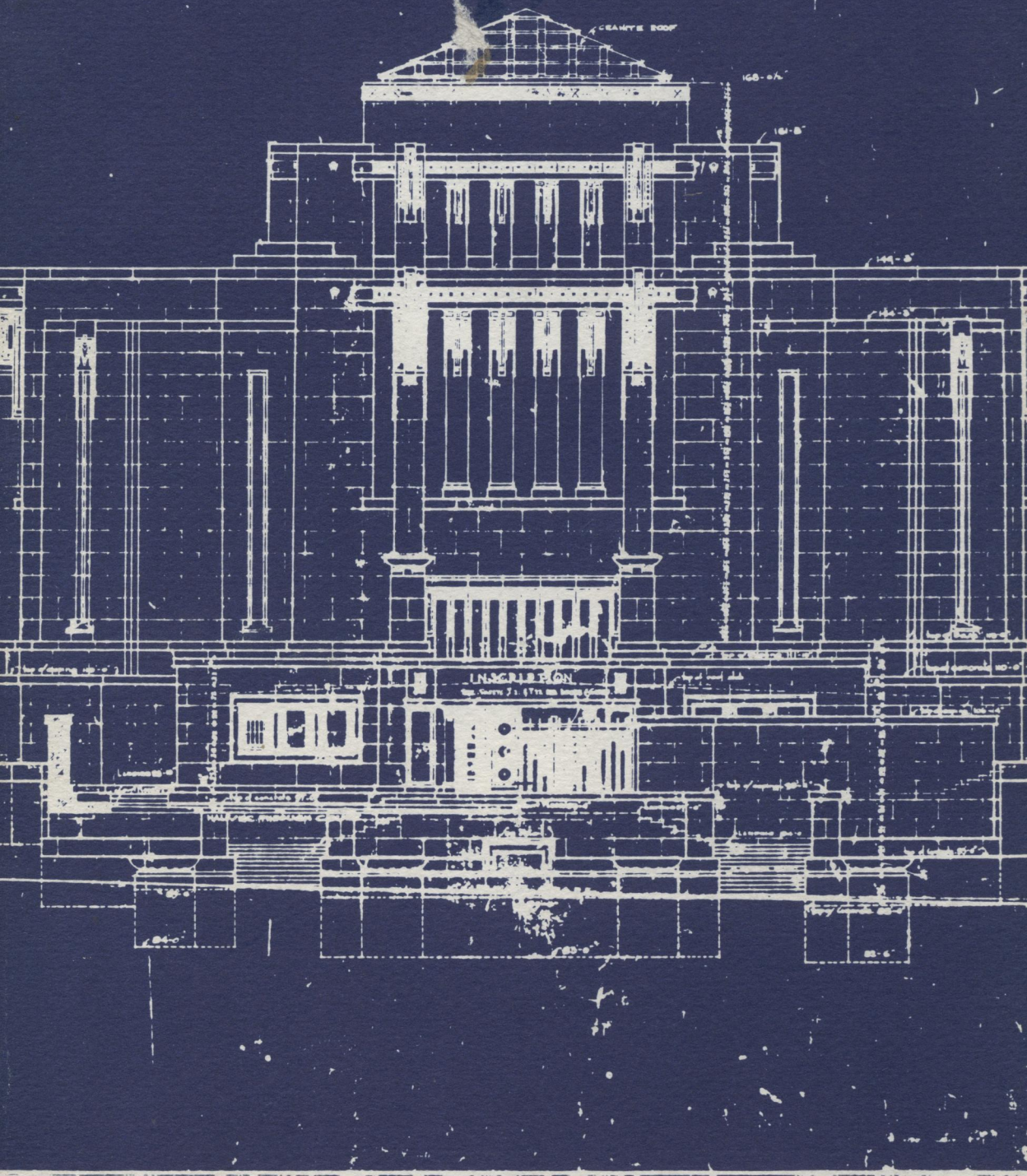
DIALOGUE



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DIALOGUE: *A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture 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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Dialogue welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, to Editor, Dialogue. A Journal of Mormon Thought, P.O. Box 1387, Arlington, Virginia 22210.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

friends

The last issue of *Dialogue* (XIII, 3) was splendid. It was like being with old friends, and I don't even know Virginia Sorensen nor have I read her books! I am still thinking about Bruce Jorgensen's essay, and I have just finished reading *Once in Israel*. You have inspired me to read Marden Clark's *Moods: Of Late* next.

Maryann Olsen MacMurray
Salt Lake City, Utah

I particularly like the last *Dialogue*, not because of my article but because of the piece on the MHA meeting in Palmyra. The report from the grove was just excellent; I only wish I had been there.

Richard Sherlock
Memphis, Tennessee

grand controversies

Grand was the article on the controversies between Pres. Brigham Young and Elder O. Pratt. Grand were the implications, I suppose, when the question should be treated by the general church leaders how it were possible that some of the doctrines preached by Pratt earned severe chastisement in the 19th century, but are part of the present presentations of theology. What is truth? How is it possible to recognize truth as truth? When the Prophet speaks, must this be absolute "truth" a priori (if Brigham Young had really preached the Adam-God theory)? May the "truths" pronounced by the various "mouthpieces" (living or dead) contradict each other? (Example: if Pres. Young had really taught that Negroes should get the priesthood only after the last of Abel's seed had received it . . . , this in the light of the recent [and certainly correct] revelation that now also Negroes should be ordained to the priesthood.) What does it mean that the living oracle should take precedence always over all past ones (sermon by Elder Benson last winter) when "truth" is the point.

In my personal judgement you may deepen and broaden your understanding, obtaining deeper insight into "truth;" but how should you react if you have no means of reconciling different statements that are in obvious contradiction, both being pronounced by "infallible" "mouthpieces of God"? Only read the various parts where Pres. Young announced what he thought about the value of his sermons himself (page 48, footnote 77). I wonder if this article (scholarly, well researched, so it seems) will heighten the discussion of the central moot points involved. Let us see what effect it will have.

Heinz Platzer
Vienna, Austria

I enjoyed the *Dialogue* featuring the Brigham Young/Orson Pratt conflict. After reading that piece, I went back and had a more detailed look at *The Seer*. Pratt was getting close to a mystical interpretation of the Godhead in that material. None of the Mormon theologians I have read so far (a far too limited range as yet) resolve the basic problem of a personal God: what principle regulates the particles of his physical body?

Orson came close to a "first principle" solution in *The Seer*. He emphasizes the "Spirit of Christ"—the Force, as it were. This, he says, is the One God, and it is this that men worship in essence when they worship the personal God. Interestingly, Roberts is prepared to call this God, too, but in the Van der Donct debate at least, he is unprepared to pursue this concept to its end.

Parley P. Pratt seems to offer another model in *Key to Theology*. He's ambiguous, but in general he seems to consider the Spirit, "light and truth," as a principle subservient to God. It derives from him. As I said, he's not consistent on this, and it seems to me that if he were given the chance he would argue that this Force is always a subservient principle. Our God's particles are regulated by his God's Spirit, whose particles are regulated by his God's Spirit, and so on ad infinitum.

This is more in harmony with the individualist themes in Mormonism, the Gods thus being One only in an indirect way. This interpretation requires a redefinition of some of the scriptures about God being the same yesterday, today and forever, God being eternal and there being only one God.

I personally find myself more at home with the "First Principle" model which has some God (Force) superior to all the Gods (personal). It's been little discussed by Mormon theologians who have had to do battle with the concept that there cannot be a personal God at all. This has dominated the writings of Roberts and from what I can see, Madsen. They have not addressed themselves to the further problem. . . .

Gary Sturgess
Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

Gary Bergera's timely study of the doctrinal conflicts between Orson Pratt and President Brigham Young was an important addition to the available information on the Adam-God dilemma. He apparently found himself squeezed between what the source materials reveal and what the Church has reported on their contents in semi-official statements. His article slaughtered several sacred cows. The words of many leaders cum historians were sacrificed.

Take for example Joseph Fielding Smith's unequivocal statement that, "President Brigham Young did not believe and did not teach that Jesus Christ was begotten by Adam." (Selections from *Answers to Gospel Questions, A Course of Study for the Melchizedek Priesthood Quorums*, 1972-73, page 22.)

Similar sentiments have been expressed in the apologetic treatise by Mark E. Petersen entitled "Adam; Who Is He?" Both of these men had access to the source documents that Bergera quotes, especially Brother Smith. Did these brethren not know better?

Bergera's study opens the can of worms so wide that we are faced with the fact the Brigham did, indeed, believe it and taught it against all odds. He did not, however, claim it as his own doctrine but said that he learned it at Luke Johnson's home before 1838 from the lips of Joseph Smith as a secret doctrine. Those who deny that Joseph taught Adam-God must explain the enormous credit Joseph gave to Adam. The following list can be made simply by reading pages 157, 158, 167, and 168 of *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith:*

Adam (1) presides over the spirits of all men, (2) reveals the keys of the Priesthood to men, (3) holds dominion over every creature, (4) all who hold keys must answer to him, (5) holds the keys of the Universe, (6) organized the spirits of all men in creation, (7) is the head, (8) held the keys first and gives them to all others, (9) reveals Christ unto men, (10) holds the keys of ALL dispensations, (11) is the first and father of all, (12) is the Ancient of Days, (13) reveals ordinances from heaven, and (14) angels are subject to his dominion.

These facts are apparent even before we begin to look into the book of Daniel and compare the attributes and actions of the Ancient of Days with Adam. Joseph, of course, shocked theologians of other religions by establishing Adam as the Ancient of Days. From the tremendous glory of his person as told by Daniel and John the Revelator, all other religions, including the Jews, equated the Ancient of Days with Jehovah or Christ.

After reviewing Joseph's teachings, one must admit that Joseph *could* have taught that Adam was God.

According to Presidential secretary L. John Nuttall, Joseph himself called Brigham Young to organize and systematize the temple endowment cere-

monies. He did so and he finalized the veil lecture which was used in temples from 1877 until the first decade of the 1900s. In this lecture Brigham taught Adam-God in great clarity. (See L. John Nuttall Journal, February 8, 1877, and the entire lecture, printed in *Unpublished Revelations* by Fred C. Collier, pages 113–118).

Assuming Joseph authored both the temple endowment and the translation of the Book of Abraham, a comparison of the two tells us something about Adam-God. We are taught that Elohim, Jehovah and Michael (Adam) were the three who created the world. Abraham 4:1 says, "And then the Lord said: "Let us go down. And they went down at the beginning, and they, that is the Gods, organized and formed the heavens and the earth." Temple goers will clearly see that Michael (Adam) is here referred to as a God.

Denying the possibility that Joseph was the originator of the Adam-God doctrine, Bergera attributes it to "a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Joseph Smith's earlier teachings about Adam." (See article footnote 51). This releases Bergera from simply calling Brigham a liar to merely accusing him of doctrinal heresy due to ignorance.

One would think that a prophet of God like Brigham, whom God personally affirmed by miraculous vision to a congregation of members seeking a new leader, would certainly not be allowed by that God to teach the Church a false God for twenty-five years. Bergera finds Brigham guilty of that charge. To do otherwise would bring modern Church doctrines into question. Has the modern Church, after all, found its second prophet guilty of heresy and exonerated Orson Pratt?

Joseph said that Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball (another Adamist) were the only two who did not "lift their heel" against him. (*DHC* 5:411). Pratt, on the other hand, was excommunicated in August of 1842, may have attempted suicide (See ibid. 5:60, 61, 138), opposed the selection of Brigham Young as Church President in 1847, and continued in conflict with him for years thereafter.

It appears that the Church has finally adopted most of Pratt's speculations on the Godhead.

T. Edgar Lyon's observation that "Orson Pratt did more to formulate the Mormon's idea of God . . . than any other person in the Church, with the exception of Joseph Smith," may be a total understatement. If, as Brigham claimed three times, Joseph did teach Adam-God, Orson did *more* than Joseph Smith in that area.

Merle H. Graffam
Palm Desert, California

Your summer 1980 issue featuring the ups and downs and ins and outs of the Pratt-Young controversy was exciting and, in the case of Bro. Orson, soul-baring enough almost to draw tears. Great issue throughout, with the Broderick interview another winner—especially for us harried bishops.

R. Paul Cracroft
Salt Lake City, Utah

The last two issues of *Dialogue* have been superb. The articles on the Orson-Brigham controversy and the Roberts-Talmage-Smith controversy may well turn out to be key articles in the intellectual history of Mormonism, and the piece by Ed Geary was as well crafted as any I have seen in *Dialogue* or *Sunstone*. Aesthetically and psychologically it sets a standard to measure other things against.

Karl Sandberg
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Please send the issue with Bergera's Pratt vs Young article, currently rated as required reading for all Mormons who finished the 10,000 pages of the *Journal of Discourses* and *still* had a few questions.

David S. Alleman
29 Palms, California

scholarship or apologetics?

In a recent letter to Dialogue (XIII, 3), Mary D. Nelson made the statement, "Hugh Nibley is *the* great scholar of our time." I would like to suggest a change in that statement. We should say, "Hugh Nibley is *the* great apologist of our time."

There is a difference between a scholar and an apologist. The scholar

examines facts and evidence and draws conclusions from them. The apologist knows the conclusions at the start and sifts the facts and evidence to find support.

I do not wish to denigrate the contribution which Nibley makes. We have always needed and continue to need an aggressive defender of the faith. Nibley fills this role with enthusiasm and dignity. But there is a community of Mormon scholars dedicated to pursuing the truth, regardless of where it leads. Some members of that group are concerned lest there be confusion between scholarship and apologetics.

D. James Croft
Salt Lake City, Utah

"second anointings" anyone?

While reading portions of my great grandfather's journal recently, I ran across a statement that he and my great grandmother had been called to go to the temple at St. George, Utah and receive their "second anointings" and that they had done so.

I have also seen other references to "second anointings" in other old journals.

I think it would be interesting to have one of your historian-type writers do a piece on "second anointings"—what they were, qualifications for selection, and why they have disappeared from current temple ceremonies.

I am the patriarch in our local stake.

Ken Earl
Moses Lake, Washington

enjoy, enjoy

I enjoyed the issue on Medicine, especially Wilcox on Brigham Young and medical doctors. I became curious as to what calomel and lobelia were. Fortunately, I have an early edition of Goodman and Gilman (*the* textbook of pharmacology) in which these are listed. There wasn't even any historical reference to these useless and possibly dangerous drugs in the 5th edition of Goodman and Gilman. Incidentally, I enjoyed the issue on Freud and Jung even more.

N. Blaine Belnap, M.D.
Eden, Utah

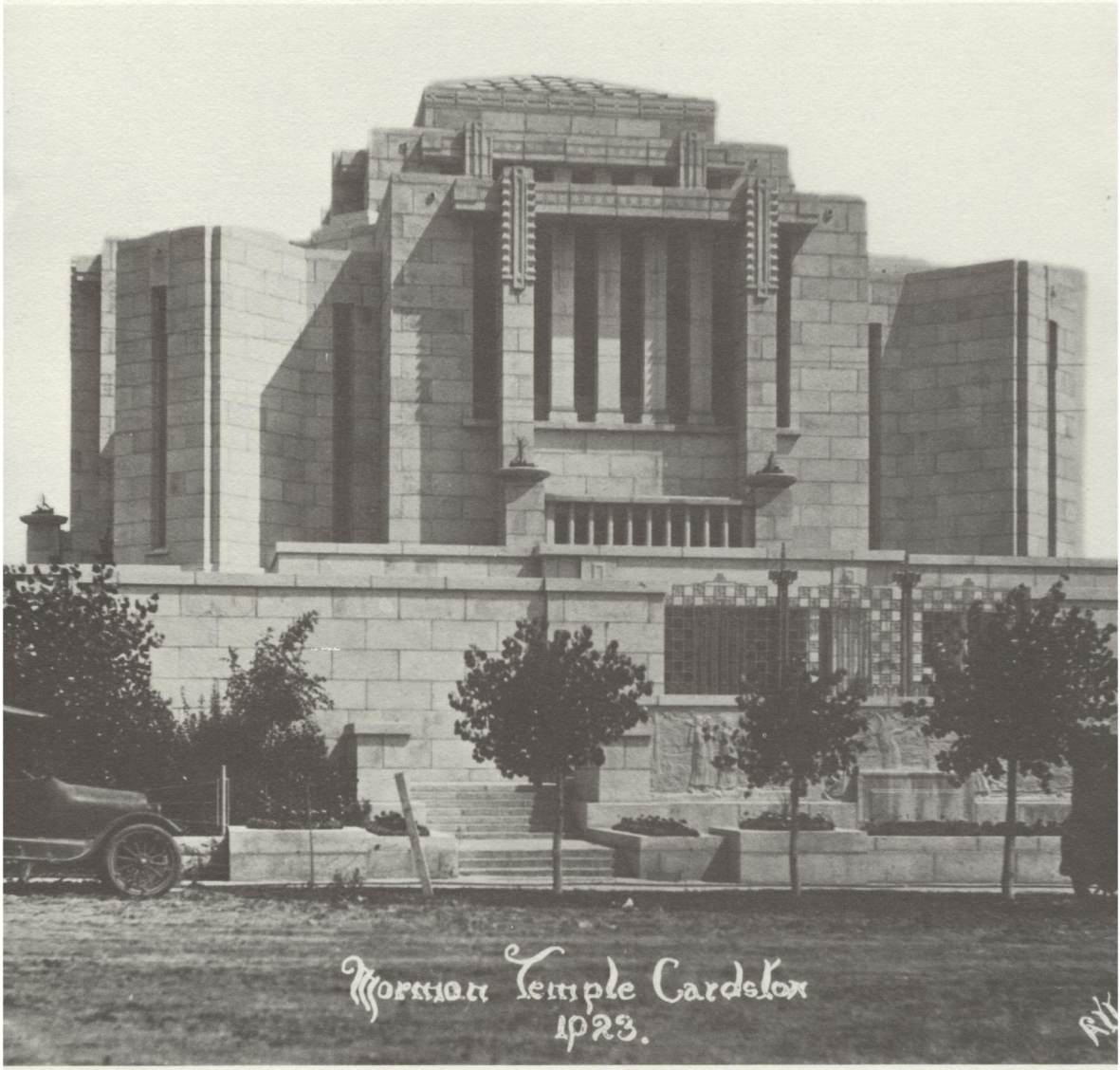
Although I cannot always fully agree with what is contained within the issues of *Dialogue,* I wholeheartedly support *Dialogue* and what it stands for.

Randy Davis
San Jose, California

writing contest

The Center for the Study of Christian Values in Literature is sponsoring a writing contest. Purpose: To encourage literature that achieves a meaningful blend of artistic form and moral content. Categories: short story, poetry, personal essay and critical essay. Student and non-student divisions. Cash prizes in all categories. Deadline: May 15, 1981. Please ask your readers to write for information to English Dept., Jesse Knight Bldg., Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 84602.

Dr. Marilyn Arnold, Director
Center for the Study of Christian
Values, Brigham Young University


Mormon Temple Cardston
1923.

ARTICLES

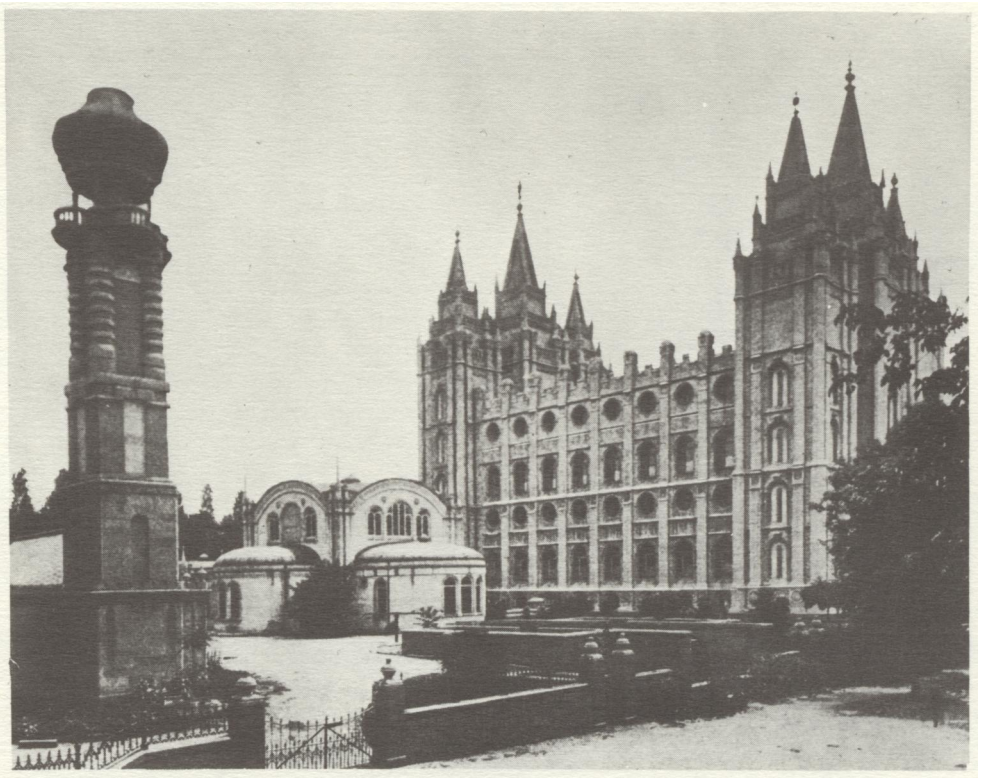
THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY TEMPLES

PAUL L. ANDERSON

WHEN THE FINAL CAPSTONE of the tallest spire of the Salt Lake Temple was set into place on April 6, 1892, it was a time for celebration as the crowds filling Temple Square and the surrounding streets waved handkerchiefs and shouted hosannas. The occasion was a historic milestone, marking not only the near-completion of the Church's most ambitious building project but the end of an era as well. The temple had been conceived more than two generations earlier as a symbol of the pioneers' Rocky Mountain Kingdom, the spires on the east end representing the spiritual leadership of the Melchizedek Priesthood, and those on the west, the worldly leadership of the Aaronic Priesthood. Standing in the symbolic center of the capital city of the kingdom, it embodied Joseph Smith's dream of a city of Zion, independent and prosperous, where the economic, political, social and religious life of the community would all be centered on the Church and its leaders. But by 1892, the kingdom had changed. Mormon isolation in the mountains had vanished with improved transportation and the arrival of a large Gentile population. Polygamy had been abandoned, church control of economic and political life had been considerably reduced and Mormons had begun to see themselves as part of the larger American society.

Some of these changes in Mormon life were suggested by changes in parts of the temple building itself. It had been planned in a mixture of styles typical of the 1840s and 1850s but the interiors were designed in the 1880s and 90s in a more opulent Victorian mode. The original plans had called for weathervanes on top of wooden spires like those on colonial churches in New England, but the finished building had stone spires and a gold-leafed

PAUL L. ANDERSON *is a Utah architect who is currently working in exhibit design and historic site development.* *This article was first presented as a paper at the Mosaic of Mormon Culture Sesquicentennial Symposium at BYU, October, 1980. A companion article, "First of the Modern Temples," appeared in* Ensign, July, 1977.



Salt Lake Temple with old annex and heating plant smokestack

statue in a Greek or Roman tunic similar to the allegorical figures on top of many public buildings of the period. Perhaps the temple annex was the most dramatic change of all, designed in a popular Victorian version of the Byzantine style—the traditional style of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Until this time, Mormon architecture had been dominated by a simplified blend of American colonial, Greek Revival and Gothic Revival forms, even as more exotic and elaborate styles had become fashionable elsewhere. But the temple annex showed that the Latter-day Saint entry into the mainstream of American life would include imitation of the larger society's architecture as well.

Many meetinghouses and tabernacles were built in Latter-day Saint communities around the time of the completion of the Salt Lake Temple and over the next two decades. Like the temple annex, they demonstrated a decline in the popularity of the old styles and a willingness to experiment with new ideas. A Russian onion-shaped dome appeared on the Salt Lake 19th Ward, only a few blocks from Temple Square. The Provo Sixth Ward, now destroyed, combined a curved baroque gable with beehive-shaped pinnacles. Some buildings adopted classical domes and porticoes with varying

degrees of success, while others made use of Tudor, Tuscan and Spanish architectural elements.

In some cases, the new generation of architects brought a higher degree of sophistication and stylistic purity to the architecture of the Church. Lehi's handsome tabernacle demonstrated the familiarity of its European architect with classical forms and details, and the tabernacle in Wellsville showed the same degree of correctness in its use of the Gothic style.

Perhaps the most significant architectural event in Utah in the first years of this century was the 1911 competition for the design of the state capitol. The progress of the local architectural profession was evident in the fact that the designs submitted by nationally prominent architects were not noticeably superior to those of most of the major local firms. The winning design was by Utah resident William Kletting, the European-trained architect of the Lehi Tabernacle. Anthon H. Lund of the First Presidency served on the committee that selected this design.

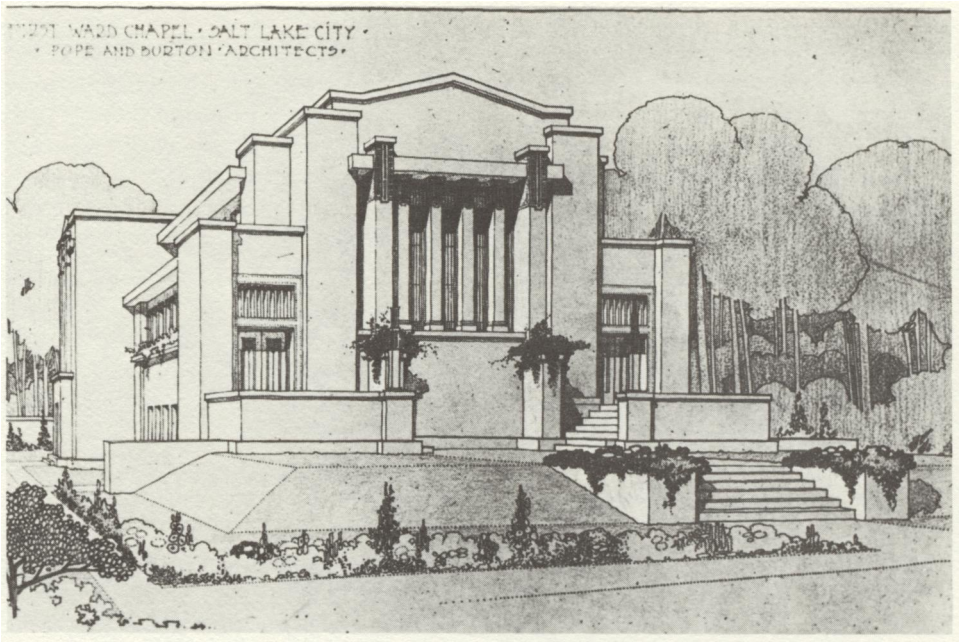
By the first decade of this century, the Church had achieved a measure of renewed confidence and stability after four decades of governmental harassment and financial difficulties. Joseph F. Smith, the first second-generation Latter-day Saint to serve as President of the Church, demonstrated this new confidence by directing the construction of a number of new buildings for the headquarters of the Church, including an impressive new Church Administration Building in severe classical style, upright and proper, and solid as a bank. In 1912, when construction of the Administration Building was in progress, the First Presidency decided to begin yet another important structure, a new temple in southern Alberta, Canada.

Architecturally, the new temple posed a problem. No new temples had been begun since the death of Brigham Young. With the changes in architectural fashion and the new image of the Church, which of all the current styles of architecture would be proper for such an important building? Faced with this question, the First Presidency decided to seek the advice of the most talented men available. Following the lead of the Utah State Capitol Commission of the year before, they invited LDS architects to participate in an anonymous competition for the design of the temple. To prepare instructions for the competition, the First Presidency and Presiding Bishop met at the Manti Temple with a young and relatively unknown architect, Hyrum Pope. They decided that the new temple would accommodate about the same number of people as the Manti Temple, but that it would be built more economically, without the large assembly room on the top floor, and without expensive but relatively useless towers. Hyrum Pope prepared the competition program, and seven architectural firms, including his own, responded by submitting drawings which were placed on public display before selection was made. Most of the proposals looked to the past for their inspiration; some had towers and pinnacles reminiscent of the Salt Lake Temple.[1] Although none of the losing drawings seem to have survived, a detailed written description of one of them suggests both an elaborate design and an elaborate symbolic scheme which was apparently intended to appeal to the breth-

Winning entry in Alberta Temple competition

ren: "The five [pinnacles] on each of the four towers, the three on the main front of the building and the three on the rear [make] twenty-six in all and represent the General Authorities of the Church: Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, Charles W. Penrose, Francis R. Lyman, Heber J. Grant . . . [etc.]."[2] However, the First Presidency passed over these traditional and flattering schemes to choose instead a daringly modern design. When the winning entry was announced on January 1, 1913, it was learned that the winners were Hyrum Pope and Harold Burton, two young architects who had been in business less than three years. Pope, the engineer and business manager of the firm, was a capable and ambitious German immigrant of thirty-two. His inside knowledge as author of the competition program may have given his firm some advantage, in spite of the anonymous nature of the submission process. Burton, the junior partner and designer, was only twenty-five years old, and had not yet been inside a temple. This commission launched their prolific and creative careers as some of the most influential and successful architects in the Church.

The splendid winning design for the temple showed some similarities to the work of the great modern American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright. Working in Chicago over the previous two decades, Wright had designed residences and public buildings that were bold in form, original in their geometric decorative details and carefully blended with their natural surroundings. Pope and Burton were among Wright's earliest admirers in the western United States. There was also a vague resemblance in the temple to the



Salt Lake First Ward, 1910 design by Pope and Burton

pre-Columbian ruins of Mexico and Central America, which Burton greatly admired.[3] Combining these influences, the temple design was in the forefront of American architecture of the period.

The interior arrangement was equally satisfying. Without a large assembly room on the upper floor, there was more freedom to experiment with a new design. Burton had a difficult and frustrating time with this part of the design until a very simple and logical floor plan occurred to him. The four ordinance rooms would be placed around the center of the building like the spokes of a wheel, each room extending toward one of the cardinal directions. Smaller diagonal projections between the main rooms would contain stairways and minor rooms. The celestial room would be placed in the center at the very top of the building, with the baptistry directly below. As a person moved through the ordinance rooms, he would follow a circular path through each of the four wings, finally passing into the center in the celestial room. Each room was a few steps higher than the one before, with the celestial room and the adjacent sealing rooms the highest of all. Thus the architectural arrangement reinforced the idea of progression found in the temple ceremony itself.

