

DIALOGUE





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 the larger stream of Christian thought and 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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Letters to the Editor

Adam — An Egyptian Connection?

Your Spring 1982 was excellent, superb, unsurpassed (which is to say you printed articles on my main interest preferences). I found David Buerger's finally honest treatise of Brigham Young's involvement in the Adam-God doctrine well worth reading.

He did a creditable job attempting to see if there was any link between Brigham and Joseph Smith on that doctrine. Even solid adherents to the Adam-God doctrine must admit that little exists to actually link them, though there is some reason to believe that the two prophets may have held similar views.

I found one further link which no one to my knowledge has previously explored in the "Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language" attributed by many to Joseph Smith, Jr. The document consists of a series of lists of glyphs (not really hieroglyphs) which were purportedly the working sheets Joseph Smith used in his translation of the papyrus found on mummies in his possession.

The glyphs appear in the left column, followed by lines of explanation to the right, supposedly translations of the strange markings. If one checks the list it will be found that one glyph appears to be a kind of checkmark stroke written backwards. In the several lists the explanatory note appears similar but with more information as the lists develop.

For this glyph the notes give the following information:

- (glyph represented) = Phah-eh:
the first man-Adam, first father
- (glyph represented) = Ah lish:
the first being clothed with supreme glory (supreme power)
- (glyph represented) = Ah lish:
the first being — supreme intelli-

gence; supreme power; supreme glory — supreme justice; supreme mercy without beginning of life or end of life; comprehending all things, seeing all things — the invisible and eternal godhead.

All of these notes occur after the same glyph represented in each list. It can be seen that the glyph representing Adam also represents the eternal godhead and the first being, supreme intelligence. It must be said, also, however that another glyph also represents "Adam or the first man, or first king."

This document needs, however, to be further studied in light of the question of whether Joseph and Brigham taught the same doctrine (however secretly) about Adam being God. Photocopies of the "Egyptian Grammar" are, of course, obtainable at some Salt Lake City bookstores.

However, I still have yet to see a good article on the real question that arises out of the Adam-God maelstrom: How could Brigham Young be a true prophet of God and teach a "false God" for twenty-five years as president of the Church?" He did, in fact, claim that he knew the doctrine from God himself and enunciated the magic words: "Thus saith the Lord." How do we defend that?

It also strikes at the heart of the problem of a cohesive definition of testimony. Though I have been unchurched for belief in Adam as God, I still feel the glow of a testimony of the gospel of Jesus Christ and his father (whoever that may turn out to be).

A young girl recently arose in our ward and said, "I don't care if what Spencer W. Kimball does is contrary to scripture or the words of previous prophets. When he speaks it is truth. He is the prophet." She was quite worked up and wept as she said those words. I wept too. She has decided on one

side of the conundrum, I on the other. But regardless of what side I or she has taken, it is a solid theological question. Do we have testimonies of doctrine, history, reality, philosophy, or the positions and qualifications of men? Does it really matter what the man in the position says, as long as he holds the position that allows him the privilege of saying it? Does our faith in the system of Mormon religion overarch true doctrine? I have heard tearful testimonies in my thirty-nine years of many things. Some testify that the shadow-leadership program a few years ago was a direct revelation from the Lord. I have heard testimonies of the divine origin of the Constitution, the Boy Scouts of America, the Adam-God doctrine, the anti-Adam-God doctrine, and godly support for various individuals touted as being called the infallible. Did the hundreds of dead in Guyana not bear terrible testimony with their own lives and the lives of their children that they believed the words of a man as being the words of their God? And it couldn't happen in Mormonism? Let's ask the Fancher party.

Someone, sometime, with talent and an ability to write needs to address the question of testimony. What is it? What is its origin? What is it of? Do we believe in a system, a man, or a God?

Merle H. Graffam
Palm Desert, California

Brigham Knew . . .

Your Spring 1982 issue was one of your best, with a lot of fresh research on so many theological questions.

