in population and resources that they dominate a less favored periphery. Centers are usually urban, while *periphery* refers to marginal rural zones with declining population. An analogous dichotomy occurs when a population and its institutions expand from a central core into its peripheral regions.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints displays an obvious core-periphery dichotomy characterized by a center rich in resources and population dominating a marginal periphery which is seeking to become central. A rough geographic representation would have Salt Lake City, Utah and the western United States as core focus, with the periphery consisting of the rest of the world. The exception would be well-organized and smoothly functioning church units in certain urban areas elsewhere in North America and possibly in Europe.

TYPICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND ATTITUDES OF CORE AND PERIPHERY DWELLERS

The interplay of the factors affecting the growth and migration of active church membership produces four easily recognizable types: Converts living

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on the periphery, converts living at the center, those born in the church and living on the periphery and life-long members living in the center.

Life-long Latter-day Saints in the center rejoice at the relative ease with which they exercise and express their faith. Frequently, however, the effortlessness of religious practice leads to a "taking for granted" of church programs, procedures, policies and principles. When he becomes aware of this, the member sometimes feels so ashamed that he expresses a yearning for struggle, as in the mission field, in order to strengthen his testimony. Despite this, the life-long LDS in the center is quite satisfied with his lot and reluctant to trade places with his peripheral brother or sister.

Another characteristic of the life-long Mormon in the center is the greater importance placed upon form and ritual. Such customs as deacons in white shirts and ties, members partaking of the sacrament with the right hand and the bishopric seated in the "correct" order on the stand are very important, sometimes even appearing as foundation stones of faith and testimony.

Converts in the center may have joined the Church there, or may have migrated to it after conversion and after the facts of peripheral life became evident. This is particularly true of young unmarried converts who discover the dearth of marriageable partners in the periphery and of young families who seek life for their children in a more nearly ideal environment, i.e., a Mormon milieu. In either case, their general behavior is similar. Converts quickly discover the ward as a substitute family which welcomes them, eases their integration and tends to compensate for some former relationships broken as a result of conversion.

Converts come to perceive the functioning of church administration, particularly that of the ward, as smooth and effective, an organization of which they can feel proud. Their pride of membership may be further enhanced by the higher societal value placed on the Mormon "way of life," particularly in the center, but also in a somewhat larger sphere where the Church enjoys a generally favorable media image. In this milieu converts are able to ease comfortably into Mormon life through tasks and assignments consistent with their capacity and experience.

Converts on the periphery present a decidedly different image. After a fairly orderly presentation of gospel principles before baptism, they discover, as they are brought into the fold, a chaotic ecclesiastical organization frequently unable to cope with the problems stemming from the transition from former ways to Latter-day Saint ways. Non-Mormon members of their immediate families may exert pressure upon the new converts.

Despite efforts by the central Church, and to the chagrin of many center dwellers, there are still areas of North America, to say nothing of more distant world regions, where the masses have heard little about the Mormons. As a result, the converts in the periphery have little positive reinforcement for their new identities and may even see themselves as objects of scorn. These converts generally reside in small branches which may draw their limited membership from many miles around. Because the needs of the branch may be so severe, the convert is often pressed into service without proper training or

experience. Sometimes there is no one in the branch, even among its officers, to provide this training. The new brother or sister is thrust into a sink or swim position. Many drown and are lost to the Church forever, having "lost their testimony." Others survive and do remarkably well, but some suffer from another disease endemic to the periphery—an exaggerated sense of worth growing out of their meteoric rise within the local church hierarchy.

The life-long LDS on the periphery is usually migrant and transitory, harboring deep-seated desires to return to the center, but willing to "do good" in the mission field in the meantime. A major challenge for these members is to treat the local brothers and sisters as equals. Core members usually possess much church experience, and they usually enjoy higher social status and incomes. This class distinction is frequently compounded by the church practice of calling these interlopers to positions of authority because of their greater experience. Administrative expediency thus imposes its will on the local pecking order.

The seeming incompetence of less experienced local coreligionists and the blatant lack of accustomed form and ritual in religious practice in the typical small branch can be overlooked by the life-long Mormon if life on the periphery is viewed as a temporary posting. But as time wears on, and no transfers are forthcoming, with local progress remaining imperceptible, unfulfilled expectations breed frustration.

As children grow up on the periphery, still another type of life-long Mormon is born—one who does not know "how the Church is supposed to be." This individual, usually teenaged or younger, is obliged to look for models almost exclusively in his parents or other adults who have migrated from the center. The child is probably the only one of his kind in school. Integration and attachment are not easy because the child must retain a considerable degree of loyalty to the center, where he or she will probably have to go eventually to obtain the greatest blessings of church membership. Conflicts are obvious and severe.

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, the majority of new members who remain active participants in the life of a small branch derive deep satisfaction from their affiliation with the Church. We find, however, that the combination of certain circumstances, probably unavoidable in the periphery, and some church practices place a heavy physical and emotional burden on the members, a burden which exacts a heavy toll.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS ON THE PERIPHERY

Experienced missionaries often speak of a threshold of proselyting efficiency reached when a local unit of the Church achieves sufficient size that tracting can be largely replaced by the teaching of friends, relatives and other associates of the members. Since the persons referred by the members tend to share a common social, economic, educational and even religious background with them, this threshold represents a turning point in the making of a cohesive church unit. Before this point is achieved, however, there is a marked

tendency toward social stratification from the amalgamation of what, from a nonreligious point of view, amounts to a randomly selected sample of persons.

The missionaries seek out and instruct all those who respond to the gospel message without much regard for the investigator's background or current nonreligious activity. The resulting mix of personalities brought into a branch can be stimulating, but it can also be uncomfortable, even explosive. More often it is just boring. After a series of futile attempts, often perceived as a duty, to develop a comprehensive relationship with the newcomers, one simply perceives that any conversation or activity beyond the narrow limits of more or less formal religious intercourse quickly exhausts mutual interest. Smaller sub-units with a broader shared background develop spontaneously, and unfortunately these groups tend to reflect a strong correlation between general interests and socio-economic origin. Although the formation of cliques undoubtedly occurs throughout the Church, the negative effects are magnified by the smallness, isolation, inexperience and lack of self-confidence which characterize the peripheral branch.

A second prominent feature of the small branch is its high degree of organizational instability. It is probably inevitable that rapid growth in an institution which draws its leadership directly from the membership and emphasizes rapid individual advancement will lead to a rapid turnover of officers and teachers. But when this circumstance is viewed in relation to certain other church doctrines and practices, the net effect is a significant psychological burden for the individual member. For example, the member finds himself immersed in a rapidly changing and unpredictable environment where he is called upon to accept and adapt to new organizational structures, new assignments and new ways of doing things almost weekly. He is often expected to fill teaching or leadership positions with little or no training or supervision. He either moves from one position to another too quickly to learn how to perform well in any one of them, or he is given multiple assignments. Temples, church buildings, general authorities and other symbols of permanence and stability are far removed from his experience. The missionaries, who touch his life so profoundly, depart after a few brief weeks or months. The ultimate church authority in his immediate experience, the mission president, remains on the scene for only three years. The arrival of each new mission president brings a reevaluation of priorities and a new set of goals. The member is constantly reminded of the urgency of the food storage program, the continual threat of personal, community, or national disaster and the imminence of the millennial advent. In his personal life he must often overcome behavioral patterns of long standing, such as drinking or smoking, in a matter of days or weeks. In this tumultuous environment he cannot help but experience sustained emotional shock.

One natural response to this state of affairs is a readjustment of the time scale on which the member sees his life unfolding. Encouragement to make a commitment to baptism after only a few hours of instruction, rapid completion of the missionary lessons, a quick sequence of church assignments and

advancements in the Priesthood, continuous exposure to organizational change and constant turnover of fellow worshippers—all combine to produce not only resignation to a rapidly changing church environment but also an expectation of instant relationships. Thus a new member is nonplussed if the faithful payment of tithes for a few weeks does not immediately improve his financial situation, or if living the Word of Wisdom for a comparable period does not tangibly improve his health. He tends to judge his fellow-members, placing them either on a precarious pedestal or condemning them out of hand. He bases these judgments on isolated, happenstance observations of behavior. “Enduring to the end” and the importance of constancy in moral behavior are almost incomprehensible because the single most obvious constant in his world is the certainty of change.

It is not unusual to hear a member of a few months, one who bears his testimony on each successive Fast Sunday, repeat an account of how the preceding month’s experience has brought him through deep discouragement and disenchantment with the Church back to a new and more profound testimony of its divinity. Others pass through cyclic changes in their church activity, moving within just a few months or weeks from complete indifference towards the Church to periods of feverish activity. These oscillations are not unique to the peripheral branch—the phenomenon seems to occur everywhere—but its foreshortened time scale and the resulting emotional burden on the member can be overwhelming. The fatigue it brings frequently leads to hostility, arguments, open defiance of authority, ill-conceived repressive measures by local authorities and a host of other evils.

Besides these social and emotional problems, the member of a peripheral branch is saddled with perplexing financial and physical burdens. He must travel great distances to attend meetings or to fulfill assignments such as home teaching. If he is one of the typically small fraction of branch members who owns an automobile, he is frequently called upon to provide transportation. Often he is expected to participate heavily in meeting house remodeling projects and maintenance and janitorial services.

Some of his direct financial responsibilities may also seem inconsistent with those in the core. Consider the payment of tithes. The long-standing discussions of how the farmer, the small businessman, the wage earner, the professional and others should calculate an honest tithe in keeping with their diverse forms of remuneration become complicated when the economic framework of the country in which the member resides is considered. For example, the disposable income of workers performing similar functions in two countries may vary widely depending upon the type of economic system. In instances where the extent of socialization is the same for two countries, the full wage for the services of a worker in one may appear on his paycheck stub only to be reduced to a much lower level by taxes withheld at the source; whereas, the second country does not attribute that wage to the worker at all, and his paycheck, if he has one, indicates only the net amount paid him. In such cases the gross amount on the respective pay vouchers might vary by a large amount even though the disposable income of the two individuals is

identical. It is surely legitimate in such circumstances to ask, ten percent of what? But there appear to be no guidelines based on an assessment of local circumstances, and the most often heard counsel is the “ten percent of the gross” derived from the core experience.

An important aspect of the financial relationship between a peripheral branch and the central Church is illustrated in Figure 1. The tall bars in the histogram represent, in arbitrary units, the tithes sent to the Church by a particular branch during the first seven years of its existence. The crosshatched section of these bars represent, on the same vertical scale, the monies received directly by this branch from the central Church. No attempt has been made to adjust the monies received by the branch to account for its fair share of the administration of general church programs, the maintenance of general church buildings, the expenses and salaries of general authorities, and we do not have enough data to know if the net flow of money towards the core shown here is typical. What does appear typical, because it is consistent with church growth and the policies governing the payment of funds to the branches, is the fact that the in-flow and out-flow of money follow two dramatically different growth curves. The remitted tithes follow a relatively smooth exponential curve, similar to the membership growth curve for this branch which will be discussed shortly. The funds provided to the branch, on the other hand, are represented by a step-like graph, remaining relatively constant for the first three years and then moving abruptly to a new constant level for the remaining four years. The cause of the step-increase is, in the case of this branch, completely obvious; the branch moved into a larger meeting-house during the fourth year. It is the fact that the funds received directly from the central Church are based exclusively on the rent, custodial fees, electricity bills and similar expenses of the branch that leads us to conclude that this type of growth curve is typical.

For a young branch, moving into a larger facility is a difficult undertaking that depends critically on the initiative taken by the local leaders. It often requires considerable imagination because the local leaders have had little or no experience with the facilities taken for granted in the core, perhaps never having seen an LDS chapel. The church program of reimbursing the branches for a share of their actual expenses seems well calculated to motivate local initiative, although the branch is often woefully unaware of the possibilities. On the other hand, Figure 1 dramatically illustrates the inverse relationship between local financial need and the response of the central Church. In the earliest years, when small, poor and inexperienced, the branch receives little money. Then as its membership and financial resources grow it may arrive at a threshold level where its purchasing power is suddenly and dramatically increased by moving into a larger facility. By doing its own custodial work and pocketing the money paid by the Church for this purpose, a branch may increase its monthly revenues many times over. Being in a new locale and presumably having a few more melodious voices, they can for the first time afford a piano. Now that the teachers have more experience, they can, for the first time, afford blackboards and perhaps some audio-visual equipment. In

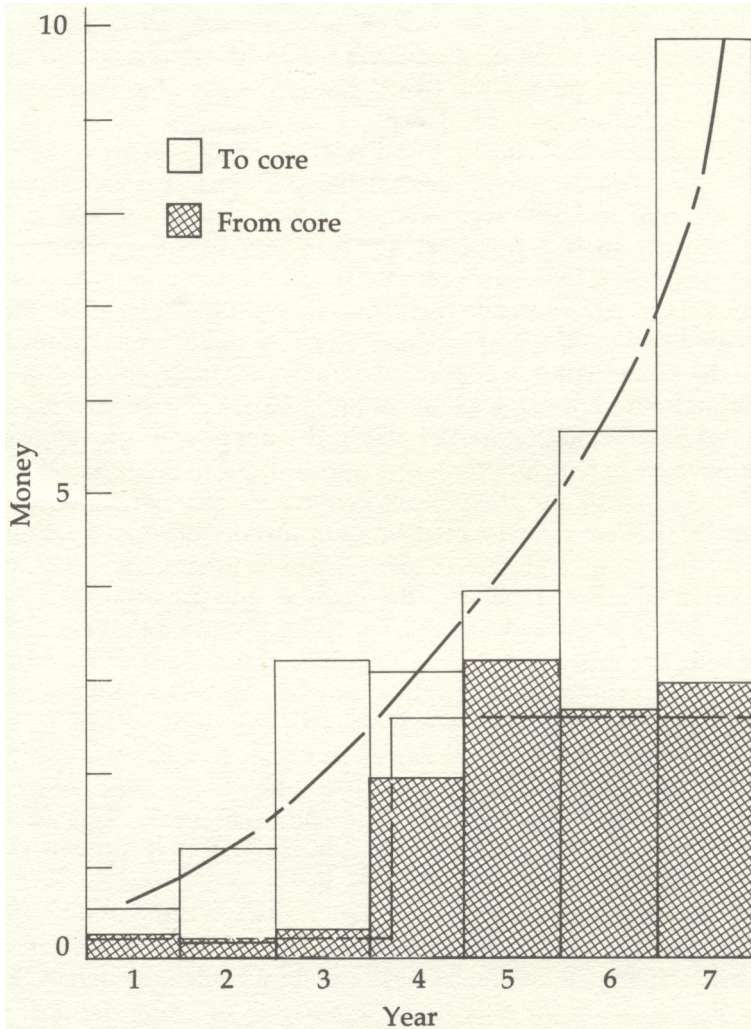


Figure 1. *Flow of Money Between the Core and a Peripheral Branch.*

short, the need-response relationship is inverted: When money from the center was needed most, it was not available.

In the ecclesiastical organization, the main problem occurs at the level of the mission president. He has a triple responsibility: (1) the personal health, safety and spiritual well-being of the missionaries; (2) the planning and direction of the proselyting activity; and (3) the leadership of the members in the mission. He is instructed to regard these responsibilities in that order of priority, and since each of them is very demanding of his time and energy, the members may not receive all the attention they need. Only when they have achieved sufficient size and maturity will they be given a stake president, who, unlike a district president, has all the authority required to look after their ecclesiastical needs and for whom they represent the chief responsibility. Here too an inverted need-response relationship is evident.

Finally, services such as translation, personal counseling, health care and accessibility to instructional and other materials tend to be concentrated where there are large numbers of members to be served. This is natural, but those church units least equipped to improvise are most often required to do so. Other examples could be cited, but it is clear that the prevailing concept is that central church assistance should be based on the initiative of the local units and their ability to participate and that this concept necessarily spawns an inverted need-response relationship.

One other institutional preoccupation complicating life on the periphery should be cited. It is the strong tendency toward central direction and the maintenance of universal programs and materials, even a universal calendar. Even though benefits from complete uniformity are obvious, a disproportionate share of the costs must inevitably be borne by the periphery. In questions of finance, language, cultural heritage and socio-political activity, church policy will undoubtedly be shaped by the needs of the majority of the members, or the needs of the core. Strict adherence to these policies renders impossible anything but a general and often totally unrealistic response to highly specific local situations. We have already cited the problem of calculating an honest tithing. A second classic example is the requirements that revered hymns with beautiful native-language poetry and magnificent music must be replaced with poor translations inspired by a foreign heritage.

ARE THESE PROBLEMS TRANSITORY?

In recent times exponential growth rates have commanded the attention of all thinking people. Exponential curves can be forboding when they forecast energy shortages or the exhaustion of other resources vital to our well-being or delightful when they foresee rapid growth of church membership. It is important to recognize that essentially the same extrapolation techniques underlie all of these predictions, and that other equally valid (or equally invalid) conclusions are implied by the same mathematical procedures. In this context, it is an interesting and informative exercise to determine the effect of sustained exponential growth of the church membership on the average level of church experience of the members. Doing so requires a little mathematics, but it is worth the effort.