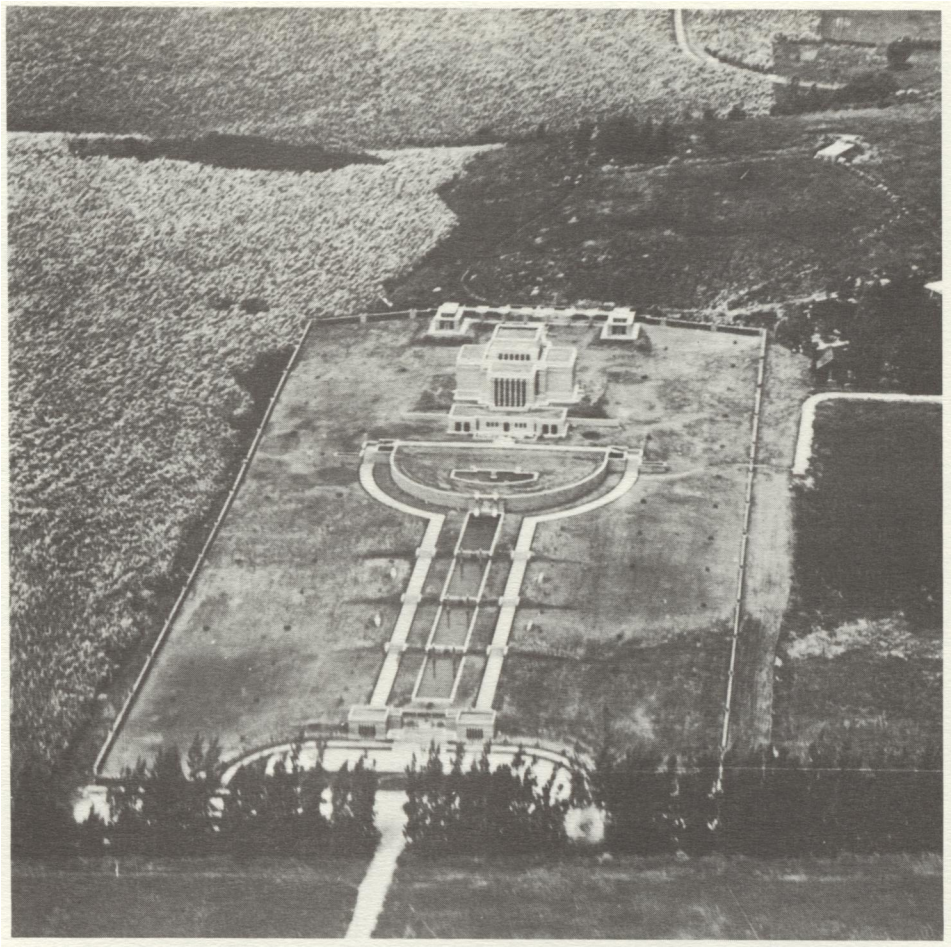
The style of the temple was similar to the Salt Lake First Ward, the first building designed by Pope and Burton two years earlier. The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright is evident in a comparison between the First Ward and Wright's famous Larkin Building in Buffalo, New York. The heavy buttresses framing the windows and the geometric carving near the top of the buttresses are similar on the two buildings.

Entrance to the temple was through a set of handsome gates, made in a pattern similar to some of Wright's leaded glass windows. The gates opened onto a courtyard, which provided a transition between the inside and outside of the building. To say that the temple was influenced by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright does not imply that it was lacking in originality. Indeed, Pope and Burton's great achievement was their ability to use the newest and best design ideas in a way that was particularly appropriate for Latter-day Saint worship.

The unity of the exterior and interior, a basic principle of modern architecture, was evident in the fact that the major rooms inside the temple were the most prominent features outside as well. The ordinance rooms formed the major wings of the building, smaller rooms and stairways formed the minor wings between them, and the celestial room projected above them all in the center. The pyramid-shaped silhouette was particularly well-suited to the temple's location on a low hill in the midst of a broad prairie, since the temple appeared equally strong, well-proportioned and handsome from all angles. The retaining wall around its base created a platform for the building in the vast landscape, and the symmetrical design turned its back on no one. Although completely modern in style, the new temple possessed the same feeling of permanence, solidity and dignity that had characterized the earlier temples. Ground was broken for construction in 1913, but the severity of Canadian winters, the remote location and the interruption of World War I extended the completion time required to a full decade.

During this time, more than twenty chapels and tabernacles were built in a similar style to that of the temple. Two of the finest were designed by other architects: the Parowan Third Ward by Miles Miller and the Ogden Deaf Branch by Leslie Hodgson, both still in use today. Pope and Burton designed a number of meetinghouses in the mission field, including Portland, Oregon, Denver, Colorado and Brooklyn, New York, as well as chapels in Utah. The style became so popular in the Church that one *Deseret News* writer, evidently unfamiliar with Frank Lloyd Wright, wrote that the work of Pope and Burton "has resulted in the production of what might be termed a strictly 'Mormon' style of architecture."[4] Although the style was not wholly original, these Mormon structures surely constituted one of the most remarkable collections of early modern buildings anywhere.

In 1915, while on a visit to the Hawaiian Islands where he had served as a young missionary, President Joseph F. Smith was inspired to dedicate a temple site at the church plantation at Laie. When he returned to Salt Lake City, he asked Pope and Burton to prepare plans for a smaller version of the Alberta Temple to be built there. However, the architects, recognizing that the hillside site in Hawaii was quite different from the plains of Alberta, suggested a different approach. Although the same basic plan was used, the minor wings which projected diagonally in the Canadian temple were eliminated from the plan in Hawaii, giving the smaller building a simpler, more classical form with a definite front and back. The style of the building was closer to the pre-Columbian architecture of Mexico and Central America than



Hawaiian Temple before 1920, from the air

the Canadian temple had been. Burton knew the Mayan temples from engravings by Catherwood, and he borrowed some of the details in the engravings quite literally. Burton also recognized that the tiny building would be dwarfed by its dramatic setting, so he surrounded it with elaborate gardens to give it a monumental presence. The temple thus became the main feature in a symmetrical composition of fountains and pavilions, trees and walkways arranged along an axis connecting the mountains with the sea. Since good building stone was not available locally, the building was constructed of reinforced concrete poured in place, a technique pioneered in Frank Lloyd Wright's Unitarian Unity Temple in Chicago just a decade earlier. Comparison with Wright's Barnsdall House, built in Los Angeles at about the same time as the Hawaiian Temple, demonstrates how Pope and Burton's stylistic development paralleled that of Wright.

While in Hawaii, Harold Burton met a twenty-five-year-old missionary, who was helping in the plantation store, named LeConte Stewart. A talented

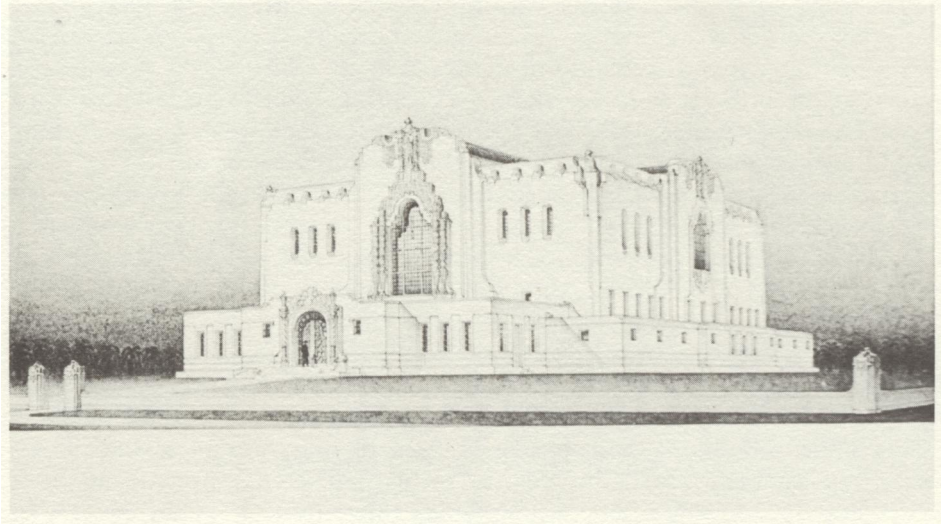
artist, he had studied at the New York Art Students League before coming on his mission. Burton placed him in charge of the interior finishing of the temple and assigned him to paint the murals in the creation and garden rooms. Two older and better known Utah artists, A. B. Wright and L. A. Ramsey, painted murals in the baptistry and the world room. The ordinance rooms were small and simple, with wood mouldings framing the murals in long horizontal bands. Fine light fixtures and furniture were designed by the architects to harmonize with the modern style of tte building. J. Leo Fairbanks, a thirty-nine-year-old painter and sculptor, came to Hawaii to do the sculpture work, bringing with him his talented nineteen-year-old brother, Avard, who carved the beautiful baptismal font with its twelve oxen. Together they made the friezes on the top of the building representing teachings from the Old Testament, New Testament, Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants. At the head of the fountains, they made a panel called "Maternity" depicting a Polynesian mother and child. When the building and gardens were completed and dedicated in 1919, it was one of the finest pieces of religious architecture in the Hawaiian Islands.

Meanwhile, work was also progressing on the Alberta Temple, with some of the same artists taking part. The interiors at Alberta were more elaborate than those in Hawaii. Designed to reinforce and enrich the idea of progression as the theme of the architectural design, each room was richer in color and detail than the one before. The simplest of the ordinance rooms was the creation room, with oak woodwork and paintings by LeConte Stewart. The artist, using a pointillist style with small daubs of color similar to the French Impressionists, created a shimmering effect suggestive of the process of creation. The garden room was panelled in birdseye maple, richer in color and grain than the oak of the previous room, with murals by one of LeConte Stewart's teachers, Lee Greene Richards. One of Richards' teachers, Edwin Evans, worked on the murals in the world room with his student Florence Christensen, thus completing the span of three generations of artists at work side by side. This room was panelled in South American walnut, and the terrestrial room which followed had large panels of rich mahogany from Africa and small paintings by A. B. Wright. The climax was reached in the celestial room where a large expanse of mahogany was set above a wainscot of polished Utah onyx on a marble base. The furnishings were designed by the architects and finished in place to match the woodwork of each room. The couches and table in the celestial room also had decorative carvings which matched the details of the woodwork. Together with the stencil painting on the ceiling, the wood inlays, leaded windows, decorative grillworks and drapes, these furnishings created a subtle harmony of colors and textures suggestive of the harmony and peace of the celestial world. Matched wood panelling also ornamented the sealing rooms. The beautiful font, which has been recast in recent years for use in other temples, was the work of Torleif Knaphus, a Norwegian convert to the Church.

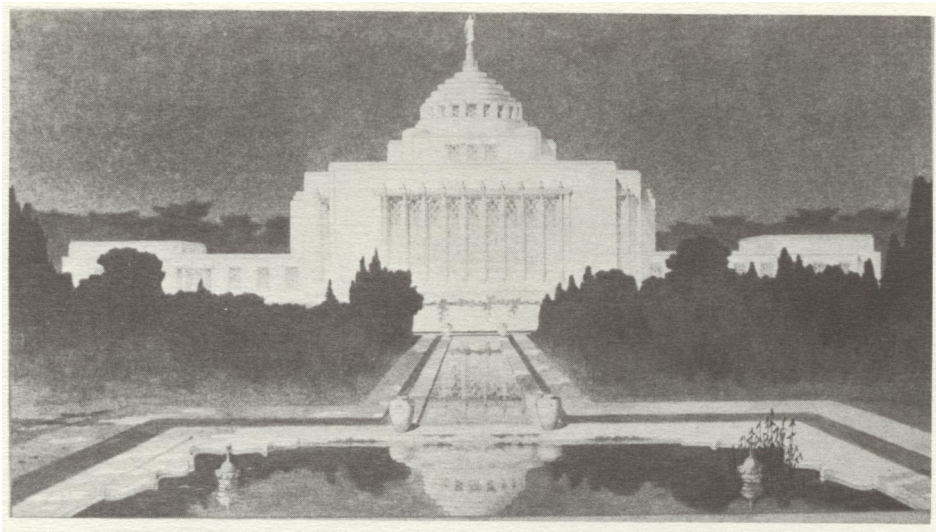
In 1920, three years before the Alberta Temple was finished, the First Presidency decided to proceed with the construction of yet another temple,

this one in Mesa, Arizona. Heber J. Grant, who had become President of the Church following the death of Joseph F. Smith, decided to initiate another competition for the design of the temple. However, instead of an open public competition, like the one in 1912, he invited three of the leading Salt Lake City architectural firms to submit their ideas: Pope and Burton, Young and Hansen and Cannon and Fetzer. All three sets of drawings are extant today. The Cannon and Fetzer design was distinctly Spanish in flavor, reflecting the great surge in popularity of the Spanish Baroque style in the wake of the Columbian Exposition in San Diego in 1916 where some fine buildings had been done in that style. For their proposal, Pope and Burton kept the same plan they had used in the previous two temples, but they turned away from the Frank Lloyd Wright style toward a more traditional, classical composition with a stepped dome in the center. The winning design was submitted by Don Carlos Young, Jr. and Ramm Hansen. Fortunately, some of their design sketches have been preserved showing the evolution of their design.

Two early sketches show a massive building on a broad foundation story, one with a dome and the other with a pyramidal roof. Another early sketch is similar to the influential Masonic temple of the Scottish Rite in Washington, D.C. by John Russell Pope—a building seen by many contemporaries as the epitome of academic classicism. The resemblance between the two designs shows that Young and Hansen were striving for the same classical grandeur. Their final design was less monumental, more graceful and restrained with a flat roof and elegant classical details. The exterior of the building was sheathed in glazed terra cotta tile, a durable material that was popular at the time. Some of the tiles at the cornice line contained a sculptured frieze showing the gathering of Israel to Zion—Indians, Europeans, Polynesians, and other peoples are represented. The handsome baptismal font, also covered with richly detailed terra cotta tile, was the work of



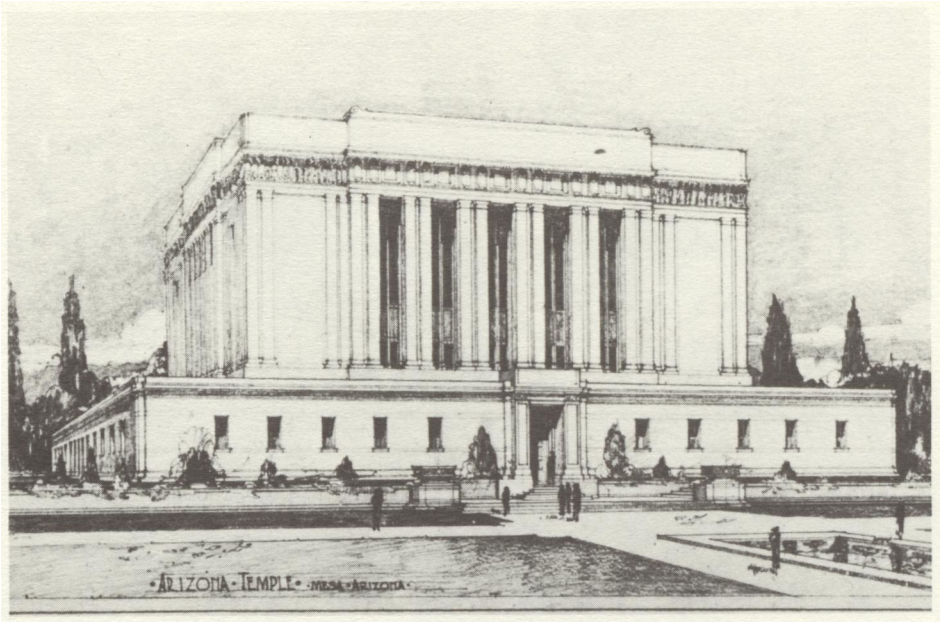
Cannon and Fetzer entry in Mesa Temple competition



Pope and Burton entry in Mesa Temple competition

Torleif Knaphus. The arrangement of the interior of the building was a departure from earlier temples, using a central axis as the main organizing device in proper classical tradition. The building was placed on center with the street that it faced. A reflection pool was placed on axis just inside the temple gates, and the main entrance was located in the center of the facade with inscriptions above. A temple patron would enter through this portal and pass through a small vestibule into a wide foyer with another portal on center opposite the entrance. After waiting for the appropriate time in the chapel off the foyer, the patron would pass through this second portal and up a few steps where he could catch a glimpse of the grand stairway ahead. However, before ascending the stairs, men and women would go into dressing rooms at either side to clothe themselves in white. Then they would return again to the base of the stairs and continue their procession upward towards another portal at the top. Before reaching their goal, however, they would turn to the right at a landing and enter the creation room.

The creation room was decorated with fine murals by Norwegian-born Frithjof Weberg. Next, the visitor would proceed through the other ordinance rooms that made a ring around the central stair hall—the garden room with murals by A. B. Wright, then the world room with appropriate desert scenes by LeConte Stewart, the terrestrial room, and finally into the celestial room, which was appointed like the salon of a fashionable mansion. Finally, the people would emerge from the celestial room through the portal at the top of the stairs that had been their original goal and descend the stairs together. This scheme provided a richly symbolic interpretation of progression, allowing glimpses ahead, but requiring several steps of preparation and instruction before the journey could be completed. Thus Young and Hansen were as successful in using the classical architectural vocabulary of grand stairs and central axes to create a setting for temple worship as Pope and Burton had been before them in using a Wrightian vocabulary for the same purpose.



Later rendering of winning entry by Young and Hansen in Mesa Temple competition

The history and development of these three magnificent buildings suggest some ideas that may be relevant today as the Church seeks to build new temples around the world. First, the design process included a search for the most talented people in the Church at the time. Competitions allowed new people to demonstrate their abilities, and commissions to work on these buildings provided great assistance to several young artists and architects just starting on their careers. Second, the buildings were adapted to their surroundings: the plains of Alberta; a hillside in Hawaii; the termination of a street in Arizona. In their color, form and landscaping, they fitted gracefully into the countryside around them. Third, they successfully used the best design ideas of their generation to express Latter-day Saint concepts of worship—thus creating buildings that were both modern and Mormon. Fourth, the collaboration of many devout and skillful people produced structures of remarkably high aesthetic and spiritual value—architecture comparable with the best buildings of their time anywhere. They remain today some of the most precious pieces of our cultural heritage. They should also serve as an inspiration and a challenge for Mormon artists and architects of our generation as they strive to give expression to their faith.

NOTES

[1]Letter, Harold W. Burton to Randolph W. Linehan, 20 May 1969, Historical Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, MSS.

[2]"Description of Temple to Be Built by the Latter-day Saints at Canada," Historical Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, MSS, Alberta Temple papers.

[3]Letter (see 1. above)

[4]"New $10,000 L.D.S. Mission Home," Deseret Evening News, 19 December 1914.

THE CLONING OF MORMON ARCHITECTURE

MARTHA SONNTAG BRADLEY

THOUGH BRIGHAM YOUNG'S SERMONS were often full of exaggerations, he was right on the mark when he said,

> To accomplish this work there will have to be not only one temple but thousands of them, and thousands of ten thousands of men and women will go into those temples and officiate.[1]

Brigham clearly envisioned the 6,500 church buildings the Latter-day Saints would have erected by 1980. The architectural history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reflects an industrious, proud and diversified tradition in style, technology and objective. Mormon architecture, always responsive to the changing environment, has expressed changes in church membership, tastes, philosophy and the organizational structure of the Church itself.

Historically, Latter-day Saints have had three distinct forms of ecclesiastical architecture: the temple, the tabernacle and the ward meetinghouse. In the nineteenth century, these three types were clearly distinguishable in size, style and function. In the mid-twentieth century, however, when tabernacles were no longer built by the Church, temples and ward meetinghouses drew closer in style and character.

Even in pioneer times, Mormon architecture expressed little that was truly indigenous. Most styles and forms, like the castellated Gothic style of the Salt Lake Temple, were adapted from other historical periods and applied to Mormon culture. The period beginning in 1920 became identified with a growing conservatism and historicity in architectural attitudes and practice,

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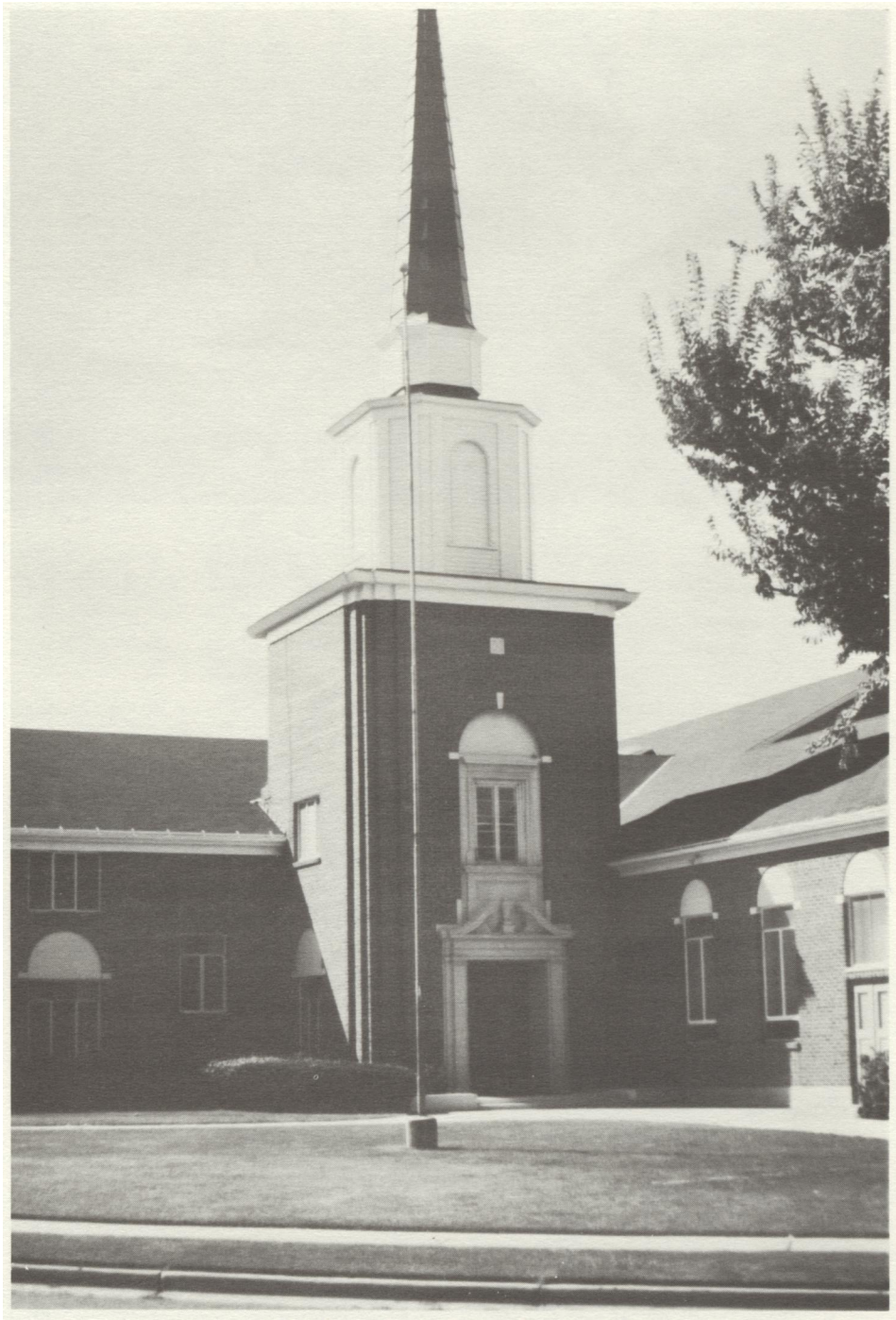
"Colonel's Twins," Smithfield, Utah

and the early years in this period represented resistance to the modern influences already expressed in the design of the Canadian and Hawaiian Temples.

By the 1930s essential functional patterns of Latter-day Saint worship programs were established that would dictate ward building design for the next fifty years. An increasing number of bishops' offices, relief society rooms and recreation halls were incorporated into the scheme of one building. The red brick "Colonel's Twins," built in the 1930s by architect Joseph Don Carlos Young, embodied this concept of integrated design, which connected the two large masses of cultural hall and chapel by a one-story vestibule. In the foyer, a stairway led to the basement level and classrooms, auxiliary rooms and kitchen.

When a chapel plan was considered particularly adaptable, functional or attractive the same set of plans was used to build a similar building. These first "repetitive" plans were prepared by the church architect under the auspices of the Presiding Bishop's office, but church leaders had not yet attempted to prescribe certain plans for church use.

In the 1940s and 50s repetitive plans produced by the Church were primarily used by private industry. Ted Pope, through his private architectural firm, designed an estimated 250–300 buildings between 1949–1955, more than any other single architect working for the Church. The standard plans from his offices were chosen because they were popular, functional and



Wardhouse by Ted Pope, Sugarhouse, Utah

inexpensive. Pope had an intuitive sense of the functional limits of his designs and their response to the needs of church programs. Many of his innovations are still visible in the modern standard plan program. For instance, he initiated the plan which placed the recreation hall adjacent to the rear of the chapel for a more flexible expansion of the main assembly space.

The doubling of church membership in the twenty years from 1940–1960 was reflected in a rapid proliferation of building projects. Accommodation and adaptation in programs and organization became necessary because of the diverse cultures represented in the membership, and the demand for ever increasing church buildings called for a more formal program. Consequently, the institutional response to this need came in 1954 with the creation of the Church Building Committee. While functioning under the office of the Presiding Bishop, control of the building program had been scattered under several different offices. The creation of the Committee, however, consolidated all artistic and financial decisions in a single governing agency. The first official index of church plans was therefore established. Although the Church had used repetitive planning in the past, the first "standards" in architectural types and floor plans were now established and promulgated throughout the Church.

Many architects were alarmed, even in the early years of the program, at the implications of massive standardization. Despite this, growth and the Church's immediate need to house the members continued to be principal motivators behind standardization. The building missionary program, developed under President David O. McKay, was a response to the demands of the aggressive proselyting effort. Under the direction of the Church Building Committee, building missionaries used standard plans to streamline the building process by saving time, insuring the suitability of church forms and facilitating the uniform procedure of Church programs across the world. Under the building missionary program, standard plans were exploited as an effective tool in the massive building program.

Many saw in worldwide standardization an alarming insensitivity to local cultures and styles. The cry for regionalism in design was common among those who recognized the incongruity of an American chapel in certain exotic settings. Although the Church did attempt to adapt programs to a variety of peoples and their new demands, all members must ultimately worship in the same way. It was felt that if the programs were the same, and the doctrines were the same, the buildings should be the same. The uniformity of design and concept helped to unify different cultures and peoples. Furthermore, for many members the chapel was a symbolic trademark of the Church in their area and therefore their assurance that the Church had indeed arrived.

Most of the chapels built under the building missionary program had been customized to fit specific needs of the local congregation with standard plans developed to fit a variety of situations. Often half chapels or meetinghouses with one wing were built to fulfill the particular demands of a smaller branch or ward. When a building was constructed with local materials and techniques, it frequently took on an indigenous flavor incidental to the typi-

Kona Stake Center, Kona, Hawaii

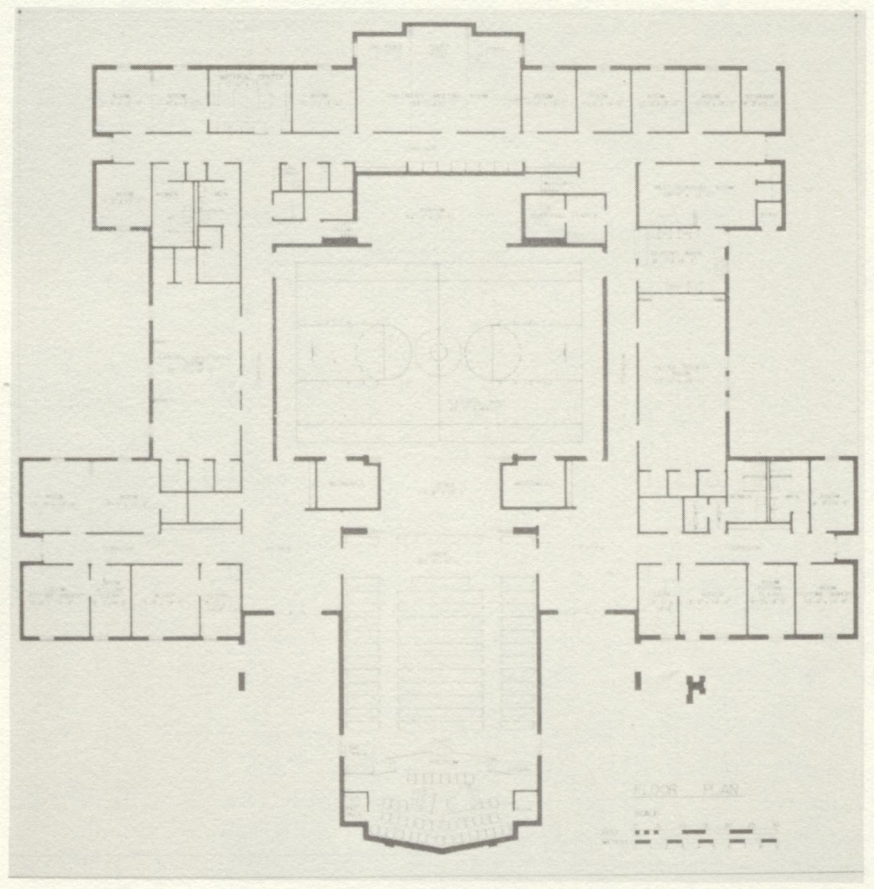
cal standard design. The Kona Stake Center in Kona, Hawaii, for instance, is one building that clearly bespeaks its island origin. Walls of black native lava rock, rather than familiar brick, and white stucco form a startling contrast with the lush vegetation of the surrounding hillside. The ceiling of the combined chapel-cultural hall space was raised an extra twenty feet to allow air to flow through the horizontal bands of windows to cool the interior. These large bands of glass bring the landscape into full view of the interior, thereby integrating nature into the worship service.

In 1964 the tremendous growth in the building program of the Church, which demanded a more professional approach to building, led to the reorganization of the Building Division and the subsequent establishment of an office dealing exclusively with standard plans. The program was then brought under the supervision and control of the Committee on Expenditures which would make virtually all decisions about building projects. Autonomy on local projects was minimized, and the margin for original interpretation in the design of Church buildings narrowed to a limited number of variables. This completed the transition to in-house standardization. The formerly optional approach to church design became the exclusive method for new church construction.

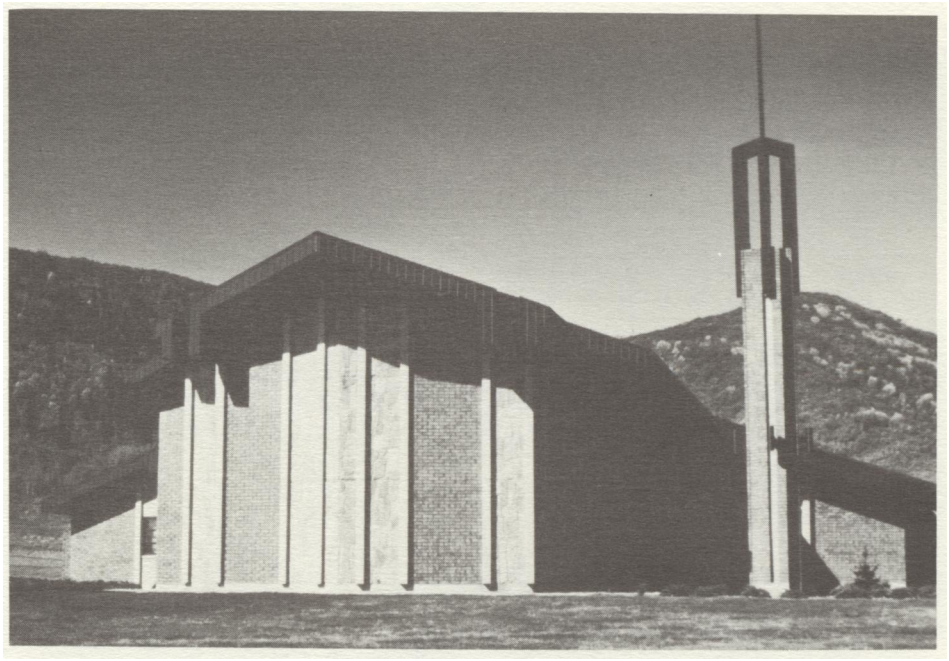
Naturally the architect of a standard plan project was pivotal in the ultimate success or failure of a project. Encouraged to study the standard plan

and specifications as well as the local ward unit itself, he also studied the neighborhoods and the social environment in which the building would be built. The plans were to be closely reviewed and adjusted by the local architect to fit local conditions and requirements: this plan was described as

> a guide for the local architect to set forth as clearly as possible the church meetinghouse policy, quality standards and function patterns. The standard plans are to help establish a standard or pattern that can be used in fulfilling universal ecclesiastical programs and needs. They are to help establish a degree of conformity for our universal custodial service program, to save time and money during plan preparation and construction phases and to reduce maintenance costs and problems with our buildings through ongoing experience and feedback.[2]



Basic floor plan showing recreation hall/chapel



Heber Stake Center, Kimballs Junction, Utah

Modifications of the basic standard plan were usually of three kinds: basic massing, facade decoration and steeple forms. Often a common decorative theme would be repeated throughout the design. The Federal Heights Chapel in Salt Lake City is unified through the repetition of similar angles in all diagonal lines. Because the lines of roof, windows and paneling echo the same rhythms, the chapel creates a feeling of repose and reverence with no discordant elements to contradict the basic unity.