The article by Buerger on Adam-God was very good but a more thorough examination is in Culley Christensen's *The Adam-God Maze* (\$14.95, Independent Publishers, Box 8375, Scottsdale, Arizona 85252). There is, in fact, no approach to the scriptures and theological issues which resolves everything neatly with regard to the nature of God. For example, a careful study of the name Jehovah makes it clear

that this is, at least, a title used by more than one personage and certainly not to be identified solely or perhaps at all with Christ. The key to a lot of the Adam-God doctrine is the use of titles and assumptions of roles — some of which we already understand from the use of divine investiture in the Doctrine and Covenants, among other places. In short, careful and inspired study supports Brigham Young, although not at all an easy task.

There seems to be some expectation that if Joseph Smith had believed in Adam-God he would have made that clear. Assuming that he grasped the full implications of the idea it is doubtful, however, that he would have treated this differently than other "advanced" matters such as polygamy or the endowment and he certainly would have sensed that it would have been too explosive — especially given the other problems he was experiencing. Even Brigham admitted that even in the confines of Utah he probably had revealed too much about the nature of God. While the article mentions that Brigham, Ben Johnson, and Helen Kimball (one of Joseph's wives) attested to Joseph's preaching of Adam-God it failed to note that Eliza R. Snow, John Taylor, and Anson Call, among others, also offered evidence for the doctrine's origin with Joseph. (See Christensen's book).

Gradually the matter was treated as an advanced mystery and eventually when the associates of Brigham passed away, general ignorance set in so that leaders sincerely believed that Brigham had never said such things. One could make an analogy with the death of the apostles in early Christianity and the loss of the vital oral tradition Nibley, Seach, and others have documented. Today it is clear that unless they are knowledgeable but, like the authorities at the turn of the century, trying not to "cast pearls before swine," contemporary Church leaders are uninformed on the subject. It is doubtful that they would approach the subject with open and prayerful minds because the concept is so radical

and there would doubtless be great resistance to having to eat words, as happened when the revelation on priesthood was received. Before anyone embraces the critics of Adam-God too quickly, the accuracy of Charles W. Penrose, Joseph Fielding Smith, Bruce R. McConkie, and Mark E. Petersen, among others, should be contemplated as to historical and theological issues. Their blatant errors would suggest that we should not dismiss Adam-God as so much speculation.

The real question is simply whether Brigham was right. He declared in no uncertain terms that Adam-God was doctrine and revelation and few things have been declared such so clearly. To reject his words would be to raise serious questions about prophetic reliability. I suggest that Brigham knew whereof he spoke and the rest of us need to catch up.

(Name withheld)

Earliest Pre-Existence Allusion?

Unfortunately, all articles or essays must go to press even though most papers are never quite finished. In my paper on the idea of pre-existence (DIALOGUE, Spring 1982) I failed to include an extremely important source on the idea of pre-existence before the Nauvoo period, William W. Phelps's statement in a letter to the *Latter-day Saint Messenger & Advocate* 1 (June 1835): 130:

We shall by and by learn that we were with God in another world, before the foundation of the world, and had our agency: that we came into this world and have our agency, in order that we may prepare ourselves for a kingdom of glory; become archangels, even the sons of God where the man is neither without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord.

This statement is significant for several reasons. First, it is the only statement with which I am acquainted which comments on the idea of "real" pre-existence before the Nauvoo period. Further, Phelps seems to be referring to the May 1833 revelation

now known as D&C 93 when he says that "we were with God . . . before the foundation of the world." He also affirms that we had our agency in another world in the presence of God before this life. Second, Phelps seems to be referring to the idea of celestial marriage. Since Phelps was an intimate friend of Joseph Smith during this period it is probable that Phelps is commenting on some of Joseph's private teachings before the Nauvoo period. As historians, we should be cautious in affirming when Joseph Smith first learned some of his "more advanced" doctrines which reached full proportion only in the Nauvoo era. We never know what Joseph knew but kept to himself. Those who have asserted the Joseph's idea of pre-existence was spurred in early 1836 by Thomas Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State* are clearly in error. For, Joseph's idea of pre-existence appears to have been developing since early 1833 and had apparently reached a state of refinement before 1836.