To illustrate the implications of such a calculation it is useful to consider three different growth trends. For each, we consider a hypothetical branch formed on a given date with an initial membership represented by the symbol N_0 . In the first case this membership remains constant over the ensuing months and years. If the passage of time is indicated along a horizontal axis, as in Figure 2, a graph of the membership at any given instant of time is a simple horizontal line like graph a. In the second case, the membership increases at a constant rate, i.e., a constant number of members is added during each successive time interval of equal duration. This is called linear growth and is represented by graph b in Figure 2. A more rapid type of growth is represented by graph c. It is called exponential growth and is characterized by the fact that the membership doubles with the passage of each succeeding

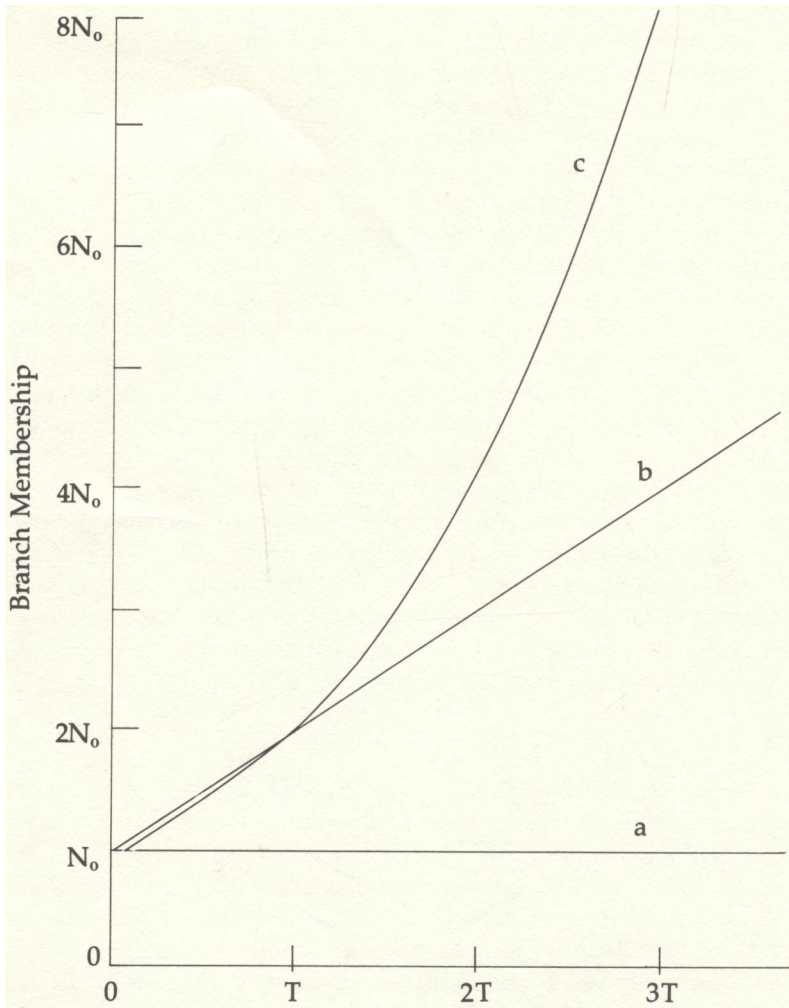


Figure 2. Hypothetical Branch Membership Growth Trends.

time interval of a well defined length appropriately called the *doubling time*. Thus for curve c the initial membership N_0 grows to $2N_0$ with the passage of one doubling time denoted by T . It then doubles once again over the same period, but this doubling, in terms of numbers of members is considerably larger than in the initial time interval. It will continue to increase ever more rapidly as time passes. The Church's desire to achieve such a growth condition is expressed by such slogans as "every member a missionary" and "each family should convert a family each year". Some areas of the Church are currently experiencing this growth, including our sample branch.

It is easy to calculate the increase in mean church experience with the passage of time for each of the three growth trends. Mean church experience is here defined as the total number of member-years of church membership

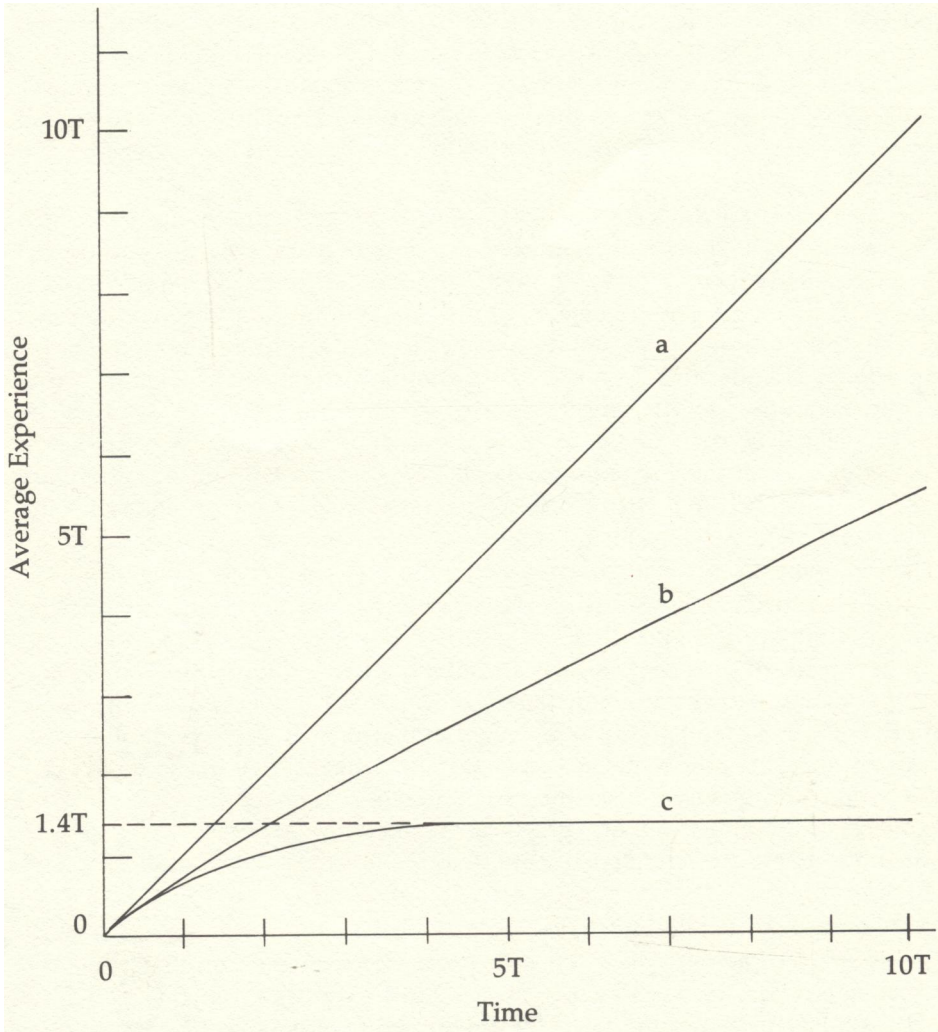


Figure 3. *Accumulation of Experience by the Average Branch Member.*

accumulated by all of the members of the branch up to a given time, divided by the total branch membership at that time. For simplicity, it is assumed that the mean church experience at the beginning was zero, or that all of the initial branch members were baptized on the day the branch was organized. After several doubling periods, the effect of this assumption becomes insignificant. See the three curves of Figure 3.

In graph a (the first trend) the branch membership remains constant. The result of each member's gaining a year of experience with the passage of each calendar year is that the mean church experience grows at this same rate. For case 2 (graph b), which postulated a linearly increasing membership, apart from a small initial perturbation due to the initial branch membership, the mean church experience also grows linearly but at one-half the rate associated

with the first scenario. Case 3, however, produces a qualitatively different result. Here the mean experience, as illustrated by graph c in Figure 3, does not increase indefinitely but approaches a horizontal line which it never quite reaches.² Note from Figure 3 that after about four doubling times the mean experience has very nearly reached its limiting value and thereafter remains constant.

In terms of the concrete example afforded by the sample branch, which was founded in 1970 with 45 members, the growth to date can be represented by an exponential curve with a doubling time of 3.6 years. The mean experience of its members grew from zero at the time of founding to about 3.5 years in 1976. If it continues to follow the same exponential growth curve, the mean experience will raise to 5.2 years by 1988 and thereafter remain constant. Note that the faster the growth rate, the shorter the doubling time, the lower will be the final level of mean experience achieved. The sample branch has often been criticized for its sluggish growth rate. We have been told that there are branches in the Church with a doubling time of only a few months, with the result that the mean church experience of the members will always remain less than one year, provided of course that the exponential growth continues.

It is also instructive to consider the distribution of experience among the branch members after the passage of a given period of time. The following interesting results are also mathematically inevitable. Given the trend where the membership is forever constant, each member obviously has the same length of church membership as every other member. In the exponential case, on the other hand, the experience tends to be concentrated in the hands of a small and continuously diminishing fraction of the membership. After all, the members of the branch on any given date can always expect to welcome and train a number of newcomers equal to their own number during the very next doubling time.

These simple calculations have neglected many important factors, including the level of activity and hence the real experience accumulated by the branch members. Drop-outs, of course, tend to reduce the rate at which useful experience is accumulated by the branch membership. If enough data were available, it would be interesting to develop a more refined model including these factors, but the qualitative conclusions which we wish to emphasize would probably not be altered. The chief conclusions are inescapable: (1) As long as exponential growth proceeds with a constant doubling time, the mean experience of the growing population cannot exceed one and one-half doubling times; (2) The faster the growth, the shorter the mean experience; (3) With the passage of time the number of members with long experience becomes a dwindling fraction, and the statistical impact of small-scale immigration of experienced members, regardless of their arrival time, also dwindles. It follows that all of those problems associated with the meager church experience of the average member will persist as long as the growth persists undiminished. Contrary to the hope and expectation often expressed by local leaders at all levels, many problems of the periphery are thus inevitably long term problems.

SUGGESTED COURSES OF ACTION

To stimulate discussion we are willing to venture a few suggestions which we hope will illustrate our conviction that unusual and daring initiatives are required to cope with the problems we have described. First, we find useless the traditional administrative tendency to respond to a problem by changing the "organigram".³ Stakehood is often touted as both the goal and reward for the sacrifices to which members living in the mission field are enjoined. When it arrives and branches are instantaneously converted into wards, the new bishops, as well as the new stake presidency and other members of the hierarchy, undoubtedly receive wisdom and inspiration in keeping with their new callings. They are, however, still the same men who were struggling with the problems of yesterday's branches, and those problems have not diminished. In instances where, for one reason or another, the prerequisites for the organization of a stake cited by Harold B. Lee have not been satisfied before the stake is formed, these problems may still be formidable.⁴ In some instances the need to maintain a full church program, one of the inflexible requirements for stakehood, may then prove to be overwhelming, and the simple reshuffling and retitling of the personnel will have been to no avail. It will certainly not have rendered central what was and what remains a part of the periphery.

In a more positive vein, we call attention to the well known fact that the establishment of Zion, the creation of a church at the center, was accomplished in great part through the doctrine of the gathering. Could not similar results be brought about by terminating once and for all the practice of gathering and establishing in 1980 the "doctrine of dispersal"? Faithful Latter-day Saints at the center could be encouraged to migrate to the periphery and be given instruction on proper behavior and local church conditions. Given the typical church member's avowed respect for the prophet's authority, it is possible that "calls" similar to those once issued by Brigham Young might bear fruit. Those called would be permanent "settlers," not young missionaries on a two-year sojourn or even shorter term retired missionary couples. Migration, not conversion alone, we believe, is the key to rational progress on the periphery.

Another effective way of contributing to a policy of dispersal would be for the Church to recruit the most linguistically gifted of the returned missionaries before their commitment to church service has had time to ebb. Those recruited could be guaranteed fellowships to the best language schools available where they could hone the rudimentary skills obtained as missionaries. In exchange for the fellowship, the individual would guarantee, much as do West Point graduates for the U.S. Army, a few years of his life to the Church as a translator, resource-person and ordinary member somewhere in the world. Such an engagement would perhaps even lead to a life of salaried church service, probably in that part of the world where the particular language is spoken. The contributions of such a program to the peripheral church would be immeasurable.

A further proposal relates to the multicultural and multilinguistic character of many church units on the periphery. Usually the language of the dominant group is used in church service and activities until such time as a sufficiently large number of members of other groups has developed. This threshold leads to a division. The original language is maintained for the dominant group, and a new unit is formed for the second language group. The result is that rather than breeding love and comprehension as Christian attributes among culturally diverse members of the Church, linguistic and ethnic groups are driven apart—once again, for purposes of administrative expediency. It would seem wise for the Church in multi-language areas to train and develop people able to carry out simultaneous translation in all meetings, not just on such showcase occasions as quarterly conferences. Small-scale spontaneous projects of this kind have shown some success. People who are thus permitted to participate in their own language while meeting with others not of their group soon learn to do so spontaneously and faithfully, and they find great joy in their enhanced activity and the fellowship that it engenders. If appropriate resources could be committed to such projects on a church-wide basis, the rewards for the Church and the example it would thereby set for feuding groups of all persuasions in world society would be startling indeed!

Our final comments are directed to the topic of administrative decentralization in the Church. A realistic evaluation of the costs and benefits of any steps in this direction would rest heavily on a detailed understanding of the variety of local church environments and their geographic and demographic distributions. To our knowledge, attempts at creating a typology of church regions have been limited. This should be a priority! In his 1978 presidential address to the Mormon History Association, Douglas D. Alder suggested a five category typology of Mormon wards, ranging from the neighborhood ward so typical of urban Utah, with its full church program and strong leadership, to the widely dispersed emerging ward characteristic of the periphery.⁵ While admittedly inadequate in its present formulation, the typology nevertheless allows Mormonism to be viewed from a broader spectrum than just the Utah cultural scene. More important, the implications of such a typology for planning programs are enormous! Certainly the great diversity of ecclesiastical units, whether branches or wards, helps to explain why implementation of core-oriented programs on the periphery is so often inefficient.

One of the most important benefits of a broader eventual participation of local members in policymaking would be to bring the prophet and other general authorities, who are presently perceived only from a great distance, closer to the daily lives of the members on the periphery. The zeal, imagination and profound knowledge of local circumstances possessed uniquely by the local members could be brought to bear on many decisions which have direct and important bearing on their lives and which are presently imposed from afar.

We hope that our rash dissemination of these suggestions will encourage

others to innovative thinking which might someday lead to circumstances in which all can share equally in the joys of belonging to a world church.

NOTES

The authors acknowledge with thanks the comments of Lowell C. Bennion.

¹Sources are too numerous to list. Suffice it to mention just two. The first, J. Friedmann, *Regional Development Policy: The Case of Venezuela*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966, although in an entirely different sphere, i.e., regional economic development seems to reflect the thinking of church leaders on church development. According to Friedmann, the center, urban areas, must be strengthened through investment. Spin-off effects will gradually diffuse to the periphery. The second, S. Amin, *Le développement inégal*, Paris: Les éditions de minuit, is highly critical of the polarization theories. Amin places the developed center and the exploited periphery in opposition to each other.

²The mean experience represented by this horizontal line is called the limiting value and can easily be shown to equal $1.44 T$, i.e., a little less than one and one-half doubling times.

³An organigram is a chart illustrating various suborganizations within a given organization and the relations which should exist between them.

⁴In an August 26, 1961 speech at a Mission Presidents' seminar in Salt Lake City, Elder Lee said, "Stakehood is the ideal, the goal for which every mission district is being prepared. Stakes cannot be organized until there is sufficient membership and trained leaders, the problems of distance and communication have been overcome; and the church program is operating fully within a district."

⁵Douglas D. Alder, "The Mormon Ward: Congregation or Community," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978):61-78.

FICTION

A FORD MUSTANG

JOSEPH PETERSON

HIGH SCHOOL BOYS with big dreams, I was one of them; I longed for freedom, for a Ford Mustang with meats and headers and dual glass-packs. And then too, I suppose I was tired. John and me would stand around the halls leaning against the lockers in stoic boredom, with our arms folded over our chests, watching the others scurry by us.

John quit school about three weeks before I did. He was an epileptic, and he had to lie about it to get the job driving trucks with Millers Blue Ribbon. But while John was in school, the epilepsy came in handy. He and I both had Maury Friffin, the gangly old coot with hornrims and a lisp, for geography, and when things got too thick, John would stage a fit, and the old coot would prance around tangling and untangling his fingers and sputtering, "Oh my, oh my."

John was different somehow from the others. I suppose it was that epilepsy. He got sick, and nothing interested him any more except that broken down Honda 350 he drove everywhere. At the beginning of our junior year, old John was really sick, and some of the treatments they gave him made his hair fall out. I'll never forget that day in the fall when I drove my mother's 69 Dodge Dart and John pulled up alongside on his bike wanting to race. I hit the gas, and when I turned to look at John, I saw that the wind had caught the front of his hair piece and was peeling it back, and finally it was flapping in the wind behind his bald head that was smeared with this black goop. What a killer.