Hundreds of other chapels were built with only minor variations. On several of these buildings a central rectangular facade of cast stone or natural rock was elaborated to conform with local settings. The Heber Stake Center, at Kimballs Junction, Utah, illustrates the potential of even the most elemental structure when colors, textures and materials are chosen with the local environment in mind. The lines and colors of the Heber Stake Center were closely related to the warm earthtones and undulating swells of its mountain site. The steeples of a Mormon meetinghouse were usually freestanding, often repeating some decorative element of the building itself, and often capriciously unique. In fact, they have become more truly individual than any other element of church buildings.

Above all else standard planning was prompted by economic expediency. The responsibility of shepherding the funds of the Saints yielded a conservative attitude towards spending and standard planning appeared to be a solution to many of the problems arising from the Church's need to begin a one million dollar project every day somewhere in the world.

Olympus Stake Center, Holladay, Utah

After its reorganization, the Committee improved the standard plan program by refining and reproducing the plans. By the late 1970s, a complete set of twenty-three working drawings was available for approximately sixty different building plans. On a standard plan project most of the preliminary work was already done by department experts before the plan was given to the architect. This meant too that, depending on the adjustments to site, local specifications and codes, the architect's fee could be reduced from the basic six percent to two and one-half percent of the total building cost.

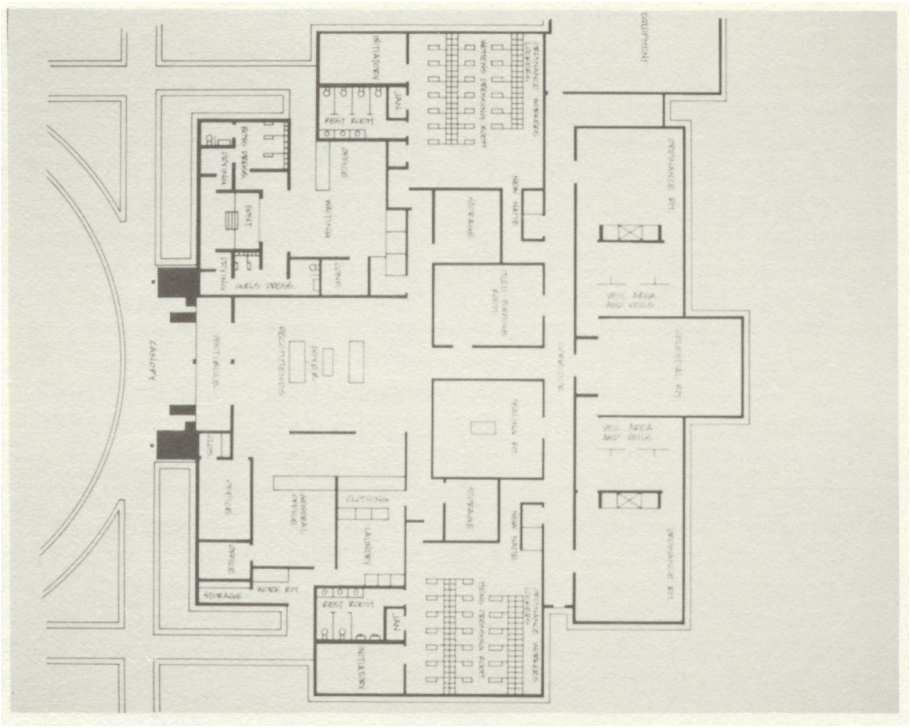
Some modifications in standard plan chapels proposed expensive materials and others were costly in terms of time as well. Such changes meant that the plan must be sent to the Committee on Expenditures for review, thereby causing weeks of delay. One architect estimated that even with inflation at just one percent a month, or twelve percent annually, each day a project was delayed would cost the Church over $500 per unit of construction.

The Olympus Stake Center in Holladay, Utah, is one of the most unusual original design adaptations on a standard plan. The sweeping lines of the copper-plated chapel roof are reminiscent of a Japanese pagoda. The dramatic movement of the powerful wood trusses of the ceiling repeat the lines of the exterior roof to create an impression of swirling towers. As skylights at the roof peak, the horizontal band of windows along the wall filter light through the room to enhance the illusion of a sacred quiet place. Through the dramatic use of color, line and light this chapel creates a moving atmosphere of reverence and beauty.

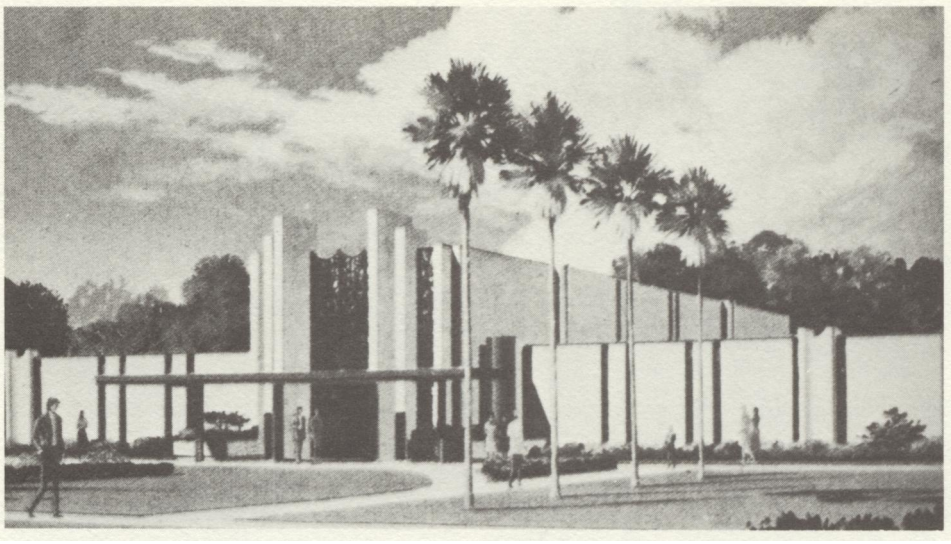
But this chapel cost an estimated $9,000 more than the projected cost of the building simply because of delays in approval. If in one year 100 buildings took an extra three weeks for approval, the Church, while perhaps getting 100 unusually attractive buildings, would have spent an extra $1,500,000 because of the Expenditures Committee's resistance to innovative design.

In its exuberant pursuit of the efficient, economical and functional building, the Church appears to have lost sight of the value of buildings as more than structure. In the attempt to maximize function and minimize spending by economizing on architects' fees and subjecting designs to vigorous dissection, radical or unique architectural designs have been rendered unacceptable within the confines of the standard plan program. Subsequently, the potential for outstanding individual pieces of Church architecture seems to have been largely eliminated.

The announcement of the proposed design for three new standard plan temples in April 1980 dramatized the problems of standardization when applied to temple projects. The sketches exhibited a radical break from previous temple forms and launched the Church into a new era of mass temple building. Traditionally, temples had been either unique designs or revisions of historical prototypes. The design of the three new temples is, instead, directly related to the rather innocuous style of the basic standard plan chapel.



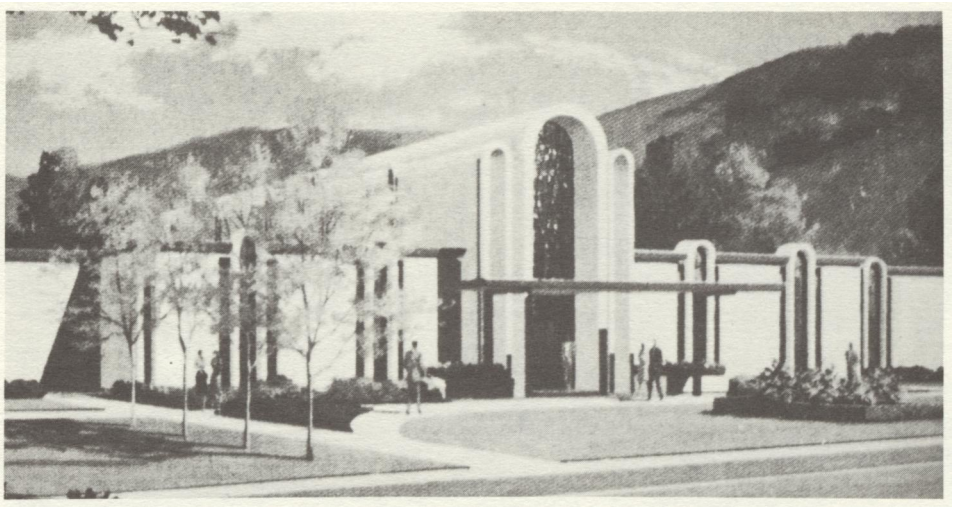
New Temple floor plan



As in the basic ward meetinghouse, the new temple outlines include a central nave flanked by two single-storied wings. Although the peculiar functional demands of Mormon worship services determined this form for ward buildings, use of the same form for a temple is without apparent justification. It could eventually establish a new relationship between temple and meetinghouse architecture. Whereas previous architectural style, size and materials had distinguished the temple from the ward meetinghouse, the new temples narrow the gap between these two main forms. The exterior of the temples in no way reveals the unique ceremonies within, and they have no visual articulation, towers, stained glass art windows or other features to distinguish their sacred functions.

The idea of building smaller standard plan temples reflects the contemporary attitude of church leaders that temple worship should be made available to a greater number of members. Traditionally, temples represented the epitome of contemporary Mormon art and architecture. These conservative, economical, "mini" temples represented, instead, a compromise forged by the strains of the internationalization of the Church, the rapidly increasing membership and the attempt to give continuity and unity to church programs across the world.

Secularization of the ward meetinghouse space was expanded by the increasing emphasis on auxiliary functions in modern-day church programs. Although used primarily for worship services, the sacred chapel enclosure was no longer a separate and distinct unit. Combining the cultural hall and chapel spaces for easy flow of traffic between the formal sacred space of the chapel and the informal secular space of the recreation hall created a more flexible relationship between the two. This pragmatic attitude toward sacred space appears to have established a trend towards further exploitation of interior space. In 1979, the proposal was being evaluated for building a half basketball court adjacent to a chapel of the same proportions. Industrial weight carpet, which was used for the surface of gymnasium floors, would be put in the chapel and hall alike. Although the Committee thought this use of the interior space was functionally efficient, it is apparent, at least in this example, that those involved in the study focused on optimal use of space in



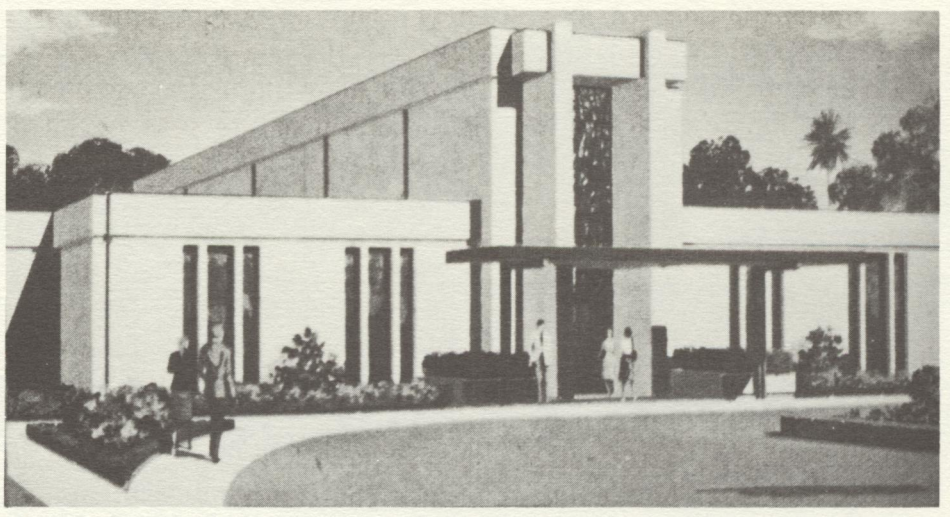
terms of efficiency, economics and function. Blatant disregard for such considerations as aesthetics, tradition and the sacred nature of certain spaces allowed the Committee to make a sterile and insensitive design proposal with profound effects on the quality of church buildings. As a business decision, though, this was considered not only appropriate but ingenious.

The fiscal and functional defenses of standardization form a compelling argument, and they exhibit many of the strengths of the program. Why then do so many members feel dissatisfied with the results of the program—the buildings themselves? Why aren't more of the chapels powerful architectural statements?

Many elements in the policy fostered mediocrity in church design and construction. The underlying ideals of the approach—uniformity, repetition and standardization—are anathema to free architectural expression, and they contradict the basis of any creative venture. When control was taken away from the architect, he lost much of the choice to think independently. The emphasis was not on the ideas of the individual but on collective judgments formed after only minimal contact with artists. Furthermore, the lack of willingness to allow new formal relationships to appear within the vocabulary of standard plan buildings created an atmosphere of artistic malaise in the department's work thereby inducing a degree of mediocrity in church building.

The architectural determinism of the standard plan program led to arbitrary decisions of taste that were delegated throughout the Church. Consequently, truth in Mormon architecture was conceived in relation to what already existed. Many felt, in contrast, that taste was not a matter of morals and so the right or wrong of architectural trends must always be open to debate.

Within a church that willingly arbitrates on matters of the arts, choosing, regulating and directing artistic tastes and style, albeit in the name of efficiency, economy and morality, what remains but the obliteration of creative thought? With each effort, the exercise of a creative idea is rendered less and less useful; it is circumscribed to a narrower range until it is finally eliminated.



The fruits of the standard plan program are many; its buildings are generally economical, flexible, expandable and spacious. It established a basic continuity in architectural types and materials throughout the worldwide church. But how did it affect architectural design? The departmental approach to architecture does not prevent unique and original design in the Church, but rather it compresses it, enervates and finally extinguishes. The role of the aesthetic in the creation of a Mormon church building becomes only incidental to the design process. Both the successes and failures of the program illuminate the importance of freedom and autonomy in church design.

The issue of genetic cloning is an explosive one today. In the same way, meddling in the creative process, forcing out diversity and character, is a formidable danger. The vision of a world filled with thousands of identical ward meetinghouse buildings is alarming. The standard plan program must go in an alternate direction. It must look for changes, varieties, different themes and standards, not to encourage conformity, but to allow the more efficient celebration of the unique, the ambitious and the divine.

NOTES

[1]Young, Brigham, *Journal of Discourses,* Vol. 3, p. 372. (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1956).

[2]"Architectural Seminar," Building Division Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: 4 May 1978), p. 8.

SEMINAL VERSUS SESQUICENTENNIAL SAINTS: A LOOK AT MORMON MILLENNIALISM

GRANT UNDERWOOD

FEW TOPICS SEEM TO ENGAGE the interest of the Latter-day Saints more vigorously than that of the Second Coming of Christ. Over the years, numerous books treating this topic have issued from the Mormon press. Common to most of them, though, is an *a*historical approach. Undergirding these works is the assumption that the Church has always understood adventist doctrine in the same way, that it has always been doctrinally monochrome. Thus, the authors have felt justified in citing early leaders' elaborations to explain the modern position, or perhaps more seriously, they have assumed that present-day ideas are representative of those at any point in the past. To trace thoroughly such development across the 150-year span of Mormon history would fill a small volume.[1] My purpose, therefore, will be limited to a consideration and comparison of Mormon millennial thought now current with that prevalent during the 1830s. Publications printed in the 1830s, both periodicals and pamphlets, provide the source material for an understanding of early thinking; the 1978 Church publication, *Gospel Principles,* provides a clear, concise and nearly official exposition of Mormon doctrine as it now stands at the celebration of its sesquicentennial anniversary.[2]

This comparison of millennialism during the two periods will be organized around three central issues—who will be on the earth during the millennium, what will be accomplished during the millennium, and what conditions will then prevail? Finally, significant strands of thought which defy this format will be considered separately.

Three major ideas can be gleaned as characteristic of modern thinking on the question of who will be on the earth during the millennium. First, only righteous people, that is, only those living worthy to inherit the terrestrial or

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celestial kingdoms in Latter-day Saint salvation echelons, will continue to live during the millennium. Thus, nonmembers whose lives meet the terrestrial standards will survive the Second Coming. They will have their free agency, and for a time many will continue in their own beliefs. Eventually, however, everyone will accept Christ as the Savior. Second, mortals living during the millennium will continue to have children. And third, resurrected beings will visit the earth frequently, but they and Christ "will probably not live on the earth all the time but will visit it whenever they please or when necessary to help in the governing of the earth."[3]

Each of these points would have been understood differently by first decade Latter-day Saints. It was not until 1842 that Joseph Smith suggested that people other than the Mormons would be alive during the millennium, and when he did, he initiated a complete about-face from the thinking of the thirties.[4] As will be shown, the early saints had no place for nonmembers in their conception of the millennium. Because they held a rather dismal view of the neighbors who occasionally razed their barns and ransacked their homes, they seemingly felt no qualms about damning the whole lot of the gentiles. "All who do not obey Christ," warned Edward Partridge, "will be cut off from the face of the earth when the Lord comes."[5] In what was probably one of the two most important treatises on the millennium in the 1830s, Sidney Rigdon said simply, "All people who are on the earth during this period will be saints."[6] Several years later, when Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were asked, "will everybody be damned but Mormons?" they responded, "Yes, and a great portion of them unless they repent and work righteousness."[7]

Such a position required a unique exegesis of traditional millennial prophecies. Rigdon explained that it was only the saints to whom the scripture was referring when it promised a day in which all shall "know the Lord from the least to the greatest." "Among them," he continued:

> the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea; and all the rest of the world will without exception be cut off; and when this is done, and all the rest of the world cut off but the saints which are gathered, then will the earth be of one heart and one mind, then men will beat their ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more . . . then shall the time come when they shall neither hurt nor destroy in all the Lord's holy mountain, which holy mountain is the place where the saints will be gathered.[8]

Thus, while modern Mormons tend to categorize people as either celestial, terrestrial, or telestial; the early brethren merely saw them as saints or sinners, Israelites or gentiles.[9]

A corollary to the current conception that people living a terrestrial law will abide the day of Christ's coming is the teaching that after the beginning of, and continuing during, the millennium, the dead of all ages who have earned a terrestrial glory will be resurrected as part of the first resurrection. This is sometimes called the "afternoon" of the first resurrection.[10] While this expanded explanation of the first resurrection is based upon parts of

several revelations given during the 1830s, the saints of that day did not use them in their discussion of that topic.[11] Their conception was basically Biblical and the only place in the Bible where the term "first resurrection" is used is in Revelation 20:4–6. Here John sees the faithful dead being raised to live and reign with Christ a thousand years and declares that the rest of the dead would not be resurrected till the millennium was finished. The early saints took this literally to mean that there would be no interim resurrection.[12] Of course, to have imagined otherwise would have been inconsistent with the rest of their millennial thought. If there were only saints and sinners, it naturally followed that the saints, resurrected as they all would be at the Second Coming, should constitute the first resurrection, and that the rest of mankind who would not be resurrected till after the thousand years had ended would be the second resurrection.

Similar literal adherence to the Bible also never would have led them to the idea, later announced by Joseph, that the Savior and the resurrected saints would "not dwell on the earth" but would only "visit it when they please, or when necessary to govern it."[13] On the contrary, early saints anxiously contemplated and energetically commented upon the privilege of enjoying a thousand years in the visible presence of Christ. He would be there to bless personally them with his love and wipe away all their tears. Indeed, one can easily sense Parley Pratt's enthusiasm for this companionship when he exuberantly declared, "Man is to dwell in the flesh upon the earth with the Messiah, not only one thousand years, but for ever and ever."[14] "This reign of Christ is to be an earthly reign," emphasized Sidney Rigdon. "In all that John has said about the coming of the Saviour, he has never told us of any other object he had in coming but to reign on earth a thousand years . . . and all those of the first resurrection with him."[15] Indeed an earlier revelation had announced that the Lord would "dwell in righteousness with men on earth a thousand years."[16] The hymns and poems written for the *Evening and Morning Star* by W. W. Phelps and by Parley P. Pratt for his *The Millennium* gives a further glimpse of the intensity with which this millennium-long mutual association was anticipated.[17]

Discussion of the role of children during the thousand years was merely incidental to the millennial musing of the ancient prophets, so it is not surprising that it was only occasionally addressed by early Mormons. One who commented was Sidney Rigdon. A few years earlier, Rigdon had been reproved by the Lord for not keeping the "commandments concerning his children" and had been admonished to set his house in order.[18] It is understandable, then, that part of his conception of the millennium included a vision of filial piety where the conduct of children would "never wound the feelings of their parents, nor bring a stain on their characters, nor yet cause the tear of sorrow to roll down their cheek." This, he concluded, would secure to a parent "one of the greatest sources of human happiness, to have his family without reproach, without shame, without contempt, and his house a house of peace, and his family a family of righteousness."[19]

The notion of giving birth to children after the commencement of the millennium was not well developed in the 1830s.[20] W. W. Phelps, however, composed the following stanza as part of a poem describing the millennial Zion:

> There, in the resurrection morn,
> The living live again,
> And all their children will be born
> Without the *sting of sin*.[21]

In terms, then, of the question, "who will be on the earth during the millenium?" it is clear that a Missouri Mormon and his modern-day descendant would respond in different ways.

Turning to the second question—what will be done during the millennium, the recently published *Gospel Principles* reads: "There will be two great works for members of the Church during the millennium—temple work and missionary work."[22] Since temple work for the dead was not initiated till the Nauvoo years, the idea that such a labor would occupy them during the millennium was unknown to first decade saints. In like fashion, their conception of a millennium involving only saints precluded the need for missionary work. All were to be warned, and the elect gathered out, every last one of them, but this *before* the Second Coming.[23] In fact, it is unlikely that Mormons in the 1830s would have ever even framed such a question. Their conception of the millennium is captured in one of their favorite synonymous phrases, the Sabbath of Creation. To them it was a thousand-year day of rest, not work. About the only activity they pictured themselves involved in was reigning with and otherwise enjoying the smiles of their blessed Savior. To sing his praises endlessly might seem dull to the modern Mormon, but W. W. Phelps could joyfully exclaim:

> When we've been there a thousand years,
> Bright shining as the Sun,
> We've no less days to sing God's praise,
> Than when we first begun.[24]

And in that classic Mormon hymn, early composed by Parley P. Pratt, he yearned for the day when the Lord would "righteousness bring in, that Saints may tune the lyre."[25] Such pastoral bliss may seem Protestant to the saint of the seventies, but it was part and parcel of the early Mormon mind.

As has been noted, this was all to accompany their co-regency with Christ. Even before they understood its fine theological nuances, early Mormons were basking in the apocalyptic promise of being made kings and priests to rule and reign with Christ.[26] Since the Prophet did not begin giving a peculiarly Mormon definition to the biblical term "exaltation" until the late 1840s, earlier saints would not have caught the—as presently defined—eternal implications of this concept. In the absence of such an

understanding, therefore, they projected all their enthusiasm and expectations on the millennium, rather than on the far-off future state. Whereas the modern saint anxiously awaits the day he is crowned with an inheritance in the celestial kingdom, the early saint longed for his millennial inheritance. In the 1830s, before a theology of the three degrees of glory had been clearly worked out, the millennium was their anticipated day of triumph and glory.

In summary, then, perhaps the best way to contrast the early saint's understanding with his modern counterpart would be on the question of what would be done during the millennium: the early Mormon pictured the millennial kingdom in much the same way that his modern counterpart conceives of the celestial kingdom as a place of rest and glorious reign, not as a place or period of missionary and temple work.

Finally, let us consider the millennial conditions as perceived by saints in both periods. It quickly becomes apparent that in this instance similarities are more pronounced than the differences are. Modern Mormons still use the same scriptures to note that the lamb will lie down with the lion, that swords will be beaten into ploughshares, and that there will be freedom from disease, death and sorrow.[27] So literally does the saint of the 1970s accept the renewal of the earth to its paradisiacal glory that he has retained the early idea that the earth will again become one land mass, a sort of prophetic Panagaea.[28] Modern Mormons continue to teach that the millennium will be a day when all things shall be revealed, though they do so with perhaps less verve than their Romantic counterparts of the 1830s.[29] Sidney Rigdon said it would be an age "when every man shall be his own prophet, seer, and revelator; for all shall know the Lord alike, from the least to the greatest."[30] And Parley P. Pratt eloquently described the revelatory bliss of Eden which he felt would be restored fully in the millennium:

> Witness the ancients conversing with the Great Jehovah, learning lessons from the angels, and receiving instruction by the Holy Ghost, in dreams by night, and visions by day, until at length, the veil is taken off, and they are permitted to gaze, with wonder and admiration, upon all things past and future; yea, even to soar aloft amid unnumbered worlds, while the vast expanse of eternity stands open before them, and they contemplate the mighty works of the Great I AM, until they know as they are known, and see as they are seen.[31]

Thus, when Joel spoke of a day in which the Lord would charismatically pour out his spirit upon all flesh, the early saints believed he was painting a perfect picture of the millennium.[32]

There are, however, two facets of the modern Mormon understanding of millennial conditions that were not included in the earliest descriptions relating to (1) what is meant by Satan being bound, and (2) the mechanics of millennial government.

The sesquicentennial saint refers to Doctrine and Covenants 101:28 where he is told that Satan being bound means that he will have no power to tempt men. But writers in the 1830s did not use this verse or other similar Book of

Mormon ones to discuss the millennium. Again, the Bible was their prime source, and its only reference to the binding of Satan was a brief mention of his being prevented from deceiving, rather than tempting, the nations.[33] That this particular feature of the millennium failed to attract much attention in the early period is also consistent with their conception of a millennium composed solely of saints. It was expected that a significant portion of the millennial population would be the righteous dead, by then resurrected, but who would have already completed their probationary state and passed beyond temptation anyway. Thus, who would have thought it noteworthy that Satan would have no power to tempt men the vast majority of whom had already passed beyond his power?

The current position on millennial government is this:

> Jesus Christ will not only lead the Church during the Millennium, but he also will be in charge of the political government. This government will be based on principles of righteousness and will preserve the basic rights and freedoms of all people. Mortals, both members of the Church and nonmembers, will hold government positions. They will receive help from resurrected beings.[34]

This paragraph represents a significant elaboration beyond the conception of millennial government held in the 1830s. Of the political reign of Christ, they had no doubt, but the details were not clearly delineated in the scriptures, and guidelines would not be hinted at till Joseph organized the Council of Fifty in 1844. Furthermore, in light of the early rhetoric excluding the Gentiles from the millennium, it is even less likely that they would have considered sharing the reigns of government with them.

If current thinking extends to "honorable" Gentiles the right to be guided, at least partially, by the dictates of their own beliefs during the millennium, such pluralism was not part of the early understanding. Expounding upon Daniel 2:44, Rigdon declared that Christ "will literally break in pieces and destroy all the kingdoms of the world . . . and so completely will he do it, that there will not, from one end of the earth to the other, be an individual found whose word, or edict will be obeyed but his own."[35] Thus, the early idea that saints would be the only inhabitants of the millennial earth demanded a homogenized belief systems and legal codes.

It also required some explanation of which saints would rule and which would be ruled. The only early writer who tackled this problem was Sidney Rigdon. His first attempt appeared in an 1834 exegesis of the twentieth chapter of Revelation. His conclusion was that it was not the mortal saints who would "reign with Christ a thousand years; but on the contrary, those who are raised from the dead."[36] Within a month, Rigdon shared the pulpit with the Prophet Joseph at a conference of elders in Ohio. Echoing his earlier analysis, he explained that "the ancient saints will reign with Christ a thousand years; the gathered saints will dwell under that reign."[37] Joseph was not averse to correcting a colleague on doctrine, and had this been a mistaken notion, one could have expected some such reproof at the time.

None, however, was forthcoming. Several months later, the idea appeared again in the *Evening and Morning Star:* "The disembodied spirits of the saints in the paradise of God are waiting to receive their glorified bodies, and commence . . . reigning with Christ a thousand years." Those saints "in the flesh" are waiting "to serve him a thousand years in their successive generations."[38]

Thus, with the two exceptions noted, Mormons in both periods conceived of millennial conditions in much the same terms. This was due in large part to the fact that writings and sermons in the 1970s invoked the same Old Testament passages, or similarly worded modern revelations, as they did in the 1830s. If saints from each decade would not agree on demography, they would on geography. If they differed in their understandings of millennial vocations, at least they viewed them as being performed in the same idyllic setting. Three further strands of early millennial logic warrant special consideration.

A prominent feature in most early Mormon treatises on the millennium was the manner in which Romans 11 was used to testify to the timeliness of their mission. Though widely discussed in the 1830s, the chapter has not been discoursed upon in General Conference for over a hundred years.[39] Toward the end of the chapter, Paul tells of a day when spiritual blindness would depart from Israel and they would all be saved, adding that it would occur when "the fullness of the Gentiles be come in."[40] It was this phrase, in particular, that caught the attention of the saints, and it was the unique way in which they interpreted it that helped them justify their place in prophetic history. If it could be established that the "fullness of the Gentiles" had come in, then the stage was set both for the final gathering of Israel, a mission which the saints acutely felt as their *raison d'etre,* and for the Second Coming, an event which any serious student of the Bible knew followed immediately after that restoration of Israel. The following excerpt from the *Messenger and Advocate* typifies the Saints' interpretation of this scripture:

> when *will* the fulness of the Gentiles be come in? The answer is again at hand.—That is, when they all shall have ceased to bring forth the fruits of the kingdom of heaven, of all parties, sects, and denominations and not one of them standing in the situation in which God had placed them . . . then is the time that the world may prepare themselves to see the God of heaven set his hand the second time to recover the remnant of his people.[41]

Early Mormons, then, equated "the fullness of the Gentiles" with the apostasy of the Gentiles—The Gentiles, of course, being the Christian churches of the day. The prophetic chronology seemed clear—the Gentiles apostatize, the Israelites are gathered and the millennium is ushered in. "Unless the scattered remants of Jacob should be gathered from all countries whither they had been driven, no such thing as the millennium could ever exist," declared one early writer, "and that predicated on the fact of the Gentiles having forfeited all claim to the divine favor by reason of their great

apostasy."[42] Thus, the saints invested the doctrine of the apostasy with definite millennial implications. To them, the apostasy was more than just evidence that truth and authority had been lost, it was evidence that the end scene was upon them, that the Lord had begun his latter-day work.