Blake Ostler
Salt Lake City, Utah

Vielen Dank

DIALOGUE is a great source of information for me which shows me more about the American society the Church mainly is involved with. It's good to get a magazine which is not one-sided like the four major Church periodicals, which are actually good, but not enough for my widespread interests. (In Germany we nickname the *Church News* "Mormon Pravda" — we Europeans are pretty liberal.) Especially the volume 14, number 2 issue was interesting, because we don't get that information in Germany by official sources in such full details. I would like to encourage DIALOGUE to continue its efforts to clarify the complexities of Mormonism and it has got my support already.

Mit Freundlichen Grüßen geduldig verbleibend.

Peter C. Nadig
Duisburg, West Germany

Appreciated

The Washington, D.C., years have been great ones for *DIALOGUE*. I try to read each issue when it arrives. But last night I again looked through the issues that have been mailed to us during our four years here in Central Java. Again, I was deeply impressed by the many special issues of the journal as well as with some of the real gems which have been published over the past few years.

The special attention to women in the Church and their contribution as well as their problems is especially noteworthy. So glad that attention was given to Virginia Sorensen, to Fawn Brodie, and others. (The Sonia Johnson interview was also interesting.)

And of course *DIALOGUE* has made a great contribution over the years in dealing with the problem of brotherhood and racial equality.

Finally, so pleased that the young poets, people especially interested in the arts and others who are not so well known in the Church have had their contributions published.

I can only wonder at the long hours and sacrifice your work with *DIALOGUE* has called for. But also know that you have had many wonderful and stimulating experiences. Have always enjoyed Mary's articles, "An Hour in the Grove," etc.

Your work has been appreciated, and even though *DIALOGUE* crosses the plains to Utah we look forward to future contributions Mary and Lester will make the *DIALOGUE* among Church members.

Joseph E. Black
Yogyakarta, Indonesia

One Half So Precious

Kind Friends and Gentle Hearts,

I have wondered what tune Stephen Foster was composing when he made a note of the above while dying. And certainly

Omar Khayyam said it beautifully:

I wonder often what the Vinters buy
One half so precious as the stuff they sell,
particularly with my wife's marginal comment, "Or poets." And such things, intangible but of vital importance, come to mind on hearing that *DIALOGUE* once again is under new editorship.

Without in any way criticizing Mary Bradford, who spent several evenings at my home and is a most wonderful gal, and without knowing the specific pressures (though I know a great deal about such pressures in other cases), I must say that during her editorship *DIALOGUE* was baptized. As a specific case, I could no longer write for it, except for memoirs and book reviews.

Do you remember the wonderful spirit of *DIALOGUE*'s early years under Eugene England? We had meetings of "Dialogue people," a special type of Mormons. One said to me, "When we move into a new ward we sit at the back, observing, looking for our kind of Mormons." As a type, the *DIALOGUE* Mormon was an objective observer of the LDS culture. His contributions to the magazine were essays on the world of Deseret. They weren't missionary tracts. *DIALOGUE* actually was the first independent Mormon periodical in exactly 100 years. And now it, too, has been baptized. Its birth stimulated the resurgence of *BYU Studies* as an antidote. The baptized *DIALOGUE* is identical with *BYU Studies*.

There definitely is a place for a journal of independent thought and opinion. I hope it will become what it used to be.

Samuel W. Taylor
Redwood City, California

Guilt Conquers Greed

My guilt wins over my greed — enclosed please find \$25.00 to renew. I could drag my Ph.D. out for years just to keep my subscription rate low. I'd do it but the dissertation fee is more than the difference.

Cheers, love, and congratulations for a job well done in Arlington. All the best to the new Utah group.

Erin and Charlotte Silva
Havertown, Pennsylvania

Armed with Pink and Red

Thank you for another superb issue of DIALOGUE (Vol. 14, No. 4). I laughed all the way through Furr's "Honor Thy Mother," only to have the end punctuated by a telephone call from one of the Sunday School presidency asking me to be the "Young Mother," sandwiched between "Love at Home" and "What My Mother Means to Me by a Teenager." Sitting through a Mother's Day program is one thing, but aiding and abetting? Then inspiration struck, and armed with the pink and the red issues of DIALOGUE, I gave a talk that brought tears and laughter, knowing nods, and sighs of satisfaction.