But, in the spring, John quit school and got the job driving truck for Millers Blue Ribbon, and first thing I knew, John owned a brand new Honda 750 with

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extended forks and a leather double-decker seat. John started hanging around school again, moping around after school let out, letting on how rich and famous and romantic trucking was—and I believed him. John dreamed about trucks and motorcycles; I dreamed about a Mustang, a Ford Mustang. I had dreams about driving that car—not just any car, a souped-up Mustang—and I'd be sitting there at Pete's Tastee Freez when some young thing'd come out with a mug of root beer. I'd drink the root beer; she'd ask questions like these:

"Must take quite a man to handle all this power, huh?"

And I'd say "I suppose so." (Then I'd tighten my chest and puff up in my dream.)

"You got to be pretty skilled to run something like this, don't you?"

"Yep."

Then she'd walk away from the car and watch for a long time as I drove it down Main.

Anyway, with John gone, it got lonely in the hall, leaning there by myself, trying to look stoic—so I quit school too and ended up there at Valley Discount, a grocery store, talking to Cleve about the opening in the butcher shop.

Cleve looked sedentary in his swivel chair. He sat behind an old army desk, a green desk, in an office that they built directly on top of the produce cooler, and right there by his desk was a peep hole that he'd scoot over to periodically and look out of. The hole was about as big around as your thumb, and I was later to learn that Clever (We called him Clever—Clever the Beaver—on accounts of his duck-tail haircut and the way he walked in his too-big shoes.) had peep holes all over the store. There was one of those holes right above the check stand, and it was no secret when Clever got up there to look at what was going on. Thelma the check-girl told me later on that Clever made so much noise up there looking through that peep hole that some of the customers would look up at him and see his eyeball in the hole.

Like I said, he looked sedentary in that swivel chair. When I stepped into the office, the compressors were going, and Clever couldn't hear me, and he had his nose pressed against the peep hole trying to see if anything shady was going on in the coffee and pickle aisle. I snorted to make my presence known, and he jumped. After I gave him my application, he put on his glasses—he rested them way down on the end of his nose so he had to cock his head to read—and he leaned back in the chair. One of his feet flew up and kicked the metal army desk when he thought he was going over backward, and he snuffed and looked up at me.

"We need a butcher's aid all right, but we need someone who's going to be with us for a while. I mean, we do some valuable training, and we don't want to waste it on somebody'll be here just a short while. You plan on being around for a while?"

"Yes sir."

"Well, you look like a good kid. Starting's two dollars an hour, but you can work up fast, especially if you don't horse play. I have a hunch that most of the workers here steal me blind. You promise me to be honest?"

"Yes sir."

"Well, then, be here on Monday at eight o'clock and we'll show you the butcher business." As I walked out, I thought of the Ford Mustang I'd buy now I was working—it would be one hot car! And I saw the old boy in the meat department, humming something to himself as he worked on a piece of meat by the chopping block.

Monday morning when I came he stood by the porcelain sink scrubbing long aluminum trays. I hadn't the foggiest what to do, so I just stood there with my back to him, and he didn't say a word; he just hummed and cackled now and then.

I jumped the first time he clapped the aluminum meat trays together—they were loud, like a gun-shot, and all the old boy did was cackle.

"Oh-ho, fooled you, didn't I?"

He started singing that song about the three dogs that died when he was born and scurried off into the walk-in fridge to grind some meat. "Oh-ho, three dogs died. . . . Oh-ho."

After a minute he came out of the fridge and I noticed the meat scraps on the tops of his black wing-tips and the blood that stained his white apron. "What? Just standing?" He turned abruptly and walked back into the fridge. Again he appeared carrying a pile of meat and bone, and he threw it on the block.

"You bone that?"

"What's that you say?" I asked.

"You mean you can't bone! What kind of help they sending me? You ever worked in a shop?"

"What?" I asked again.

"You mean you haven't worked in a shop! Oh hell."

The old boy pulled out a steel and a slender boning knife and started running the blade up and down the steel with precision. "Yep, I been behind the counter fifty years. Started when I was sixteen. Lost three boys while doing it; they're up on the hill now."

His index finger shot out from the rest of his hand at an abrupt angle and he said he ran it through the slicer once. "Hell no—the lady just got an extra good bargain on her lunch meat, that's all. Hell no, it never hurt me a bit. Here now, this is how you got to bone."

He made a few quick slices at the meat and walked into the fridge. The grinder started. "Oh dee doe doe doe. Three dogs died, when I was born. Oh dee doe doe doe."

During the morning he scurried from one end of the shop to the other, and the meat scraps collected on the tops of his wing-tips. At nine a woman came to the counter. I didn't know what to do, so the old boy took her, and he said, "How doin'? Any better?"

The woman looked confused. "Better than what?"

"Oh hell, better than yesterday."

"Why yes. I mean, fine, and you?"

"Oh I'm better than yesterday, but I'll be on the hill tomorrow. What'll you have."

"Hamburger—a pound."

"Oh dee doe doe doe," he cackled to himself as he scooped the ground meat into the wax paper. I watched him from the block, his finger that stood out from the rest, different than the others, the meat on his wing-tips.

"Here's the burger. See you tomorrow."

Again the woman looked confused. "But I don't . . . Er, I'm not coming. . . ." She hesitated for a second. "All right, I'll see you tomorrow."

"The hell you will. I'm going to be on the hill with my dead boys tomorrow."

The woman shook her head; she looked confused.

"Oh-ho." The old boy went back into the fridge, and I kept boning the meat.

Pretty quick I heard the band saw start up in the walk-in fridge, and then I heard the sound of a bone going through the blade, and then the old boy screamed and gargled as if he'd lopped off an arm or something.

I ran to the door of the fridge and yanked it open, and there he stood with a beef shank in his hand.

I must have looked stupid.

"Oh-ho, fooled you didn't I." The old boy turned back to his shank and the band saw. "Oh dee doe doe doe."

That morning he taught me to bone meat and cut fryers, and at noon I was wrapping the second case of fryers I had cut.

"Son, you bring a lunch?"

"No," I said.

"Oh hell; you want to go to the Owl with me?" The Owl was the biggest bar and pool hall in town and stood as some kind of a shining mystique in a high schooler's eyes. I could see myself again, in my dream, with the young thing, telling her about the Owl and lunch there with the old boy.

"You have to be pretty mature to go to the Owl, don't you?" she'd say.

And I'd answer, "Sure do."

"Hell, son, if you want to go to the Owl with me, you'd better speak up or starve," the old boy said.

"Yes, why not."

As we walked through City Center Parking Lot, and down the alley back of Eugene's Paint 'n' Hardware, I thought of the only time that I had been to the Owl—the time I had gotten myself and John kicked out by not knowing the difference between pool and snookers. That was a year before.

"Hello Mike," the old boy groaned as he walked through the door and sat at the bar stool. "It's going to be a sweet roll and coffee again."

"And you?" the bartender said after I took a seat beside the old boy.

I looked around myself for a list of food and prices, but there wasn't one. Above the bar was a stuffed moose head with a long, dingy beard that the bartender's head brushed every time he walked under it.

"I say, what about you?"

I stuttered and asked, "What's good?"

"Good hell," the bartender said, "it's all good."

Even though I was hungry, I ordered sweet roll and coffee, because I didn't know what else they served in the Owl. The old boy ate without a word, hunched over his food, dipping the sweet roll into the coffee and slurping now and again. Behind the moose head, there was a long mirror that ran the full length of the bar, and in it I could see posters and calendars, most with big-busted girls, one with a girl squatting beside a NAPA bell-housing with a distributor cap in one hand, and there was a caption that I could read with difficulty that said, "As you can see, my parts are the BEST!" And the girl had a wide-eyed grin on her face. Next to her was a poster of a girl with faded white hair—the whole poster was faded and the girl looked fatigued—and she wore a bikini. Below the cardboard poster, there was a red string, and the caption read, "For a surprise, pull my string!"

I had lunch with the old boy in the Owl every day afterwards.

I went to school with John that Friday afternoon. Rulinda and Diann were on the front steps, standing in the afternoon sun, and as we drove up on John's 750, Rulinda brought a notebook to her face to whisper something to Diann. Then they giggled and watched as we walked up.

As we walked, I dreamed of driving into the high school in a glittering Ford Mustang, and the girls would look admiringly at me.

Rulinda giggled again and said, "Hey, you guys, where you been?"

John strutted around and told them about his job driving trucks, and I stuck a thumb in my belt and asked them if they were doing any better today—and it worked for me too.

They looked confused. "Better than what?" Diann asked.

"Better than yesterday," I said, laughing.

"No, really, where you been?" asked Diann.

"I'm a butcher for V.D.," I said.

Rulinda looked astonished and asked if I were working for the county social services or something, and I said, "Nope," still with my thumb in my belt, "I work down town; I work with a girl who checks for V.D. and with a bunch of guys that are carriers." Both of them blushed, and I puffed and strutted for a while. Finally I explained to them that V.D. stood for Valley Discount, the name of the store that Clever managed, the store that Thelma checked for, and the store that the old boy cut meat for. Then the girls had to go, and John and I stood around for a few minutes, there on the steps of the empty school in the afternoon sun, watching the buses rolling along the upper road—just standing there quiet, waiting to see if something would happen: but it didn't, and we rode home.

Valley Discount was open until nine on Fridays, and most of the time, the old boy'd give me that shift while he went down to the Owl—told me that he didn't have anything to go home to, so he preferred to be out and around. I worked one night there by myself while the old boy shot pool and drank. It was a warm evening, and during the slow hours, I stood out back of the store and listened to the leaves—they were just coming in full—as they rustled in the wind. It seemed to me that the leaves had an ideal existence; always together, dancing, almost like they were laughing in the wind. I heard the bell

then and had to go into the shop to help a lady. Wanted a couple pounds of burger.

I went out again soon as she left. Sitting there on an overturned garbage can, I could hear Clever the Beaver up in his office working with the adding machine, and I knew he wouldn't be crawling around looking through his peep holes, and I could hear the leaves and the wind. I felt immensely secure, while at the same time I felt immensely alone.

Except for the adding machine and the leaves, all was quiet until I heard the old boy dragging his feet through City Center Parking, and I could see him—he looked shorter in his short-sleeved, white shirt and his thin, black tie, shorter than he looked behind the counter with a bloody apron on, and I could see by the way he wandered that he was drunk. He walked slow, aimless—without determination. Closer, I could see that he had a pint in the hand with the bad finger, and his three good ones clutched the bottle tight. He recognized me, and snorted as he sat down on a peach crate and leaned against the cinder block. After a minute, he finished off the pint and dropped the bottle, and he snorted again.

"You any better?" he asked. His voice was raspier than usual—coarser.

"Not much."

"Hell."

The leaves were laughing again in the trees, and I could feel the soft wind. "I wouldn't mind being a leaf."

He looked at me for a second and said, "It's a hell of a world, son." It startled me. "You work your life away—and it don't do no damn good—it don't get you nowhere. Hell." The old boy lowered his head and rubbed his eyes with his stubby hands, and he looked tired. "I ever tell you about the time a can of vienna sausage went bad on the canned aisle and exploded? Stunk bad. And Clever, he'd like to have jumped all over me—the bastard. I been cutting meat for fifty years; started when I was sixteen, and that Clever thinks my meat's going to go bad. Hell." The old boy rubbed his eyes again and breathed a heavy sigh. "Hell. For fifty years, and my three boys laying up there on the hill."

We sat there quiet for a minute, and I listened to the leaves, and Clever up there beating away at the adding machine. I shifted on the garbage can and looked at the silhouette of the trees across the road.

"Yep, I'd like to be a leaf."

"Why the hell for?" the old boy asked.

"It'd be nice," I said, "to just hang around all day and make noises in the wind."

The old boy leaned back again, against the cinder block wall, and he sighed again. "You're wrong there, son," he said. "It'd be hell. A leaf hangs there, just hangs there—and do you know what it hangs in?"

"No."

"Nothing. That's what it hangs in—nothing. It hangs there in nothing, doing nothing, and there's nothing for it. It'd be hell to be a leaf." He crouched and looked at the pavement between his legs for a long time. He

sighed when he finally stood up. "Got to go, son." I watched him as he swaggered down the sidewalk in his reeling gait, and he started singing when he was about a half block away. "Oh dee doe—Oh I once had three sons, dee doe doe, and they was twice my size, but now they're on the hill, doe doe doe, and now their papa's coming, oh-ho dee dah dee doe."

I listened to the leaves until Clever's adding machine quit, and I had to go inside.

I saw less of John in the following weeks, and summer came on—and the high schoolers left the school, and it was a lonely place. One night, early in the summer, I went out to the school and walked around the campus, and watched the bats that flew in and out of the butts of the rafters. It was still early; I had just left the old boy down to Valley Discount scrubbing the saw and the grinder. And the sky was pink to the west, pink around the Wellsville Mountains. The wind made an awesome sound, blowing around the corners of the buildings and up around the eaves.

When I got home that night, my mother told me. John had been coming over the canyon, his regular run, and he had taken a fit like he did in school, and he was dead.

The next morning, when I got to Valley Discount, the old boy was there already: there was a sale on lamb chops and he needed to be down early to open up for Eliason Brothers' truck.

"Hell, son, it's about time you was getting here," the old boy said, and he scuffled into the fridge singing "oh dee doe doe doe." As I stood there he scuffled back out of the fridge, grabbed two frozen legs of lamb, and started back. "What, you don't feel like working today?"

"Not much."

"Hell." The old boy shuffled back into the fridge. He grabbed a string of link sausage and carried it to the glass case, where he had already set out the cold cuts, the deli, part of the fresh meat, and the bacon. "You just going to stand there? There's some pre-cut sirlointips need the side loin trimmed, and I got just about enough for a grind of burger." He walked back into the fridge singing about the three dogs that died the day he was born, and I took my apron from the hook and put it on; it was stained with blood. The old boy slid by me, and already the scraps of meat were accumulating on the tops of his black wing-tips, and he hefted another frozen leg of lamb—and his finger, jutting out abruptly from the rest, stood at attention.

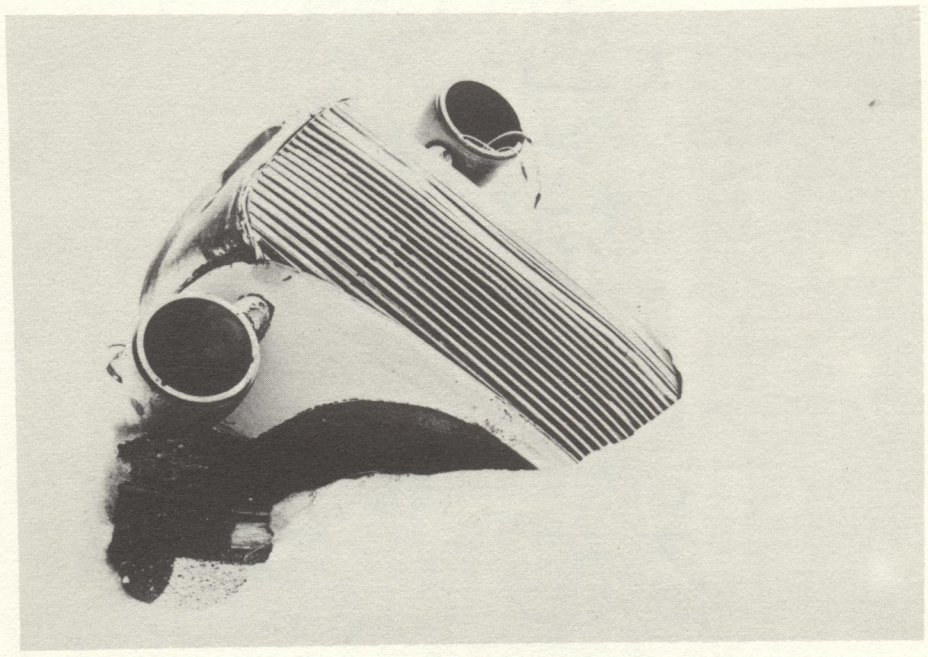
In the fridge, I opened the box of pre-cut tips and took two out to the chopping block where I started trimming them with a boning knife. The old boy mumbled that he needed a hind quarter on the block, that he expected a run on boneless round, and I walked into the fridge and wrapped my arms around the quarter with its yellowed sinews, its thick layer of fat, and here and there a purple muscle. And I hugged the quarter to heft it—a good-sized quarter'll weight most as much as a man—and it was cold and greasy between my arms. I thought of John, the school, the Owl, and as I lifted, my cheek pressed against the fat, and it was cold to me, and I could hear the old boy again, talking about the hill, and his boys, and that's all there was to it. As

I stumbled through the door with the quarter and flopped it on the chopping block, the old boy was singing, "Oh dee doe doe doe: Three dogs died, the day I was born; oh dee doe doe doe." The old boy got his twelve-inch steak knife out and his steel, and he flashed the knife back and forth along the steel, the finger jutting out from the rest, with mechanical precision. I walked back to my block, back to my tips that needed trimming, and I sliced the meat carefully along the right contours.