So central was this millennial scenario to the meaning of the Mormon mission that it even influenced the perceived value in their new scriptures. Early saints stressed that one of the prime purposes for the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and other revelations was to identify Israel and to locate the place of her gathering. "If God should give no more revelations," asked Joseph Smith, "where will we find Zion and this remnant?" He later added, "Take away the Book of Mormon and the revelations, and where is our religion? We have none; for without Zion, and a place of deliverance, we must fall."[43] Note that the emphasis was not "take away the restoration scriptures, and we shall have none of our distinctive truths," but, "take away our revelations and we shall not be able to locate Zion, the one place to which Israel must be gathered to find temporal salvation in the coming day of desolation." Such reasoning by the Prophet himself should bring into sharp focus the pervasive nature of millennialism during the 1830s.

In this climate, the fact that Andrew Jackson's removal policy happened to relocate the Indians just a few miles west of the revealed site for New Jerusalem was too coincidental not to be providential. For those who could read the handwriting on the wall, it was clear that Jehovah was using Jackson just as he had earlier used Cyrus the Great to gather his people.[44] Even after the saints had been expelled from Jackson county, the interpretation was kept alive. Several years later, Parley P. Pratt urged the Indians to tolerate the Removal Act "as a kind reward for the injuries you have received from [the Gentiles]." While the counsel was familiar, what he went on to say epitomizes the early Mormon ideas on Indians and eschatology combined and carried to their logical extension:

> for the very places of their dwellings will become desolate [the Gentiles]; except such of them as are gathered and numbered with you; and you will exist in peace, upon the face of this land from generation to generation. And your children will only know that the Gentiles once conquered this country and became a great nation here, as they read it in history; as a thing long since passed away, and the remembrance of it almost gone from the earth.[45]

Once again, it can be seen that in the early Mormon mind, the millennium was for a rather limited group of people. Here Pratt described it in terms of Indians and Mormons only. With such sentiments in print, one can begin to understand why the Gentiles might have worried about a possible Mormon-Indian alliance.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

At least four factors seem important in accounting for differences in adventist doctrine between the two periods. Tnese are biblicism, literalism,

access to the new scriptures and what might be termed the "line-upon-line" principle. By far the most easily documented explanation is the near exclusive use the early saints made of the Old and New Testaments in their doctrinal writings.[46] The saints felt comfortable and familiar with the Bible. From it, many took their first lessons in reading. It had been their lifelong associate. And now, even though new scripture contained many acknowledged insights, it was not easy to abandon their old companion. Besides, a race *was* on, the "winding-up" scenes were underway. Little time was available for a detached perusal of the Book of Mormon or the Doctrine and Covenants, and the elders fell back on their knowledge of the Bible not only for defense of the faith, but for doctrinal exposition as well. For these reasons, it must be stressed that the new scriptures were then seen less as a realm of study than as an agenda for activity.

Given the early saints' overwhelming dependence on the Bible, it is not surprising to find that they took it at face value. The Mormons of 1830 were reticent, to say the least, ever to be caught "spiritualizing" the scriptures, and they heartily condemned contemporaries for such a practice. If modern Mormons have come to believe that some scripture *is* to be understood symbolically, such an admission was extremely rare in the early years. The contrast is noted by comparing Parley P. Pratt's and Bruce R. McConkie's exegesis of Revelation 21. McConkie, certainly not one who could be charged with scriptural spiritualization, attempts to give meaning to John's vision of the Holy City in this way: "Here is a city, in size and dimensions, in splendor, and glory, which is so far beyond human experience or comprehension that there is no way to convey to the finite mind what the eternal reality is. Hence, expressions relative to precious stones, to streets of gold, and to pearly gates."[47] Pratt, on the other hand, assumes no such symbolism: "We learn that it will be composed of precious stones, and gold, as the temporal city also was described by Isaiah."[48] In his description of the temporal city he declared that "precious metals are to abound in such plenty, that gold is to be used in the room of brass, silver in the room of iron . . . and iron in the room of stones."[49] Clearly such statements evidence a very literal hermeneutic. Though early Mormons were not as wont to delve into the apocalypse as some of their contemporaries, they did believe, as other millenarians, that the prophecies would be fulfilled exactly as given, and that they could be recognized when they were fulfilled.[50]

The argument of preference for the Bible must be balanced with a consideration of accessibility of the new scriptures. Though the Book of Mormon had been available since 1830, the Doctrine and Covenants was not published until 1835. Thus, in the years before mid-decade, when much of their millennial thought was published, the only access writers would have had to the new revelations would be either a handwritten copy, or printed excerpts in the periodicals, or, after 1833, one of the salvaged signatures of the Book of Commandments. Although the major Mormon millennialists would have had better access to the revelations because of their proximity to the prophet and the presses, than other members, (especially those in outlying branches) their writings show that they rarely took advantage of this opportunity.

The logic of the "line-upon-line" principle is well known among the saints. Mormonism did not simply spring full-blown into existence; doctrine and organization were revealed, and continue to be revealed, line upon line as a function of both human capacity and divine design. But the nature of this process is less clear because it is complex. Revelation has come in many ways and under many circumstances. Whether the revealed insight came in the midst of a doctrinal discussion in a council meeting or as an unsolicited dispensation, it is of like divine origin. In a religion in which revelation is seen as both keystone and watermark, the line-upon-line principle must be given weighty consideration, even though as a function of faith, and it is occasionally difficult to discern.

When early Missourians read in the *Evening and Morning Star* that all those who did not obey the restored gospel would be consumed at Christ's coming, and that such a day was soon at hand, how did they feel? When the Saints emphasized that with the speedy dawning of that millennium, the only people who would be inhabiting Jackson County would be Native American Israelites and believing Gentiles (meaning baptized Mormons), should that have bothered the settlers? On one occasion, Edward Partridge interpreted Malachi 4 to mean that the saints would "literally tread upon the ashes of the wicked after they are destroyed from off the face of the earth."[51] When such sentiments found their way into print, would the average Gentile want them for neighbors? Clearly, such exclusivism coupled with vivid apocalyptic imagery did not augur well for peaceful interaction between Mormon and Gentile.

At least during the 1830s, it was this aspect of Mormon millennialism that must be considered a prime source of conflict, rather than the idea of political kingdomism which was not developed till the Nauvoo years. To read such ideas back into the 1830s is anachronistic. Ironically, at least from the point of Gentile perception, it was the Council of Fifty that actually began taking the exclusive edge off earlier eschatology. However historians approach early Mormon history, millennialism is an intellectual force that must be reckoned with, and one whose pervasiveness is just beginning to be plumbed.

NOTES

[1]For a brief survey of some examples, see James B. Allen, "Line Upon Line," *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 32–39.

[2]*Gospel Principles* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978). This book is actually a manual designed to help new members "learn the basic principles of the gospel" (p. 1). The major Mormon periodicals during the 1830s include *The Evening and the Morning Star* (1832–1834), *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (1834–1837), *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* (1837–1838).

It should be noted that the term "official" had a rather tenuous meaning before 1845. See, David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 37, 43–45. Thus, while the present study attempts to steer as close to what might be called official doctrine as possible, it is more difficult to use that adjective in dealing with the first decade.

[3]This paragraph is a distillation of material presented in *Gospel Principles*, pp. 271–272.

[4]The earliest recorded reference to this teaching is in the "Diary of Joseph Smith," kept by Willard Richards, under the date of Dec. 30, 1842. It is also found in slightly revised form in Joseph

Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1964), 5:212. Hereafter cited as *HC*. The original diary is located in the Archives of the History Division of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah.

[5]*Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Jan. 1835): 56. Hereafter cited as *MA*.

[6]*The Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (April 1834): 147. Hereafter cited as *EMS*. I believe the two most important pieces of millennial thought in the Mormon press during the 1830s were Sidney Rigdon's "Millennium," a series of fourteen articles appearing nearly monthly in both *EMS* and *MA* from Dec. 1833 to May 1835; and, Parley P. Pratt's *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People* (New York: W. Sandford, 1837). Pratt's work will hereafter be cited as *Voice of Warning*. Unless the wording has been significantly changed from the earlier edition, quotations in this paper are from the 9th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1874).

[7]*Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* 1 (July 1838): 42. Hereafter cited as *EJ*.

[8]*MA* 3 (Nov. 1836): 403–404.

[9]At least one writer in the 1830s endeavored to make a distinction beyond the simple saint-sinner dichotomy. In *Voice of Warning*, Parley P. Pratt gave the Jew and Heathen special consideration. "This burning," he explained, "more especially applies to the fallen church [the Gentiles], rather thanto the heathen or Jews, whom they are now trying to convert . . . and it will be more tolerable in that day for the Jews and the heathen than for you [Gentile sectarians]" (pp. 53–54). He did not, however, specify *how* it would be more tolerant. By the turn of the decade, Benjamin Winchester, in his *Gospel Reflector* series on the millennium, would divide mankind into three groups—saints, wicked, and heathen. See *Gospel Reflector* 1 (1841): 220–272. But again, there is no clear exposition of the fate of the heathen.

[10]Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1966), p. 640.

[11]This explanation is found in *Gospel Principles*, p. 268. The revelations are now found in The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, 1978) as Section 76:71–80 and Section 88:99. Hereafter this source will be cited as D&C.

[12]See, for example, *EMS* 2 (April 1834): 147.

[13]See note #5. The word "probably" was added in front of "not dwell" in the *HC* account.

[14]*Voice of Warning*, p. 137.

[15]*EMS* 2 (April 1834): 147.

[16]This revelation was first published in *EMS* 1 (Sept. 1832): (26), but is now found in D&C 29:11.

[17]Pratt's work was a long poem with a series of short hymns attached (Boston 1835).

[18]D&C 93:44.

[19]*MA* 1 (Feb. 1835): 68.

[20]The first real discussion of the topic was Benjamin Winchester, "Procreation in the Millennium," *Gospel Reflector* 1 (June 1, 1841): 273–275.

[21]*EMS* 2 (Sept. 1834): 191. There are some difficulties in assessing the exact meaning of Phelps' words. The problem centers on what is meant by "the living live again" and what "the sting of sin" is. In the first instance, it is possible that he is talking about mortal saints living at the time of the second coming who would be changed in the twinkling of an eye to a state of partial glory, equivalent to being translated. This, in a sense, would be adding further life to the living, but there is little likelihood that he was thinking along such lines since they represent later developments. As late as 1837 and 1839, when the first two editions of *Voice of Warning* were printed, an astute a doctrinal scholar as Parley Pratt used the terms "translated" and "resurrected" synonymously. (See p. 131, for example.) Thus, I believe that he is speaking of resurrected instead of mortal saints procreating during the millennium. I could find no other example of such thinking, and the shift to the mortal side was clear by the time of Nauvoo.

In the second case, the "sting of sin" could be referring to the idea advanced in what is now D&C 45:58 that since Satan would be bound, millennial children would be able to be raised without the stinging effects of sin to hinder their programs. In light of Phelps' biblicism, though, I believe he would have been using it in the Pauline sense wherein the sting of sin is death (1 Cor.

15) thus referring to the fact that children born in that day would not have to experience death in the normal sense of the word. No matter how one understands it, it is clear that he conceived of somebody having children during the millennium, and that is the 1970s idea for which an 1830s counterpart is being sought.

[22]*Gospel Principles*, p. 272.

[23]*MA* 3 (Nov. 1836): 401–404.

[24]*EMS* 1 (July 1832): (16). A characteristic of Phelps' hymn selection and preparation for *The Evening and the Morning Star* was that he occasionally borrowed doctrinally agreeable lines or stanzas from non-Mormon songs and included them in his own compositions, sometimes with slight modification. The lines herein cited are one such example. The quatrain originally formed the final stanza of a popular Protestant hymn of the nineteenth century, "Jerusalem, My Happy Home," but is perhaps better known in its twentieth century form as the last verse in some arrangements of "Amazing Grace." See, William J. Reynolds, *Companion to Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1976), p. 165. The first line reads, "When we've been there ten thousand years." Phelps dropped the word "ten" and replaced it with an "a," thus making it clearly millennial in meaning. Since he made no other modification, it is obvious that he accepted the basic idea embodied in the stanza.

[25]Samuel Russell, ed. and comp., *The Millennial Hymns of Parley Parker Pratt* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1913), p. 28. According to Russell, Pratt composed the hymn in 1840.

[26]The scriptural reference is Rev 5:9–12; some examples of their exegesis of this passage include *EMS* 2 (Apr. 1834): 146; *Voice of Warning*, p. 51; and *EMS* 1 (June 1832): (8). The more developed understanding of this promise was revealed with the Nauvoo endowment. See, Andrew Ehat, "It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 254–257.

[27]For example, see *EMS* 2 (Feb. 1834): 131; *MA* 1 (Jan. 1835): 58; *MA* 3 (Nov. 1836): 403–404; *Voice of Warning*, pp. 119–130; and *EJ* 1 (July 1838): 31–32.

[28]*Gospel Principles*, pp. 272–273, and *Voice of Warning*, pp. 128–129.

[29]*Gospel Principles*, pp. 273–274.

[30]*EMS* 2 (Feb. 1834): 131.

[31]*Voice of Warning*, p. 125.

[32]Ibid., p. 130; *MA* 1 (Jan. 1835): 58; *EMS* 2 (Feb. 1834): 131 are some examples.

[33]The biblical reference to Satan being bound is Rev. 20:8. In the author's unpublished manuscript entitled "Scriptural Exegesis in Early Mormon Millennialism," a record of all scriptures cited in Latter-day Saint millennial treatises is included, whether found in periodical or pamphlet. To date no use of D&C 101:28 has been discovered for the years under study.

[34]*Gospel Principles*, p. 273.

[35]*EMS* 2 (June 1834): 162.

[36]*EMS* 2 (Apr. 1834): 146.

[37]*HC*, 2:53.

[38]*EMS* 2 (June 1834): 162.

[39]According to the *LDS Scripture Citation Index* (HBL Library, BYU, 1979), which lists all scriptures used in any conference address from the beginning through April, 1978, the last time a speaker referred to Romans 11 was Erastus Snow in April, 1880 (*CR*, Apr. 1880, p. 91). On the other hand, in Gordon Irving's "The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830's," *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 481, 485, it is noted that only six passages of scripture, dealing with any topic at all, were used more frequently during this period, Romans 11 being used twelve times. Irving's study corresponds to my findings in "Scriptural Exegesis in Early Mormon Millennialism."

[40]Romans 11:25, 26.

[41]*MA* 1 (Nov. 1834): 18.

[42]*EMS* 2 (Jan. 1834): 127.

[43]*HC*, 2:52.

[44]For examples, see *EMS* 1 (Sept. 1832): (32), 1 (Dec. 1832): (54), and 1 (Jan. 1833): (62).

[45]*Voice of Warning*, 1837 ed., p. 189. This portion of the text was deleted by Pratt in the 2nd edition (1839) and has remained deleted in all subsequent editions.

[46]Even a casual perusal of the early Mormon periodicals and pamphlets reveals that such is indeed the case. An excellent quantitative studv, however, verifying this assertion is Irving's study cited in note #39.

[47]Bruce R. McConkie, *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), 3: 588.

[48]*Voice of Warning*, p. 149.

[49]Ibid., p. 142.

[50]The standard work on millenarianism in nineteenth century America is Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). Sandeen stresses that literalism was a hallmark of any millenarian group (see pp. 42–59).

[51]*MA* 1 (Jan. 1835): 58

A CONVERSATION WITH BEVERLY CAMPBELL

Beverly Campbell was interviewed in her home in McLean, Virginia, January 1981.

You are known throughout the United States as the anti-ERA Spokeswoman for the LDS Church. How were you chosen for this job? Are you a lawyer?

I'm not really certain how I was chosen. I believe it was because I am from an area where much of the concern about the ERA was being generated. I had spoken out on this issue, and I was one of the organizers of the LDS Citizens' Coalition in Virginia. Because I have a professional background, perhaps it was felt that I had seen both sides of the problems of women and could be a credible spokesperson. I have always had a great interest in constitutional law. My husband is a constitutionalist, and we consider ourselves Jeffersonian democrats. I have taken several courses in these subjects, but I am not a lawyer.

Is it true that you used to be in favor of the ERA?

When it first came out, yes, it sounded like an excellent idea. I remember reading about it and thinking there were real inequities and areas of discrimination which needed to be addressed. At that time, though, there wasn't really much you could find out about the ERA. About 1974 I was being pushed by various professional organizations to announce an allegiance, so at that time I began looking at it from a legislative standpoint, without being aware of the Church's position. As I looked at the legislative history, I felt that because of the various legal ramifications and implications it simply was not something I could support.

Were you called and set apart from the Spokeswoman job by church leaders? Was it a priesthood calling?

Actually, I was not called. I was asked if I would act as a spokeswoman. At no time has it been suggested directly or indirectly as to how I might approach this issue or what I might say. So while I represent the Church in one way, in another way I am speaking of my own concerns and sensitivities to this and other women's issues. It is not a priesthood calling, and I have not been set apart.

It is known that you once worked for the Kennedy Foundation, so some think you have switched political sides.

The entire time I worked at the Kennedy Foundation I was never asked about my politics. It simply wasn't important. The mandate of the Foundation was to deal with human needs. Why do we as individuals always have to fall into one category or another? Why do we get so hung up on labels? There are many issues, and we must walk a broad path. The only change since my days at the Kennedy Foundation is that now I am more vocal on issues because there are more issues to be vocal about. I have always been a Republican, but I don't know why I can't admire both Republicans and Democrats and work with both.

Rumor has it that in your role as anti-ERA Spokeswoman you were chosen to follow Sonia Johnson around on her speaking circuit—that your job was to show up and set the record straight.

That's definitely not the case. The times I have been asked to represent the Church have been times when the media or members of the community (Church or otherwise) have expressed an interest in hearing the "other side" of this issue or where, because of substantial misrepresentation, equal time has been requested. I find now that I am usually going to a community because church members are interested in this and other issues and have asked that I come to their functions not as an "official spokesperson" but as a guest speaker.

Church members have asked for the other side?

Yes they have. They are very interested, naturally, in seeing that both sides are presented.

Recently Sonia Johnson, appearing on the Today *show, said that she expected the Church to demand equal time. She mentioned a "truth squad."*

There is no truth squad. The idea that there is one makes a good story and certainly interesting press. In situations where there is gross misrepresenta-

tion, I think it would be quite irresponsible of the Church not to ask for equal time to address these misrepresentations. That's what the equal time privilege in broadcasting is all about.

What is your church position now?

I am a counselor in the Bi-Regional Public Communications Council. I am the first woman to hold that position, another indication that the Church is carefully looking at what is traditional and what is doctrinal within the framework of the Church. Certainly this is a sign of the raised awareness and sensitivity to women's concerns and issues which I am seeing expressed by the priesthood churchwide. Within the council, I am responsible for special activities and special events. I also serve as a troubleshooter and am asked to speak on national issues in representing the council.

Do you speak on political issues?

Not in this capacity. The Church does not involve itself in political issues unless those issues are of moral concern to the Church and are played out in the political arena.

Are you on salary?

No, I receive no salary. My travel and lodging are paid by the group that asks me to appear, but other than that, my appearances are simply my contribution to the Church.

You travel and give speeches around the country, then.

Very often I am asked to speak at a special event for a stake or region. It may be a women's conference, a singles event or some other special session. It pleases me that when I do address church groups the leadership of the Church in that area is nearly always present, and they usually express great interest in all the issues under discussion.

What are some of these issues?

Now that the ERA has died down a bit, I find that there is a great interest in the role of women in the Church. I am often asked to speak to community groups about creative community involvement and am very often asked to address what I see as the challenges of the eighties.

You mention the woman's role. You believe there is a specific woman's role, then?

Very definitely! I think that women are creators of life, that their first role is that of wife and mother. But this does not say that a woman cannot and

should not do many other things. There is great need for community involvement. There is a need for women to keep their career skills intact should circumstances require that they care for the financial needs of the family. Certainly there are many choices a woman can and should make, but they should always be made in line with her first, very real commitment to home and family. Women are and should consider themselves equal in all walks of life—home, church, community and business. We must look for creative ways to express ourselves in these areas in line with the needs of our children, but there is no limit to what women can and should do!

Then their biological role is their first and most important role.

It is more than biological. For most women it is their first priority. When the chips are down, women who are mothers always recognize that motherhood is their first priority. That doesn't mean that is the only thing they do, however.

Do you think the ERA is dead?

I think we are still going to see a lot of activity, a lot of press and some interesting demonstrations, but at present it doesn't appear to have a chance of passing. This doesn't mean we can settle back and do nothing. We still must be active in states where the ERA has not passed. I think the dialogue arising out of the ERA issue has been important and necessary. I would hope that we will not settle back complacently and say "all is well," but that we will be diligent in dealing with the issues of concern.

What are they?

We need more support systems for women. I feel we need to address these issues from the "preventive" perspective rather than merely trying to bind up wounds after the damage is done. In medicine we have all kinds of preventive centers. We must develop such centers for the family. Why cannot we, as citizens, as part of our church, community or social efforts, establish centers where women or families can go before the damage is irreversible? I think that we cannot hope that government will take care of this for us. We need more help from the churches, more help from the schools. Schools must develop good, solid curriculum material, and we can't be so afraid that schools are going to destroy our value systems. Without this we are on the brink of disaster. Instead of catching people just as they go over the cliff, we must put up warning signals. We must deal with the human issues. The most frightening thing in the world is for a woman who is, say, thirty-six who has stayed home, had four children, and then is suddenly divorced. She has never had a career, and she doesn't know what to do. We must deal with these real situations, and we cannot wait for the government to do it.

Wasn't a bill dealing with child and wife abuse voted down in Virginia?

Professionals have advised me that the abuse bill was written in such a way that it couldn't be enforced. This is what happens with much of women's legislation. I have been accused of working actively against such legislation, but I have worked against ERA and abortion, nothing else. In fact, I have gone personally and said "Let me help you" and have never been given an entré. Women must become professional enough to push these issues through.

You mean women should become lobbyists and run for office?

Yes, I think women should become lobbyists, and they should run for office. We've also got to be terribly knowledgeable and professional in designing and drafting bills. When a so-called "women's bill" goes before a legislative body, it should be totally workable and enforceable.

Whom did you speak to about these laws? To whom did you offer your assistance?

Three years ago when I was working here in the state rather than at a national level I went to one of the liberal women delegates and asked what I could do to help. I was never contacted by this group to be of any help whatsoever.

Then your objection to the child and spouse abuse law is that it was not clearly written? You do not object to passing a law against spouse and child abuse?

Certainly, if the bill is well written, I not only have no objections, but I would be most supportive of it. However, I am concerned that when we propose a bill, it represent not just another area of government intervention, but a really helping program in which the community can become involved, with funding for the services to be provided made available to interested church, private and community groups. Only then can we provide the variety of services needed.

How about the abused wife who is desperate and knows of no way to protect herself against her husband? How is she supposed to get help? She certainly is not capable of writing laws herself.

That's why it's important that you and I and all other women involve themselves with these issues and see that appropriate laws are in place, that they work and that there are a variety of support systems for these citizens. We must care, particularly in these areas of such intense human suffering.

Are you recommending that private groups get money from government to fund these support groups you speak of?

Yes, for hotlines and other support groups so that citizens can be really involved. There is no question that we need better laws, especially for the

problem of battered wives, but saying that government should do it *all* is wrong. We need creative ways of dealing with these issues so that individual groups can do it. We need to raise the consciousness of individual groups so that they can deal with the issues. As I say, one of the most frightening issues is re-entry into the job market. I have talked to many women to whom this is a shattering experience, for whom it is not a choice, not a luxury. Of course rape laws must be improved, too. These are issues common to all women. My hope would be that out of all the dialogue would come a common ground where we can work together. We cannot turn it over to the government. We've tried that, and it didn't work.

There are so many women's groups. Can they work together?

Yes, there are many women's groups, with different agendas. Some are to the right and some are to the left; some are feminist and some are Moral Majority. That is fine; let them go on. But somewhere in the middle are issues of concern for us all. Let us find areas of commonality on which we can all agree.

Do you know about Orrin Hatch's Senate hearings on women in the workplace?

Yes, and I think hearings of this kind are very positive. I understand that in these discussions, they are looking at the laws already in place but not functioning well. Many women do not know, for instance, that it is presently unlawful *not* to provide equal pay for equal work, equal educational opportunities, equal business opportunities, equal credit. We need a massive advertising campaign which will tell us where to go for redress when these laws are violated. It seems the money we are spending on other things should go into such a campaign.

Isn't that what the ERA was supposed to do?

People are very uninformed as to what the ERA should and would do. The ERA in and of itself seems a nice philosophical statement. However, when you understand that every law dealing with the working of the lives of men and women and boys and girls must be based on this simple philosophical statement, then you must look at it more carefully. As you look at the intent of the law, you look at its legislative history because that is where the lawmakers must first look as they begin writing laws. At this point you see our real concern. The proposed moderating amendments which were rejected by both houses of Congress seal the law's intent.

But wouldn't it make it easier to activate those other laws you speak of?

Why? We've had some of these laws seven, ten, twenty years. How would the ERA be a panacea? It won't be any easier.

Proponents of the amendment seemed to think so. Like raising a flag so all can salute.

It's a nice general statement, but when you start dealing with every law about women you find they are all federal laws, adjudicated on a federal level. There is no law which we currently find onerous that couldn't be challenged successfully under the Fourteenth Amendment. The ERA would add nothing new to any of these laws. It isn't a magic wand. It brought with it many other things that really concern me. Look what is happening in states where the language that is being interpreted as equal rights is causing problems for women.

What are some of these problems?

I was on a talk show in New York with a woman psychiatrist who had just been on the segment ahead of me. The moderator had asked her how she felt about the ERA, and she said, "I am for it 100 percent, because one day my husband came home and told me he didn't want to be married any more, and I got nothing. Nothing. Now if we had had the ERA, this wouldn't have happened." Of course, the moderator was just delighted to have me next, so she could ask, "How can you be against it? The woman who was just on would not have had all the problems she had."

I answered, "What you don't realize is that the reason she had the problems in the first place is because she is from Pennsylvania, an Equal Rights language state with the same approach as the proposed national law. This means that the man is no longer responsible for the support or maintenance of his wife, including necessities like food, medicine and insurance. Under Pennsylvania law, she is equally responsible for the support of the children." When it came to divorce, even though she had not worked for years, little weight was given to that. Because she had a degree, her "capability" entered into it, and she had to go out and provide for her own support. She couldn't get any more than fifty percent of their mutual properties, which she thought was unfair and probably was. Because she had stayed at home all those years, she felt she should have received more. Before we began getting all this equal rights language, the presumption was that the men had to support their wives. As I said, in Pennsylvania the laws requiring a husband to support his wife in an ongoing marriage are "repugnant to the Pennsylvania State ERA."

Most child support and alimony laws have not been enforced in this country for a long time.

Of course, so much is attitudinal. If the man knows that he is no longer responsible for the support of his family, it would not be many generations before a woman would not feel safe going into a marriage committed to a large family. She would need to be ready to provide not only for her own

necessities, but she would have to share the burden of support for the minor children of that marriage. Proponents of the ERA say that if a marriage is good, you don't need laws. If we don't need laws, why have we always had them, and why is there all this talk about the need for the ERA to provide laws?

A handout was circulated in the Oakton, Virginia Stake announcing another LDS Coalition push to stop ERA in Virginia. It is a sample letter to use in writing legislatures. It lists the things they are against. For instance, they are against wives having to pay alimony and child support.

A woman was jailed last spring in Maryland for failing to provide child support payment to her ex-husband. However, I have not seen the materials to which you are referring.

You are not in on this?

Some of the women from the original LDS Citizens' Coalition are still active, and I certainly am supportive of them.

This didn't come from the top? This is a local group only?

Yes. And I hope that they continue. If they still feel strongly about the ERA, they should certainly go on opposing it. I do hope that this group and others around the country will take the next step, however, which is to address the other human issues we have already mentioned. We cannot afford the luxury of feeling safe and comfortable and thinking that we don't have to deal with our sisters' problems. We've got to deal with them, if we are to follow the mandate of the Relief Society "to care for all our sisters who may fall under our care and supervision irrespective of religion, color or condition."

What if we speak up and then find what we have said does not agree with what our leaders are saying? For instance, this letter from the LDS Citizens' Coalition is signed by the wife of one of the members of the stake presidency.

Does being a wife of a member of the stake presidency remove her right to participate in community affairs as a private citizen?

No, she has a perfect right to participate, but people may think that it is official.

I think we have got to get over the provincial idea that holding a position in the Church makes it impossible to participate actively in community affairs. If we do that, we effectively remove most of our people. We all hold jobs in the Church. One of the reasons for the consolidated schedule is so we can involve ourselves more actively in Christian service.

The women involved in this group are involved as a direct result of what's happening in Richmond. They are now activists. Each woman is a person—

an individual—and we must each make a personal decision about community service, based on that individuality. I hope the group continues because there needs to be a group where our people feel comfortable. (I see it as rather like training wheels on a child's bike.) When we become more sophisticated in the community arena, we can then join other "larger" groups and begin to function more effectively.

Would you allow the same rights to members of other groups who are still in the Church but who favor the ERA? Can they send out material too?

Obviously they can organize and send out materials. However, I think if they organize as a group, such as Mormons for ERA did, they are not going to find as receptive a response within the framework of the Church because the ERA is an issue on which the prophet has spoken—not once, but four times. When people ask, "Can I speak to a group in favor of the ERA?" the answer is obvious! Freedom of belief and speech is the right of all of us, but they should not expect to make such presentations from the pulpit or in Relief Society, because the prophet has identified the ERA as a "moral issue." You wouldn't expect the alcohol or tobacco lobby to request equal time in the chapels to discuss the virtues of their program.

What do you think about the abortion amendments? There are two of them: the Paramount Human Life Amendment and the Human Life Amendment. Has the Church made a statement on either of these?

Not to my knowledge. It certainly has made a statement on abortion, which does allow for abortion considerations in the case of rape, and in protecting the health of the mother.

In your view, is this still the Church's official statement? "The Church opposes abortion and counsels its members not to submit to, perform, nor abet an abortion except in the rare cases where, in the opinion of competent medical counsel, the life or good health of the mother is seriously in danger or where the pregnancy was caused by rape or produces serious emotional trauma in the mother. Even then, it should be done only after counseling with the local presiding priesthood authority and after receiving divine confirmation through prayer."

As far as I know that is still the statement.

It is a reasonable statement. It says that the Church is not in favor of abortion, but it leaves some options.

The "Paramount" Amendment says that the right to life is the highest right—the fetus' right to life, not the mother's. It makes no provision for the life of the mother: (I am going to quote from the proposed amendment.) "Note that there is no provision in this Amendment for an exception to kill a preborn child to 'save the life of the mother.' . . . This Amendment would protect every born and preborn human being's paramount right to life." The fertilized egg is even legislated for. I

assume all kinds of problems would arise—from such situations as spontaneous abortion.

I think some of those arguments are specious, but I do feel you have to be careful because of the wording which will often allow extreme interpretations of the law—both ways.

The Human Life Amendment is not as extreme. I quote: "No unborn person shall be deprived of life by any person; provided, however, that nothing in this article shall prohibit a law permitting only those medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother." It allows for saving the mother, but it does not mention rape or health. The brochure I am quoting—"Stop HLA" published by NOW—does name the Mormon Church as a supporter of the amendment. Has the Church issued a statement officially supporting the amendment, as it says here?

I have heard of no other statement than the one you just read. I would certainly suggest that each person look into it carefully for herself or himself.

I take it you are uncomfortable with the more extreme statement.

It doesn't deal with human needs. Again we must be careful of what amendments we pass because of the possibility of extreme interpretations one way or the other.