Once again, thank you for a job well done.

Linda J. Bailey
San Jose, California

Grace Arrington Honored

The husband and children of Grace Fort Arrington, a member of the Mormon History Association who died in March, have established the Grace Arrington Award for Historical Excellence. A prize

of \$500 will be awarded annually in her honor "to that person who during the previous calendar year published a book or article of distinction or performed other service which in the opinion of the judges represents a signal contribution to understanding of the Mormon past." Judges are Leonard Arrington, Davis Bitton, and James B. Allen. The judges, members of the Arrington family, and that year's winner of the Mormon History Association Award will normally not be eligible for the award, which will usually be announced in early summer of each year.

The first recipient of the award is Dean C. Jessee, senior research historian with the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Church History and associate professor of history and church history at Brigham Young University. Dean Jessee is editor of the volume Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons, published by Deseret Book Company in 1974, and author of articles of distinction that have appeared in DIALOGUE, Journal of Mormon History, Western Historical Quarterly, BYU Studies, Ensign, and other Church and professional magazines and journals. Dean is a past president of the Mormon History Association.

LDSF-2

LDSF-2, a second volume of LDS Science Fiction and Fantasy, is now being prepared. Please submit stories, artwork, and other contributions to Benjamin Urrutia, 234 East 100 South, Apt. 3, SLC, Ut. 84111.

Ongoing Dialogue

Since accepting the editorship of *DIALOGUE* last spring, we have had a number of close friends ask with an air of incredulity, “I think it’s wonderful, but why would you take on such an enormous job — a thankless task?” Others have wanted to know how *DIALOGUE* differs from other independent Mormon publications and what we hope to contribute as editors. We feel that we owe these friends and *DIALOGUE*’s readers a response.

As a young faculty couple at Deep Springs College in California in the mid-1960s, we struggled with important issues, both philosophic and pragmatic, where Church policy or doctrine and our own values did not seem to coincide. Less than an hour’s drive from our doorstep stood the Ancient Bristlecone Pine Natural Area where a dendrochronologist friend had recently counted tree rings in deadwood dating back nearly 10,000 years. Yet a local church leader believed the earth to be less than 6,000 years old — and suggested that if we were faithful we would too. We agreed with neither his notion nor his premise. Earlier, in another branch we had seen right-wing politics injected into church meetings. We felt strongly that neither an affinity for George Wallace nor an aversion for scientific evidence was an appropriate token of faith or righteousness. In fact, the intrusion of such issues as an implied test of faith inhibited understanding and destroyed the harmony of spirit that should prevail in a religious community. We didn’t know if others had similar concerns, but we hoped they did.

Then came *DIALOGUE*. Somewhere, we heard about the new journal and spirited our check off to Gene England in time to receive volume 1, no. 1. Loaded with thoughtful essays, marked by good scholarship, and sprinkled with pithy quotations, we found in the pages of that first issue and succeeding ones a creative synthesis of reason and faith, a winnowing out of myth and reality. By this time, we had moved to New Hampshire and the fifty-four-mile round-trip to church had begun to look like a graceful way to slip into inactivity. *DIALOGUE* helped us to reconsider. If others like Richard Poll, more experienced than we, could grapple successfully with their inner conflicts with Church practices and still feel at home in the Mormon faith, we could too.

Over the years, as issues like the denial of priesthood privileges to blacks rose in intensity, we admired the honest efforts of *DIALOGUE* writers like Lester Bush, Armand Mauss, and Newell Bringhurst to unravel the historic evolution of the Church’s practice and explore the implications of it. Again, *DIALOGUE* provided an avenue for the expression of concern and a forum to explore

alternatives. Our association with the Church became more satisfying with a growing awareness that one could care deeply both about the institution and about the issues that surround it.