That afternoon, sitting at the bar in the Owl, I picked up the paper and found an ad, the ad that I had looked for during the past months:

Excel. Cond. 1976 Ford Mustang.
Headers. New Rad. tires. Dual glass pax.
\$1599 or best offer. 753-3615

I put the paper down to eat my sweet roll and drink my coffee. I could see the faded girl in the poster on the wall behind me—the tired-looking girl with the dead-white skin—and she looked back at me through the mirror behind the bar. After lunch I walked back across the City Center Parking lot toward Valley Discount with the old boy.





Benjamin

JOHN STERLING HARRIS

What is it that a father finds in one
to favor over others?
Did Isaac know what grace was his
in primogeniture
while Ishmael wandered?

Did Esau find
his father's way not right
And think the issue
of the pottage just
a specious way
to further
predestination,

To choose my father—

He passed along that
odd selection too,
So Joseph was his pet—

I heard him say that Rachel
was his love,
and saw her eyes
in Joseph's face.

I know such ancient tales
of brothers—
one chosen,
the other not,
inexplicably—

And like Abel's brother
wish I knew
why God must choose.

Wait Till The Wind Blows Toward Utah

EDWARD L. HART

Wait till the wind blows toward Utah, said the General:
Too many Californians with too much sense to let us
Drop it on them.

How come? asked the AEC man.

I'll

Tell you, said the General, as a faraway look
Crept in his eyes out there in the Nevada desert:
I'm getting prophetic—Utahns are suckers for punishment;
Nobody's more gullible. In a few years they'll have
Their people in Congress yelling for leaky wet-eyes.
They'll tell California, sure, you can build
Your power plants here—you can have the power
And keep our irrigation water forever—
As long as you leave us the smoke! What are a few
Million tons of particulates if we can keep
Good old Los Angeles clean and add a couple
Of extra jobs to the payroll!

Surely you exaggerate,

Said the AEC man.

Not a bit, said the General;

Why, they believe in nature food and home
Remedies made of cayenne pepper and apricot pits.
They answer chain letters and join pyramid plans.
What more do you want? They're taken in by anyone
With a phony diploma or a foreign decoration.
A bogus war record can get you in Congress. . . .

All right already, said the AEC man. I believe you.
The wind's aimed straight at St. George now. Fire
Your bloody bomb and I'll tell them how safe they are.



FROM THE PULPIT

The Enduring Significance of the Mormon Trek

ROBERT R. KING

WHEN THE BISHOP asked me to speak, I was pleased to accept this opportunity to think about the contemporary relevance of our pioneer heritage. After telling him that I would speak, however, I had doubts about the appropriateness of my doing so. Unlike many of you, I have no pioneer ancestors. My wife has numerous forebears on both sides of her family tree who made the trek to Utah before 1869, and her mother has been a stalwart in the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers for many years, but I can make no such claim. My ancestors who went West were not members of the Church, did not arrive before 1869 and stopped in Wyoming.

On second thought, however, I decided that it might be more important for me to discuss this subject than someone with ancestors who went to Utah. First, I have no personal stake in glorifying those who made the journey. I cannot be accused, as John P. Roche said in an essay on the Founding Fathers, of trying to “find ancestors worthy of their descendants.”¹ Second, and more important, with the growth of the Church, those without pioneer ancestors are now—or soon will be—more numerous than those with such a heritage. If the trek to Utah has permanent meaning, it should be relevant to all members of the Church, regardless of their genealogy.

The trek remains among the most powerful and enduring symbols of our ecclesiastical history. The expulsions, persecutions, illegalities and trials suffered during the early history of the Church are considered to have reached their apotheosis in the trek. The covered wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen with

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its white canvas cover billowing in the wind or the sturdy handcart pulled by the resolute father with a bonneted wife at his side and young children in the cart are among the most emotive symbols of Mormondom. The best known Mormon hymn and the one that strikes the most responsive chord is the great hymn of the trek, "Come, Come Ye Saints." The founding of the Church on April 6th is remembered, but it is July 24th that is celebrated with fanfare and festivity.

It is in some ways ironic that this event is commemorated as the distinctive holiday of Mormonism. Although great effort and resources were poured into the gathering of the Saints in the Rocky Mountains, within sixty years of the arrival of the first wagon in the Salt Lake Valley, church leaders were already advising members to remain where they were and build up the Church there. The injunction *not* to gather has been given with increasing frequency over the last eighty years. Why then did the Lord command the Saints to gather? For the gathering was indeed a command, and the righteous were expected to make the trek to Zion just as surely as they were to be baptized.

Today, I would like to share with you my thoughts about why the trek and the gathering are such enduring and important aspects of the Mormon experience.

First, the trek became a key element in the identity of the Church as an institution and in the commitment of its membership. Wallace Stegner, who has written the most readable account, calls it "a rite of passage, the final, devoted, enduring act that brought one into the Kingdom."² It was this shared experience that solidified identification with the Church.

That a journey assumes such a symbolic or practical meaning is not unique; in fact, there are a number of similar experiences in sacred and profane history. The Hegira or flight of the prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina after years of unsuccessful preaching and persecution marks the major turning point in the success of Islam, and Moslems still number the years from this event. An even closer analogy is the "Long March" of the Chinese Communist Party. After a grueling trek from South China to Yenan Province, during which significant changes were made in leadership, strategy and organization, the party established a remote regional base from which it was later able to emerge united and strong in a successful campaign to dominate China.

Journeys which were important in establishing group identity and are recorded in the scriptures include those of Abraham from Ur to Canaan, the Jaredites from the tower to the New World and Lehi and his family from Jerusalem to the Americas. Perhaps the most relevant similar experience was the journey of the Children of Israel under Moses from Egypt to the land of Israel. Biblical scholars cite the Exodus as the real genesis of Israel's identity as a people—the key shared experience that welded them into a nation, which even today is an element of Jewish identity.

It is significant that the Mormons saw their trek to the Rocky Mountains as a modern parallel to ancient Israel's Exodus—they referred to themselves as the Camp of Israel, Brigham Young was compared by Mormons and non-

Mormons alike to Moses and great symbolic significance was laid on the fact that the new "Promised Land" had a fresh water lake connected to a saline dead sea with a river that was promptly christened the Jordan. Stegner refers to Jim Bridger's first meeting with Brigham Young on the little Sandy River in Wyoming in these terms:

The people with whom Bridger spent a long gabby evening were like no people he had ever seen in all his long experience on the frontier. They followed a pillar of fire and a cloud, they went to inhabit Canaan according to the Lord's promise. . . . Still, in 1847 Bridger had a few years left before the Mormons could multiply and inherit the land, and he had probably not read Exodus recently.³

A second consequence of the trek and the gathering in the Mountain West was its importance in further developing group cooperation. This is not to say that mutual assistance was not an important part of the church community's way of life before 1846; it clearly was. The rigors of the trek, however, required a higher degree of mutual cooperation.

A quick comparison of the Mormon and "gentile" migrations indicates how important this was. The Mormons were hardly alone in their move West. Families seeking land and opportunity began to move into the Oregon Territory in large numbers at about the same time. The year after the Mormons entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, and the following year the California gold rush was on. The emigrants followed roughly the same route West, but differences in how they traveled were significant. Those who went seeking fortunes in California were principally men concerned with getting themselves there as quickly as possible to harvest quick fortunes. They had no interest in helping others making the same journey, and in fact saw personal advantage in taking all necessary steps to get there first. Even families immigrating to Oregon, although they frequently joined together in wagon trains for protection, generally traveled as individuals.

In contrast, the Mormons migrated as a people. The strong assisted the weak; companies that traveled early in the season planted so that those that came later could harvest. It was a community task to see that every Saint made the journey to the new Zion. The Perpetual Emigration Fund was established to assist European converts without the private means to undertake the trip, and during the later years, young men with teams and wagons were sent east from the valleys to bring the year's emigrants west.

Even after arrival in the Great Basin the necessity for group cooperation was much greater than it was in the Mid-West, California, or any other more hospitable region. Church-organized collective effort was needed to carry out irrigation and establish industries for local development.

This sense of group cooperation is still very much a part of Mormon culture reflected in such things as the Relief Society's readiness at the first sign of illness to bring in meals and care for young children and the coopera-

tive effort devoted to the building of a new chapel. That this virtue is so much identified with Mormonism today is in part due to our pioneer heritage.

Group cohesion is a third consequence of the trek and the gathering. In sociological terms, a group's organizational continuity is significantly affected by its capacity to establish and maintain boundaries between itself and its environment—that is, it must maintain a cohesive identity distinct from the rest of the society within which it functions. When an organization first comes into existence this is relatively easily done—the original members of the group are conscious of the reasons for their group's existence. Over time, however, unless a sufficient level of group identity is maintained, subsequent generations of leaders and members will gradually find the boundaries between their organization and society at large weaken and diminish. This is particularly true of a group that adds to its membership large numbers of outsiders.

Two important factors contributing to group cohesion were consequences of the trek and the gathering. First, internal cohesiveness resulted from the shared experiences of the trek and the group cooperation essential for economic well-being. The second factor was external pressure on the Church, which resulted from doubts about the political loyalty of the Mormons. An early manifestation of this problem was President Buchanan's decision to send U.S. troops to Utah, news of whose coming reached the Salt Lake Valley on the tenth anniversary of the pioneers' arrival. The conflict with the United States became mixed with the issue of the Church's right to practice polygamy. Just as the supremacy of the federal government was the real issue over which the Civil War was fought, so also the Church's conflict with Washington was over the right of the Congress to regulate the territories. And just as slavery influenced and colored the one struggle, polygamy became the specific question upon which the broader Mormon issue was fought. Because of the intense external pressure and conflict, the Church developed an unusually high level of group identity that later permitted rapid growth with little loss of organizational cohesion.

A fourth aspect of the trek is organizational development during this era. The theology and beliefs of the Church were well established by the end of the Nauvoo period, but the organization was not, even though the leading quorums had been organized. The Prophet Joseph Smith was such a dominant figure during his lifetime, and the Church was so small in numbers and so concentrated geographically that it was still relatively simple in organizational terms. Presidencies of stakes had been called in Missouri and Nauvoo, and the evolution of wards began in Nauvoo. The relationship between these two levels of organization and between them and the Quorum of the Twelve, however, was not established until the settlement in Utah. In large part the organizational structure of the Church as we know it today is a product of the gathering in the Mountain West.

The auxiliary organizations are even more directly a product of the western experience. I see nods of dissent from the Relief Society sisters. Indeed the Relief Society was organized by the Prophet Joseph Smith in Nauvoo in

1842, but it was disorganized with the exodus from Nauvoo in 1846 and not fully reorganized until the late 1860s. With the coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869, the sisters were called upon to organize themselves into Relief Societies with two goals: encouraging local production of all kinds of consumer products and discouraging the purchase of Eastern goods, which would be cheaper and more readily available with the coming of the railroad. The cultivation of silkworms for production of homemade cloth and the campaign against extravagant Eastern fashions were part of a massive campaign to keep the wealth of the kingdom in the West.

At this same time, the younger women were organized into the Young Ladies Cooperative Retrenchment Society (forerunner of the Young Women's MIA) to encourage similar virtues among the unmarried. Another aim was to strengthen them against the wicked attractions of the world made more available with the coming of mining. The Young Men's and Sunday School programs likewise evolved during this period.

The final aspect that I would like to mention is that the trek and the gathering created a regional base for the Church. Indeed, some sociologists consider this to be an important factor in the Church's survival in its present form. In many areas of the Great Basin, the Church became the dominant social institution, a condition that probably would not have developed—at least to the degree that it did—had the Church remained in the Mid-West or gone to a more inviting place.

Under these circumstances the Church was better able to “socialize” the second generation. In order to perpetuate itself, an institution must successfully retain the allegiance of those who, in Mormon terminology, are “born in the Church.” To do this, succeeding generations must accept the values, beliefs, norms and goals of the organization. As the dominant social institution in the Mountain West, the Church was able to inculcate these values and loyalties without serious competition from other organizations or value systems.

The “socialization” of the second generation was particularly important in terms of leadership. A significant factor in the continuity of an organization is that its second and subsequent generations of leaders continue to share the values and norms of the founders. With all due respect to the many converts to the Church who have risen to positions of responsibility and leadership, there is a strength and a sense of continuity among those who have been raised in the Church. It was our experience in Germany, where we lived for seven years, that second generation Mormons played a disproportionately large role in church leadership, even though in many cases they were much younger than converts over whom they were called to preside.

My wife, Kay, and I analyzed the Mountain West as a leadership incubator by examining the background of all individuals called to serve in stake presidencies throughout the Church during the year 1975. (Our data was taken from weekly issues of *The Church News*.) We found that ninety-two per cent of all members of stake presidencies called in stakes in the Mountain West were born in the Church and ninety-five per cent of them were born in that region.

The most significant data, however, is the degree to which second and subsequent generation Mormons have provided leadership for the growth of the Church in areas outside the Mountain West. Of all those called to serve in stake presidencies in California and the Pacific Northwest, seventy per cent were born in the Mountain West. For the remainder of the United States, forty-seven per cent were from the Mountain West. Beyond the borders of the United States this does not hold true, and as a consequence the General Authorities—who are preponderantly “born in the Church” and from the Mountain West—are required to spend proportionately much more time in leadership training and instruction of non-American local church leaders.

Perhaps one of the most important consequences of the gathering of the Saints was the creation of a “socialized” second generation of members who would leave the valleys of the mountains and return to the “world” from which their pioneer forefathers fled and there provide the leadership base on which further rapid growth of the Church was made possible.

Much of what the Church is today in organizational terms is an outgrowth of the trek and the experience of the gathering. Although I have tended to look at the consequences in sociological and organizational terms, I in no way wish to underestimate the hand of the Lord in these events. Just as we are a combination of both physical body and spirit and are subject to different influences on both parts, the Church has a physical body—an organizational structure—that can be analyzed scientifically just as any other organization. At the same time, however, just as we have a spirit, so the Church is led by the spirit of revelation by men called by the Lord.

Just as the Lord uses natural laws to accomplish his purposes, the choices and decisions that were made by our inspired pioneer progenitors can be understood through both spiritual and rational means. To look at the trek and the gathering in these terms gives me greater appreciation for some commandments given in that earlier time.

As one who has no Mormon pioneer ancestors, I nonetheless claim them as a part of my heritage as a member of the Church. The law of adoption, applied to those who are not of the lineage of Joseph through Ephraim, can be applied as well to those of us who cannot claim direct descent from an ancestor who made the trek to Zion in the nineteenth century.

NOTES

¹John P. Roche, “The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action,” in *Shadow and Substance* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), p. 92.

²Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 1.

³*Ibid.*, p. 155.

PERSONAL VOICES

Journey to My Westward Self

ADELE BRANNON MCCOLLUM

FOR SOME YEARS I have been working on Jungian interpretations of history, not in order to lay claim to any special insight into historical events, but as a way of enriching our experience of the historical events so interpreted. I must admit also some interest in wresting psychological interpretations of history from the Freudians. My work has dealt with a methodology I call myth-history. It is similar to "sacred history" with at least one major difference. In sacred history the assumption is transcendence is up. This myth-historical method bears the sense that transcendence is down, or, if you will, inward. And so in Mormon Studies, for example, the trek westward becomes the trek inward as well.

Like Judaism, Mormonism puts intense emphasis on the idea of the journey. In the Church, Pioneer Day is more celebrated than Easter, and Lent and Advent are barely mentioned.

Pioneer Day activities (July 24) include dressing children as pioneers, building covered wagons or handcarts, cooking foods cooked during the westward trek, presenting plays or skits replicating the move into the Salt Lake Valley. It is a general coming together to celebrate an event as momentous for Mormons as the Exodus is for Jews. The stories of bloodied feet and buried children, pregnant women crossing the plains in winter still bring a tear to the eye of even the most jaded Mormon. This identification with the pioneer spirit serves as a focal point for Mormon history and thus, is sometimes used in place of theology.

Except for a brief introduction, the Book of Mormon opens with Lehi setting out from Jerusalem on a journey with his family into an unknown territory simply called "the wilderness." During this setting out and during

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the course of the journey, some of his sons rise against him. Others remain loyal and continue their quest for the promised land . . . the land "choice above all others."

Jan Shipps has made the point that the evangelical way of conversion was through personal realization of the saving effect of Jesus Christ, while, the way of salvation in Mormonism lay in joining with the Saints in the gathering of the Ten Tribes. I take it that she is making some distinction between personal experiential religion in which one *feels* saved through the power of the spirit and the conversion process in Mormonism in which one becomes, as it were, converted to the idea of the truth of the Book of Mormon—a more rational commitment.