It would seem that some people are more interested in the unborn than in the people who are already here. They are not interested in gun control, for instance.

Well, I really don't know how to respond to that. We must each work in the areas of our greatest concerns.

Do you see any place besides Orrin Hatch's hearings where groups are coming together on disparate issues?

I would hope that all the women's groups would meet and try to find common ground. But we must be careful that when we begin to meet together, it is not just women. If we do not move women's issues into the mainstream and begin to deal with them as citizens, we will see them moved to the side while the legislative bodies deal with what they consider mainstream issues. Women's issues must be identified with all human issues and moved into the legislative mainstream.

Would you be willing to meet with avowed feminist groups like NOW and Mormons for ERA?

Certainly I would be happy to meet with these groups and try to find areas of agreement. Obviously there are going to be areas on which we will probably

never agree. We can move these to the side and look for those programs we can all support. There will be problems because we probably will not agree as to the best kinds of support systems, but if there can be give and take on both sides then we should be able to work together to positive ends.

Why is it that some people act as if when women get their rights they will automatically blow it, as if believing in equal rights means believing in abortion, or in leaving home and family?

I think this feeling arose out of the initial press. The first group of radicals were so extreme that people saw them as harmful. People who have causes and who are willing to commit enormous time and energy often articulate them through extreme actions. Some groups have different agendas than others, and we need to be aware of that. Everyone does not share our values.

Were you involved in the March for Life activities?

No, I wasn't, though I support the right of other individuals to be so involved.

How about homemakers' rights?

We hear a lot about homemakers' rights. What do you mean by that?

Part of it is social security reform.

There are some real problems with such reform. At this time it doesn't appear that it would benefit those it is supposed to help the most. Those who have studied the issue say it would decrease coverage of the single income family by an average of 15%. It would levy taxes on the assumed economic value of a homemaker's work and would require as much as $1,200 in additional taxes per year to come out of the homemaker's pocket—based on a standard 8% taxation rate for self-employed workers. Most families do not have that much additional disposable income, and it would therefore force the woman out of the home into the marketplace to earn the extra money to pay her social security. I don't believe we can justify it on that basis as it doesn't give that much additional protection.

Do you see yourself as a role model? Are you a typical Mormon woman?

I'm often asked that question, and I'm always concerned, because I don't know what a "typical Mormon woman" is. We are now a worldwide Church. Can there be such a woman? I am also very concerned because we seem to describe the "typical Mormon woman" in terms of tasks: she stays home, has a large family, bakes bread and cans fruit. When you ask about a typical Mormon man you talk in terms of values: he does well at his work, he holds

many church positions, he cherishes his family. Why can't we describe women in value terms? When we say that she stays at home and has a large family aren't we saying that she values life and feels one with her Father in Heaven in her responsibility to procreate? Aren't we also saying that she creates a warm, safe, fulfilling home? Can't we say that she cares for her family's nutritional needs, rather than narrowing it down to baking bread? That she husbands her family's resources, rather than narrowing it down to canning fruit? I believe more women would be comfortable—and feel less guilt—if they were described in value terms rather than in task terms. If I were described in value terms, I would say, Yes, I am a typical Mormon woman.

Are there, then, many different acceptable lifestyles?

Obviously there are, because we must all make different choices as we go through life. There are typical attitudes and approaches to problems, to doctrine and to family, though. I would say I am probably typical in these.

Would you recognize Sonia Johnson as typical in a way?

She is not typical in that she was willing to exchange basic doctrine and philosophy for something else. But certainly her vigor and her willingness to champion a cause are typical.

You obviously think, then, that there are definite women's issues.

I do. But I would hope we could begin identifying these as human issues. As I said before, we must move these into the mainstream of our legislative process and we, men and women alike, must deal with them. Women cannot and should not attempt to do it alone.

You see a danger of a legislative women's ghetto, so to speak?

Yes. We are faced with a situation where men say, "Let's not deal with those issues—those are women's issues. Let's get money for roads," or whatever. We really need to bring these issues into the whole human services area.

Do you see any changes in Mormon women?

Yes I do. I see them becoming more aware of the issues, more active, asking more questions and definitely making more contributions to society at large. I also see a greater recognition of their responsibilities as full partners in the Church and increasing authority over the programs for which they have stewardship. I hope in all of this that we as Mormon women can maintain a balanced point of view as we make our influence felt.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Death in Swedenborgian and Mormon Eschatology

MARY ANN MEYERS

Anticipation of a final curtain in the drama of existence, an "end" toward which history moves, has been a critical and persistent concept in Christian thought. Millennial expectations have flourished since the days of the Apostles, especially in times of unrest. In America, the first generation of Puritans were certain that history had entered its last phase. By the early eighteenth century New England divines were predicting that their listeners would live to hear the seventh trumpet announcing the start of the millennium. The once scholarly exercise of linking contemporaneous events with the forecasts of scripture was in time undertaken by an array of amateur exegetes, and during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a popular conviction that the "last days" were at hand became more widespread than at any other period in American history.

The old political order had been overthrown by the Revolution. A challenge to inherited ideas of place in geophysical and social terms was being mounted by the opening of the frontier and the rise of the common man. Surely it was no accident that a burgeoning interest in millennialism appeared coterminously with the westward trek of wagon trains and the growth of populistic egalitarian democracy.

"Amid the anxieties and evangelical enthusiasm of antebellum America," Sidney Ahlstrom writes, arose "a distinctly new kind of concern for Christ's Second Advent."[1] John Thomas preached the Lord's imminent return, and William Miller calculated the date of His appearance. For American Shakers, a group which experienced its greatest vitality during this period of millennial fever, the Second Coming was a *fait accompli* inasmuch as members of

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the sect believed it was consummated in and through Ann Lee, the Manchester factory girl they viewed as the feminine incarnation of the Divine Principle. Indeed, it was on the grounds that the Kingdom was come that the Shakers considered procreation unnecessary and enforced a rule of celibacy.

Differing markedly from these sects in their view of history are two other millennial groups—the Mormons and the Swedenborgians. They are essentially products of the same period, and it is their concepts of postmortem existence which are the focus of this article. In a sharp break with traditional Christian theology, Mormons and Swedenborgians took a dynamic view of the afterlife.[2] They not only challenged the Biblical idea of death as sleep, when an inactive body and soul simply await the common hour of salvation, but they posited a concept of human existence as an ever-ongoing process.

I would draw attention to the possibility that Joseph Smith's picture of the realms of glory is derived indirectly from Emanuel Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*, a work originally published in London in 1758, but widely distributed in America from 1815 through the Philadelphia-based American Society for Disseminating the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem.[3] To stress the parallels between Swedenborgian and Mormon beliefs is neither to deny Smith's vision experiences nor to confirm those of the Swedish baron.[4] But even dreams are culture bound, and the two sects have strikingly similar ideas about the geosocial characteristics of heaven.

Death for Swedenborg was a passage, and he said that when a man dies, "he takes with him all things belonging to him as a man except his earthly body."[5] Given the immediacy of the process he calls resuscitation or resurrection, however, human beings do not perceive themselves as different from what they were in the world. As soon as the heart stops beating, the seer reported, the Lord draws forth the spirit from the body. Nowhere in his Writings does he suggest that the two aspects of being are reunited, but on the basis of years of observation, he asserted that the form of the spirit is a human form. "A man's spirit enjoys every sense, both outer and inner, that he enjoyed in the world," Swedenborg declared. "He sees as before, he hears and speaks as before, smells and tastes, and when touched, he feels the touch as before; he also longs, desires, craves, thinks, reflects, is stirred, loves, wills as before."[6] Memory is retained, and spirits can recall everything seen, heard, read, learned, felt or thought throughout their mortal existence!

Reunions with relatives, friends and acquaintances take place during the first stage after death. It lasts from a few days to as long as a year, depending on the degree of harmony between an individual's external and internal nature, but at length his ruling loves are revealed, all appearances are shed and he passes into a second phase of spiritual life. A person's true character now is manifested in countenance and form, all superficial ties are severed, and he associates only with kindred spirits. It is at this point, according to Swedenborg's account, that the wicked cast themselves into hell in search of congenial company, while the regenerate are received into the highest realm of the intermediate state, where they are made ready for heaven. Instruction in doctrine drawn from the word is given them by the Lord through the

instrumentality of angels, and when their preparation is complete, angelic societies receive the newcomers with joy.

An ostensibly more traditional view of the resurrection was taught by Joseph Smith. "Restoration shall come to all," according to the Book of Mormon, "both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female, both the wicked and the righteous."[7] What the Mormon prophet meant by "restoration" was the reunion of body and soul separated at death, but it was not a vague prospect in an unimaginably distant future. Belief in an imminent Second Coming was a central element in nineteenth-century Mormon thought, and the Saints believed that at the end of the millennium "all must come forth from the grave . . . in the selfsame tabernacles that they possessed while living on the earth. Bone will come to its bone and flesh and sinew will cover the skeleton," President John Taylor said, "and at the Lord's bidding breath will enter the body and we shall appear, many of us, a marvel to ourselves."[8] Meanwhile the incorporeal nature of those who died before Christ's return was not perceived by the Saints as a bar to activity. Quite the contrary: the spirit world is repeatedly portrayed as a place where decisions are made and spirits continue to perfect their knowledge of the great law of development.

The vision experiences reported by Emanuel Swedenborg and Joseph Smith are notable for their detailed descriptions of the landscape of heaven. Throughout the Writings, the Swedish seer uses physiological analogies in explaining points of theology, and a kind of methodological crescendo is reached in his delineation of the abode of spirits. It is where God dwells, and in aggregate, Swedenborg declared, heaven reflects a single man, which he called *Maximus Homo* or Grand Man. The concept is an inversion of the Judeo-Christian idea that God created man in his own image, but in anatomical detail the philosopher goes far beyond the correspondence Paul suggested between the Church and the body of Christ.

Swedenborg taught that uses performed by innumerable societies which comprise heaven correspond to the functions of the human body. "In general," he wrote, "the highest or first heaven forms the head down to the neck; the middle or second heaven forms the breast down to the loins and knees; the lowest or third heaven forms the feet down to the soles, also the arms to the fingers."[9]

The tripartite division reflects a more general separation into celestial and spiritual realms, the former consisting of angels who have internalized divine emanations, and consequently are more closely conjoined to the Lord than the spiritual angels. The two kingdoms constitute the highest and middle heavens. In the lowest heaven are angels who receive influxes from both celestial and spiritual realms, but in contrast to their inhabitants, who admit truths more or less quickly into their wills, the angels of the lowest heaven simply live morally and believe in God without having any interest in further instruction. Swedenborg observed that there was no social intercourse between the three heavens, and that furthermore each was divided into societies according to the angels' interior affections. "All who form the same

angelic society resemble each other in countenance in a general way," he said, "but not in particulars."[10] The garments of angels correspond to their intelligences, as their dwellings correspond to their rank; thus it seems that the heaven of one spirit is never identical with that of another.

The Saints, too, conceive of a spirit world divided into three parts. The majority of the earth's inhabitants, according to Mormon doctrine, are destined for the lowest realm of glory known as the telestial kingdom. Its inhabitants will include those who refuse to receive the gospel of Christ but still do not deny the Holy Ghost through the ministrations of other spirits. In this category Smith puts "liars, and sorcerers, and adulterers, and whoremongers."[11] They will be blessed neither with the presence of the Father nor the Son; still the glory of their kingdom will surpass all understanding.

The inhabitants of the middle or terrestrial kingdom are described as those who "died without the law;" those who "received not the testimony of Jesus in the flesh, but afterwards received it;" and "honorable men of earth blinded by the craftiness" of others. These spirits are destined to receive the presence of the Son but not the fullness of the Father.

The highest kingdom, or the celestial, is located on a sanctified and crystallized earth where God and Jesus will dwell forever. Minimum requirements for this realm are faith, repentance, baptism by immersion and reception of the Holy Ghost by the laying of hands. Consigned to the lower celestial estate will be Latter-day Saints who have not entered into the covenant of marriage on earth, although presumably they can raise their heavenly status by acceding to "sealings" or proxy unions arranged by their descendants in temple ceremonies. The highest degree of glory is reserved for those Mormons who marry for time and eternity. They will bear children without pain,[12] and more:

> . . . the creative principle, the mechanical work which was performed by our Father and God in constructing creations, and in redeeming and glorifying them; the great principle of knowledge from which our Father and God can call forth from a shapeless mass of dust an immortal tabernacle, into which enters an immortal spirit, all these principles of wisdom, knowledge and power will be given to his children, and will enable them to organize elements, form creations, and call forth from the dust intelligent beings, who will be under their charge and control.[13]

The high status enjoyed by the married in the heaven of Mormon imagining was prefigured in Swedenborg's Writings. A bachelor, the philosopher conceived of marriage as the central human relationship in this world and the next. But according to him, marriage in heaven was not necessarily between men and women who were earthly consorts. Partners generally meet after death and live together for a time, he said, but only "if their inclinations are concordant and sympathetic" do "they continue their conjugial life."[14]

Swedenborg taught that the basis of a true marital relationship is a mutual love of the Lord and a united endeavor in all relationships in life to shun evils as sins against him. When genuine spiritual union does not exist between those who contract marriage on earth, as in the case of partners who desire dominion over each other, belong to different religions, or engage in polygamous relationships, then, the Lord provides suitable spouses, as he does for those who remain single in the world.

Good people who truly prefer perpetual celibacy are escorted to the side of heaven because for Swedenborg the center belongs to married partners. He believed that such profound psychological differences exist between men and women, the former acting from reason, the latter from affection, that neither can attain his or her potential for perfection outside of complimentary union. Indeed, in the relationship between husband and wife he finds an analogy for the relationship between love and wisdom in God.

But whether Swedenborg believed that the physical aspects of earthly marriages are incorporated in celestial ones is unclear. He described the latter in *Heaven and Hell* as "conjunctions of minds" while a decade later in *Conjugial Love* he wrote that he overheard an angel tell curious newcomers that although heavenly unions were similar to those on earth even to "the ultimate delights," they were "much more blessed because angelic perception and sensation is much more exquisite than human."[15] In any case, the seer firmly declared that in heaven the fruits of marriage are not offspring, whose procreation is among the chief ends of earthly unions, but goodness and truth. As they return in appearance and vigor to the springtime of their youth, celestial couples advance in blessedness. With the help of their evils, which they are permitted to reexperience from time to time so that they may take more intense delight in divine influx, angels make constant spiritual progress; but the process is never completed, for regeneration continues to eternity.

As I have noted elsewhere, in Western thought, the word death "has signified the end of man's ability to make decisions—to render actual what was previously a mere possibility."[16] In religious terms, this means that at death man loses the ability to act in his own behalf in securing salvation or avoiding damnation. Death brings him, as a moral person, to a kind of consummation—that is, to a position where, as Karl Rahner has said, the decisions for or against God, which he has made during his earthly existence, become final and unalterable.[17]

Mormons and Swedenborgians, however, view death as a mere progression along the path of eternal development. The similarity of their eschatological beliefs suggests that a group's theology of death is a key to sect differentiation. Forty years ago Elmer T. Clark constructed a sect typology which included the Latter-day Saints among the groups he described as charismatic or pentacostal and the Swedenborgians among those he called esoteric and mystic.[18]

Neither label is satisfactory, and subsequent sociologists of religion have not attempted to classify either Mormons or readers of the Swedish baron.

One might place them here and there in the elaborate schema devised for categorizing a broad range of religious communities.[19] But it is their eschatology which serves as the chief ordering device of their thoughts. By examining their views of death, one sees at once patterns of life determined by their concept of an active, ever protean postmortem existence whose details are not obscure but clearly sketched by leaders whose vision experiences formed the basis of doctrine.

Marriage is a paramount value among both Mormons and Swedenborgians. Viewing it as necessary, if insufficient, for the attainment of heavenly bliss, they hold the nuptial estate sacred. Extramarital sex is forbidden in both communities. Divorce is disapproved and discouraged, and birth control is officially proscribed. Neither group, of course, has remained wholly isolated from the prevailing mores of the larger society, but in both the state of Utah and the borough of Bryn Athyn large families are the norm and broken marriages uncommon. A complex variety of social organizations function in the two enclaves to strengthen family solidarity.

Both communities share an esteem for labor. The ethic of work as a sign of grace is transformed into a doctrine of accomplishment with work viewed as preparatory, and each advancement is a step along a road which continues on the other side of death. Gates passed in this world need not be renegotiated in the next, where men and women will go about their appointed tasks using skills acquired during an earthly apprenticeship.

Finally, the view of death characteristic of both Mormon and Swedenborgian thought produces a transcendent optimism. Setting them apart psychologically from the millennial sects whose forebearance in the face of poverty and injustice is grounded in the conviction that in the world to come tables will be turned is their belief in sure and steady progress. Zion, the New Jerusalem let down from heaven as a dwelling place of saints, exists in time and space. But it is not nirvana; rather it is a port, from which at death believers debark on a new though not a foreign adventure.

NOTES

[1]Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 478f. See also Elmer T. Clark, *Small Sects in America* (New York: Abington-Cokesburg Press, 1937), p. 331.

[2]Throughout the history of the Christian Church, Origen, alone among major theologians, rejected the idea that when the soul is separated from the body at death it becomes inactive. He taught that after its release from corporeal being the soul continues its journey of purification, moving by stages toward God. Some 500 years later, an American, Cotton Mather, also advanced the concept of the departed soul as one in motion. There is no evidence that the Puritan divine was influenced by the Greek father; rather, his sources appear to have been Joseph Mede and Pierre Jurieu.

[3]In 1822, the year before young Joseph was first visited by the heavenly messenger, Holland Weeks, a missionary dispatched by the five-year old General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America, reportedly drew crowds of 1,200 to 1,500 people at evangelical meetings held on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario about 90 miles from the Smith's Palmyra, New York, farm—and about the same distance from Fayette, where he finished the Book of Mormon. It seems improbable that a keen-witted lad would have been wholly ignorant of the

tales of the hereafter recounted by Weeks, but the Mormons' principal beliefs about man's final state are drawn from a vision Joseph received in Hiram, Ohio, in 1832. Although the village is in the northeast and Swedenborgian centers were concentrated along the southern tier, evangels on horseback spread the Word throughout the state in a major missionary effort. By this time, moreover, a commanding place in the hierarchy of the Saints had been achieved by Sidney Rigdon, a native of Pittsburgh where Swedenborgians were active as early as 1790.

[4]Swedenborg's detailed account of the celestial landscape is purportedly based on firsthand observations. He claimed to have been, not occasionally nor intermittently, but constantly in touch with the spiritual world for more than a quarter of a century, all the while maintaining full possession of his rational faculties. "In company with spirits and angels, hearing them converse with each other, and conversing with them," he was allowed to glimpse "things in another life which," he said, had "never before come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered into his imagination" (*Arcana Coelestia:* 5).

[5]*Heaven and Hell:* 461. The most popular of Swedenborg's numerous theological treatises, *Heaven and Hell* is a description of the spiritual world based on the visions the Swedish philosopher experienced between 1744 and 1757. References to this and all the philosopher's work are similar to LDS references in that they indicate not page number but passages.

[6]*Idem.*

[7]Alma 11:44.

[8]Sermon delivered at the funeral of Ann Tenora and George Callister; published in the *Deseret News,* 26 (March 21, 1877).

[9]*Heaven and Hell:* 65.

[10]*Heaven and Hell:* 47.

[11]Doctrine and Covenants 76:103.

[12]See Orson Pratt, "The Three Glories" (1873) in *The Vision,* or, *The Degrees of Glory,* ed. Ned B. Lundwall (Independence, Mo.: Zion Printing and Publishing, 1945), p. 36ff.

[13]Pratt, "The Increased Powers and Capacities of Man in the Future Estate" (n.d.) in Lundwall, p. 82.

[14]*Conjugial Love:* 47. The word "conjugial" as opposed to the usual "conjugal" is peculiar to Swedenborg and the New Church.

[15]Cf. *Heaven and Hell:* 382 and *Conjugial Love:* 44.

[16]Mary Ann Meyers, "Gates Ajar: Death in Mormon Thought and Practice" in *Death in America,* ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), p. 132.

[17]Karl Rahner, *On the Theology of Death* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961), p. 36.

[18]See Clark, pp. 130f and 235.

[19]In Peter Berger's typology of religious movements, Mormonism and Swedenborgianism might be classified as "Gnostic" sects with secrets to be divulged which, in both cases, are dualistic ontologies. Acknowledgment of the *Book of Mormon* and the Writings as having divine authority places them, moreover, in a cluster of sects which A. Leland Jamison describes as groups which add to the Bible a supplementary source of revelation. In terms of typologies which differentiate movements in relation to their conception of the ingredients of salvation, Brian Wilson's category of "introversionist" sects is applicable to the Mormons and to the general church. In his phrase, both much of the state of Utah and the borough of Bryn Athyn are "gathered" communities with a strong sense of their own sacredness. See Peter L. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Social Research,* vol. 21 (1954), p. 478, A. Leland Jamison, "Religions on the Christian Perimeter," from *The Shaping of American Religions,* ed. James Wart Smith and Jamison, vol. 1 in *Religion in American Life* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 181, and Bryn Wilson, *Religious Sects* (New York: World University Library, 1973) p. 28.

Is There An ERA-Abortion Connection?

LINCOLN C. OLIPHANT

THE SUMMER 1979 ISSUE of *Dialogue* carried an article by Susan Taylor Hansen, "Women Under the Law," which generated several responses, including a letter from Helen Holmes Duncan, published in the Spring 1980 issue. Said Ms. Duncan:

> . . . I was tantalized by Ms. Hansen's statement that "certainly there are many worthy arguments against the ERA," and by her reference to "meaningful discussion of any underlying moral issues." My frustration stems from her decision to leave these areas dangling. I would be personally delighted to find a more complete discussion of such "worthy arguments," and would particularly enjoy an expanded treatment of the underlying moral issues which are apparently perceived by our church leaders.

This response to Ms. Hansen asserts a connection between the Equal Rights Amendment and a certifiably moral issue—abortion. Although asserting a connection, my argument does not depend on whether or not the present amendment is ratified. I believe there is a connection between the way influential supporters of the amendment think about equality and abortion, and I believe that the drive for a particular definition of equality (which includes the right to an unfettered abortion freedom) will continue regardless of the success of the pending amendment.

Hansen's legislative history lesson is some help, but she makes a serious and common error. After cautioning about uncertain interpretations, she states that "Few amendments . . . have had the same wealth of pre-passage legislative discussion of intent as has the ERA in the House of Representa-

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tives and the Senate."[1] This statement is designed to reassure us that the Amendment's purposes are well-known and that we can rely on the Court to carry out those purposes *and only those purposes*. Unfortunately, we can have no such guarantees, and Hansen provides us with the evidence:

> The Supreme Court, however, has thus far failed to rule that sex is a "suspect classification." To do so would be tantamount to declaring that the denial of legal rights on the basis of sex was unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It would be the judicial equivalent to ratifying the ERA. . . . The fact that the Court has had ample opportunity to make such a ruling without doing so suggests that it is unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future.[2]

While not saying specifically whether or not the Court ought to perform the "judicial equivalent to ratifying the ERA," Hansen implies as much by quoting Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, who championed ERA in Congress in the early 1970s: "There never was a time when the decisions of the Supreme Court could not have done everything we ask today."[3] Hansen also says (and she should be honored for her candor) that "The Fourteenth Amendment, for example, has far exceeded the originally perceived purpose—elevating the status of blacks—and has come to serve as a tool of justice for many oppressed persons and groups."[4]

ERA proponents cannot have it both ways. They cannot comfort us by telling us of the iron bands of legislative history that will bind the courts (e.g., in the ERA cases) and then cheerily report that courts really do their best work when they break those bands (e.g., in the Fourteenth Amendment cases).

This inconsistency may cause some of the amendment's proponents to pause, but the more sophisticated of them do not need to sort out the inconsistency because of their own view of the Constitution. To these people, the amendment can mean one thing today, another tomorrow. (I am inclined to say that today it means whatever it needs to mean in order to be approved; tomorrow it means whatever is needed to advance some cause.) To such people, abortion rights can as easily be "put" into "equality of rights" as it was put into "Due Process of Law." Of these people, Michael Oakeshott has said,

> "Government" appears as a vast reservoir of power which inspires them to dream of what use might be made of it. They have favorite projects, of various dimensions, which they sincerely believe are for the benefit of mankind, and to capture this source of power, if necessary to increase it, and to use it for imposing their favorite projects upon their fellows is what they understand as the adventure of governing men.[5]

And for these people, Constitutional meaning must change to accommodate their favorite projects.

This permutable view of the Constitution was held by the members of the House Judiciary Committee who supported the Equal Rights Amendment. In

the Committee report (signed by, among others, Abner J. Mikva, recently appointed to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the second most powerful court in the nation), the members gave their view of the "legislative history" of the Amendment:

> Because [equality] is a symbolic word, and not a technical term, its enshrinement in the Equal Rights Amendment is consistent with our Nation's view of the Constitution as a *living, dynamic document.*[6]

There are a thousand maxims for legislative interpretation, but none so widely applicable as Lord MacMillan's, which ought to be pondered by supporters of any Constitutional amendment. Said MacMillan, ". . . In construing an Act of Parliament, the legislators who passed it cannot be asked to state on oath what they meant by particular words in it—for which they must often be devoutly thankful."[7] The promise of putting "symbolic words" into the Constitution is that they have imprecise meaning; lawyers and judges give them specific meaning later. This practice may serve to multiply the gratitude of legislators, but it should give no comfort to the people. "Living, dynamic documents" do not mean tomorrow what they meant in their committee reports.

Even to the extent that ERA's legislative history seems to provide details rather than symbols, the details are contradictory. In a recent edition of *America* magazine, Elizabeth Alexander, a lawyer and legal advisor to Catholics Act for ERA, and Maureen Fiedler, a nun and national coordinator of Catholics Act for ERA, explained how abortion and ERA are "separate and distinct." After some obeisance to the fidelity argument, they quote Congresswoman Griffiths and Senator Bayh, and then take this paragraph from the Senate Report:

> The original resolution does not require that women must be treated in all respects the same as men. "Equality" does not mean "sameness." As a result, the original resolution would not prohibit reasonable classifications based on characteristics that are unique to one sex.[8]

Setting aside the legislative history, Alexander and Fiedler then give us their conclusion of what ERA will mean for abortion:

> *In these statements, Congress clearly expressed its intention that the Equal Rights Amendment should not be applied to abortion laws since pregnancy and the corollary ability to have an abortion obviously flow from physical characteristics unique to the female sex.* Such a clear statement of intent would be difficult for the Supreme Court or any court to overcome.[9]
>
> Furthermore, *Congress provided the judicial branch with a sound legal basis for excluding abortion from the broad equality mandate of the ERA, by providing an exclusion for unique physical characteristics.*
>
> Abortion is a situation that arises from the unique physical characteristics of pregnancy. In this situation, there is no characteristic that can be shared with the other sex because, of course, men are incapable of

> becoming pregnant and of having abortions. *Where the characteristic is not shared with the other sex, there can be no issue of discrimination based on sex.* Since it is impossible to treat men and women equally in this area, there can be no showing of a purpose or intent to discriminate. . . .[10]

The Alexander-Fiedler conclusion has just one flaw: many of the country's leading ERA experts say it is wrong. This conflict is immensely educational, for it shows how "wrong" one can be even though one has "the legislative history" on one's side.

A brief *amici curiae* was filed in *G. E. v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976), signed by Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School, Barbara A. Brown and Ann E. Freedman of the Women's Law Project and Gail Falk. Brown, Emerson, Falk and Freedman wrote what is probably the most important work on the proposed 27th amendment, "The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women," 80 *Yale L. J.* 871 (1971). Joining the authors of the Yale article were Ruth Bader Ginsburg of Columbia Law School, probably the leading legal writer and scholar on "women's issues," and Melvin L. Wulf and Kathleen Willert Peratis of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Wulf is a prominent Supreme Court practitioner; Professor Ginsburg now sits with Abner Mikva on the D.C. Court of Appeals.

In the judgment of these experts, the General Electric Company, in trying to defend its disability insurance program which did not cover pregnancy, was misusing the legislative history of the Equal Rights Amendment. And what was G. E. saying? It was advancing the Alexander-Fiedler argument: Pregnancy is a "unique physical characteristic" that cannot "be shared with the other sex," so "there can be no issue of discrimination based on sex." In explicitly and comprehensively rejecting the G. E. argument, these leading authorities also destroyed the Alexander-Fiedler view that there can be no ERA-abortion connection:

> *The legislative history of the ERA includes several examples of pregnancy classifications permissible under the amendment.* Among these are "a law providing for payment of the medical costs of childbearing," and "laws establishing medical leave for child-bearing." *These pregnancy classifications are valid not because (as suggested by G. E.) pregnancy classification is outside the scope of the ERA, but because the test applicable under the ERA is satisfied. . . .*[11]
>
> If G. E. were a state employer subject to the ERA, *its treatment of disabilities related to pregnancy and childbirth would not survive the scrutiny* appropriate under the amendment. . . .[12]
>
> A contextual approach to the legislative history of the ERA reveals the superficiality of the quotation search made by G. E. . . . . [Our analysis] discloses that pregnancy classifications of the kind here at issue would not survive the ERA. . . .[13]

Some of the principals of Catholics Act for ERA may continue to believe that ERA and abortion have no connection, but when the cases reach the

courts advocates like Emerson, Brown, Falk, Freedman and Wulf will be arguing before judges like Ginsburg and Mikva. Paraphrasing Congressman Henry Hyde, I don't think this is a combination the unborn can live with.

The importance of the foregoing is all the more relevant because many "pro-choice" people believe that abortion and childbirth are simply two alternative and equally dignified ways of dealing with pregnancy. Therefore, unless "pro-choice" advocates lose their present advantage in the courts, as the drive for equal rights comes to include protections for women having babies it must also come to include protections for women having abortions. This trend has been seen again and again, and will continue. The proscription of sex discrimination in the 1964 Civil Rights Act came to mean abortion rights. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in educational institutions receiving federal funds, came to mean abortion rights. The "Alternatives to Abortion Act" (Title VI of the Health Services and Centers Amendments of 1978) was meant to be an anti-abortion bill but turned out to provide funds only to centers which are willing to counsel on "all options" available to pregnant teenagers. Pro-life counseling centers have refused to counsel abortions and so are excluded. Until pro-life forces can break the weld holding abortion and birth together, each advance for "equal rights" will be an advance for abortion rights.

The classical statement of the abortion-equals-birth mentality was made by federal district judge Jon O. Newman, who said,

> The view that abortion and childbirth, when stripped of the sensitive moral arguments surrounding the abortion controversy, are simply two alternative medical methods of dealing with pregnancy may be gleaned from the various opinions [in the *Abortion Cases*].[14]

Newman's formulation has been held up to parody by Professor John T. Noonan, Jr., of the University of California (Berkeley) Law School who noted that embezzlement and cashing a check, when stripped of their sensitive moral arguments, are simply two alternative ways of withdrawing money from a bank, and prostitution and marital intercourse, when stripped of the sensitive moral arguments surrounding them, are simply two alternative ways of satisfying the sexual instinct.