Our interest in *DIALOGUE* is also related to our perspective on the organizational nature of the Church. Lay leadership at the local level means a democratization of the religious experience which is wholly in keeping with early Christian teaching and quite in accord with modern social theory. In keeping the Church an orderly and recognizable body, however, the leadership has stressed two things: 1) the training of laypersons — in which prodigious amounts of time and energy are invested; and 2) centralized control — reserving an unusually high proportion of decision making to General Authorities. While local leaders are trained and instructed as fully as possible, they remain plumbers, teachers, and physicians rather than theologians and counselors. But even at Church headquarters, authority is sharply focused at the top; for this reason, action rather than contemplation is the prevailing ethic within the Mormon community. As the institution has grown in size and scale, the need to train new leaders in far-flung places and to keep order in the ranks has become an overriding concern. Administrative instruction is standardized, Church publications are correlated and many members take pride that “the Church is the same all over the world” without asking how much sameness is desirable or even tolerable.

The character of Church organization has shifted towards authoritarianism and uniformity at the expense of individual expression and cultural diversity. We understand how and why this has happened, but we also believe that the Mormon community badly needs, amid all its frenzied activity, some dispassionate analysis, some thoughtful reflection, and some unfettered creative expression.

Churches with professional clergy have their professors of theology, church history, and social ethics. It is their business to think and write. Lacking this luxury in a lay church, we believe *DIALOGUE* provides within Mormonism a place for creative and reflective thought to be encouraged and expressed. The number of excellent manuscripts we receive suggests that there are many well-informed people thinking and writing about our theology, history, and culture — most of them out of purely personal interest. It seems to us, therefore, that *DIALOGUE* serves these particular purposes:

1) It offers substantive reading for educated members of a church whose official publications aim, by policy, at an audience that also includes the less literate and the newly literate;

2) It provides a forum for exploring the nature and implications of LDS Church history, theology, and current practices in an environment characterized by both intellectual integrity and good will;

3) It seeks to express creative thought, in literary, scientific, and artistic domains, for the enrichment of Mormon culture; and

4) It nurtures a community of responsible and reflective Latter-day Saints who find in *DIALOGUE* not only an opportunity to express their own ideas but also a chance, however unwelcome at times, to shape the culture to which they belong.

Given the emergence, after the birth of DIALOGUE in 1966, of related publications such as the newly revitalized *BYU Studies*, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II*, and the *Seventh East Press*, we are often asked, "How is DIALOGUE unique and what is its distinctive role?" In our view, each of the aforementioned publications fills a distinct niche and has an important role to play. DIALOGUE remains, however, the only independent refereed scholarly journal of Mormon studies. With no larger institutional ties and with sufficient solvency to escape dependence on major donors who might wish to influence editorial policy, DIALOGUE is at liberty to follow its own judgments and the advice of a professional board of editors. DIALOGUE is a general-interest journal devoted to the publication of scholarly and literary work; investigative reporting and current events are not our purposes. We are a journal rather than a magazine and see a healthy, complementary relationship with *Sunstone* in this regard. We also welcome in a collegial spirit the *Journal of Mormon History* and the *John Whitmer Association Journal*.

As we continue the fruitful course of DIALOGUE, we hope to build on the fine tradition of quality established by our predecessors, Gene England, Bob Rees, and Mary Bradford, who published manuscripts across a broad spectrum of interest from poetry to theology. At the same time, we hope to give voice to some of our own unsatiated interests, one of which is the beginning dialogue between Mormonism and the larger stream of Christian and even non-Christian religious thought. Others include the vexing but persistent dichotomy between individual responsibility and institutional loyalty, and at a more general level, the vital relationship between gospel ideals and Church practices. These are ticklish topics, very real in the minds and lives of many Latter-day Saints but frequently skirted by leaders when members most need to come to grips with them. We also hope to sound more profoundly the depths of spiritual awareness and experience within the Church. As DIALOGUE is the place to bring insightful examinations of doctrine and history, so is it the place to bring thoughtful expressions of the holy and sensitive sharings of the sacred. DIALOGUE must celebrate as well as dissect, rejoice as well as analyze.

We trust that this range of topics will bear with them a spirit of goodwill. Much good has arisen and will continue to arise from sincere efforts to understand some of the essential dilemmas of the Mormon religious, spiritual, and cultural experience.