It is not my intention to argue this point (although I disagree with it), but to direct attention to the experiential dimension of religious belief in Mormonism which, if Shipps is correct, is believed by some to be exceptional rather than primary or necessary in Mormonism.

While there is, indeed, a problem in discussing this experience among Mormons, I suspect there are more experiential aspects to Mormon activity and belief than one might at first suppose. This experiential dimension is obscured by the sometimes fanatical insistence of many Mormons on the literal, linear, historical "truth" of the facts of the Book of Mormon and upon the First Version and the early and continuing revelations of Joseph Smith and others.

Within the Church itself there seems to be to be a dichotomy of thought. The aforementioned propensity for the literal and an anti-intellectualism both amazing, given certain dogmatic quotations such as "the glory of God is intelligence," and worrisome. I say worrisome because it sometimes comes out in rather peculiar statements such as one made to me by a bishop. He said, with a straight face, "No intellectual can have a testimony of the Book of Mormon." (My inclination was to retort that that must mean that only dull normals such as the speaker could find Mormonism of any value.)

What I hope to do with both Mormon doctrine and Mormon history is to illuminate them and make them available to experience so that the experiential and the historical unite. In doing this I want to assure people that I am not negating the historical dimension but am instead asking that both dimensions be considered; that the Mormon past be read both (and perhaps even first) as history, but that we not stop there but go on to read *out of* that history the personal experience of conversion testimony, empathy and so on. It is this combined understanding that I have called mytho-history. There was a time when I might have said that the historical dates and events were not important as long as the experience was there. I no longer can say that, and I believe the change comes from the sizeable amount of Eastern religious studies I have engaged in during the past seven years. Clearly, there is a difference between the personal salvation of the East and the more linear expectation of the fulfillment of history in the West, although that dichotomy is not so sure as some would have us believe.

The Book of Mormon opens at 600 B.C.E. Lehi, the father/patriarch, has a vision of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Babylonian Captivity. He moves with his family into the wilderness. Some forty pages and ten to eleven years later, they arrive in the promised land, the American continent, having been guided there by the Lord.

In the second chapter of Nephi, son of Lehi and one of those who remained faithful to his father's vision, has to depart and journey further into the wilderness of the promised land because some of his brothers are contending against him. Lehi dies and Nephi goes on with the record of the book of Mormon. But at all times he remains on a journey or a search. Further on, in the Book of Omni, we find Mosiah discovering another important group of people who had also gone out from Jerusalem at the destruction of that city and had journeyed across the waters to the Promised Land. These people had become warlike and had brought no records with them; however, Zarahemla learns the language of Mosiah and reports his genealogy and his story to him.

This should be enough to show those not acquainted with the Book of Mormon that the motif of journey is a predominant one. The pilgrimage is always to the promised land.

The next major scripture of the Saints is the Doctrine and Covenants. Here we have a modern version of the growth of that church which bases itself in the Book of Mormon from ancient times. In this scripture there is recorded the beginning of a persecution which to some degree is still going on. The history of the Saints is movement, movement from New York to Ohio to Missouri and Illinois and finally the long Westward Trek into the Salt Lake Valley.

It is usual for non-Mormon people to think of the Saints automatically as Brigham Young, Westward Trek, Salt Lake Valley. It is customary in the Church to speak in terms of eternal progression and increase when thinking of doctrine. The primary plan of salvation in LDS doctrine is that of movement. Quest. Pilgrimage. The pilgrim, who has existed from the beginning, comes to earth to get a body, moves on to yet another stage and can continue so indefinitely if he or she has lived appropriately during the second estate or time on earth.

I want to argue here that the entire history and experience of the Mormon is that of one who travels, one who grows. I also want to argue for this motif's being consistent with the Old Testament, the Book of Mormon and with the movement of the contemporary, New Dispensation Church.

This movement alone might have been merely migration were it not for the fact that in each case the goal was a promised or covenanted one and the expectation one of attaining that Promised Land or Valley. It is like the movement of the Jews with the exception that in Mormon thought the idea of pilgrimage does not end with physical death. One keeps on keeping on, and the great promise is that one who lives righteously will be granted the opportunity to keep on keeping on. Punishment is seen as a dead end, a state in which one can no longer seek, quest, learn, grow or move on. *Stasis*, to the Mormon way of thinking, is the most ominous defeat.

We can understand this concept through historical accounts. That is to say, we understand it as a group event, whether of the ancient people or Lehi or Israel or of Saints moving West.

But the fact that the same historical idea becomes part of a doctrine to which the individual Mormon subscribes is sometimes more difficult to understand. My impression is that many Mormons fail to see *on a conscious level* the connection between the historical quest and the spiritual quest. This, nonetheless, does not mean that no such connection exists.

There is a sense in which the Mormon idea of journey or quest can be seen as "just one more" hero journey in the long line of Joseph Campbell's heroes, or it may be said to be another amplification of the hero archetype as Carl Jung would describe it. This in no way reduces the importance or impact of the historical Mormon journey, but it does make personal that which has been communal. There is, one might say, a Hero/Quest blank hidden in all people. At the same time there is a widespread fear of stasis as imagined in death, old age, illness, injury, depression, senility and sometimes neurotically in sleep or under anesthesia.

For one with these blanks, the Westward Trek, whether of Lehi or Brigham Young, resonates undeniably in the psyche. While it is universal, it is also peculiarly American. The collective psyche of the American continent must have trembled when the Pacific coast was finally settled. Having reached the last frontier, where did one go besides Alaska? One answer was to turn inward. When the physical journey was over and stasis was unacceptable, the journey became more a spiritual quest. And today the Church is recognizing that fact by calling people to remain in their stakes instead of gathering to the Salt Lake Valley or to Missouri. Zion is now located in a strange land.

For many Americans the spiritual quest may already have been underway along with the physical journey. Others turned outward as long as possible; only when faced with no outer space to explore did they turn inward. (This brings to mind the number of astronauts who have "found" religion.)

I want to suggest that the Mormon is through-and-through a pilgrim pioneer. The Mormon missionary makes a two-year initiatory journey. Mormons travel long distances, sometimes taking days to reach the Promised Land, of the temple.

From the beginning, the idea of moving toward the Promised Land was adopted for both the geographical and the psychical landscape. Every time one reads the journey of Lehi, of the Nephites, Jaredites, Israelites or other contemporary westward-bound pioneers, one necessarily identifies, however unconsciously, with the internal journey we all make. Don't we all set out into the wilderness not knowing what is in store? Don't we every day enter dark unknown areas in which we must learn as we go and hold before ourselves the idea of a promised valley somewhere in which peace will be sweet? At the same time, as we pursue the pearl of great price, the spiritual kingdom or the material kingdom, don't we really fear stasis, the dead end job, the inability to

learn any more because of age or illness? Don't we fear that one of the obstacles along the way may prove to be insurmountable?

Having reached what we thought was the promised valley, we once again realize that to be alive spiritually and physically is to be on the move. This is evident in Mormon hymns as well: "Come, Come Ye Saints." We'll make the journey to the Salt Lake Valley, but if we don't, there is always the promise of the journey after death. On the other hand, there is the hymn: "Think not when you gather to Zion/your troubles and trials are through . . . the prize and the victory won/Think not that the warfare is ended/the work of salvation done." The hymn goes on to speak of the Saints who continue to labor and continue to grow.

The motif of the quest or pilgrimage is, I would suggest, Mormonism's version of the hero journey, of the historical and psychical or myth-historical view of a world and people ever growing. I would be almost willing to say that this motif is an *over-riding* motif of Mormon thought—that it is not just one among many interesting motifs, but a central one.

What is to be gained from such an analysis? Apart from verifying historically the events or the concrete portion of this dual experience, one has to be aware enough to understand *consciously* that this is the fulfillment of the archetypal quest and is also Mormonism's answer to the fear of finality. "And should we die before our journey's through/Happy day all is well." Of course, we will all die before our journey's through, but then, there is the happy day in which to continue the pilgrimage on yet another plane of existence.

I believe it is this coming together of the historical and psychical in mytho-history, which accounts in part for the great appeal of Mormonism, that appeal which has made it the fastest growing church in the world.

Family Presentation

DIAN SADERUP

ON FAST SUNDAYS in my home ward we have what's called a "family presentation" during the opening exercises of Sunday School. Usually, the bishop chooses a couple with relatively young children to present a program of their choice. I remember one family with four daughters and a son. They chose the theme "Love At Home." While seated on the stand, the three-year-old son began to pull at the four-year-old's ringlets. (Each girl had careful, blonde ringlets and a pink satin ribbon in her hair. The baby was bald with a pink bow taped to her head.) The mother took his hand and whispered some quiet warning. She had a look of rigid poise. The boy, however, soon resumed his study of his sister's hair; the little girl began to fidget, finally flinging her hand up and hitting him in the face. Mother again intervened. Within moments there were slapped hands and two crying children on the stand.

Perhaps the bishop wanted to avoid another ill-timed conflict, and that's why several months ago he called on my family to put on the program. I'm twenty-two and my younger sister Alexis is sixteen (I haven't tugged at her curls in well over a decade). Or maybe he hoped that the "opportunity" would inspire my two inactive younger brothers to get involved. Or maybe (probably?) he didn't know who else to call—who knows how many mothers of younger children declined the invitation after Sister Allred's fiasco? Whatever the reason, two months ago, with a week and a half's notice, we got the job.

My brother refused to have anything to do with the project. And it was only after coercion that my sister—who not only has ambivalent feelings about the Church but adolescent embarrassment about our family in general—consented to give the opening prayer. That left my parents and me to put on thirty minutes of family presentation. None of us are real speakers—our two-and-a-half minute talks usually wind up at about a minute and forty-five seconds—so that left us with twenty-four minutes to fill in and my mother in a panic.

I suggested we sing a duet. She agreed: even a hyper-vibrato soprano and a tone-deaf alto are better than *nothing*. I also volunteered to play my violin if

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she'd accompany me on the organ. She agreed to that too until she heard me play "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief." I haven't practiced in over three years. A tone-deaf alto is one thing; a rusty-fingered, tone-deaf violinist is another.

"Why did they ever ask *us* to do this?" Mom groaned at least six times daily. When she was with my father, the query became an accusation: "It's all *your* fault. You're the one who said we would." My dad, who is even less of a private speaker than a public one, said, "In the Church you do what you're asked to." If he hoped to close the issue—it didn't work. I finally convinced Lexie that it was her duty to the family to at least read a poem, or play "I am a Child of God" on the guitar, or, better yet, both. She consented to a twelve-liner by Carol Lynn Pearson.

Every morning for a week my mother had a new version of her talk to read me. (Ever since I won second prize in the Bountiful High School poetry contest, I've been dubbed "the writer of the family.") She wanted suggestions for improvement, and all I had to offer was "sounds real good to me." It did. My mom is fine talk writer, her language honest and uncluttered. We'd chosen "Loving and Serving Others" as our theme and hoped to draw special attention to the needs of those outside the bounds of active church membership. As our preparation for the program progressed, my mother's anxieties increased. We still had only sixteen minutes worth of material, and she felt humiliated that the entire family wasn't participating. My brothers' indifference and my sister's vacillation toward the Church were all the more painful by the realization that, for all intents and purposes, it would be broadcast publicly. Two days in a row she dissolved into tears, saying, "I'm a failure as a mother. Where did I go wrong?" All I could reply was, "You didn't. They did." I wanted to call the bishop myself and say, "Listen, why *did* you call us?"

Saturday night, before the program, my brothers announced that they weren't going to come at all not even to watch us. And Alexis lapsed into one of her semicomatose states of depression: The thought of reading the Pearson poem in public was "absolutely too humiliating," and saying the prayer might injure her moral sensitivities—"too hypocritical. Sometimes I don't even know if I believe in the Church, let alone *like* it." My dad said, "It's your decision." Mom started crying. I said, "You're a selfish brat." She agreed to say the prayer but not the poem. The program was back to fourteen-and-a-half minutes. My father said he would expand his talk to five.

Sunday we were late getting to Church. Our twelve-year-old basset hound had had diarrhea during the night—all over the living room carpet and furniture. (No matter who's waiting for you, you just can't leave your house in *that* kind of a mess.) And my brothers had inexplicably appeared from their basement bedrooms with the news that they were going with us. It took my mother ten minutes to convince them that it was essential they wear *ties* with their sport shirts and cords. At 9:31 we were all seated, my parents and Lexie and me on the stand, my brothers on the back row of the chapel.

As we sat there singing the opening hymn, "High On a Mountain Top," I looked at the congregation. Herm DeMic, a seventy-eight-year-old German convert who had lost two sons in the war, was on the third row holding his wife Evelyn's hand. With each beat in the music he brought their hands down on his knee, marking time. Randy and Kevin Jensen, deacons, were choked with laughter at the chorister, Ethyl Burgstead's vigorous conducting, the heavy white flesh on her upper arms jiggling with every downbeat. Donna Burdett on the front row rocked an irritable baby in one arm while trying to coax Cherrios into the mouth of her restless three-year-old with the other. I wanted to whisper to my mom, "You know, it doesn't matter a damn if our presentation is the greatest." Maybe she was thinking the same thing, because she reached over, squeezed my hand and gave me a closed-mouth smile.

Alexis' prayer was good. She didn't thank God for the nice chapel we have to meet in or bless those who weren't here this time to be here next Sunday. She didn't even mention all the lessons we were supposed to get something out of. It was a plain invocation of the spirit and a recognition that we need help to love each other better. My mother's talk—the eighth revision—lasted over three minutes. Her deep voice was only slightly airy, and she looked beautiful in her navy blue suit and white stocktie blouse. When she closed by quoting Corinthians, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels . . .," I felt my scalp begin to pucker. Then I spoke. I always memorize my talks (I don't have enough faith to let myself be guided *entirely* by the spirit), and third of the way through I lost my train of thought briefly. The few uncomfortable moments were forgotten, though, as the rest of the words flowed easily to a conclusion.

When we sang our duet, "Dear to the Heart of the Shepherd," I sensed something really click. I'd never sung in public before, but I felt oddly relaxed, and for the first time, "Mom and I *really* harmonized. She skipped the third verse by accident, but we covered it up and by the time I sang the last two-measure solo refrain "out in the desert they wander," I felt like a candidate for the Mormon Youth Chorus.

Then my father went to the pulpit. He is not an openly emotional or demonstrative man, and so I was unprepared for what he said: "Brothers and Sisters, I may not have been humble before but I am . . ." He stopped. And he stood there for a long time. When he finally spoke again he said, "I had some words prepared, but somehow they don't seem appropriate now. I love my family." He stopped again. "That's all I want to say." He sat down. I had never seen my father cry before.

Song practice lasted nearly thirty minutes that morning because we had used up only twelve minutes. As the congregation was singing "This Earth was Once a Garden Place," the last hymn in the book, I looked at the people in the chapel. Brother DeMic still held Evelyn's hand. Donna Burdett sang with the baby asleep in her arm. She fingered her three-year-old's curls as the child knelt against the bench coloring on a program. I could hear my brothers singing on the back row.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Obsessive-Compulsive Mormon

MARLENE PAYNE

IN GUATEMALA I saw Indians sitting by the side of the road dangling their feet over a cliff as they stared across the valley to the mountains beyond. The guide told me they often sat quietly for hours watching the play of light and shadows on those beautiful mountains. In contrast, many of us pursue a life-style characteristic of the obsessive-compulsive personality, a common trait among many church members and one that is actually encouraged by its teachings. Although we are each a unique blend of our own qualities and experiences, we show order in our development as well, an order patterned in recurrent constellations of traits. The Church actively fosters traits of industry and activity, the wise use of time, restraint of aggression and compulsive performance of duty. These are the hallmarks of the obsessive-compulsive personality. The benefits to self and others are obvious, but these same traits can cripple major parts of the personality, particularly those used in relationships with others.

One young, unmarried Mormon woman I knew felt compelled to fill her life with constructive activities. Not only did she work at a demanding full-time job, but she attended night school, was active in several church jobs and in a voluntary community organization. Though she tried to meet the needs of her family and friends, they could rarely catch up with her, and she was often too tired to be emotionally available. She felt guilty and "selfish" as she sat through her classes. When she set time aside for people, she felt as if she were wasting her time. When she tried to evaluate her dilemma in the light of church teachings, she felt confused because most of her efforts seemed actually fostered by the Church.

A couple entered therapy because, though both were fine church members, they were unhappy in their marriage. The wife was a very hard worker who felt her efforts unappreciated. Her husband perceived her as dictatorial, and though he tried to anticipate her wishes, he could not please her unless she herself had assigned him the task and thus become his "boss." He viewed her as rigid and critical in dealing with their children, while she felt he did not

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sympathize with her load of anxiety and guilt. It became obvious that the teachings of the Church cannot banish personality problems; they can only offer a program for achieving maturity.