Judge Newman, we should remember, says that he "gleaned" his stark, amoral formulation from the *Abortion Cases*. It is not surprising, therefore, that several members of the Supreme Court think Newman was right. In dissent in one of the 1977 abortion funding cases, Justice Brennan, joined by Justices Marshall and Blackmun, said:

> Pregnancy is unquestionably a condition requiring medical services. [Citation omitted.] Treatment for the condition may involve medical procedures for its termination, or medical procedures to bring the pregnancy to term, resulting in a live birth. "Abortion and childbirth, when stripped of the sensitive moral arguments surrounding the abortion controversy, are simply two alternative medical methods of dealing with pregnancy." [citing Newman][15]

Note that the Justices have omitted Newman's reference to what may be gleaned from the earlier cases. They can say with authority (at least the authority of a dissenting opinion) that "abortion and childbirth . . . are simply two alternative medical methods of dealing with pregnancy."

In the 1980 Hyde Amendment case, *Harris v. McRae*, Brennan, Marshall, and Blackmun again used this argument. After quoting themselves, they add the following,

> In every pregnancy, one of these two courses of treatment is medically necessary. . . . But under the Hyde Amendment, the Government will fund only those procedures incidental to childbirth. By thus injecting coercive financial incentives favoring childbirth into a decision that is constitutionally guaranteed to be free from governmental intrusion, the Hyde Amendment deprives the indigent woman of her freedom to choose abortion over maternity, thereby impinging on the due process liberty right recognized in *Roe v. Wade*.[16]

It is easy to see how these Justices would think that the Hyde Amendment is unconstitutional: If abortion and childbirth are simply two interchangeable medical procedures, how can Congress rationally fund one procedure and not the other? And if the distinction is irrational, it is not constitutional. In charging Congress with using *coercive incentives*, these three judges—seemingly unable to distinguish abortion from childbirth—also are unable to distinguish coercion from inducement.

In *McRae*, Brennan, Marshall, and Blackmun were joined by Justice Stevens who wrote his own dissenting opinion. We have thus come within a single vote of being told that the Constitution of the United States requires the Congress to pay for abortions if it pays for childbirth, and this because "Abortion and childbirth, when stripped of the sensitive moral arguments surrounding the abortion controversy, are simply two alternative methods of dealing with pregnancy."[17]

We are not too far, in the courtrooms of this country, from a final decree that abortion and childbirth are in all essential aspects equal. A shift of one vote in McRae would have done it insofar as funding is concerned. And a much more sweeping argument already has been presented to the Supreme Court by the American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood Federation:

> Since pregnancy is a condition requiring medical attention, [we must] determine whether abortion is a safe response to it at certain medically recognized stages. Neither the choice of live birth nor that of abortion can be considered "unnecessary" under this analysis, despite the fact that those treatments present different outcomes as a result of treatment.
>
> An analogous situation is presented by a diagnosis of kidney disease, where the choice of treatment is transplant or dialysis. Each choice produces significantly different outcomes with different effects on the patient's mental and physical health, but this by no means indicates that one choice is less "necessary" than the other. . . . While

> the choice of treatment would be predicted upon consideration of a number of individual factors known only to physician and patient, they would at least not be forced to give overriding consideration to an arbitrary State determination that one form of treatment was more moral (i.e., more "necessary" under a State definition of that term) than the alternative choice.[18]

The ACLU and Planned Parenthood thus argue that deciding whether to give birth or to abort is like deciding whether to have your failing kidney replaced by transplant or renewed by dialysis. It is hard to imagine a *less* analogous situation, but these influential pro-abortion groups can no longer comprehend distinctions between rejected, surgically dismembered babies and failing, surgically replaced kidneys. And when the state tries to say, "Damn it, this is wrong, there *is* a difference between kidneys and babies and we will pay only for kidneys," this is termed an "arbitrary determination"! If ERA is ratified, I believe that such habits of thought will be transformed into Constitutional law.

I have come, ineluctably and possibly irreversibly, to the conclusion that there *is* an ERA-abortion connection. As more and more people reach the same conclusion, the Amendment's prospects will diminish. This is as it should be, for if ERA means abortion, it does not mean progress, it does not mean liberty, it does not mean "rights." Abortion means death: it remains only for us to know what the Equal Rights Amendment means. In one very important regard, I believe I know.

NOTES

[1]Susan Taylor Hansen, "Women Under the Law," *Dialogue* XII:2 (1979): 88. Since committee reports are the best source of legislative history, and since the Senate and House Judiciary Committees supported different versions of an amendment (notably, the House Committee supported the Wiggins Amendment) and wrote their reports about different language, it is very difficult to see how the legislative history of ERA can be described in terms of praise.

[2]Ibid., 86-7.

[3]Ibid., 87.

[4]Ibid, 88.

[5]Michael Oakeshott, "On Being Conservative," quoted in William F. Buckley, Jr., ed., *American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century* 94 (1970).

[6]H. Rpt. No. 92-359, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess. 8 (Separate Views) (1971). (Emphasis added.)

[7]Lord MacMillan, "Law and Language," in *Law and Other Things* (1931), p. 164.

[8]Elizabeth Alexander and Maureen Fiedler, "The Equal Rights Amendment and Abortion: Separate and Distinct," *America* (April 12, 1980), 314, 315-16.

[9]People who are as concerned about abortion as I presume Catholics Act for ERA claims to be, ought, after the *Abortion Cases*, to be utterly incapable of uttering such a sentence as this last one. The Court had no problem at all in overcoming an entirely adequate history of the Fourteenth Amendment and abortion. John Hart Ely, Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, wrote the following about the Court's allegiance to legislative history:

> What is frightening about *Roe* is that this super-protected right [of abortion] is not inferable from the language of the Constitution, the framers' thinking respecting the specific problem in issue, any general value derivable from the provisions they in-

> cluded, or the nation's governmental structure. . . . And that, I believe . . . is a charge that can responsibly be leveled at no other decision of the past 20 years. At times the inferences the Court has drawn from the values the Constitution marks for special protection have been controversial, even shaky, but never before has its sense of an obligation to draw one been so obviously lacking. (John Hart Ely, "The Wages of Crying Wolf: A Comment on *Roe v. Wade*," 82 Yale L.J. (1973): 920, 935-937.)

[10]Alexander and Fiedler, 316. (Emphasis added.)

[11]Brief for Women's Law Project and American Civil Liberties Union as *amici curiae*, 13–14, *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976). (Emphasis added.)

[12]Ibid., 19. (Emphasis added.) [13]Ibid., 21.

[14]*Roe v. Norton*, 408 F. Supp. 660, 663, n. 3 (D.C. Conn. 1975).

[15]*Beal v. Doe*, 423 U.S. 438, 449 (1977) (Brennan, J., dissenting).

[16]*Harris v. McRae*, —U.S.—, slip opinion p. 5 (1980) (Brennan, J., dissenting).

[17]Dr. André E. Hellegers, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology and Director of the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, Georgetown University, has responded to this whole notion about as well as anyone. Said Dr. Hellegers in an appearance before the Senate Committee on Human Resources,

> The logic of the Supreme Court escapes me as a physician. This is the Court which holds [in the *Abortion Cases*] that it does not know when human life begins in the womb. For the purposes of allowing abortion the Court, therefore, treats the fetus as if it were just a tumor. But for the purposes of disability benefits [in *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert*] the fetus may *not* be treated as a tumor, for, if it were a tumor, the woman would qualify for disability benefits. (Hearings on S. 995 Before the Subcomm. on Labor of the Sen. Comm. on Human Resources, 95th Cong., 1st Sess. [1977] p. 77.)

[18]Brief for American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., as *amici curiae*, 11-12, *Beal v. Doe*, 423 U.S. 438 (1977).

A New Climate of Liberation: A Tribute to Fawn McKay Brodie, 1915–1981

STERLING M. MCMURRIN

I AM HONORED by the invitation to write a tribute to Fawn McKay Brodie. Professor Brodie was no doubt the most widely known and read of all Mormon writers, a historian of distinction whose work over a period of thirty-five years has attracted international attention and very considerable acclaim. Her early interests and university studies and degrees were in literature, and as a writer she turned her exceptional literary talents and energy to biography, producing, among other works, widely read biographies of Joseph Smith, Sir Richard Burton, Thaddeus Stevens, Thomas Jefferson, and a yet-to-be-published work on Richard Nixon. The Nixon work was completed just before her death.

On the history faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles, Professor Brodie's teaching was directed especially to historical biography. As a biographer she was greatly influenced by the school of the German philosopher and historian of ideas Wilhelm Dilthey and by the psychology of the Freudians, influences which have been central in the development of contemporary psychohistory, where it is held that historical explanation is achieved through *Verstehen*. This is the method of empathetic understanding where the historian attempts to achieve an imaginary identification with the subject of the historical events and thereby understand them through an intimate grasp of the circumstances, interests, and motives which produced them. In commenting on her methods as a researcher and writer in a 1975 interview, Professor Brodie disclaimed any experience and competence as a clinician in psychological or psychoanalytical matters, but strongly defended the methodology of psychohistory in historical research and writing.[1] She identified herself, however, as more psychobiographer than psychohistorian, a qualification that seems entirely appropriate considering the concentration of her work.

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It is this strong bent toward psychobiography as compared to the traditional, more external or even positivistic treatment of biography, of course, that enlivened the materials with which Professor Brodie worked and at the same time occasioned much of the more competent criticism which her books generated. This can be seen in some of the critical reactions to her volumes on Jefferson and Joseph Smith. Her method of treating her subjects enabled her at times to exploit the controversial facets of their character and behavior, all of which made interesting reading and ran the risk of serious error. In the 1975 interview Professor Brodie herself warned against the "dangers" latent in the method of psychobiography. It is surprising that while she made it clear that this was the method employed in all her other biographies, she said that in her work on Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*, she was not involved with it "except by inadvertence."

It was the Joseph Smith volume, of course, her first biography, that made Professor Brodie famous among Mormons and students of Mormonism before she was well known in academic circles. When this book hit the Church in 1945, it produced more intellectual excitement than the Mormons had known in decades. The Mormons were accustomed to every variety of criticism, and both the Church and the people had learned to take it in their stride. But here was a prize-winning book from a leading publisher, meticulously researched and well documented, with every appearance of reliable scholarship, written by a young woman from one of the foremost families of the Church who had been reared in a conservative Mormon village and schooled through college in Utah, and yet a book which seemed to undercut the very foundations of Mormonism. It was a fascinating work that attempted to penetrate the mind and motives of Joseph Smith and explain his behavior and the moving events in the early life of the Church in entirely naturalistic terms. It described the prophet, a remarkably complex person and in the esteem of many Mormons an almost deified one, as an all-too-human human being. It demythologized the beginnings and early history of the Church to the point of denying its divinity. It was a book that could not be ignored.

The Church excommunicated Mrs. Brodie, and some of its leading scholars ridiculed her book. Some Mormons and many non-Mormon historians hailed it as the first competent work on Joseph Smith, even a definitive work, and as the first objective study of the beginnings of Mormonism, subjects which for decades had been plagued by prejudiced writers for and against. The most competent analysts of the Brodie book found much to praise as well as much to criticize. But their praise far outweighed their criticism. Vardis Fisher, the author of the great novel *Children of God,* criticized her handling of some of her sources and her account of the "metamorphosis" of Joseph Smith, saying that her book is "almost more a novel than a biography."[2] Dale L. Morgan called the book a "definitive biography," "the finest job of scholarship yet done in Mormon history."[3]

Whatever its merits and demerits, the Brodie book was a watershed in the treatment of Mormon history by Mormon historians. I believe that because of

No Man Knows My History, Mormon history produced by Mormon scholars has moved toward more openness, objectivity, and honesty. For the past half century Mormon religious thought has been in decline, but since the forties the Mormon treatment of Church history has greatly improved—not simply because of a breakthrough in the Church's proprietorship over its own history and improved access to the historical materials, or because of increased Mormon competence in historiography, but rather because among the historians there has been more honesty, a more genuine commitment to the pursuit of truth, and greater courage in facing criticism or even condemnation. Numerous factors determine such things, but quite surely in this case the honesty and courage of Mrs. Brodie have been among the most important.

No historian can even hope to construct a full and accurate picture and entirely adequate interpretation of a complex historical subject. There are too many problems associated with the selection and verification of data, the identification of causal relations, principles of analysis and interpretation and the historian's own disposition and presuppositions. In Professor Brodie's own words, "Even the most dispassionate historian, trying to select fairly with intelligence and discretion, manipulates in spite of himself, by nuances, by repudiation, by omission, by unconscious affection or hostility."[4] Genuinely competent historians must and do expect criticism. They should welcome it, as it is essential to their search for the truth about what happened and why it happened. But competent criticism is one thing, defamation is something else. For her work on Joseph Smith, Fawn Brodie received not only high praise and competent criticism, she was all too frequently the object of vilification—and that by many who knew little or nothing about Joseph Smith or Mormon history beyond what they had gleaned from the Church's own propagandistic literature or from those Mormon writers who are simply apologists for the Church and their religion.

I am personally not partial to psychohistory; it is interesting and can be exciting reading, but as Professor Brodie herself has said, it is fraught with danger. In the foreword of her biography of Jefferson, she wrote, "Though this volume is 'an intimate history' of Thomas Jefferson, it attempts to portray not only his intimate but also his inner life, which is not the same thing. The idea that a man's inner life affects every aspect of his intellectual life and also his decision-making should need no defense today. To illuminate this relationship, however, requires certain biographical techniques that make some historians uncomfortable. One must look for feeling as well as fact, for nuance and metaphor as well as idea and action." Although she disclaimed intentional involvement in psychobiography in her study of Joseph Smith, I believe this statement would have been appropriate for that volume as well. In the foreword of the second edition Mrs. Brodie referred to her "speculations" regarding the character of Joseph Smith. The book should be read with that reference in mind. A part of the trouble is that most devout Mormons do not want the "intimate" life of their prophet investigated and publicized and they are not comfortable with efforts to examine his "inner" life. Except for the Reorganites, they were pleased, of course, that Brodie made a solid case

for the prophet's polygamy, though many were more than a little disturbed by her report that he may have had almost fifty wives. But they found quite distasteful her disclosure that a man who goes in for marriage on such a heroic scale must occasionally leave his wife (wives) at home in the evening while he engages in a bit of courtship.

Gilbert Highet wrote of the Jefferson volume, "This is a sensitive, eloquent and far-sighted biography." I regard *No Man Knows My History* as sensitive and eloquent. Of its author I can only say that she was both honest and courageous in her search for the facts on the origins of Mormonism and in her attempt to describe the Mormon prophet. In the 1970 preface to the second edition, she referred to the "new climate of liberation" in the Church, which she credited in part to the founders and editors of *Dialogue*, and wrote that "the fear of church punishment for legitimate dissent seems largely to have disappeared." Whether this "new climate" augurs well for the future or is an apparition that is already fading, time will tell. But we can be sure that Fawn Brodie was one of its chief creators and those in the Church who value the authentic quest for truth owe her a great debt.

In 1967 the Utah Historical Society conferred on Mrs. Brodie its highest honor by making her a Fellow of the Society. Her acceptance speech, which she aptly described as a "two and one-half minute talk," was a deeply moving experience both for her and her audience. It was something of a reuniting with her intimate society from which she had long been estranged. The occasion, she said, was "in a sense a tribute to the right to dissent about the past," as indeed it was. Of the Utah Historical Society, she said that "It has had faith that the good sense and compassion of the reader would in the end sort out the malicious writing from the unmalicious, the bigoted from the unbigoted."

NOTES

[1]Fawn McKay Brodie, interviewed by Shirley E. Stephenson on November 30, 1975, in the Brodie Papers of the Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[2]Review in *New York Times* Book Reviews, November 25, 1945, p. 1.

[3]*Saturday Review*, November 24, 1945.

[4]"Can We Manipulate the Past?" First Annual American West Lecture, University of Utah, 1970.

FICTION

A PROSELYTOR'S DREAM

HELEN WALKER JONES

MARY MAHONEY, a devout Catholic, left Kentucky and came west to Basalt, Idaho, where she met her future husband on the steps of the old LDS ward-house. She was a Mormon for the remaining fifty-two years of her life, yet Grandma Mary never gave up the crucifix on her mantel, and one night the home teachers tried to sneak it into the fireplace.

I can't think of my childhood without recalling the fine white ivory of that crucifix against my fingertips. Grandma's occasional Latin mumblings always puzzled but intrigued me, and I wanted to learn everything about Catholics. When I was thirteen, she gave me weekly religious instruction, which I later recognized as a sort of catechism. She never did this with my sisters; somehow she had singled me out as the most vulnerable, perhaps the most like her.

As a young woman, she had delivered many babies, and once as we sat side by side awaiting the sacrament, she said, "A midwife's trademark is bloody hands. They always reminded me of the stigmata."

"What's that?" I asked.

"Christ's wounds from the crucifixion." She patted my hand and whispered, "The holy eucharist is coming. Be quiet now, Molly." Under her breath, she explained the transubstantiation of the sacrament bread and water into the actual body and blood of Jesus. "Only the taste and color remain behind," she whispered, as I intoned "While of These Emblems" and glanced sideways to see if my mother had overheard this false doctrine.

Grandma's warped theology influenced me more than I cared to admit, and whenever I dared speak up in Sunday School class, some freak mixture of Catholicism and Mormonism would drop inadvertently from my lips. I once found myself repeating monotone Latin chants in seminary class during a scripture chase.

HELEN WALKER JONES *recently became an American after living in Utah, Wyoming and Montana for the last seventeen years. She was born in Canada.*

I refused to wear a headscarf, ever, because it represented proper Mass attire. All my high school friends wore paisley triangles over their hair rollers as we drove up and down Main Street on Saturday afternoons. I was nicknamed "Nettie" because of my pink hair net.

While the other kids goofed around, I pored over the standard works and read every book I could find on Catholic doctrine. I was determined to know if my grandmother was right. Practically every day I presented my dad with a new question about religion. "The pest is here again," he would always say good-naturedly, looking up from his desk. Even if he knew the answer, he would say, "Hand me my scriptures," and together we would research the question. Once I asked him about Grandma's unorthodoxy and he said, "She's just getting senile. Don't pay any attention when she talks like that."

I majored in medieval history in college, writing my senior thesis on "Basic Doctrinal Changes in the Catholic Church During the Medieval Period." Grandma read it with tight lips, later burning it in the fireplace, hoping it was the only copy. For two months she refused to sit next to me in church, and when I caught her caressing her rosary one afternoon, she slapped at the air, trying to banish me from her sight. After Grandpa died and she moved in with us, I was refused access to her bedroom, although I had been her favorite once.

When my World Religions class toured the Huntsville monastery, I scrutinized every brick and window pane, wondering about Grandma's origins. Our institute teacher had suggested covering our heads, so I was wearing a frail silk scarf printed with pink and red roses. I thought about my pink net and wondered if it would be considered a suitable head covering in this sanctuary.

Before we left, I bought a box of caramels and a paperback copy of *Facts of the Faith* at the monks' store, thinking all the while of Father Bernard, a monk in his late thirties with dark Italian eyes, who had briefly forsaken his vow of silence to explain the monastic system to us. While I studied his drab brown robe, I entertained thoughts of his leaving both the monastery and his church for me and Mormonism. An authentic proselytor's dream.

As I ate the caramels, our Bluebird bus sped along the freeway past acres of alfalfa and cows, and I became less romantic and pictured Father Bernard repenting of his love for me and sneaking off to an out-of-the-way cathedral to confess he had suffered too much, had not lost his faith, and saw the futility of dispelling his Catholic loyalties. He would then marry an ex-nun, and I would go on with my search for the perfect Mormon husband.

As it turned out, I forgot Father Bernard within a week and focused my romantic attentions on a five-year string of inactive Mormons and non-members. We always ended up arguing religion, I inevitably tried to convert them, and not one lasted more than three months.

"Why don't you find a nice Mormon boy and settle down?" my mother kept asking. She thought I perversely turned down dates with anyone who could quote the Articles of Faith, but the truth was, nice Mormon boys never asked me out. One boy in my institute class advised me to stop acting so

controversial, then added, "If you'd quit singing those Handel arias and try 'Climb Every Mountain' you'd be more popular."

I taught school for five years and had a total of three dates with active LDS boys. Finally, at age twenty-six, I met Bill Weston at a fireside. He was a discus thrower gone to pot, his thick chest and biceps sagging, his sandy hair receding, even at twenty-eight. He shook my hand and said, "I really enjoyed your singing. Handel is one of my favorites." Ten minutes later we were discussing Peruvian customs and Bill was telling me about all the Catholics he had converted.

Bill was an elder's quorum president, no less, whose forebears on every side crossed the plains in handcart companies. I told him of my grandparents' living in a dugout in the Idaho wilderness, with Grandma delivering babies and Grandpa digging irrigation ditches and pondering what the crops were like back home.

I mentioned Grandma Mary's crucifix and her ideas on the sacrament. "I saw that in Peru so many times," Bill said. "Some people never escape the teachings of their childhood. Even though they're converted by the spirit, mentally it's hard for them to make the change."

I had the feeling he viewed our dating as a fellowshipping assignment. For months, we never went anywhere together except sacrament meeting, conference or firesides. "I'm just trying to educate you," he laughed when I suggested we see a movie. "I don't want to cuddle up next to you in a dark theatre until I'm sure you know enough about the gospel to teach it to our children."

The next night we prayed together for the first time. I was embarrassed to kneel beside him in my mother's living room, even though everyone else had gone to bed. I dreaded the idea of Grandma stumbling over us on her way to the bathroom, chanting her Latin benedictions. But afterward I felt very secure and calm as Bill put his arm around me and kissed me.

Our courtship progressed quickly. We "eloped" to the temple, not telling anyone but our immediate families, then spent our honeymoon in a room over his uncle's Chevy showroom in Wendover, Nevada.

"I'm glad you're not a gambler," Bill laughed when I refused to play even a single slot machine. "I was worried you and your grandma might suggest Bingo in the cultural hall on Friday nights."

Back home in Boise, where Bill was just starting his law practice, we had no friends and no family. Over the months we became friendly with our non-member neighbors. One night Marsha, who lived next door, invited us over to meet her priest. So Bill and I decided to socialize a bit and perhaps sneak in a few hints about Mormonism.

Father Timothy Ashcraft sat cross-legged on Marsha's carpet, strumming his guitar. "So," he said, showing dimples as he grinned knowingly at me, "does this Relief Society of yours give food stamps?"

I knew I was being mocked and smiled wanly, fingering the center part in my hair and longing for Bill to return from the kitchen with my orange juice and rescue me from this inquisition. As the priest continued his questions,

he leaned closer so that I could smell the wine on his breath. His white collar was immaculate. I pictured it with a little gold stud at its center front, like the barbershop-quartetters wear. And sleeve garters. He rubbed his fingertips over the light stubble on his jaw, reminding me he was a modern, unshaven priest.

Bill finally wended his way through the people lounging on the carpet. He handed me my juice, then sat beside me on the floor, his arm around my waist.

"You have bishops and priests in the Mormon church, don't you, Molly?" Father Ashcraft asked, turning to me again.

"You stole those words from the Catholics," Marsha joked.

Bill mentioned the apostasy. "No one knew anything during the Middle Ages," Marsha said loudly, and I thought of Grandma burning my thesis.

"The priesthood was withheld from the earth," Bill went on.

"Speaking of priests," Marsha said, "honestly, what do you think of our divine Father Ashcraft?" She removed the elastic band from her ponytail and let her bleached hair cascade over her shoulders like a sixteen-year-old's.

"Father Tim," the priest corrected. "And I have no claims to divinity."

"Isn't he a terrific guitarist?" Marsha asked, raising her thinly-plucked eyebrows. "Hey, he could accompany you, Molly. You could sing, 'Ave, Maria' at our next folk mass!" She brushed Father Ashcraft's knee with her wrist, dangling a charm bracelet with several silver crosses against his pantleg.

I shook my head and a strand of hair clung to my lipstick. Bill nudged me and said, "Maybe you should, Molly." He tucked the hair behind my ear while the priest said the mass would be held April twenty-first.

"Oh, goody," said Marsha. "It's settled."

"I think this could be a good missionary opportunity," Bill said, removing his cuff links as he slumped onto our couch at home. April twenty-first was Passover, according to his pocket calendar. We both laughed at this ecumenical movement—a Mormon singing at Passover mass.

I knew somehow that Grandma Mary would have approved of my upcoming performance, and the idea made me even more uncomfortable. "Honey, you can borrow my Perry Como Christmas album to get pointers on 'Ave, Maria,' " Bill said, leaning back against a couch cushion.

"Thanks a lot," I said. "I suppose you think it's appropriate for me to go around chanting, 'Hail, Mary'?" He just laughed.

I wished I could disguise myself somehow, wearing sunglasses or painting thick makeup all over my face. Myrtle Miller, my voice teacher, had always told me not to hide my eyes while singing. "Emote through your eyes," she said. "If you wear glasses, take them off. And paint a red dot just at the juncture of your inner eyelids. It brings out the white of your eyes and lets the audience capture your fervor." I suggested to Bill that he sit at the back of the church and search for my crimson spots and patches of fervor here and there.

St Augustine's Cathedral was ablaze with hundreds of candles on that Passover evening. "Molly!" Father Ashcraft greeted me, swishing up the

aisle in his black robes. He was very handsome, with hair as black as mine, and hazel-yellow eyes. He had shaved for this occasion, and the robes made him look austere, sacrificial. I was reminded of Father Bernard and I felt uncomfortable and shy in my hat of white feathers.

There was no prelude music. The organ was covered with dark green velvet, a three-pronged candelabra atop it. Father Tim seated me in the second pew, then disappeared through a door behind the altar.

There was a conspicuous hush in the church. Then from a distance came the strains of a single guitar, playing Bach. I wished Bill were with me, but his Seventies' quorum meeting was making him later than expected.

Marsha slid in next to me and pressed my hand. She, too, was fellowshipping. I touched the ludicrous feather hat perched on my dark head like a beached seagull and wondered if, in Marsha's opinion, I would make a likely candidate for conversion.

Father Ashcraft strolled up and down the aisles like a troubadour, guitar strap of vivid yellow braid draped casually over his vestments. Then, standing at the altar, he intoned a few English phrases, his head bowed. The congregation murmured its reply. There was no Latin spoken here.

Marsha knelt on the velvet-padded board elevated six inches from the floor, her blond hair was caught at the nape with a tortoise-shell barrette. She wore no head covering. I thought of Grandma Mary's reaction to bare-headed women in church: blasphemy.

The hinges on the kneeling boards squeaked as they were pushed back into place. Father Tim looked up abruptly, singling me out with his eyes, and said, "Mrs. William Weston, a visitor with us, has consented to sing." I stood and mounted the stairs, feeling silly and conspicuous in my ankle-length maternity dress and the seagull hat.

As the priest plucked out the staccato introduction on his guitar, I looked over the audience just in time to see Bill slip into a back pew and grin up at me, his teeth gleaming in twilight and candlelight. There were perhaps fifty people scattered about the fourteen double rows.

My stomach was churning and my ankles trembling. What did these people think of this newcomer, this alien, this Mormon, thrusting herself upon them and upon their sacred, although informal, mass?

I began my first "Ave" on F-sharp below middle C. At our rehearsal, Father Ashcraft was astonished to find I needed the usual key lowered so much. "A true contralto," he pronounced, as though expecting me to kiss his ring.

I had practiced daily for three weeks, and my voice had regained the edge it had lost through months of inactivity. The melody seemed to lift me up, to transport me somewhere across the nave. I could tell it was audible, even on the pianissimo, to the last row. I was singing to each kerchiefed young woman in the congregation, thinking of my grandmother as a girl, attending mass daily, her head obediently covered.

There was one particular girl, two pews ahead of Bill, who with a cross around her neck, and her dark hair and eyes resembled Grandma Mary's youthful pictures. What did my grandmother feel, I wondered, having been

disowned by her family for marrying a pale Mormon boy with a faith as solid and unswerving as hers was torn and indecisive. Stuck in a dugout on the frozen Idaho prairie, longing for her folks in the lush bluegrass country of Kentucky, she must have ached for the familiar dark beams of a cruciform chapel.

Then, her mind muddled with age, she turned for comfort to the ritual of her childhood—the altar, the cross, the flickering candles—all beguiling symbols of her beloved Jesus.

She had warped my mind with her Latinate whisperings, her obsession with tokens. And I had come to hate her for turning against me when I rejected her notions. Yet she was only a simple farm girl, a hybrid in her beliefs, torn this way and that by opposing doctrines. I had never forgiven her, but now my vision was blurred with tears for my grandmother, named for the mother of Christ. She would have felt at home in this church, with the black-robed priest smiling comfortingly at her, assuring her that her sins were forgiven, that he would take her back into the fold. I had both resented and adored my grandmother, but I had never understood her anguish as she became an old woman and looked toward death, uncertain in her convictions. "Some have the gift of faith," she said once. "And some don't." My two sisters, although active in the Church, had rather lukewarm feelings about the gospel, but Grandma's needling had forced me to examine my beliefs, to delve into the scriptures until I had gained an undeniable personal testimony. She had been my unwitting gadfly.

Thinking too much of her and too little of the song, I fumbled on a few notes, singing "Ave, ave," mindlessly, over and over, forgetting the words. Father Ashcraft covered my errors with his expert strumming, but he kept adjusting his vestments uncomfortably as though they were in the way of his yellow guitar strap.

In the darkening church, handkerchiefs were popping up like white birds. Was my memory lapse embarrassing or touching these people? A woman in the first row knelt, her black lace headscarf falling forward to conceal her face. Marsha ducked her blond head to pull down the kneeling board and, during a rest in the music, I heard it creak.

Now, a scattering of people were crossing themselves. There seemed to be a mass movement as the entire congregation knelt. I saw only a dark assemblage of bare heads, hats and scarves, and Bill's upturned face shining solitarily from the rear, his fair, thinning hair illuminated by dying sunlight.

Was this sudden kneeling spontaneous or traditional? I wondered. Was there a certain point in "Ave, Maria" where Catholics automatically knelt and crossed themselves, just as it was customary to rise for the "Hallelujah Chorus?"

My breath gone, my voice died out after one count of the final note. I glanced quickly at Bill who was smiling ethereally, proudly. I knew he was thinking that I had become a missionary at last. In the second pew, Marsha dabbed at her cheeks with a brilliantly white hanky, the silver crosses on her charm bracelet glinting in light from a side window.

The faces of the congregation were turning up toward me as the sun's fading rays tinted them with hues from the stained glass. I slid the absurd white hat off my forehead and pressed it against my protruding abdomen, relieved to be rid of it, wondering if I would be expected to bow.

KAREN MARGUERITE MOLONEY

Relinquishing

(25 November 1975—Los Angeles)

Already cold, your quiet body lies,
The ravage done, small protest to the sheet.
Beyond your window through November skies,
Sycamore leaves go drifting to the street.

I muse beside the window as they fall,
So yellow now, six months ago so green.
I recognize an effort to console:
They do not fall for whom they fall unseen.

We did not know how softly you would die,
Who might have bled at any orifice.
You simply loosed a final, shallow sigh.
Your cheek is chill, but dry, beneath my kiss.

The nurses in the hallway, speaking low,
Await me now, impatient to proceed.
The yellow leaves are noiseless as they go,
But fall so easily—and gather speed.

I pass the nurses waiting in the hall
And take the nearest elevator down.
I shall invoke the grace of autumn's pall
When winter fades November leaves to brown.

And in six months, when kindled green denies
A gold cortege could ever fill the street,
I shall not fail to bless November skies.
I shall be glad death chose to be discreet.

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KAREN MARGUERITE MOLONEY

Roo Hunt

The magpies sang all morning long that May
To lovers in the gum leaves where they lie.
Half my heart is half a world away.

You wake me with the east already gray,
Determined still that we should have a try.
At least we'll hear the magpie lauds for May.

We dress and leave the house without delay.
Like thieves we cross your paddocks, quick and sly.
(Half my heart was half a world away.)