We hasten to point out the obvious, however. We can't publish manuscripts we don't get. Our capacity to address these and other important topics in Mormon studies depends on the willingness of authors or potential authors to commit their thoughts to paper. We hope to continue the tradition of our predecessors in welcoming young authors, and if necessary, helping them to match the appropriate form to their content.

To assure DIALOGUE of a continuing infusion of new ideas and to avoid wearing out some of our best supporters, we have chosen to reorganize the board of editors. We have streamlined the number from thirty-one to twelve and invited these new members to serve rotating three-year terms. The new board is broadly representative of geographical, disciplinary, and philosophic

interests. We will work closely with its members and the executive committee in preparing future issues of *DIALOGUE* and in securing manuscripts from qualified authors. We hope to work the editorial board harder, release its members sooner, and, in the long run, provide an opportunity for more people to serve in a meaningful way.

As letters to the editor in this very issue suggest, *DIALOGUE* is regarded by some as being heretical — and by others as being pious. We hope the journal will be neither, although we will probably publish articles that may rightly earn either label. We should point out, however, that our commitment to intellectual honesty and balance requires the cooperation of our potential writers. Our purpose is to express and explore the breadth and variety of Mormon studies — not to defend or attack any particular doctrine or practice.

There are many who believe that faith and scholarship are at cross purposes. We believe this view is flawed. Faith provides ideals by which believers navigate their course. Scholarship, by contrast, helps us to measure our progress with some objectivity. Both are essential to thoughtful people and to the church. Scholarship and faith do different things, but we believe they may both be found in the service of legitimate religion.

Finally, much has been said about *DIALOGUE*'s move to Utah. Previously edited on the two edges of the continent by Utah-bred Latter-day Saints, it now comes to Salt Lake City under the direction of two people whose backgrounds are decidedly different — one is a convert to the LDS Church from Ohio, the other the active child of inactive parents in central Utah. Together, we have spent eleven of our nineteen years of marriage in the Carolinas, New Hampshire, Ohio, and California. Whatever significance can be attached to all this we don't know, but for those who wish some substance on which to speculate, we offer the information. Suffice it to say we are honored to have the opportunity to guide *DIALOGUE* around its next lap and we pledge to serve it with all the courage and integrity we can muster. Happily for us, the members of the executive committee, staff, and editorial board will insist that we measure up.

Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering

A few years back fifty LDS academics were asked to list the most eminent intellectuals in Mormon history. B. H. Roberts and Orson Pratt were most frequently nominated. James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe ranked fifth and sixth just below Joseph Smith and Sterling McMurrin. Parley Pratt was a distant ninth.¹ Today Parley is remembered mainly as a writer of hymns, the author of a lively autobiography, or as “one of the great explorers, orators, and missionaries of the Mormons.”² His *Voice of Warning* and *Key to Theology* — suitably edited — are reprinted more as memorabilia than as important pieces of gospel exposition. Forgotten is the fact that this composer of hymns all but single-handedly invented Mormon book writing. More than this, the arguments he put in print one hundred and forty years ago — although now unrecognized as his — have become a permanent part of modern Mormonism.

To measure Parley Pratt’s achievement, it is helpful to review the circumstances surrounding the writing of his first books. This, in turn, begins with some mention of the so-called primitive gospel movement, a part of the religious milieu in which Mormonism was born. The primitive gospel movement was really a collection of diverse, independent movements which arose in New England, the South, and the West between 1790 and 1830 in response to the revivalism and sectarian conflict that characterized evangelical Protestantism. Certain attitudes tended to be shared by the various components, among them a biblicist point of view; the rejection of Calvinist predestination; an anticipation of mass conversions foreshadowing an imminent Second Advent; a belief that the established churches were corrupt departures from the original, primitive Christian faith; and the belief that religion should be more personal, more independent of organized, hierarchal institutions. One other attitude is especially pertinent. Primitive gospelers tended to be *anticreedal*: Deploring the disunity and conflict among the established churches resulting from widely differing interpretations of the Bible, they attacked this problem, not by imposing an authoritarian statement of doctrine, but by eschewing any dogma beyond the most fundamental principles enunciated in the scriptures.³

PETER CRAWLEY teaches mathematics at Brigham Young University and is a serious collector of Mormon Americana. This paper, that of David Whittaker’s, and the response of E. Robert Paul which follow were delivered in a session on early Mormon intellectuals at the Mormon History Association, Ogden, Utah, 8 May 1982.