A friend who was recently called as a counselor in the bishopric in his ward felt both happy and anxious. He was the father of five children all under the age of eight, an executive in a demanding job, and he was attending night school to obtain an MBA. He often traveled on behalf of his company. His wife had already been feeling lonely and overburdened, but both felt they would be blessed if he accepted this calling. Both wondered, however, how they could have time and energy for their relationship and how the children would fare with so little contact with their father. This is a common problem among active members, and some men do feel that their families suffer. It presents a conflict because the Church teaches us that our families come first.

The thread uniting these stories is the obsessive-compulsive personality, one who tends to be conscientious, orderly, perfectionistic, meticulous, frugal, punctual, often stubborn or even rigid. His need for sameness and order in his environment brings him peace and a sense of security, predictability and control. He has a tendency to hoard things and a strict conscience that is often a harsh judge of himself and others. His emotions are so well-controlled most of the time that he is not easily provoked to anger, but when he is, he is likely to feel shame. Emotion tends to be suppressed and replaced by thoughts, that is, so intellectualized that it remains unexperienced. His self-esteem is so linked to his work that he feels good about himself only when he is productive. His self-esteem is generally low because he would like to be perfect but can rarely achieve perfection.

These traits may also appear at the opposite end of the spectrum. A person may be messy, habitually late, compulsively generous and disorganized. Often a person will shift between extremes. There is a wide spectrum of these traits, healthy, and socially useful at one end, severely crippling at the other.

Because these patterns are usually developed through identification with parents, they become the stable core of the personality. Their roots lie in the earliest years of childhood when one is asked to surrender his unabashed freedom in favor of control of his body (toilet training) and impulses (socialization). This control eventually becomes internal, but initially, of course, it is imposed by society, especially the parents, and is resisted by the child with his stubborn "No." The internalization of control coincides with the child's wonderful, active mastery of motor tasks which is a solid source of self-esteem. These two factors—the need for control and the joy of the successfully completed task—form the core of the obsessive-compulsive personality.

Control is a quality highly prized in the Mormon culture—control of temper, appetite, sexual impulses, time. But there can be too much of a good thing, both in controlling oneself and others. A mother once accused her twenty-two-year-old son of being ungrateful and sullen because he showed no gratitude when she painstakingly cleaned his room and washed all his clothes, not realizing that from his point of view she had invaded his privacy and made him feel guilty about his chosen life-style—messiness! Another

woman exploded in anger because her husband constantly told her what she *should* do, think, feel, without regard for her own autonomy. A father reported that he was so concerned about his fifteen-year-old daughter's budding sexuality that he listened in on her phone conversations, read her diary, checked her personal belongings for contraceptives and set very strict limits on her activities.

The price of noncompliance with the wishes of the controller is often rejection and loss of love. But people feel angry and oppositional when someone tries to control them: to impose strict rules, to deprive them of choice, to intrude upon their privacy, telling them what they "should" be, think, or feel. Such control chafes unbearably over time. It smolders sullenly between husband and wife, sulks in passive-aggressive opposition, or explodes into defiant behavior in teenagers. A major cause of malfunction in families, it is difficult to treat because the person at fault often elevates his behavior into a virtue. He is unable to see himself through the eyes of others; he can see only that his good intentions are being attacked.

To help an overcontrolling person, one must understand the purpose of the behavior. On the simplest level, it serves mastery by reversal: A child who is under the control of a powerful parent often feels helpless and humiliated in the face of adult control. As he grows, he avoids the passive position of the one who is controlled and identifies with the active controller. The control that an obsessive-compulsive person exercises over himself and others, however, is more complex than this identification. Such people often appear formal, intellectual, unemotional and ill at ease in social contacts. Their responses are constricted by anxiety and the defenses they erect against that anxiety.

We all have to deal with anxiety. Where does it come from? From the parts of us that seem unacceptable in the orderly, adult world. Rampant impulses of sexuality, aggression and messiness must be tamed and suppressed. Feelings that arise in the course of most relationships cannot be given free expression if we expect to manage long-term relationships. But impulses and feelings continue to live their gleeful, intense lives outside our awareness, pressing for audience in our conscious minds, an audience denied them by our defenses.

What are the defenses an obsessive-compulsive person uses? The very qualities that we usually admire are really defenses against anxiety, ways of controlling in oneself or another that which makes us anxious. The major ones are isolation, intellectualization, projection and reaction formation.

Isolation is the ability to split off and repress the emotional content of a thought so that only the intellectual content remains conscious. Feelings are harder to control than thoughts and they cause more trouble, but they also lend humanity and color. Without them, the obsessive-compulsive person can seem distant, stilted, artificial and unempathic. For example, a loved child goes off to college. The mother weeps, telling the child all her feelings for him, while the father remains unmoved, prepared for the experience by the *knowledge* that all children grow up and go away. He and the child have been

robbed of an opportunity for a real exchange of feeling. This defense has been elevated into a stereotypical virtue of acceptable male behavior in our culture.

Intellectualization is a propensity for philosophical rumination or abstract thinking rather than its direct expression. Rather than addressing her anger at her son who was pursuing a "hippy" life-style, a woman spent an hour in therapy discussing the breakdown of morals in the late 1960's and her theories of the effect this was having on the next generation, including efforts schools and courts should be making to control the problem. She needed to examine her own efforts to control her son by inflexible rules.

Projection refers to the unconscious displacement of thoughts, feelings or behavior from oneself onto another. The projected material is unacceptable when viewed as part of oneself since it is often sexual or aggressive. For example, a family brought their five-year-old son for treatment because he was disobedient, defiant and messy. The father was an obsessive-compulsive man who had difficulty controlling his own temper. His view of the child as a messy, angry little one in need of strict control represented a rejected part of himself. He had projected it onto a convenient target who could in turn be controlled. When the focus was shifted to his own problems, he loosened his control of his son, began to acknowledge the boy's good points and found that his son's behavior had become acceptable.

Reaction formation occurs when a person feels one thing but expresses its opposite. For example, if he were unconsciously angry with someone, he might feel compelled to go out of his way to be especially kind. This would be ideal except that such behavior often strikes the observer as "phony." Sometimes the true nature of the underlying impulse reveals itself. A woman was intensely angry with her eighteen-year-old daughter whom she correctly perceived as competing fiercely for the father's affection and attention. This mother could not allow herself to acknowledge the intensity of her rage at her daughter, whom she loved very much. Instead she imagined dreadful and unlikely harm that might befall her daughter and then tried mightily to protect her. As a result, the daughter was leading an overprotected, controlled and constricted life under her mother's watchful eye. The mother's hostility, expressed through reaction formation as an exaggerated concern for her daughter's well-being, acted therefore as a punishment for the girl.

Although these defenses are effective in dealing with all feelings, they are particularly effective in battling anger, that frightening emotion so repudiated in our culture. Anger can hurt others and can cause shameful loss of control. But if not expressed, it can impoverish communication, understanding and closeness in intimate relationships. The injunctions against anger in the scriptures are aimed at those who deliberately provoke others to anger or who are unable to forgive when anger is aroused. The scriptures do not attack those who *feel* anger because anger is a universal human feeling. We are admonished to master its expression, to find the appropriate medium between explosion and repression. The decision to consciously suppress, postpone or modify the expression of anger is different from the unconscious repression of anger through isolation, intellectualization and reaction-formation. These de-

fenses lend a distant, mechanical or unreal quality to their possessor. This is particularly important to the obsessive-compulsive person because he has much anger, conscious or not, usually involving interpersonal issues of control and will.

When anger ceases to be experienced as overwhelming, evil or destructive, the road lies open for its more mature expression. This transformation is usually accomplished through the medium of a close relationship in which we are accepted for ourselves, helped to express our feelings and aided in curbing their destructive effects. It requires a willingness to become vulnerable through intimacy and self-revelation.

Intimacy itself can be anxiety-provoking, however, and so the defenses previously mentioned can be used to defend against loving feelings as well. Closeness to another may threaten one's sense of self. Can we be swallowed by another's more powerful identity? Closeness requires disclosure of emotions which we might rather keep secret, entails responsibility for and dependency on another and carries with it the dreadful possibility of losing that which one loves. The whirlwind of activity that envelops the obsessive-compulsive person allows him to remain calm at its center, thereby avoiding intimacy.

If self-control is highly prized in our Church culture, activity may be even more prized. Consider the pejorative phrase, "inactive member." Activity is encouraged through church assignments and meetings and is paralleled by myriad injunctions: Keep a journal, grow a garden, be physically fit, compile a genealogical record, read the scriptures and other good works, volunteer in the community, involve oneself in family, develop one's creative talents, keep one's home and grounds in good order, be a good neighbor and a good citizen. An activity-oriented life has become a hallmark of our Church culture and an extrapolation of the gospel principle that this is a probationary state we must use wisely.

Of course, activity experienced as the successful mastery of a task and performance of duty is a solid source of pleasure and self-esteem, but as with control there can be too much of a good thing. I have heard women in my Relief Society classes moan that they feel guilty if they are not busy. "I feel so anxious all the time. I feel I'm not doing enough, that I'm not good enough. I'm constantly busy and can never relax." Activity has shifted from the vehicle of mastery and self-esteem to the driver in charge of one's life. The compulsive nature of the activity indicates that, like excessive control of oneself and others, it defends against anxiety. It also serves to defend against depression. If a person can fill every moment with some activity, he will not feel anxious, depressed, or empty. But the temporary nature of the solution is apparent during a lull when these feelings come flooding back.

The defensive nature of such business is sensed by others. Even though the person may feel that his activity is on behalf of others, it comes across as a duty performed rather than an act of intimate relatedness. I had a succession of visiting teachers who reminded me of Mary and Martha. One was reliable, punctual, task-oriented and invariably brief in her visit. I was grateful for her

reliability, but since we shared few of our feelings, our relationship remained formal. Another came to be my friend, and we remain so even though her assignment has ended. Martha, busy with the cares of the world, gave important service. But Mary was giving something more profound and lasting—herself.

One man reflected sadly about his relationship with his father who had been raised an orphan in the unkind home of a relative and had run off at an early age to make his way in the world. His father was a nervous, restless man who could not sit still but whose constant activity often benefited others. He complained that his father was unable to listen and would leave the room, turn on the TV or interrupt with unrelated remarks. The father was limited in his ability to tolerate intimacy, and the son could see that his acts of kindness were also pleas that others think well of him, something he was not able to do for himself.

An attractive, middle-aged woman in the Church recently commented that she really enjoyed being busy and active because it made her feel she had accomplished something worthwhile. Another woman in therapy, expanding this statement through her own reflections, realized that she felt worthwhile only when she was busy. She felt she could not even afford to “waste time” in the evenings by sitting quietly with her husband. She felt anxious at such times, also concerned because he complained that they never talked intimately. Since it took him a while to move from trivia to deeper subjects, her activity destroyed all possibility of this intimacy.

As this woman continued her work in therapy, she revealed a demanding and critical conscience. Often critical of other people, she was more critical of herself. Her performance was never quite good enough: she was never sensitive enough of others. Tears filled her eyes as she produced painful self-accusations. She suffered frequent depressions because her ideals were so high that she could never live up to them. As the daughter of a critical, rejecting father and a mother with very low self-esteem whose only role in life was to lose herself in service to her family, she realized that she had identified with her mother and had internalized her father’s voice as her conscience. She also felt that her state of mind was consistent with the teachings of the gospel. Aren’t we here to achieve perfection, to improve step by step, to ceaselessly evaluate faults?

Her ruminations are a common part of the obsessive-compulsive picture. The conscience is in the driver’s seat of pressured activity. We have been reminded by Neal Maxwell:

Some of us who would not chastise a neighbor for his frailties have a field day with our own. Some of us stand before no more harsh a judge than ourselves, a judge who stubbornly refuses to admit much happy evidence and who cares nothing for due process. Fortunately, the Lord loves us more than we love ourselves.¹

As this woman proceeded with therapy, she became less critical of herself. She began to see her worth as an individual, quite aside from the worth of her productions. This was possible because she was valued and accepted in the

therapist-patient relationship in a way her parents had been unable to offer. She became more able to set limits on the requests of others. As occurs with so many good church members, she felt guilty if she ever said “No.” Her self-esteem had depended on how others viewed her, so it was important to please everyone. As her conscience became less biting and her self-esteem rose, she set a more reasonable pace for her activities. She was less tired and irritable and more available to others, better able to give loving service. She could pray better because her efforts to concentrate were no longer blocked by obsessive ruminations about her activities.

The Church encourages obsessive-compulsive traits and some of these work well in promoting righteousness. A faithful and conscientious member will attend all his meetings, pay his tithing, fast, read the scriptures, pray, perform his jobs responsibly, do all things asked of him. In conforming his behavior, he will find his inward state in accord as well. Others, however, will feel incomplete and mechanical, sensing an inner emptiness. For some, this is secondary to the rational nature of the obsessive-compulsive that can be at odds with a spiritual attitude. For others it is due to the impoverished nature of interpersonal contact in an overextended lifestyle. For still others it is a failure to achieve real feeling to accompany the ritual. Whatever the cause, it is useful to gain some understanding of the obsessive-compulsive traits within oneself as a prelude to making changes that allow for intimacy.

To those numbed by ceaseless activities I would say:

Never, never teach virtue . . . you will walk in danger, beware! beware!

Every man knows how useful it is to be useful.

No one seems to know how useful it is to be useless.

Chuang-Tzu

The solution does not lie in discarding obsessive-compulsive traits, an impossible task anyway. It is possible, however, for an obsessive-compulsive person to see himself more clearly. With some understanding of himself he can become more comfortable with feelings, particularly anger and love, become less controlling, alter the priorities in life to allow for intimacy and achieve self-acceptance.

Lael J. Woodbury has said:

But the Lord, perceiving time as space, sees us as we are, not as we are becoming. We are continually before him—the totality of our psyches, personalities, bodies, lives, and behaviors. Life becomes, then, not a cumulative, additive process, one in which we layer on increments of perfection like successive coats of lacquer. Life is rather a challenge to discover who we are.

Perhaps the Guatemalan Indians were in pursuit of this discovery as they meditated in the clear air of the mountains.

¹Neal Maxwell, “Notwithstanding My Weaknesses” *Ensign* Nov. 1976 p. 13

B. H. Roberts on the Intellectual and Spiritual Quest

The following excerpt is from the introduction to B. H. Roberts' fifth and final Seventy's Course in Theology (1912). It was suggested "that this Introduction be treated in the class as a lesson."

WE HAVE HERE the consideration of a theme in some respects the loftiest and mightiest that the mind of man can be led to contemplate: God Immanent in the world; and God in union with men through the medium of the Holy Ghost. Confessedly the subject is one around which much of mystery gathers; and there are not wanting those who, on that account, are in favor of leaving it so, without attempting an exposition of the nature or offices of the Spirit Immanent in the world, and the Spirit Witness to the soul of man. I think no one can be more conscious of human limitations to understand divine things than I am. And I doubt if any one can have greater appreciation of the need of being careful to keep within the limits of what God has revealed upon these subject; for it is only what he has revealed that can rightly instruct men in the things of God. Moreover in no department is the frank and honest confession "I don't know," more imperative than in Theology; and when it is given as an actual confession of having reached the limits of our knowledge, it is worthy of all praise. But if it becomes tainted with the spirit of "I don't care," then I have no respect for it.

MENTAL EFFORT REQUIRED TO MASTER THINGS OF GOD

There is another phase in which the same thing occurs. It requires striving—intellectual and spiritual—to comprehend the things of God—even the revealed things of God. In no department of human endeavor is the aphorism "no excellence without labor"—more in force than in acquiring knowledge of the things of God. The Lord has placed no premium upon idleness or indifference here—"seek and ye shall find;" "knock and it shall be opened unto you;" "seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning even by study and also by faith"—such the admonitions God gives in reference to our pursuit of knowledge of divine things.

Oliver Cowdery thought the work of translating from the Nephite plates would be easy. He sought the privilege of translating and was given an opportunity. He, it appears, believed that all that would be necessary would be for him to ask God, and without giving further thought the translation would be given him. His expectation in this was disappointed. He failed to translate. Then the Lord said: "You supposed that I would give it [i.e., the

power to translate] unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me; but behold, I say unto you that you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it is right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you: therefore you shall feel that it is right." (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 9)

The incident illustrates the truth here contended for—achievement in divine things, progress in the knowledge of them, comes only with hard striving, earnest endeavor, determined seeking.

THE PLEA OF "THUS FAR, BUT NO FARTHER"

Mental laziness is the vice of men, especially with reference to divine things. Men seem to think that because inspiration and revelation are factors in connection with the things of God, therefore the pain and stress of mental effort are not required; that by some means these elements act somewhat as Elijah's ravens and feed us without effort on our part. To escape this effort, this mental stress to know the things that are, men raise all too readily the ancient bar—"Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther." Man cannot hope to understand the things of God, they plead, or penetrate those things which he has left shrouded in mystery. "Be thou content with the simple faith that accepts without question. To believe, and accept the ordinances, and then live the moral law will doubtless bring men unto salvation; why then should man strive and trouble himself to understand? Much study is still a weariness of the flesh." So men reason; and just now it is much in fashion to laud "the simple faith;" which is content to believe without understanding, or even without much effort to understand. And doubtless many good people regard this course as indicative of reverence—this plea in bar of effort—"thus far and no farther." "There is often a great deal of intellectual sin concealed under this old aphorism," remarks Henry Drummond. "When men do not really wish to go farther they find it an honorable convenience sometimes to sit down on the outmost edge of the 'holy ground' on the pretext of taking off their shoes." "Yet," he continues, "we must be certain that, making a virtue of reverence, we are not merely excusing ignorance; or under the plea of 'mystery' evading a truth which has been stated in the New Testament a hundred times, in the most literal form, and with all but monotonous repetition." (*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, pp. 89, 90.)