Though autumn takes the edge off Queensland day,
The path above your farm led long and high.
The magpies revelled in the flush of May.

The hill lay moist, its gum leaves in decay.
A halo lit the ridge and held our eye.
(Half my heart was half a world away.)

Then sunlight spilled and chased the roos from play.
I watched you gently lay your rifle by . . .
The magpies flute unrivalled there *this* May:
Half my heart is half a world away.

The song of the Australian magpie is as evocative as the English nightingale's. It is, however, far more jubilant. And at no time is it more glorious than in the hours of early morning and late evening.

SHERWIN W. HOWARD

Cedar City, 1940-46

Pictures in books suggest
That I first stood grey and white
On short black kodak grass.

Parental evidence
Tells how I cried at trains,
Of crayoned bedroom walls,
And infant oddities.

But this is borrowed memory;
I begin in Cedar City . . .

Two Recollections of the Cedar City Second Ward

Somehow I feared that they would make
Confession of sin a prelude
To my being baptized at eight.
When they did not, I felt relief
Beyond the joy of pardoned guilt.
I felt the need to celebrate
By boldly writing LIFE across
The blank space of my new-washed soul.

We played football at the ward at night
Using a white t-shirt for a ball.
A single streetlight cast both shadow
and dim light across the playing field,
Where children's echoes passed and ran like
Furtive sparrows dancing in a wind.
We played on ageless summer grass; and
When one team scored too many points, we'd
Shuffle players till it came out right.

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SUZANNE KEARNEY (opposite page), *of Ogden, Utah, is a senior art major at Weber State College.*

Helping My Brother to Ride Bareback on Grandpa Corry's Cow

Low, stall rafters let us climb where
Only inches of musty air
Kept Burt from light brown backs below.
My job outside the barn was
Waving skittish creatures in
Until the moment he dropped down.

It would be hard to verify
Whose fear was greatest, cow's or boy's.
She may have dreamed a panther leaped,
Burt scarcely breathed the wind he rode
Out of the barn and into the yard;
Holding her neck, her ears, the air . . .

Our rodeo was halted by
A mother's scolding garden hose
Which washed away the clinging scent,
But could not make cowboys repent
Of having helped or done the deed.

Eating Raspberry Jello on Fast Sunday on a Tin Roof

My mother let me lick
The powdered red paper,
But that was hardly taste
Enough to satisfy
A young addiction. In
Me there was appetite
That yearned for more than licks.

Then one April Sunday,
While others stayed at church
To testify the sweet
Inward peace men gain
When passion sinks subdued,
I saw my chance; and with
A teetering homebound stool
Accomplice to my reach,
I plucked an entire box
Of bushless raspberry.

Evil could not have waked on such a day.
A southern sun and sky of brilliant blue
Had warmed the low roof of the shed where I
Climbed to sit, feet hanging over edge.
My untrained fingers lifted out the pack
And let great gulps of jello break my fast,
Nor did I taste a granule of guilt.
My tongue was scarlet; but my soul was light,
For one brief moment sweetly satisfied.

Playing Strip Poker Once in a Sheep Wagon

Halfway down the field
Behind the Corrys' barn
Was parked a covered wagon.
Summers it was home
For mountain tending men
Who swore and drank black coffee
While they watched the sheep—
Leather men with shy smiles
Who'd disappear September,
Resurrect in May,
And push the sheep back up
The greening mountain valleys.

In fall and winter
The wagon was ours,
A dusky place still holding
Adult remnants—
A rope, a box of tea,
Two western romance magazines . . .

I was the youngest and first to lose
One of my socks and both of my shoes.
Another sock followed, then shirt and belt,
Until I realized how it felt
When grey boards and bare bottom meet—
Cool and awkward but strangely sweet.

In awkwardness shared
By bared and clothed alike,
We poked the boyhood mysteries
Of god, of girls, of
Whether parents ever sin,
And who had dared the taste of beer.
Taking communion
From jacks and tens, we lied
The best and worst we'd done,
Playing at men by
Pushing dreams up greening
Mountainsides of truth, knowing
They would slip down again
When supper dressed us home
In the early dark of fall.

Even now, whenever I see
A herding wagon beside a tree,
I smile and wish I could look inside,
Remember small boys trying to hide
Together in a moldering ark,
Groping for light in sequestered dark.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

"OF ALL THE RELIGIOUS SECTS to emerge out of nineteenth-century America," as *Newsweek's* religion editor Kenneth L. Woodward recently observed, "only the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has developed into a worldwide faith." Those who have not taken the time to read Woodward's insightful September 1, 1980 scrutiny of "What Mormons Believe" should do so soon. Equally important from our vantage point is Peggy Fletcher's interview with Woodward which appeared in *Sunstone* this past fall. Only after reading that interview is it possible to understand what prompted Woodward to write on Mormon theology for a "national magazine which primarily deals with the controversial and timely."

Other periodicals such as *Americana, Saturday Evening Post* and *U.S. News & World Report* were content in 1980 with reporting the Church's 150th anniversary.

A broad spectrum of writers continue to regard Sonia Johnson and the struggle over ERA as Mormonism's number one story.

Mormons have embarked upon the 1980s with the assurance that their story will be important to the media for sometime to come, but they should also know that perilous times may be ahead. Even in scholarly works there is a growing tendency toward the critical and the sensational. Favorable press so frequently enjoyed during the past decade has already begun to wane.

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REVIEWS

Brigham as Moses

Brother Brigham. By Eugene England. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1980. ix + 256 pp., $5.95.

Reviewed by RICHARD L. BUSHMAN, *Department of History, University of Delaware.*

The major theme of Eugene England's biography is the flowering of Brigham Young's personality. His strict Methodist upbringing suppressed Brigham's natural forces and made him a watchful, cautious, somewhat skeptical young man. The Gospel, Joseph Smith, and the trek into the western desert opened and developed Brigham's personal resources. By the end of his life, he was a profoundly eloquent, forceful, and ingenious leader, in touch with instincts and feelings inaccessible to him at age twenty-five.

This major theme is interwoven with the minor theme, the development of the Mormon people into a Zion society. To emphasize the similarities with ancient Israel, two chapters are entitled, "Brigham as Moses." Brigham's character grew out of his relentless desire to mold the diverse group of converts flowing to Mormon centers into a disciplined and devoted holy nation. People and leader matured together.

Brigham Young's success in accomplishing his mission, the book informs us, was only possible because he was not the man we commonly suppose him to be. Biographies of Brigham Young have wrongly depicted him as "a stoic polygamist and tough, practical administrator who conquered the desert." Eugene England persuades us that Joseph Smith was a better administrator and Brigham Young more of a visionary than we have thought. Why else did Brigham himself give Joseph the credit for teaching his successor how to organize a people for action? And why Brigham's extraordinary exertion to finish the Nauvoo temple and endow the Saints on the eve of evacuation if practicality alone was his guiding principle. The Zion people would never have come into being without a prophet to inspire them with a vision of the City of God.

It is improper to ask if Eugene England has given us the complete Brigham Young. The preface forewarns us that polygamy and Mormon-Indian relations, among other topics, are excluded. "A small volume of rather personal essays can only begin to touch a few dimensions of such a large life." The mode is appropriate. The personal biographical essay—one individual reacting to the qualities perceived in another—is perhaps the best way to draw out all that this vast man contained.

So it is that Eugene England, a student and critic of literature, can insightfully describe Brigham Young finding his voice as preacher and writer. The famous episode of speaking in tongues at the first meeting with Joseph Smith is seen as signalling the release of Brigham's eloquence. Previously dammed, it subsequently flowed forth in innumerable pungent, humorous, forceful letters and sermons.

Personal essays are right for a Mormon writing largely for Mormons for still another reason. Besides being an individual of his own time, Brigham Young is a massive figure in the tradition of prophets, extending from Joseph Smith to the present. What we think of Brigham Young affects what we think of his successors, and that relationship is necessarily personal.

Brigham Young, the polygamist, the heavy-handed Great Basin boss, can be hard to embrace as revelator and prophet. He was "strong medicine" for the Saints in his own day. Eugene England softens the sharp edges, or perhaps more accurately shows us another Brigham entirely—intellectual, spiritual, warm, generous, and devoted to his family and the Lord. The notorious feud with Orson Pratt, nowadays turned into a classic encounter of intellectual versus practical man, is passed over, except to say that despite their differences Brigham Young provided for Orson's family and helped him get teaching jobs. After the Iowa crossing, England says, Brigham "though he certainly always retained his strict toughness and his impatience with weakness and disloyalty . . . never lost the humility and human flexibility he gained there." By consistently playing up Brigham Young's humanity, Eugene England helps us to respect and love our second prophet.

The professed aim of *Brother Brigham* is to present the man from the perspective of love and faith, in the belief that empathy yields a truer picture than hostility. That desire may lead to the neglect of aspects of his life which are difficult for late twentieth-century Mormons to understand. But one troublesome issue is given full attention. The book makes perfectly clear that Brigham Young required complete obedience to the Lord's prophet. His "perennial problem," Eugene England tells us, was that "the people needed to trust the leaders enough to follow their counsel not only when it was inspiring, but when it was difficult." American Saints, instilled with democracy and liberalism, bridle from time to time at the demands of the Mormon prophetic tradition. Such disconcerted souls will find little comfort in Eugene England's depiction of Brigham Young. *Brother Brigham* leaves no room to doubt that loyalty and commitment have always been required of the Saints.

Our Best Official Theologian

Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story. By Truman Madsen. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980.

Reviewed by RICHARD SHERLOCK, *Assistant Professor of Human Values and Ethics, University of Tennessee Center for the Health Sciences*

With the exception of a handful of standouts, such as Donna Hill's work on Joseph Smith, biographies by Mormons of Mormons have been scarcely worth the title. Often reminiscent of mimeographed Christmas letters, these books have tried to elevate their subjects while descending, themselves, to hagiography instead of true biography. Madsen's long awaited work is hardly of the hagiographical "family history" genre, but it is not fully biographical either. It partakes enough of that older tradition of Mormon writing that it cannot be a completely truthful portrayal of B.H. Roberts.

The best parts of this book are those one would least expect from someone of Madsen's training—the narrative sections. Roberts' life as near-orphan, immigrant, miner, missionary, mission president, editor, orator, writer, theologian and politician is fast paced, exciting stuff. Madsen writes of this life with verve and conviction. Roberts' rough, unsaintly youth is presented with warts and all. In these sections Madsen does his homework and he tells the story well.

Later on, however, the story lapses into subtle hagiography. There are hints of a problematic side to Roberts' character—his moodiness, his stubbornness, his readiness for a fight even with church superiors. But none of this is discussed openly or in depth. What primary materials I have seen suggest that others saw these things in Roberts and that it influenced their judgment of him. Surely, to give us Roberts the man is to give us this side too. Madsen only hints at it.

More to the point, the material in this book omits some of the more controversial but crucial aspects of Roberts the man and Roberts the thinker. This is unfortunate, for surely Madsen is singularly equipped to give us insight into the mind and the ideas of the man Sterling McMurrin has called our best "official" theologian. But this is precisely where the book is weakest. For example, Madsen includes pages on Roberts' hagiographical *Life of John Taylor* while the vastly more impressive *Seventy's Course in Theology* is mentioned only twice. In neither case does Madsen discuss content: the finite theism contained there, the doctrine of a progressing God which Roberts, like Brigham Young, firmly believed in, or even one of Madsen's favorite concepts—the eternal self. The Seventy's Course is a huge compendium, some good, some poor, but even its richer parts are ignored by Madsen.

The same may be said of other important Roberts works. There is a discussion of his classic *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity* but only of the manner in which Roberts supposedly demolishes classical theism. There is nothing about Roberts' own distinctive Mormon theology, which differed immensely from that espoused by others. What were the issues and why were they important? Why, for instance, did Roberts hold so tenaciously to the notions of a finite, progressing God and an eternal human self? What did he see in these doctrines that was so important, and how should we evaluate his reasons today? Someone of Madsen's training ought to help us here, but he does not.

Finally we come to Roberts unpublished masterwork, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*. Here Madsen does not even include as much as he had previously published in *BYU Studies*. By Roberts' own estimate, this was the most important book he ever wrote. To gloss over its contents as is done here is disturbing. More

disturbing is Madsen's complete failure to treat the acrimonious discussions that this manuscript generated among the General Authorities and the bitter denunciation of Roberts as a teacher of false doctrine that it stimulated from Joseph Fielding Smith. Given his access to previously unavailable materials (some of which he quotes on these matters) Madsen's failure to treat this episode in depth is distressing. What was it in Roberts' character or commitments that made him unable to make the changes in the manuscript that were necessary to secure its publication? Was it his old nemesis: stubbornness? Or was it an honest conviction that the Church could not duck the issues of "pre-adamite" races, the age of life and death on the earth and evolution itself without risking the faith of its educated members? I suspect that the truth includes a bit of both explanations. When an author deliberately refuses to do what is necessary to secure publication of what he believes is his masterwork his biographer should be compelled to do better by the episode Madsen does.

Another side of Roberts that is also incomplete here is his long flirtation with politics. To be sure, Roberts' fight to secure his seat in Congress does receive a whole chapter, but it is sketchy and strictly narrative. There is far too little about the tensions within the Church hierarchy between an increasingly influential Republican coalition led by Reed Smoot and Joseph F. Smith and the historically Democratic allegiances of the Church, represented by Roberts and Apostle Moses Thatcher. This broader setting is surely relevant to Roberts' own political aspirations. Moreover, it would draw a rounded picture of the situation that led to Moses Thatcher's refusal to sign the "political manifesto" of 1896 (and his subsequent dropping from the quorum). Madsen's account of Roberts own agony over the "political manifesto" is vivid and moving, but he lacks the broader context necessary to make sense out of what he does discuss.

His account of the refusal to seat Roberts in Congress suffers in the same way. Why wasn't the Church prepared to do for Roberts what was later done for Smoot? Was it only because Roberts was a Democrat and Smoot a Republican? This is an obvious question in the mind of a reader, but Madsen gives no hint of the answer. What made Roberts consider politics so seriously anyway? What was it that tempted him to leave his church duties to pursue such a career? And what was it that tempted him to run for governor of Utah in 1920? Surely his long flirtation with politics and his fleeting consideration of leaving the Seventies for a law career tell us something of Roberts the man. I wish Madsen had been a bit more bold and had fleshed out the story for us.

More significant is Madsen's dropping of any discussion of Roberts' political ideas. What did he stand for when he ran for Congress? Free silver is all we hear about. Surely there must have been more. What about his staunch support of the League of Nations and his almost millennial hope for it? What about his support of Roosevelt's "first new deal"—the closest thing to socialism ever tried in this country which Roberts compared to the United Order.

My final objection is the handling of references. There are far too many important points for which no source is given. Are these materials in private possession or in some little-used archive? The reader is entitled to know. When sources are cited, the archive where they are found is almost always omitted. Bibliography and secondary sources are another matter. There is no listing of secondary works, and Roberts' own list is incomplete. Even in the footnotes no mention is made of important secondary sources. For example, Davis Bitton's study of the fight for Roberts' seat in Congress is missing, as is his equally important study of Roberts as an historian. In some cases less than the best is cited. For example, Gordon Hinckley's superficial study of James Moyle is cited but Glen Leonard's better work is omitted.

I have dwelt at some length on the limitations of this work because I believe that they detract from its merit and because of the conventions of reviewing. Still, when measured against others in the field, this book is better than most Mormon biographies. If the warts recede too much as Roberts ages, if there is too

much the hero in the end, these are faults common to any biographer who loves his subject. Madsen's description of Roberts as a man of the spirit and as a restless and querulous soul are superb. He frequently writes as one who knows first hand the problems Roberts faced. Even though he disappoints us because of what might have been, he has produced a book well worth reading.

Spiritual Colonials on the Little Colorado

Roots of Modern Mormonism. By Mark P. Leone. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. $15.00.

Reviewed by MICHAEL RABER, *whose Ph.D. dissertation for Yale University in anthropology dealt with the agricultural economics of the Spring City, Utah area in the nineteenth century.*

The Mormon intellectual establishment is still relatively young, so it continues to react nervously to publications on Mormonism written by non-Mormons. Serious non-Mormon interpretations often generate more anxiety among practicing Mormon historians and social scientists than anything written by disaffected or less-than-completely-convinced Saints. The appearance of this book over a year ago is a case in point: with some understandable confusion about its contents, Mormons have borne I-know-this-book-cannot-be-true testimonies in public and private discussions.

Such reactions surprise me somewhat, since most of anthropologist Leone's book remains well within the tradition of conventional Mormon historiography, and in many places even lags behind some recent extensions of that tradition. Leone attempts two related tasks. He points out differences between nineteenth and twentieth century Mormonism and presents a model of transformation to explain the differences. His project is thus similar in design to much of the literature written on Mormon history over the last thirty years, and much of his method consists of an uncritical use of that literature to perform his second task. At the same time, there is a disjuncture between his two tasks caused by his methods and perspective, which make his observations on modern Mormonism appear weird and arbitrary to many Mormons.

Leone's basic argument is straightforward in content if not expression, and is predicated on a materialist notion that symbolic interpretations of reality are based on the economic and political relationships of those doing the interpreting. For him, nineteenth-century Mormonism consisted of a successful communal critique of industrial capitalism, framed in doctrines of knowledge and power which allowed for understanding and manipulation of reality within a closed system of authoritarian hierarchy. Religious authority encompassed most Mormon activity and was directed at practical problems of developing a distinctly non-industrial egalitarian society in difficult natural and social environments. The application of power toward this end was characterized by continual, case-by-case assessment of problems in which precedent was rarely applied; all events could

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thus be interpreted within a non-contradictory framework which explained success as a function of righteous action and failure as a test of moral fiber.

Leone sees a breakdown of this integrated system in the twentieth century as the role of the Church in a regional economy was replaced by national powers of finance and government. Church members were no longer part of a distinctly Mormon world, but members of a national and international economy. With religious authority unable to organize society, the practical, precedentless application of religion to events continued on a more individualized basis. Church members now constantly re-invent their theology to suit the shifting circumstances of faceless economies, within a loose grab-bag of symbols, in such a way that all events are made to fit a plan without a society. With this lack of consistent precedents in doctrinal re-invention seen as stifling historical perspective on themselves, Mormons, for Leone, are preserving their colonial economic status by using doctrine to develop a superficial sense of differentness, rather than to understand and alter reality as the nineteenth-century leaders are said to have done.

There are many problems with this argument in both design and presentation. I will review some of them in ascending order of probable irritability to many Mormon readers, and as they are placed in historical time. Leone's historical arguments are uninformed and not well related to his observations about modern Mormonism. With no examination of what the 'communal' or 'socialist' ideals of Mormonism were, he asserts that these ideals were realized in an integrated commonwealth where central direction and planning created viable economies. His method here is to interpret historical action in the Little Colorado settlements with a combination of anthropological systems theory borrowed from Roy Rappaport's account of ritual regulation of economy in New Guinea (*Pigs for the Ancestors*, 1968, Yale University Press), and Leonard Arrington's model of the centrally-directed Great Basin Kingdom. The system he presents is closed, centralized and largely autonomous. As such, it is at odds with much that is being learned about the local development of unplanned economies, the failure of most regional Mormon efforts at central planning and the constant economic relationships with non-Mormon America, all of which diminished any communal, authoritarian efforts in most parts of the Great Basin. His Arizona cases fit some of his assumptions because they were extreme cases of Mormon towns dependent on aid and guidance from Salt Lake and on the central direction of large-scale irrigation projects. Neither of these characteristics, however, was typical of Mormon towns.

To get from the last century to the current one, Leone relies heavily on the familiar model of Federal aggression breaking up the organic Mormon kingdom. While he would rather use internal contradictions within Mormondom to make the transition, he interprets the problem of wealth in ideally egalitarian Mormon society as one derived from the very success of central direction, rather than as one derived from the decentralized, largely uncontrollable nature of Mormon agricultural production. By seeing historical Mormon society from the top down, he is left with no mechanism other than the United States to explain the twentieth century: if church leaders were powerful enough to enforce consensus in his communal model, they should have been powerful enough to reverse the ill effects of their own success.

These are all important distinctions if one is concerned with when and how Mormons were absorbed into a national economy—and I think he is wrong about most of them—but Leone's historical arguments have little relationship to his observations on modern conditions. Here his methods are entirely different. His nineteenth century is a product of using existing models of interpretation to understand social and economic *action*, but his twentieth century is a product of a highly personal set of observations on the nature of Mormon *belief* in response to his own experiences with Mormons. These observations are grounded in his a-historical reactions to what he saw and heard. The two main themes he outlines—individualized, do-it-yourself

manipulation of symbols and an equally individualized perception of a past that seems like the present—are not equally developed. His ideas on 'memory' and history do not account for a vivid interest in twentieth century social discontinuity which I have seen among both Mormon intellectuals and rural farmers and workers. He establishes that Mormons personalize the past but not that they fail to understand it.

In his analysis of the individual use of symbols, however, he is extremely acute. He outlines how religious concepts are manipulated in an undifferentiated fashion for specific, daily practical purposes, contrasting this usage with an application of hierarchically-arranged, universally understood principles of eternal behavior which many Mormons and non-Mormons would rather see as the Mormon way. However, he does not relate current Mormon beliefs and symbolic usages to current Mormon society or economy in any systematic fashion. The differences in his methods fracture any connection in his overall argument. History and ethnography have not been successfully melded.

In an attempt to patch over such gaps, Leone tries to introduce a notion of a memoryless, colonialized modern Mormonism, subordinate to the outside world. Like too many analytical terms in this book, "subordinate", "colonial", and "memory" are never examined or used in any discrete sense, and they rarely inform the points he is trying to make about past or present. Trying to present Mormons as a colonialized group is daring, and it has already struck many nerves, but Leone's historical analysis is insufficient to sustain this interpretation: Mormonism here looks as colonial as anything the rest of America believes. This vitiates the contention considerably.

Problems of style and usage often make this a difficult book to read, but it is hardly a book to get defensive about. Leone's attempt to encompass all of Mormon history does not work, but it goes a long way in explaining the ability of Mormonism to buoy up its adherents through large and small adversities. I cannot do justice to his ethnographic analyses here, but this book is a genuine contribution to cultural—not historical—understanding of modern Mormonism. In many ways, it is the first such published contribution to appear in several decades.

Mormonism and the American Constitution

By the Hands of Wise Men: Essays on the U. S. Constitution. Ray C. Hillam, Ed. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979. 128 pp. $4.95

Reviewed by MARTIN R. GARDNER, *professor of law, University of Nebraska, College of Law.*

Mormons have long embraced the Constitution of the United States as a special document, even at times citing its various provisions as quasi-scripture. While scriptural evidence supports the view that the Constitution was, or perhaps is in some sense the "inspired" product of "wise men whom God raised up," neither the meaning of this Mormon Constitutional view nor its theological relevance has ever been carefully worked out. A host of questions require consideration in order to understand the place the Constitution plays in Mormon thought. Was the "inspiration" exhausted with the drafting of the original text in 1787, or was the later addition of the Bill of Rights also sanctioned by divine blessing? What about the post-Civil War amendments? Do the courts in giving content to the open texture of the Constitution qualify as "wise men" for Mormon purposes so that their decisions, like those of the Founding Fathers, also bear the stamp of inspiration? Or, is it fundamentally misguided to search for the hand of God in the substantive specifics of the Constitution rather than in the formal procedures and institutions which it establishes? If Providence shaped the American system of government, does it follow that all other systems are generated without supernatural influence? If so, how should Mormons view such political systems?

Answers to such questions are important not only as clarifications of abstract theology but also because the questions influence the way Mormons relate to one another. Within the doctrine of an "inspired" American Constitution are at least two risks. In the first place, the doctrine might divide American Mormons into rival camps, each seeking theological justification for partisan political ideologies by appeals to the "inspired" Constitution. Secondly, this doctrine of special status for the American political order may alienate American Mormons and their internatioal co-religionists if non-American social, political and economic systems are disparaged in light of the divine blessing given America and her Constitution. Whatever the significance of the doctrine in earlier times when Mormons were almost exclusively American and politically monolithic, the political diversity among American Mormons and the growth of the Church into an international organization necessitate a careful analysis of its present meaning. Thus, clarification of the Mormon view of the American Constitution should be welcomed by all Latter-day Saints. *By the Hands of Wise Men,* essays written by Mormon scholars from a variety of academic backgrounds, makes significant steps towards such clarification.

In his essay, *Virtue and the Constitution,* historian Richard L. Bushman assesses the importance of the American Constitution to Mormons in terms of the general framework of government created by the document rather than in its particular provisions. Thus, the Constitution provides little if any divine authority for resolving particular legal or political issues. Rather, it is the system of separation of powers and checks and balances, established by the Constitution in order to check selfish tendencies on the part of the American people as well as their political leaders, which accounts for the Lord's statement that the Constitution evidences "just and holy principles." It is God's commitment to "free agency" which explains His interest in the American politi-

cal order. But while Bushman sees the institutions and mechanisms created by the Constitution as neutralizing selfishness, he also emphasizes the ongoing importance of virtue in the American people lest they permit corrupting laws, those which restrict free agency, to be enacted. He admonishes us to be virtuous and selfless in order that free agency might flourish. We are to be "patriots", not in the chauvinistic sense of zealous loyalty to one's country in relation to other countries of the world, but in that kind of patriotism espoused by the early American revolutionaries which expresses itself in loyalty to one's country rather than to one's self.

Similar views are expressed in Martin B. Hickman's essay, *J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: The Constitution and the Great Fundamentals*. Hickman suggests that Clark saw the divine hand in the Constitutional grant of sovereignty to the people within a scheme of separation of powers tempered by checks and balances. Such a system permits the emergence of the rule of law, a legal order comprised of general and prospective rules binding upon all, which in turn protect civil liberty. Clark not only praised the governmental framework created by the Constitution but also saw divine inspiration in the substantive provisions of the Bill of Rights, particularly the First Amendment protections of speech and religion. Again, as with Bushman, the underlying theological concern is the promotion of free agency through a governmental system affording political and religious liberty. Hickman notes Clark's sensitivity to history as evidenced by his perception of the American Constitution as the culmination of a long historical process born in Anglo-Saxon political and legal experience.

In *The Enduring Constitution: A Document for All Ages*, Rex E. Lee, Dean of the Law School at Brigham Young University, agrees that while certain provisions of the Bill of Rights reflect divine principles, the "inspiration" of the Constitution rests essentially in the general system of government it creates. With Bushman and Clark, Lee finds divine wisdom in the concept of separation of powers as he also does with federalism. Lee also provides an interesting Mormon defense of judicial review as a necessary mechanism for imparting content to the vagueness and breadth of Constitutional language. As the courts are required to interpret the open-ended Constitutional text, the document is constantly being revitalized to fit the needs of an ever-changing society. Thus the vagueness inherent in the language of the Constitution is itself evidence of divine inspiration since a dynamic system of Constitutional law is thereby made possible. But lack of precision of the Constitutional text is not without its risks. Lee concludes his essay by cautioning against appealing to the Constitution as divine and irrefutable authority to support one's own political or economic views. Such appeals are tempting because divine countenance has been given to the Constitution and its breadth of language lends itself to a variety of interpretations supporting particular political or economic positions.

A somewhat different perception of the Constitution is presented by William Clayton Kimball in his essay, *The Constitution as Change*. Kimball, a political scientist, argues that a synergistic relationship exists between the written Constitution and the totality of social conditions at any given time. While the Constitution may have some effect in shaping political behavior, it is clear to Kimball that political behavior also has a great deal to do with defining the content of the Constitution at any given time. "[T]he Constitution is what the people say it is and what they will sustain it to be."

Kimball's view may be open to attack since it seems to condemn policymakers to a neglectful conservatism. For Kimball, law compelling radical social change should not be passed until society, as evidenced by the totality of social conditions, is prepared to comply with the change. Of course, when this point is reached, passage of the law may become unnecessary. Such examples as the Civil Rights Acts of the 1960's would seem to pose problems for Kimball's theory. Clearly that legislation caused momentous change in a society, particularly in the South, not otherwise willing to afford equal rights and opportunities to all citizens.

Kimball does not relate his views specifically to Mormonism. But he does join Bushman in admonishing the polity to be virtuous so that virtue may find its way into the Constitution.

In his essay, *Some Thoughts about Our Constitution and Government*, Neal A. Maxwell joins the plea for a virtuous citizenry, particularly one which loves and respects liberty and is informed about the vital issues of the day. Only such a citizenry can protect against corrupt political leaders and unwise governmental programs. Maxwell therefore urges individuals to live the gospel and to be involved in governmental and community affairs.

Perhaps the most ambitious of the essays is political philosopher Noel B. Reynolds's *The Doctrine of an Inspired Constitution*, which attempts to clarify exactly what it is about the American Constitution that justifies it in the eyes of the Lord. Reynolds focuses on the general governmental framework established by the Constitution, rather than its substantive provisions, as the essense of its "inspiration." Specifically, Reynolds equates the rule of law, made possible by such principles as the separation of powers and the system of checks and balances, with the "just and holy principles" sanctioned by God. He sees the virtue of a system governed by the rule of law in its promotion of individual freedom to pursue one's own ends without fear of being frustrated by impositions of the arbitrary will of others. One is able to shape one's own future through reliance on protections granted by rules derived through common agreement. The rule of law is theologically relevant because it protects free agency. Thus it is God's commitment to free agency which explains this interest in the American political/legal order. "[M]en are morally responsible for their acts only when they are free from the arbitrary compulsion of others." Unfortunately, Reynolds provides no criterion for defining "arbitrary compulsion," a defect in his theory to which one hopes he will attend in the future. But other problems are also left unanswered. If Reynolds is right in seeing the essence of Mormon commitment to the Constitution in terms of the procedural justice afforded by the rule of law, are Mormons ever justified in disobeying laws, upheld by the courts as Constitutional, which require actions or omissions inconsistent with religious obligation? Does Mormon constitutional theory provide a basis for morally justified civil disobedience as well as a theory of *prima facie* obligation to obey the law?

Because the theological importance of the Constitution rests in its protection of formal rather than substantive justice, it follows for Reynolds that there is no reason to assume that American government is necessarily the only one sanctioned by God. So long as a political system embodied the rule of law, "we [would] find that [such] forms of government [would] be established 'according to just and holy principles' in nations with different political cultures or social compositions." It would also follow that no particular economic order is necessary for government to be based on "just and holy principles" so long as political and religious liberty is protected by the rule of law.

A different perception of the role secular economic orders play in Mormon political theory is presented by economist L. Dwight Israelsen in *Mormons, the Constitution, and the Host Economy*. Israelsen argues that only capitalism can act as a suitable secular "host" economic system which will protect such present Mormon economic practices as tithing and the church welfare program. While these practices are temporary "lesser laws," serving as transitional substitutes until the utopian economic and political order of the "City of God" is fully established, tithing and the welfare program are, for now, essential aspects of Mormon practice which must be unhindered by secular political and economic influences. Capitalism, with its unplanned economy and legal protections of private property, is to Israelsen the best secular system from which Mormons can "withdraw" to practice their interim communitarian economic system of tithing and church welfare. "Withdrawal" from the host society does not mean physical removal or political secession but behavioral and institutional retreat from the secular society.

Israelsen goes further by suggesting that *D&C* 134:2, which gives God's blessing to "the right and control of property" as protected by the American Constitution, provides scriptural support for capitalism as the appropriate host system to support interim Mormon economic practices. Moreover, Mormon history offers evidence of a commitment to capitalistic institutions by church leaders when it became clear that the utopian religious system could not be immediately established. The Church's commitment to capitalistic institutions is, for Israelsen, most easily explained as a recognition by church leaders that a capitalistic "host" would best support Mormon communitarian economic interests (tithing and church welfare) until such time as the utopian order emerges. Hence it is religious doctrine which required, and still requires, Mormons to support capitalistic secular economies.

To illustrate these points, Israelsen identifies two necessary conditions for any host system compatible with Mormon interests in building their own economic order. First, the host economy must be basically devoid of central planning. Second, the rights of private use and disposition of property must exist. Given these assumptions, capitalism, a system viewed by Israelsen as grossly inferior to the utopian "City of God," clearly qualifies as the best secular host to accommodate temporary economic "withdrawals" in the form of tithing and church welfare.

One encounters a variety of problems with this thesis. In the first place, Israelsen never demonstrates why unplanned economies and protection of private property are *necessary* conditions for a host economy compatible with Mormon religious interests. On the contrary, it would seem that tithing and church welfare could be practiced within any society affording *religious* liberty, whatever the society's economic order. It is difficult to understand why systems of centrally planned economies with some protections of private property above the subsistence level could not permit tithing and church welfare to be practiced. But even if private property were absolutely precluded, church members could still donate ten percent of their time, talents or labor to the Church and to fellow church members as "tithing." Personal services in excess of ten percent could count as "welfare" contributions. Of course, such a system may not result in the accumulation of church wealth which occurs when tithing and church welfare are practiced in capitalistic contexts. However, Israelsen makes clear that the point of tithing and church welfare is not the accumulation of church wealth but rather the teaching of selflessness to individual members. It would seem that selflessness could be taught through tithing in the context of any economic order which did not force citizens to mere subsistence levels with no free time, so long as religious liberty is respected.

Science Fiction, Savage Misogyny and the American Dream

A Planet Called Treason. By Orson Scott Card. New York: Dell, 1979. 299 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by SANDY STRAUBHAAR, *freelance translator and* Dialogue's *administrative secretary.*

We Mormons put a lot of stock in the Local Boy Makes Good syndrome: we're proud of our Osmonds, our Marriotts, our Jack Andersons, and we're anxious to let people out there know that we knew them when. As a long-time science-fiction fan, I've enjoyed watching Orson Scott Card win the Campbell Award (for most promising new author) with his novel *Capitol,* an enjoyable enough Fifties-style old-time story, high on technology and politically conservative, reminiscent of vintage Heinlein or Asimov. (The invocation of these two names implies no small praise on my part.) There is one segment which could be called excessive, involving multiple torture inflicted by the Russians (who else?) on one of our heroes, who of course does not reveal whatever information it is that they want out of him. I don't mind it though: who hasn't had fantasies of withholding vital information while being tortured by the bad guys? One of the great American daydreams, you might say.

However, Bro. Card's second science fiction book, *A Planet Called Treason,* has turned out to be offensive enough to both my sense of traditional Mormon decency and my fledgling feminist consciousness that I spent much of my reading time choking down the bile which insisted on rising in my throat. On first glance, *Treason* looks much like other examples of the fantasy genre which are on the market. The cover art has a familiar look to it; the endpapers have the requisite global map with intriguingly-named islands and continents. From the first page, however, it becomes obvious that this is no ordinary fantasy potboiler. It is instead an exceptionally kinky story:

> The pretense ended when I began developing a rather voluptuous set of breasts.
> "It's not just breasts," said Homarnoch, the Family surgeon. "Sorry, Lanik, it's ovaries. For life."
> "Take'em out," I said.
> "They'll just grow back," he said. "Face it. You're a radical regenerative."

To back up a bit: Our hero, Lanik Mueller, is a descendant of one of a group of families of exiled criminals on a planet which serves as a penal colony. Each family has a technical specialty; that of our hero's family has been experimental genetics, particularly the regeneration of lost limbs and other parts. The genetic failures, however, generate extra pieces, parts they never lost. Lanik turns out to be one of these unfortunates; he is growing female sex organs. His petite, submissive girlfriend, however, consents to like him anyway—

> She . . . put her arms around me and pressed her head to my chest. When her head leaned against soft breasts instead of hard muscle, she pulled her head away for a moment, then resolutely held to me even tighter. With her head on my bosom I found myself feeling maternal. I wanted to vomit. I pushed her away and ran.

—but the general reaction is the same as his, a peculiar revulsion-attraction to the new femaleness of his body. Mueller lies in bed at night torn between throwing up and getting turned on. The overriding feeling is one of horror and disgust at female anatomy: flabby, pendulous, undependable, flimsy. Not since "In the Barn," a putrid little science fiction story by Piers Anthony, of fifteen years ago or so (in which human women, deliberately

kept ignorant, are cultivated as dairy cattle), have I seen such "mingled pity and terror," as the phrase has it, coupled with revulsion, as a reaction to women's bodies. The nagging question which comes to mind is, where does Brother Card get this stuff? What were they telling him and the boys at MIA, anyway, when I was off at "Dear to my Heart Night" with Mom?

So much for the first forty or so pages. (By the way, Lanik does get "cured," eventually.) By the time the book ends, however, one can't help having noticed several other things which unfortunately reinforce one's original impression. The few female characters spend most of their time on their backs; the seeming exceptions to this tendency all turn out to be disappointments. By far the most interesting character in the book, a deviously clever black woman spy, is actually a man in disguise. While most of the criminal colonies are descended from scientists or philosophers, the only female-dominated one, "the matriarchy of Bird," turns out to have been founded by "a wealthy socialite, a woman with no skills and abilities at all." Our hero's girlfriend spends most of the book literally frozen in time, hands outstretched, crying "Come back!" while he is off adventuring (righting wrongs, and vice versa): Solveig waiting for Peer Gynt. At the end Lanik does come back, buries his face in her petite, accepting bosom and protests "I'm not a good person."

The women in *Treason*, in other words, are incapable of decisions and actions, and I would have said incapable of learning, except that the abovementioned lady learns to freeze herself so she won't have to wait so long. The Schwartz tribe, the wisest and most likeable group of people on the planet, inexplicably has no women, at least at the time of the narrative.

I read somewhere recently that the most decadent of patriarchal myths is that of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus: new life without a female intermediary. Sure enough, a version of this story can be found in Bro. Card's book. Lanik is badly wounded at one point, and the scattered bits of his body get confused and regenerate two of him. Instant fatherhood—except that the new child is a duplicate self.

I wouldn't think twice about all this if the author in question weren't the same Orson Scott Card whose name one sees in ads for Joseph Smith's First Vision on Cassettes, and who trod the BYU campus at the same time as I did. The Mormon reader of *Treason* can't help noticing familiar motifs throughout the book, disturbingly reminding us of our kinship with the author, since Card laces the narrative with gratuitous Mormon motifs like footwashing and the Three Nephites. (Considering the Church's present anti-feminist media image, how many of Card's readers, on discovering his Mormonness, will remark: "So who's surprised? All Mormons think that way, don't they?")

Whatever *Treason*'s reception among Mormons (and they probably won't read it, anyway), I can't help wondering what today's science fiction fans are thinking. Times have changed since the adolescent me used to hang around science fiction conventions. I do know that the percentage of women found at such gatherings (as fans, authors, guests of honor) has skyrocketed. Presumably *they* are not taking this sort of stuff lying down.

A Feminist Looks at Polygamy

Real Property. By Sara Davidson. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1980. $10.95.

Reviewed by KAREN LYNN, *associate professor of English, Brigham Young University.*

In an earlier best-seller, *Loose Change*, Sara Davidson documented the impact of the Sixties on her fictionalized self and two other intelligent females. *Real Property* moves on into the Seventies, but not in novel form. It is a collection of seventeen articles, nearly all of which have previously appeared in such magazines as *Ramparts* and *Esquire*. Some articles are based on interviews and observations of notable people: Jacqueline Susann, Richard Alpert (the Harvard psychologist who gave himself over to Indian mysticism and adopted the name of Baba Ram Dass), Mrs. Salvador Allende, a rock group called Rhinoceros. Other selections are more personal, describing Davidson's trip through the Sinai Desert or her arrest in Venice, California for growing marijuana.

Of perhaps the greatest interest for LDS readers is the article called "The Man With Ten Wives." Together with "The Nelsons" (yes—that's Ozzie, Harriet, Ricky, and David) this article comprises Chapter 4, "A Happy Family." Both the chapter title and the juxtaposition are ironic: her account of the Nelsons reveals longstanding discontent in a family that was once America's paradigm of happiness, and "The Man With Ten Wives" acknowledges that happiness does indeed appear to be possible under polygamy.

The "man with ten wives" is Alexander Joseph, who converted to Mormonism, left mainstream Mormonism for a fundamentalist polygamous group, and then set up his own polygamous establishment in the desert. The Joseph household received Sara Davidson as a visitor in 1975. "You know, Sara," one of the wives tells her, "if you stay much longer you'll have to stay forever. Us wives do the recruiting." Davidson admits at the outset that her purpose was to "seek out the Josephs and find the flaw in their story." Her feminism—perhaps the closest thing to a single unifying thread holding the seventeen articles together—has not predisposed her kindly toward polygamy. And she in fact editorializes more explicitly about polygamy than about anything else in the book. Whereas she may simply describe for the reader's judgment Jacqueline Susann's questionable literary motives or the smug California commune dwellers who "are experimenting with herbs and Indian healing remedies to become free of manufactured medicinal drugs, but see no contradiction in continuing to swallow mind-altering chemicals," she is much more blunt in her reaction to the household in Glen Canyon. When she is flying in Joseph's private plane with Joseph and Carmen, a twenty-three-year-old wife who is a law student, the experience is finally overwhelming. She can contain neither her scorn nor her breakfast: "I have never been sick on a plane but it is happening now. This is too much to deal with. A thirty-nine-year-old phony Indian [Joseph] preserved in aspic from the Sixties and all these nubile, prim girls mouthing 'correct principles.'"

Yet she notes many things that intrigue her: Joseph's piercing voice, his pistol with the handle engraved "for Christ's sake," the wives' mutual helpfulness and their preoccupation with their responsibility for bearing children, and finally her realization that "the marriage works for these people . . . each wife adds a new dimension to the family." Her admiration for certain of the wives battles with her assumption that no emotionally healthy woman could elect to become a polygamous wife.

Davidson is unquestionably a skilled journalist, approaching her various tasks with frank curiosity and writing in an informal, inviting style. Her choice of sub-

jects plays into our natural curiosity—who among us would not *really* like to know what has become of the Nelsons, or what happens to a rock group that wants to eat in a fancy restaurant but on principle will not wear neckties, or what life was like behind the scenes of the Symbionese Liberation Army—and Davidson's articulate insights can give us at least as much excuse for reading her work as for watching a fine TV talk show. The best of the popular magazines consistently duplicate the quality of her writing, but *Real Property* brings together the scattered articles of a single writer lets us view that one consciousness as it plays upon many different topics.

Anyone interested in reading "The Man With Ten Wives" without purchasing *Real Property* may find the original article in *Rolling Stone*, October 23, 1975, pp. 48–54.

Dear Diary . . .

Will I Ever Forget This Day? Excerpts from the Diaries of Carol Lynn Pearson, edited by Elouise M. Bell. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1980. 130 pp. $5.50.

Reviewed by MARY L. BRADFORD.

That last bastion of privacy—our personal diaries—has now been turned into a "program." From the pulpit, we are admonished to keep diaries; we are treated to snatches of personal diaries in sacrament meeting, we are urged to share our diaries in Relief Society, and our children are instructed in the rules and regulations of diary-keeping. I know whereof I speak, having been on the Diary Speaker circuit for several years now. My own diary-keeping goes back to my thirteenth year and is so extensive that I now have a large collection of beat-up loose-leaf notebooks, old ledgers, gold-tooled gift volumes, old school notebooks and fat folders full of typewritten entries. I have been keeping diaries for so many years that I have taken to organizing them under titles: Diet Diary, Dream Diary, Travel Diary, Dialogue Diary, Depression Diary, Poetry Diary, etc. Not content to keep my habit to myself, I have passed it on to my daughter, who began her diary when she was in fourth grade and continues it as a sophomore at BYU. She and I are known in some parts as a Mother-Daughter Diary Duo—traveling about with dramatic readings and witty presentations based on our combined works. I must admit, however, that she has the advantage of me. She has read my teenage diaries, while I have never been allowed into hers, except as she chooses to quote them to me, always exclaiming "Mother! Listen to this! I can't believe I *said* this! Or thought this!"

Carol Lynn Pearson responded in much the same way when asked to publish her diary, started in her high school senior year and continuing to the present: "You're kidding. I said that? I did that? I felt that way?" Carol Lynn was persuaded to publish by her friend Elouise Bell, who as a teacher of college students and former member of the Young Women's Mutual Board, was charged with moving the diary program along. According to the introduction, when Elouise first approached Carol Lynn with the idea, Carol Lynn responded in her typically disarming way, "Just the fact that I have become somewhat well-known in Mormondom does not make the mundanities of my life any more significant than the mundanities of anybody else's life . . . In my mind I see an intelligent person picking up the book as she wanders through her local bookstore and saying: 'My gosh, her diaries now. Who does she think she is?'"

And that is about what I said when I was handed a copy of this attractive book. It is not that I was offended by another title from my friend Carol Lynn Pearson, but only that I was worried: How could a still living person publish

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And that is about what I said when I was handed a copy of this attractive book. It is not that I was offended by another title from my friend Carol Lynn Pearson, but only that I was worried: How could a still living person publish

her diaries, edited, no less, by another living person and not be—(a) censored and (b) part of a stultifying "program" which would just naturally kill off what I consider to be the main purpose of diary keeping in the first place: therapy.

So I read Elouise's introduction and Carol Lynn's introductory letter and decided to proceed. Though Elouise's reasoning—that young people should keep diaries so that "the angels may quote from them" (as President Kimball has put it) was disquieting (diaries are supposed to be private—that's why they are such good therapy), I was convinced that Carol Lynn's reasons for keeping a diary were worth sharing: learning from one's own growth cycle, being honest about oneself and one's life, and best of all, remembering. "Will I Ever Forget This Day?" asks the title. The answer is, "Yes, I will, if I don't write it down."

As Mormons, we are commanded to keep a record of our people. It is comforting to think that our own personal lives, even with their sins and errors, are an important part of that record. Carol Lynn leads the way by being willing to serve as a model for Mormon diary keepers. The question is: Will others be inspired to take up the habit if they are not already hooked? I am not persuaded that people who have not already been trained to write as children or who are not otherwise addicted to writing will be moved to do so by this book, or any book. As a text in a class devoted to diary keeping, it could be useful—but a class in diary-keeping! I realize that such workshops are popular in the Church, but I am not convinced that they can do anything more than produce guilt. Besides, the minute somebody tells you how to write and what to include, it ceases to fulfill its role as friend and therapist. But I am open to persuasion. I hope that people will read this book and become motivated to write. Which brings me to the second question: Who is the intended reader of this volume? Elouise speaks of the mutual and the young adult in her introduction, and most of her advice seems geared to the younger teenager. But Carol Lynn's diary is really the story of a grown-up young woman in her early twenties. Although touches of the lonely and the frustrated do occasionally come through, the picture of Carol Lynn is one of Success! Although her romances didn't work out very well (glossed over as they are and sketchily described), she wins every prize and every part she ever tries out for. Only a few failures are recorded here, and although the reader finds some self-doubt and sorrow, the overwhelming picture is one of a self-contained, disciplined young woman who has always known where she is going.

But I quibble. For those of us who grew up in the forties, fifties and sixties, this book introduces a "good" Mormon girl who kept the commandments and who worried about her relationship with God and her place in his scheme of things. True, she is quite a bit more accomplished than most and independent enough to spend a year in Europe, with a side trip to Israel and a stint in a Kibbutz, where she manages to record the rhythm of a young woman's search for identity.

Though I would love to read the parts she and Elouise excised, I am convinced that the real Carol Lynn Pearson is standing up. I am glad that she was willing to turn her observant eye inward on herself to record "the twenty-one years of my own daily actions, my thought processes, my growth, my disappointments, my stupidity, my wisdom, my ignorance, my fears, my exaggerations, and a bit of courage" and to be thankful with her that she was able to see her whole life pass before her without having to die first. In spite of its limitations, this book presents an endearing and spirited account, a welcome opportunity to meet the young Carol Lynn Wright Pearson who has succeeded in preserving her sense of wonder. It is comforting to learn that the girl is truly the mother of the woman, a consistent clear-eyed writer, whose light shines through any bushel.

Cheap Shots Miss the Mark

Emma: The Dramatic Biography of Emma Smith by Keith and Ann Terry. Santa Barbara, California: Butterfly Publishing, Inc., 1979. 160 pp. $6.95.

Reviewed by VALEEN TIPPETTS AVERY *who is co-author (with Linda King Newell) of a soon-to-be-published biography of Emma Smith.*

Be advised: a biography that thanks "team members" for accommodating "impossible scheduling" just might be thrown together hastily. And in spite of an attempt to lend an aura of authenticity to the book by acknowledging the research assistance of "three Brigham Young University graduate students and a Harvard graduate with a Ph.D. from Claremont"—all mercifully unnamed—the bias of the authors is immediately established. "We experienced shock, disbelief, at times something close to hatred. Continuing, we felt pity, empathy, kinship, disappointment, and ultimately a sorrowful love, tempered by tender understanding." If what Keith and Ann Terry have done for Emma Smith is exhibit tender understanding, God grant that I may never be subjected to it.

Perhaps the Terrys unwittingly set the tone of inaccuracy and insinuation when they used Heber C. Kimball's angry 1857 statement about Emma in the "Preface" without explanation: "Joseph stood for the truth and maintained it, she struck against it, and where is she? She is where she is, and she will not escape until Joseph Smith opens the door and lets her out." Contrary to being condemned to hell as the statement implied, Emma was alive and well in Nauvoo, married to a decent man whom she loved, and was happily awaiting the birth of her first grandchild.

Two outstanding flaws exist throughout the book. First, Emma is continually judged to be wrong, weak, evil, sniveling, or lacking in faith, and such judgements are based on wholly inaccurate and incomplete information. "There must exist more material than we have seen," the authors concede, "in private collections and in the keeping of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints Church. When it is made available. . . ." The implication that the RLDS church archives are not open to researchers is absurd. No attempt to recreate the life of Emma Smith can be made without using that extensive collection of material relating to her. Few sources in the book are primary; thus the book could be none other than a rehash of all the old apocryphal stories that have circulated for years about Emma. To fill in the obvious gaps the pages are replete with the verb form "must have," as in "words must have sent jolts of fear coursing through" her, or "how sorely Emma's conscience must have plagued her." Such banality obscures her personality.

The second flaw is that the authors are unable to illustrate Emma and Joseph's relationship. Their marriage appears shallow; nowhere does the reader sense the implacable frustrations, the powerful partnership, or the deep love that existed between these two. After a one sentence introduction to polygamy that stated, "Joseph Smith was taking to himself other wives" and teaching other men to do the same, the authors have Emma boarding a steamboat to St. Louis; "Emma's whole being must have been afire with the turmoil of polygamy." Period. No explanation is given that Emma had struggled with rumors and innuendo surrounding her husband's participation in plural marriage from the time he had instituted the practice twelve years earlier. The Terrys picture Emma attacking polygamy "with her flashing eyes and determined will" and conclude without any evidence that Emma did not ever pray about the subject. They attempt to use Doctrine and Covenants section 132 to establish that Emma was told by the Lord that she would be destroyed if she did not accept her husband's plural wives. Not so. If the Terrys are going to turn to scripture to support an accusa-

tion, they cannot fabricate artificial theological statements by grafting the first part of verse fifty-two to the last part of verse fifty-four. My reading of that last verse tells me that Emma is commanded to "abide and cleave" to Joseph or else "be destroyed." Though their relationship became very strained over polygamy, Joseph's letter to Emma, written the morning of his death, establishes that she was still his companion, confidant and supporter to the end. In one of the most unfair comparisons in Mormon history, they contrast Emma and her "churning mind" to Mary, the mother of Christ. A cheap shot.

A second cheap shot is taken when Emma is accused of convincing Joseph to come back across the river when he and Hyrum were ready to flee Nauvoo before the martyrdom. My research indicates that two land speculators in Nauvoo used Emma as a scapegoat in an attempt to salvage their interests in Nauvoo real estate. These kinds of historical inaccuracies fill the volume. Joseph did not escape from Kirtland in a box nailed on an oxcart; Porter Rockwell was in jail in 1843, not operating a bar in the Mansion House; Emma made two trips to St. Louis; the argument between Emma and the Twelve after Joseph's death did not consist solely of Emma making a "raid on all Church properties;" and so forth. While this volume introduces the reader to little known events in the life of Emma Smith, one purpose for historical writing is to illuminate the past in order for the present to understand. It hasn't been done here.

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GENE A. SESSIONS

The national media have often called the attention of the world to a curious phenomenon: Mormons who cling to the "old" ways of the movement, and who eschew the modern Church in favor of the fundamental doctrines and practices

of the movement as it strained against the currents of the nineteenth century until it finally gave in and agreed to drift along the mainstream of American life. Inasmuch as polygyny was and is the most obvious and stimulating attribute of this old-fashioned Mormonism, it is inevitably that peculiar institution, as it survives among the so-called Fundamentalists, that creates all the titillating excitement. But beyond that aberrant practice lies a plethora of ideas and ideals that are the meat and milk of Fundamentalism. Such things as Adam-God and blood atonement, ideas that are now merely frustrating embarrassments to the modern Church, thrive among the tens of thousands of Mormons who assert that they have not left the Church, but that the Church, through its accommodations with the world, has left them. Among these intense souls is Fred Collier, a self-educated, fiercely committed believer in the words of the Prophets Joseph, Brigham and John. At general conference time, Collier spends hours at the gates of Temple Square, competing for space and attention with the Mormons for ERA, the Utah Christian Tract Society and a bevy of other folks with bones to pick with the Church or its policies. Collier has literally devoted his life to demonstrating that the prophets of the nineteenth century have been virtually repudiated, their words forgotten, their prophecies trampled upon. His plans include a three-volume collection of uncanonized revelations, the first installment of which, *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1979, xiv+176 pp. $11.95), carries a powerful aura of scripture and does so by careful design. Collier sets his own type, and for this volume set it in two-column format like that of the LDS scriptures. Its contents are replete with ideas that will be of great discomfort to those who would maintain that the Word of the Lord never changes whoever His prophet may be.

The Mormon book market continues to demonstrate that few there be who will notice the labors of Fred Collier and his cohorts, for while Fred sees his prized little book scoffed at and ignored, people like Richard M. Eyre will keep on cranking out such dubious gems as *What Manner of Man* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979, 101 pp. $4.95) and *Simplified Husbandship, Simplified Fathership* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 90 pp. $4.50). Eyre, who writes an insipid right-wing column for an occasional *Deseret News* issue and whose only qualifications to write about anything seem to rest upon his relationship with a couple of general authorities and a three-year stint as the youngest mission president in the Church, tells his readers that (in the first book) they should read the scriptures regularly to discover Christ and (in the second book) they should emulate Eyre's example of full-blown patriarchy. Why anyone would pay $10.00 for such advice is the great mystery. That they do so is an even bigger mystery and the reason for this quarter's Milk the Mormons Award coming so deservedly to the laurels of this entrepreneur of ignorance. Trying to discover anything truly worthwhile in these two books is like trying to purify sour milk by straining it through a tennis racket.

Coming in a close second for the coveted Elsie this quarter is a silly book that hopes to cash in on the success of the equally silly Shirley Sealy romances. Susan Evans McCloud's second novel, *My Enemy, My Love* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 197 pp. $5.95), has for its theme one of the oldest and stalest plots in the realm of literature—true love made tragic by human strife that separates the lovers, this time a Mormon lass who reeks of sexist LDS attributes and a star-struck Missourian who is supposed to hate all Mormons in the best traditions of the persecutions myth. Not only is the plot predictable and very thin, but the historical setting is as false as the literary quality is shallow. There are some good laughs to be had here and there as this cute little Laurel, fresh out of some Utah mutual class, tries to be brave and true to the gospel in the face of her great and passionate love for her forbidden hero. Perhaps author McCloud hoped that her readers woul see themselves in her novel

and recognize the dangers of loving outside the fold. The trouble with the whole operation is in its melodrama. For those of us who thought such went out with Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mormon readers continue to baffle and surprise as their appetite for such stuff goes on apparently unabated.

Books such as Eyre's and McCloud's provide thinking Mormons with great opportunities for tongue clicking, but rarely does the mere title of a Mormon-book-market production cause tongue clicking *and* head wagging all at once. W. Lynn Fluckiger, *Unique Advantages of Being a Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing Inc., 1980, 104 pp. $3.95), is one of those books whose title is just as inane as its contents. It really belongs to that genre of sex manual that began *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About. . . .* in that it presents twenty points for a skeptical friend that will give him or her such enthusiasm for the LDS philosophy that he or she will jump into the font without further question. Bishops in the local wards, for example, will be thrilled to know that in Fluckiger's mind the welfare system and a free counseling service are two of those "unique" advantages awaiting anyone who joins the Church. The depth of the book is analogous to that of a mud puddle. What is really embarrassing about such works is their willingness to make of Mormonism a kind of handy, all-purpose solvent for the complexities of modern life without developing any comprehension of the cosmic portents of the movement and without discussing the elbow grease that must be applied before the solvent will begin to work. If there are unique advantages to being a Mormon, being identified with such books as this is certainly not one of them.

Among more satisfying and effective approaches to the problems of modern life are two works of very different types that nevertheless provide some helpful and useful advice about basically the same set of issues. Ph.D. psychologist Gary G. Taylor, *The Art of Effective Living* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 128 pp., index, $5.50), develops nicely a theme that in recent years has become increasingly cogent: Such studies as Louise Degn's TV documentary on Mormon women and depression have demonstrated that just because Mormons are supposed to be happy does not make it so. Taylor works through the issues from a professional perspective, but analyzes the task of coping from within the principles of Mormonism. While he in no wise produces any cure-all for the ills of modern living, he presents some intriguing advice for Mormons who feel strongly that their faith ought to be providing them with more peace of mind. Other fascinating advice along the same general lines comes from a very unlikely source. Mina S. Coletti and Roberta Kling Giesea compiled *The Family Idea Book* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1980, 195 pp., index, $4.95) probably with no more in mind than presenting a collection of mother-wisdom on how to deal with the frustrations of modern family life. What emerged, however, was a surprisingly clever and valuable compendium of techniques for bringing peace and contentment into the home in the face of whatever stressful situation. Coletti and Giesea sought contributions from dozens of Mormon moms on everything from how to keep kids out of the cookie jar before dinner to solving sibling strife. What works for some may not work for all, but the thoughts in this little volume are wondrously astute and well worth considering.

For those of us whose interests run the gamut of head, heart *and* stomach, perhaps the happiest book of this quarter's collection is Winnifred C. Jardine, *Mormon Country Cooking* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1980, illus., 321 pp., index, $4.95). A colleague expressed considerable surprise that there could be such a thing as Mormon cooking: "Isn't it all English, Scandinavian and traditional American?" Now that Mormons are officially an ethnic group (according to the new *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups*), it stands to reason that they should also have their own ethnic foods, and Jardine's book proves that they do indeed. After serving for thirty years as the food editor of the *Deseret News*, Jardine com-

piled a passel of her favorites that are not only (on the whole) mouth-watering but that indicate a definite distinction to Mormon cooking based upon such factors as the Word of Wisdom (she presents all kinds of ways to avoid cooking with spirits), the storage program, the ever-present admonition to gardening and self-sufficiency, as well as time-savers brought on by the famous Mormon meetings schedule. Jardine's selections nevertheless reveal the truth: that Mormon cooking in all of its richness and uniqueness symbolizes the grand total of the Saints themselves, wherever they came from.

Inasmuch as the Gospel Doctrine course this year covers the Old Testament, it comes as no surprise that a number of new books deal with that enigmatic canon. Among the better ones is Glenn L. Pearson, *The Old Testament: A Mormon Perspective* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 195 pp., index, $6.95), in which the intricacies and mysteries of the scripture are analyzed and discussed with the LDS reader in mind. While Pearson breaks no new ground, he manages to address himself and the reader to some of more difficult questions in a study of the Old Testament. For the Sunday School student who really wants a better understanding of these ancient documents, such short-cut guides as Pearson's are useful. The only caution is that a reader might recognize that Pearson must of necessity toe a strict Mormon line. Balancing on that line can sometimes be arduous.

Another balancing act within Mormondom is the dilemma of the Indian Placement Program and the Church's entire "Lamanite" program and philosophy. Since Joseph Smith first sent missionaries to the Indians and predicted that they would join the Church in great numbers, leaders have worked strenuously to develop Mormonism among the Indian tribes of North America. From intermarriage to pacification, programs have come and gone with little real success in terms of converting the aborigines to the "faith of their fathers." Then came the placement program: Bring the kids off the reservation into good LDS homes where they can receive a white man's education and indoctrination into mainstream Mormonism—a good plan, but frustration and cost made the few real successes seem too burdensome. If one George Lee could emerge from literally hundreds of failures, said Church headquarters, then it was all worth it. But anthropologists and other social scholars warned from the beginning that the cultural shock would do more harm than good to the individuals and their relatives back on the reservation. The dilemma continues as many opponents of the program rise up to meet proponents just as dedicated. Among the latter is Kay N. Cox, whose family has hosted fourteen Indian youngsters, and who has written of that experience in *Without Reservation* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, illus., 118 pp., $4.50). Cox would rather fight than switch. If her book is any indication of the kind of dedication the average foster family possesses, then the program, if not successful by whatever standard, will survive on sheer determination alone.

Ever since J. Reuben Clark apologized in April Conference 1947 for reading his remarks, Mormon speechmaking has taken a dismal nosedive into the depths of boredom as general authorities drone on through carefully censored and prepared conference addresses and youth speakers flood the local chapels with cute stories from *Especially for Mormons.* And this says nothing about the infamous high councilman as speaker a.k.a. soporific. Now comes a book by just such a high councilman, Royal L. Garff, *You Can Learn to Speak* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979, 212 pp., index, $2.50.) Garff combines standard GA-style advice with Zig Ziglerisms in order to convince the reader that the way to give a great speech is to learn a lot of tricks. There *must* be a better way to save the Church from death by poor sermons. One of the old-time brethren said it best: "I never prepare a sermon. I fill my mind with the truth and then ask the Spirit of the Lord to inspire me with what to say. Those who cultivate the long, ass-like tones would preach the people to sleep and then to hell." That was President Jedediah Grant in 1856, but he's dead. . . .


GRAZIANI

LAST CALL!

DIALOGUE is still accepting articles, essays, fiction, poetry, art and book reviews for our 1981 *WOMEN'S ISSUE* (now postponed until Fall).

The Women's issue will highlight the achievements and the diversity of Mormon women in the 80s. We are looking for articles, essays, notes, reviews, art and satire on the following subjects:

- "Networking" among Mormon women—including Relief Society networking and other centers of female activity.
- Third World Women
- Mormon Cookery and its Importance in Mormon Life
- Singles Wards and their Effects on Women
- The Consolidated Meeting Schedule and its Effects on Women
- Gender Language in Mormon Life
- Female Myths and Fantasies
- Folk art
- The Relief Society Curriculum
- Emerging Women of the Future (Interviews, biographies, diaries, etc.)

Work not selected for this issue will be considered for later issues.

All manuscripts should be typed, double-spaced in triplicate and sent with return postage.

Winners of the *MORMON WOMEN SPEAK CONTEST* will also be published in this issue.

DEADLINE: July 1, 1981

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