This sort of "reverence" is easily simulated, and is of such flattering unction, and so pleasant to follow—"soul take thine ease"—that without question it is very often simulated; and falls into the same category as the simulated humility couched in "I don't know," which so often really means "I don't care, and do not intend to trouble myself to find out."

THE PRAISE OF SIMPLE FAITH

I maintain that "simple faith"—which is so often ignorant and simpering acquiescence, and not faith at all—but simple faith taken at its highest value, which is faith without understanding of the thing believed, is not equal to

intelligent faith, the faith that is the gift of God, supplemented by earnest endeavor to find through prayerful thought and research a rational ground for faith—for acceptance of truth; and hence the duty of striving for a rational faith in which the intellect as well as the heart—the feeling—has a place and is a factor.

But, to resume: This plea in bar of effort to find out the things that are, is as convenient for the priest as it is for the people. The people of “simple faith,” who never question, are so much easier led, and so much more pleasant every way—they give their teachers so little trouble. People who question because they want to know, and who ask adult questions that call for adult answers, disturb the ease of the priests. The people who question are usually the people who think—barring chronic questioners and cranks, of course—and thinkers are troublesome, unless the instructors who lead them are thinkers also; and thought, eternal, restless thought, that keeps out upon the frontiers of discovery, is as much a weariness to the slothful, as it is a joy to the alert and active and noble minded. Therefore one must not be surprised if now and again he finds those among religious teachers who give encouragement to mental laziness under the pretense of “reverence;” praise “simple faith” because they themselves, forsooth, would avoid the stress of thought and investigation that would be necessary in order to hold their place as leaders of a thinking people.

THE INCENTIVES TO, AND THE GLORY OF, KNOWLEDGE IN THE NEW DISPENSATION

Against all the shame of simulated humility and false reverence which are but pleas to promote and justify mental laziness, I launch the mighty exhortations and rebukes of the New Dispensations of the Gospel of the Christ—the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times, in which God has promised “to gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth; even in him.” They are as follows:

“The glory of God is intelligence.” (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 93.)

“It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance.” (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 131.)

“Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection.” (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 130.)

“If a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come.” (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 130.)

“A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge, for if he does not get knowledge, he will be brought into captivity by some evil power in the other world, as evil spirits will have more knowledge, and consequently more power than many men who are on the earth.” (Joseph Smith—History of the Church, Vol. IV., p. 588.)

“Knowledge saves a man; and in the world of spirits no man can be exalted but by knowledge; so long as a man will not give heed to the commandments he must abide without salvation. If a man has knowledge he can be saved; although he has been guilty of great sins, he will be punished for them. But when he consents to obey the Gospel, whether here or in the world of Spirits, he is saved.” (Joseph Smith—

Minutes of the General Conference of the Church, April, 1844. Improvement Era, Jan., 1909, p. 186.)

"Seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom: seek learning even by study, and also by faith." (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 88:118.)

"I give unto you a commandment, that you teach one another the doctrine of the Kingdom."

"Teach ye diligently and my grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand;

"Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and the perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land, and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms—

"That ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you, and the mission with which I have commissioned you." (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 88:78–80.)

"It is important that we should understand the reasons and causes of our exposure to the vicissitudes of life and of death, and the designs and purposes of God in our coming into the world, our sufferings here, and our departure hence. What is the object of our coming into existence, then dying and falling away, to be here no more? It is but reasonable to suppose that God would reveal something in reference to the matter, and it is a subject we ought to study more than any other. We ought to study it day and night, for the world is ignorant in reference to their true condition and relation. If we have any claim on our Heavenly Father for anything, it is for knowledge on this important subject." (Joseph Smith—History of the Church, Vol. VI., p. 50.)

"God shall give unto you (the saints) knowledge by his Holy Spirit, yea by the unspeakable gift of the Holy Ghost, that has not been revealed since the world was until now: which our forefathers have waited with anxious expectation to be revealed in the last times, which their minds were pointed to, by the angels, as held in reserve for the fullness of their glory; a time to come in the which nothing shall be withheld, whether there be one God or many Gods, they shall be manifest; all thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, shall be revealed and set forth upon all who have endured valiantly for the gospel of Jesus Christ; and also if there be bounds set to the heavens, or to the seas; or to the dry land, or to the sun, moon, or stars; all the times of their revolutions; all the appointed days, months, and years, and all the days of their days, months, and years, and all their glories, laws, and set times, shall be revealed, in the days of the dispensation of the fullness of times, according to that which was ordained in the midst of the Council of the Eternal God of all other gods, before this world was, that should be reserved unto the finishing and the end thereof, when every man shall enter into his eternal presence, and into his immortal rest. How long can rolling waters remain impure? What power shall stay the heavens? As well might man stretch forth his puny arm to stop the Missouri river in its decreed course, or to turn it up stream, as to hinder the Almighty from pouring down knowledge from heaven, upon the heads of the Latter-day Saints." (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 121:26–33.)

*NECESSARY ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH IN THE MATTER OF MENTAL
ACTIVITY AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT*

Surely, in the presence of this array of incentives, instructions and commandments to seek for knowledge, taken from the revelations and other forms of instruction by the Prophet of the New Dispensation—taking into account also the scope of the field of knowledge we are both persuaded and commanded to enter—whatever position other churches and their religious teachers may take, the Church of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation can do no other than to stand for mental activity, and earnest effort to come to a knowledge of truth up to the very limit of man's capacity to find it, and the goodness and wisdom of God to reveal it.

The New Dispensation having opened with such a wonderful revelation respecting God, making known as the very first step in that revealed knowledge not only the being of God but the kind of beings both the Father and the Son are—its representatives may not now attempt to arrest the march of inquiry and plead "mystery" or "humility" or "reverence" as a bar to entrance into those very fields of knowledge God has commanded us to enter, and reap in, and of which he gives us assurance that our harvest shall be abundant.

THE LIMITS OF OUR INQUIRIES

Let me not be misunderstood. Again I say, I am aware that there are limits to man's capacity to understand things that are. That God also in his wisdom has not yet revealed all things, especially respecting the Godhead; and that where his revelations have not yet cast their rays of light on such subjects, it is becoming in man to wait upon the Lord, for that "line upon line, and precept upon precept" method by which he, in great wisdom, unfolds in the procession of the ages the otherwise hidden treasures of his truths. All this I agree to; but all this does not prevent us from a close perusal and careful study of what God has revealed upon any subject, especially when that study is perused reverently, with constant remembrance of human limitations, and with an open mind, which ever stands ready to correct the tentative conclusions of today by the increased light that may be shed upon the subject on the morrow. Which holds as greater than all theories and computations the facts—the truth. These are the principles by which I have sought to be guided in these five Year Books of the Seventy's Course in Theology, and in some more than in the one herewith presented.

But some would protest against investigation lest it threaten the integrity of accepted formulas of truth—which too often they confound with the truth itself, regarding the scaffolding and the building as one and the same thing. The effective answer to that may be given in the words of Sir Oliver Lodge: "A faith dependent on blinkers and fetters for its maintenance is not likely in a progressive age to last many generations." (*Science and Immortality*, p. 130.) "From age to age, our knowledge is growing from more to more," remarks John Fiske, in his "Century of Science." "By this enlarged experience our minds are affected from day to day and from year to year, in more ways than

we can detect or enumerate. It opens our minds to some notions, and makes them incurably hostile to others; so that, for example, new truths well nigh beyond comprehension, like some of those connected with the luminiferous ether are accepted, and old beliefs once universal like witchcraft, are scornfully rejected. Vast changes in mental attitude are thus wrought before it is generally realized." ("Century of Science," p. 145.) This holds good in theology as in science. Not that the universal and fundamental truths in theology which God has revealed change, but that men's method of viewing them and expounding them changes, and, let us hope, changes for the better, for the more clear and perfect understanding and development of them—else there would be no progress in theology—while in all things else there is progress. But here let me conclude Fiske's noble passage:

"In this inevitable struggle [between vanishing old ideas and incoming new ones] there has always been more or less pain, and hence free thought has not usually been popular. It has come to our life-feast as a guest unbidden and unwelcome; but it has come to stay with us, and already proves more genial than was expected. Deadening, cramping finality has lost its charm for him who has tasted of the ripe fruit of the tree of knowledge. In this broad universe of God's wisdom and love, not leashes to restrain us are needed, but wings to sustain our flight. Let bold but reverent thought go on and probe creation's mysteries, till faith and knowledge "make one music as before, but vaster."

THE RIGHT TO SEEK KNOWLEDGE ASIDE FROM REVEALED KNOWLEDGE

One other thing: Such subjects as are treated in this Year Book necessarily rest on what God has revealed—that is, for the data, the facts involved; but that does not necessarily hold as to illustration and argument for development of the truth and making clear the revealed things of God. Here one may do as it is said Clement of Alexandria did in urging men to strive for a knowledge of Christian truth, rather than a mere belief of it; "such instruction was to come primarily from the 'Divine Word'; but everything in the range of human learning was to be welcomed as co-operating with him. For Clement gratefully acknowledged truth wherever found, whether among heathens or heretics." It should be observed, however, "that while constantly confirming his propositions from his Greek writers, he ever turns for a final appeal to the scriptures"—that, too, must be our course.

So much by way of presenting the spirit in which I have pursued my own studies upon the high themes of these Seventy's Year Books, and this present one in particular.

REVIEWS

Utah in One Volume

Utah's History. Edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell and David E. Miller. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. 757 pp., \$9.95.

Reviewed by JOSEPH B. ROMNEY, professor of history at California Polytechnic State University.

This recent publication is the best one volume history of Utah available, but it is not as good as it could or should be. The ideal volume would present a clear narrative, be integrated by sound interpretation both on individual topics and for the whole, provide adequate source references and include sufficient reading aids to facilitate effective use. The twenty-eight authors of *Utah's History*, people of competence and distinction, have attempted to provide such a book. Unfortunately, their multi-authored organizational scheme seems to have prevented total success.

Utah's History can well serve as a college level text, since the quality of the individual chapters is predominantly high, and some of its inadequacies can be overcome by a teacher. For other readers, it will likely be less useful. The book will be a helpful reference work when the subject being searched is the general topic of one of the chapters and less useful if the subject must be located through the index, which is not as thorough as it ought to be, or through reference to outside sources, since footnotes are almost nonexistent. The topics of integration and interpretation call for extended comment.

The format for integrating *Utah's History* is present, but it is not fully exploited. The three major chronological divisions include excellent introductions. Each chapter is organized with an introduction, topic headings, a conclusion (usually), a bibliography, and some references to other chapters and to attractive and serviceable maps and tables collected

at the end of the volume. Unfortunately, the chapter introductions vary in their usefulness: Cross references to other chapters are all too few, and, when given, are sometimes unclear or erroneous (pp. 382, 411). References to the maps and charts are often incorrect, and in one case a lengthy list is duplicated in the text and appendix (pp. 149, 684). A list of illustrations could be valuable, and those used should be more carefully chosen to relate directly to the subjects treated in the text. The chapters in parts II and III should be reordered to collect those discussing related topics.

With regard to interpretation, *Utah's History* provides some incisive views in many individual sections but fails to provide a coherent theme or themes for the work as a whole. Some argument could be made for emphasizing the relationship of Utah to the rest of the West or to the United States generally, as has been done to some extent by Charles Peterson's recent bicentennial history, and as is suggested by several authors in this book. Some use of this perspective is one way in which the authors succeed in their attempt to "keep *Utah's History* from being just another volume of Mormon history," but they have not settled on this as their major theme nor analyzed it carefully in relationship to Mormonism in Utah.

Several authors in the early part of the book stress Mormonism as the predominant theme—"the central theme"; "make the Utah story unique in the annals of the American West". In spite of the statement in the introduction to part III that "perhaps the most important characteristic of twentieth-century Utah has been the decline of ecclesiastical domination of policies, society, and the economy and the rise of a secular life characterized by competition," chapters within that part include statements such as "women of Utah . . . are influenced by the doctrines and practices of the predominant church," and "all these events . . . dem-

onstrated how widely the policies and activities of the Mormon Church still influenced all aspects of society." The last chapter offers an interpretive synthesis mentioning Mormonism and stressing Utah's relationship to the other states as major themes, but while the analysis is good for the survey offered in the chapter

itself, it does not take into account the contents of the entire volume.

A still needed one volume history should be prepared by a single author who will retain the information contained in *Utah's History* but will reshape it into a more coherent and useable whole.

Tannering Fundamentalism

The Polygamy Story: Fiction and Fact. By J. Max Anderson. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1979, x+157 pp., index. \$4.95.

Reviewed by FRED C. COLLIER, *a freelance writer and publisher currently working on a book-length study of Mormon fundamentalism.*

During the early part of the twentieth century, Lorin C. Woolley of Centerville, Utah, produced affidavits in which he maintained that on 26 and 27 September 1886, Jesus Christ and Joseph Smith appeared to President John Taylor while he resided in the home of John W. Woolley (his father) and there revealed to Taylor that the Mormon Church would some day abandon the practice of plural marriage. Joseph Smith at that time directed Taylor to appoint and ordain five men to perpetuate plural marriage after the Church had relinquished the practice. Subsequently told and retold, the Lorin Woolley story came to form the foundation of priesthood authority for most Mormon polygamist offshoots, who now number in the tens of thousands.

Working for more than a decade, Max Anderson has undertaken a monumental labor in behalf of mainstream Mormonism in an attempt to discredit Woolley's story. This volume represents the first of a projected three-volume attack. Placing the Woolley account under the microscope, Anderson critically analyzes every minute detail—names, dates, places and events—and quite successfully does to the foundation of modern fundamentalism what the Tanners (Mod-

ern Microfilms) have done to Mormonism. Undoubtedly, Anderson has dealt a heavy blow to the growth of modern-day polygamy. In its effectiveness, the book is long strides ahead of all its predecessors, including *The Way of the Master* by Mark E. Peterson, *Plural Marriage Unlimited* by Paul E. Reimann, and . . . *Some That Trouble You* by Clair L. Wyatt.

Anderson attempts to force fundamentalists to view the records of their beginnings from the same perspective that Jews must view the complete historical void of Israel's four-hundred-year sojourn in Egypt—"Reference to them was stricken from the records." In religious matters, whenever facts and evidence are lacking, faith will always fill the void. Anderson's hope is that in the case of Mormon fundamentalism the lack of corroborating evidence will make the faith much more difficult to muster. But the fundamentalists are not altogether without justification in their feeling that there is much powerful evidence to support their position. The suppression of Church records in the past, coupled with present Church policy that denies known fundamentalists access even to the general archives, has created great mistrust for the Church in the minds of thousands of fundamentalist-believing people who feel that the problem is not in a genuine lack of extant evidence but in its inaccessibility.

Following his historical analysis of Woolley's story and dredging up in the process every conceivable inconsistency and difficulty, Anderson simply labels its author a consummate liar. Then, turning

abruptly from historian to psychoanalyst, the architect-author proceeds to probe into Woolley's personality "to get at the cause of the whole matter." Looking for Woolley's motivation for telling "such lies," Anderson analyzes several of his subject's dreams and draws the conclusion that Woolley was merely seeking for attention and grasping for honor and power. In coming to this conclusion, the author also debunks the testimonies of two eyewitnesses to the Woolley story, Patriarch John W. Woolley and Daniel R. Bateman, both of whom lived and died affirming its validity. The reader thus gradually begins to notice that Anderson hopes to destroy fundamentalist faith with the same weapons the anti-Mormons have used since 1820.

However effective the Anderson work might be, it is not without its shortcomings. Unfortunately, the author does not choose to view it as a fair-minded judge or an honest historian, willing to look at all sides of the story. Instead, he plays the role of a prosecuting attorney, anxious to win the case for his client, the Church, and carefully sifts his source materials while selecting for use only those that are to the credit of his client. In short, his zealotry to defend the faith has obscured his objectivity. Critical of Lorin Woolley, Anderson either neglects to mention or downplays the significance of any information that tends to support the Woolley story, even though such information is often vital to the very issues he addresses.

A more impartial examination of the Lorin Woolley story might reveal at the outset that it comes from what historians would call a secondary source, because it was recorded more than twenty-six years after the events it describes had transpired. This does not mean that it is therefore untrue, which is what Anderson implies without ever mentioning that the only accounts Mormons have of the First Vision come from such sources. Labeling a document does not necessarily determine its accuracy or inaccuracy, but without question it is relevant information. One small slip of memory, such as a wrong date or place, or a small detail in an incident, can lead to all kinds of historical problems in an otherwise sound ac-

count of a secondary nature. Such is certainly the case with the First Vision and numerous other events sacred to the Mormon faith.

Anderson's primary attack on the Woolley story thus zeroes in on details. He creates an iron bedstead based on dates and details in Woolley's story and then uses them to their own discredit by comparing them to contemporary records. For example, in his first account (1912), Woolley says that the 1886 vision occurred "in the latter part of September," and that he does not know the exact date. In later accounts, he sets the date at September 26 and 27. He also changes his list of names of those who were present. These kinds of apparent inconsistencies furnish Anderson with all the ammunition he needs to discredit Woolley's testimony. Yet it is important to note that Anderson *does not produce a single fact* to dispute the first account of the Lorin Woolley story.

In examining the Woolley story more fairly, realization of the extent to which the Woolleys were involved with John Taylor during the period in question becomes crucial. For this information we are indebted almost entirely to the diaries of Samuel Bateman, not that these diaries are the only ones extant pertaining to the subject. At least four others are more complete. There is, for example, the personal diary of President Taylor, as well as the personal diary of George Q. Cannon, the First Presidency's Office Journal, and the personal diary of L. John Nuttall, who kept extensive diaries while serving as secretary to Presidents Young, Taylor and Woodruff. Nuttall habitually recorded many details of each day's activities in these diaries which are now at Brigham Young University. Strange as it may seem, all the Nuttall diaries are present and accounted for except those for the years 1885 through 1887. The Taylor diaries are presently located in the First Presidency's Office Vault and are not available for research. No one is allowed to see them, not even Taylor's descendants, although the Church normally allows children and grandchildren open access to the diaries of their parents and grandparents. In the case of the Taylor materials, it has made a curious excep-

tion. Both Raymond Taylor and Samuel W. Taylor have asked to see the diaries of their grandfather without success. Indeed, the Church has been slow even to acknowledge that it has them. The Cannon diaries are also in the vault and unavailable, although in 1971 I was allowed to read the entries in Cannon's diaries for 26 and 27 September 1886 and to photograph them. These photos appear in Anderson's book. Neither Anderson nor I, however, has been allowed to look into the Cannon diaries aside from those two days. The First Presidency's Office Journal is another story of the same telling.

Other materials that have been fortunate enough to escape the Church's veil of secrecy, such as the diaries of Samuel Bateman, do not in any way dispute the Lorin Woolley story in terms of its contentions and meaning. Anderson has unfortunately refused to recognize this and has resorted to character assassination and straining at gnats. His treatment of the Woodruff Manifesto is no better than his work on the Woolley story. Rather than tell the whole tale, he chooses to whitewash the Church of its involvement in plural marriages contracted after the Manifesto. Relying on the same old answers, he places the blame on Apostles John W. Taylor and Mathias F. Cowley, men who, in fact, were acting under presidential sanction, but when exposed were offered up as sacrifices in order to vindicate the Church's integrity. In making his defense at his trial, Cowley lamented that he had acted "conscientiously and under the direction of those higher up [] not defiantly or with the idea of taking the bits in my own mouth." Indeed, most students of Mormonism now realize that the 1890 Manifesto was never intended to end plural marriage, but was to be strictly a political document issued for the purpose of diverting government prosecu-

tion from the Church as a body to its members. This would compound problems for the government which would have to legislate against and prosecute some ten thousand polygamists rather than to focus its attack on one organized body as it had done with the Church. So the responsibility of practicing the principle would lie at the feet of each individual in accordance with the 1886 revelation, and the Church would be left free from government prosecution. A careful reading of the manifesto itself reveals this simple truth, but Anderson hopes his readers will continue to swallow the old story in spite of the overwhelming evidence against it.

As Mormons in general and fundamentalists in particular become increasingly aware of what looks very much like a concerted cover-up of the crucial evidence, books like Anderson's (while better than what has gone before) will continue to be as half-hearted and inconclusive as are all the howlings in the night about the historicity of the Mormon story itself. And we must continue to wonder what Wilford Woodruff meant when in 1893 he dedicated the Salt Lake Temple and prayed for those who in future generations should choose to live in plural marriage:

Heavenly Father, when thy people shall not have the opportunity of entering this holy house Or when the children of thy people, in years to come, shall be separated, through any cause, from this place, and their hearts shall turn in remembrance of thy promises to this holy Temple . . . we humbly entreat thee to turn thine ear in mercy to them; hearken to their cries, and grant unto them the blessings for which they ask.

The polygamy story: fact or fiction *indeed*.

A Rummage Sale with Music

The Rummage Sale: A Musical in Two Acts, by Donald R. Marshall, based on *The Rummage Sale* Provo: Heirloom Publications, 1972. 141 pp. \$3.75; \$2.50, paper.

Reviewed by STEPHEN L. TANNER, Pro-

fessor of English at Brigham Young University.

It is an unusual talent that can write a collection of short stories, transform them into the script of a musical, compose and

direct the music (songs and lyrics), and play the accordion, organ, and synthesizer for the taped instrumental accompaniment. This feat is somewhat like the same person pitching a fastball, slamming it from home plate, and making the catch in deep center field. Those who know Donald R. Marshall would tell you he could have done a creditable job directing and singing in the musical too. But, after all, there is such a thing as showing off.

The Rummage Sale: A Musical in Two Acts, based on the short story collection of the same name, was presented by the Promised Valley Playhouse under the direction of Beverly Booth Rowland. Performances ran from July 5 to September 1, 1979 in Salt Lake City's Shire West Theater.

The Shire West, formerly the old 15th Ward chapel, seemed a uniquely appropriate place for this particular rummage sale. One feels that the building would be a familiar and comfortable place for most of the characters in the stories.

The audiences were pleased with the show. Some thought it over-long, but everyone I queried found it highly entertaining. Aside from one glaring mistake in casting and some unevenness in the acting, the production deserves praise. The script and music are good and compensate in large measure for the few weaknesses in production. .

The curtainless set, designed by Clif A. Davis, suggested the large attic of an old house. Items of rummage—furniture, chests, boxes, knickknacks—were scattered about. As the performers, like people at a sale, browsed, a particular item would be pointed out. This would lead to a blackout and then a segment in which the item was involved. The set's many levels were skillfully used for a variety of scenes. And a variety was needed, because nine stories and sketches are interwoven to comprise the musical. Some of them are presented as complete units; others, such as those in the form of letters or diary entries, unfold gradually at intervals throughout the show. Despite this multiplicity of elements, there is a surprising unity of con-

ception that somehow binds things together.

For those unacquainted with the book, here is a catalogue of the rummage on sale: (1) a funny and pathetic correspondence between an eager but unappealing high school girl and a "may-the-good-Lord-bless-and-keep-you" missionary; (2) a woman in her late twenties who travels restlessly, all the while enlarging her homemaking files, obsessed with finding "Mr. Right"; (3) a boy who discovers the disappointing reality behind the glitter and magic of the carnival; (4) a spinster set free by the death of her mother who makes a romantic pilgrimage to "Carmel by the sea," searching an outlet for her frustrated artistic impulses; (5) a Ph.D. in art history and failed artist who visits his small home town and family, both of which he misunderstands and resents; (6) a solitary old woman who records her last lonely days of life in brief but poignant notations on the calendar; (7) the enumeration of momentos in an El Roi Tan cigar box found under a bed; (8) a bewildered woman who complains that "somehow they always seem to change it on you"; and (9) a small town woman traveler who records in her journal a trip to the Holy Land, during which she scarcely gets outside Intercontinental Hotels and souvenir shops.

Those who liked the book would enjoy the musical. The adaptation is faithful to the original in a way that probably could only be accomplished when, as in this unusual case, the author of the book writes script, music, and lyrics for the musical. The tone and substance of the original remain; the music is a delightful new dimension. Don Marshall told me he loves films and writes with a cinematic imagination, clearly visualizing his characters and situations. This perhaps explains the fidelity of the dramatized versions to the originals. In many cases little alteration was needed. Most of the words of the musical come straight out of the book. There were changes, of course. The stage, being a different medium, required modifications, and the director's taste and interpretation altered tone and emphasis. The humor was broadened.

The nose neighbor in "The Weekend" became a caricature of the observing voice in the story. The woman in "Somehow They Always Seem to Change It on You" became on the stage more stuffy and Victorian. The chronology of "The Monkey and the Fair" had to be clarified and regularized. But on the whole, the musical had the substance and tone of the book.

How did the musical come about? Don was approached in mid-March by the manager and the artistic director of Promised Valley Playhouse who wanted permission to use parts of *The Rummage Sale* in creating a summer musical, an alternative to the annual production of *Promised Valley*. Don was reticent about having someone else turn the stories into a musical. He was afraid the treatment would be too light and the songs would be tacked on. If *The Rummage Sale* were to become a musical, he wanted it to retain its serious tone and have songs carefully tailored to the characters. He offered to do the script and music himself, which must have surprised them considerably. A week later, March 26, he had an outline or proposal to show them. He got the go ahead, with completion date scheduled for the first of May. In those six weeks, while finishing teaching the semester at BYU, he wrote the musical, at the end working round the clock.

Had he written a musical before? No. As an undergraduate he had written three songs that won awards in social group competition at songfests, and as a missionary he had written a few more, for occasions such as a chapel dedication. He had written no songs since 1963. In annual visits to New York, he has seen hundreds of plays and musicals. I suppose this familiarity with musicals coupled with his own considerable musical talent enabled him to produce one of his own. One thing is certain: the music of *The Rummage Sale* is delightful and memorable, and the songs are perfectly suited to characters and situations.

The show blends the comic and poignant. The comedy is not of the situation or slapstick variety. Don abhors most television situation comedies. His humor is gentle and grows out of sympathetic and penetrating observation of human

experience, specifically that of rural Mormondom. The strain of satire is strong, but devoid of sting or bitterness. Instead, it contains a strong tincture of good nature and compassion. It often merges imperceptibly with the pathetic and touching. The audiences came away from the show greatly entertained, but also moved and enlightened. The portrait of rural Utah lives was delightfully familiar, typical, provincial, and funny, but it was undergirded by serious insights into the universals of human experience as revealed in distinct individual lives.

A rummage sale draws our attention to the past. To what extent is Don Marshall preoccupied with the past and its nostalgic attractions? I asked him about this. In his reply he mentioned that at one point in the preparation some of the actors thought the costumes and setting should be of the thirties or forties. He reminded them that the letters of Elder Dunkley and Floydene Wallup are dated 1968–69. And LaRena Homer's journal entries were made in 1971. In fact, with the exception of "The Monkey and the Fair," a kind of reminiscence piece, all the stories and sketches used in the musical have a contemporary setting.

Why did the actors have such an impression, which, incidentally, has been shared by many others? The answer lies in Don Marshall's approach to writing fiction. He begins by imagining an ordinary sort of person living in a small Utah town and asks: What is it that makes this person special, interesting, worthy of his or her own literature? In filling out his conception of the person, he creates a body of recollections. People are, to a large extent, what they are conscious of, and much of consciousness is memories. An important dimension in his characters, therefore, is what they remember and how they feel about it. In this way, the past and the nostalgic have an important role in his stories. He does not begin with the primary intention of recreating the past. On the contrary, his principal interest is people in the present, but he believes that you cannot understand them without exploring what they carry with them in memory.

Will there be another Don Marshall musical in the future? He would like to do another, but this time starting from scratch. He found that adapting material, even his own, is restricting. But at pres-

ent he is working on a novel and a play, and his interest in musicals will have to wait. I am sure those who were lucky enough to see *The Rummage Sale* hope it won't be a long wait.

Unsettling Organist

Concert and Recital, James B. Welch, Organist, private label. (James Welch, Department of Music, University of California, Santa Barbara CA 93106)

Reviewed by NICHOLAS SHUMWAY, Professor of Music, Yale University.

In all of Mormondom, only a handful of organs really deserve the name. The overwhelming and depressing majority of our instruments are electronic imitations (appliances, a friend of mine calls them) or cheap pipe organs à la Wicks whose clicks, pops and uneven voicing are almost as irksome as the acoustical smog generated by their electronic counterparts. Not that anything better is usually needed. Aside from playing a few decadent hymns, remnants of more exciting years, most Mormon organists get by quite nicely with easy-listening, "reverent" music, most of which sounds like supermarket music without the beat. Faced with inadequate instruments and mediocre musical tastes, often blamed on the Holy Ghost, many Church organists quite sensibly choose to study something else or seek a career and musical fulfillment in non-Mormon churches where good music is not only appreciated but paid for.

Despite the gloomy future confronting Mormon organists, very occasionally a talent appears that is just too bright to be

extinguished. Aside from the prosaic titles, *Concert and Recital* offer a worthy selection of music and an impressive display of James B. Welch's considerable gifts as an organist. Highlights of the first album include Walther's little known Third Organ Concerto and a flawless rendition of J. S. Bach's finger-breaking Fugue in G Major (the "Jig Fugue"), played in a crisp, detached style which recalls Schreiner at his best. The flip side presents the equally difficult *Prelude et Fugue sur le nom d'Alain* by Maurice Duruflé, a brooding work demanding exceptional technique and mature musical sensitivity; Mr. Welch fails on neither count. The final selection is a frothy bit of post-Romantic pap by Louis Vierne—which just happens to be hard as hell. For the second album, *Recital*, Mr. Welch joins forces with Robert Hubbard to perform Koetsier's hauntingly beautiful First Partita for Organ and English Horn. The rest of the album is devoted to several of Bach's smaller works, some Hindemithy pieces by Ernst Pepping and a delightful performance of a short sonata by the Portuguese composer João de Sousa Carvalho. (If anybody is wondering, Mr. Welch served a mission in Brazil.) Kudos are also in order for Dave Wilson, the audio engineer. Aside from some over-miking of the English horn, both albums are superbly engineered, rivaling the best recordings of large, commercial firms.

The Book of Mormon as Faction

The Ammonite. By Blaine C. Thomsen. Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1979, 292 pp., \$6.95.

Reviewed by CHRISTINE HUBER SESSIONS of Bountiful, Utah.

Following the phenomenal success of his book-turned-TV mini-series, Alex Haley described his work *Roots* as “faction,” a careful combination of history and fiction. Using what names, dates and places he could find in the records as a skeleton, he proceeded to flesh out the story with what *could* have happened. The Book of Mormon seems ripe for this same treatment, as has the Bible with its countless epics only sketchily covered in the record itself. (We have suffered through enough biblical novels and DeMille-type films to fill a good-sized urban dump.) While *The Ammonite*, a new Book of Mormon novel by a former LDS missionary turned RLDS, is not the first (nor will it be the last) attempt to make a “historical novel” out of the Mormon canon, it deserves attention because of its glaring problems and deficiencies if for nothing else.

As I was reading through the book the first time, I encountered one of the most serious problems with “factionized” scripture. My thoughts continually wandered from the story as I tried to recall Book of Mormon characters, events and places from my memories of the actual scripture. As the story became more complex and as I worked to remember from page to page, the ever-presence of the Book of Mormon and the additions to it the novelist felt impelled to make caused me more displeasure than the experience was worth. To follow the basic character Jarom was not difficult, but deciphering the rest and keeping them where they belong was absolutely tedious.

The cover blurb on *The Ammonite* tells of the research Thomsen did before beginning to write. In the preface, Thomsen tries to give his book an archeological flavor by having an Indian encounter a scholar and recite to him the legend that is supposedly the basis of the story. In keeping with this pseudo-scientific

flavoring, Thomsen calls his peoples Highlanders and Lowlanders instead of the more-familiar Lamanite/Nephites. The result is more confusion as the reader familiar with the Book of Mormon tries to keep separate or together (never knowing which Thomsen wanted) the novel and the Book of Mormon itself.

Even after a second reading of the Book of Mormon story, I found myself confused over many of Thomsen’s impressions. For example, I find it hard to believe that Samuel the Lamanite, who turns up in the end of the book, had blond hair and blue eyes. Whether Thomsen felt that changing Samuel into a Nordic made him more heroic and therefore within his literary license seems beyond the point, although Thomsen does make Samuel only half Lamanite. There are numerous other aspects of the novel that make little sense in light of the Book of Mormon story itself. Indeed, it reminds me of Harry Anderson’s paintings in which all of the characters from the New Testament appear as non-Semitic as an average Norwegian. Thomsen seems to think the Book of Mormon would be much better if rewritten in the same ethnocentric way.

While few novels based upon scripture hit the mark as first-class literature, it is unfortunate that the Book of Mormon, with all of its drama and pageantry, has not yet inspired good fiction. (This one might be interesting to someone with no Book of Mormon knowledge, but then the whole point of it is gone.) Haley’s *Roots* might have been interesting without its genealogical implications, but it became an astounding success as literature *because* of them. *The Ammonite* is neither good fiction nor good faction. Either Thomsen should have written a novel faithful to what he could discern from the record, or he should have forgotten the pretense completely.

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