Primitive gospel leanings are clearly discernible in Joseph Smith's parents and grandparents as well as in those who surrounded him during Mormonism's earliest months. David Whitmer's account of the birth of the Church describes a loosely organized, anticreedal group of "seekers" in which Joseph Smith was distinguished only by his "call" to translate the gold plates. Whitmer, who reflected the most apparent primitivistic orientation, felt that the Church was as organized as it needed to be during the eight months preceding its formal organization on 6 April 1830, that in this embryonic state it was closer to the primitive ideal than at any other time in its history.⁴

Mormonism differed from other primitive gospel movements, however, in a number of significant ways. It rejected the infallibility of the Bible and accepted the Book of Mormon as a new volume of scripture. More fundamental, this loosely organized, anticreedal group of seekers centered on a man who spoke with God. Other primitive gospelers — the Vermont lay preacher Elias Smith for example — began their ministries as a result of personal visions. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, continued to receive revelations throughout his life. As new converts were drawn into the fold and Joseph Smith's revelations multiplied, his stature in the new church inevitably grew to a position of overwhelming preeminence, and his revelations took on the weight of scripture and became part of an expanding body of dogma. In an anticreedal church, a growing body of dogma produces fundamental tensions. And a significant part of the history of Mormonism's first decade can be viewed as the ebb and flow of these tensions which ultimately were resolved only by the excommunication of David and John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris in 1838 and the Church's move to Nauvoo the next year.⁵ Moreover, the anticreedalism of the early Church insured that little of the developing theology would be openly discussed or written about until the Church settled in Nauvoo. Although Mormonism began with a book, few others were written during this first decade that dealt with any aspect of Mormon theology.⁶ On the two occasions when the Church attempted to print the revelations to Joseph Smith in book form, these stresses broke into the open.⁷ The preface of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants alludes to these tensions and to the reluctance of the early Mormons to solidify the gospel in print: "There may be an aversion in the minds of some against receiving any thing purporting to be articles of religious faith, in consequence of there being so many now extant; but if men believe a system, and profess that it was given by inspiration, certainly, the more intelligibly they can present it, the better. It does not make a principle untrue to *print* it, neither does it make it true not to print it."

It was against the backdrop of these attitudes that Parley Pratt journeyed to New York City in July 1837. The Mormon economy in Kirtland was in a state of collapse; dissension was rife. Parley himself had been touched by the Kirtland apostasy. And in an act of renewal he fled to New York to preach the gospel and purify himself. Few New York doors opened to him, so impelled by the literary instincts within him, he retired to his room to write. In two months he produced the most important of all noncanonical Mormon books, the *Voice of Warning*.⁸

This was not quite the first Mormon tract nor was it the first outline of the tenets of Mormonism. A year before Orson Hyde had published his single-sheet broadside *Prophetic Warning* in Toronto which enumerated the judgments to accompany the Second Advent — and avoided any mention of the Latter-day Saints. Two years before that, Oliver Cowdery had published a one-page outline of the beliefs of the Mormons in the first issue of the Kirtland *Messenger and Advocate*. But Cowdery's guarded outline could just as easily have represented any evangelical Christian sect and seems to have been written to underscore the similarities between Mormonism and other Christian denominations. *Voice of Warning* emphasized the differences. More significant, it erected a standard for all future Mormon pamphleteers by setting down a formula for describing Mormonism's basic doctrines and listing biblical proof-texts, arguments, examples, and expressions which would be used by others for another century. It was, finally, the first use of a book other than the standard works to spread the Mormon message.

Three months after *Voice of Warning* was published, the proselytizing effort in New York City was bearing fruit. A growing congregation of Latter-day Saints met in a room outfitted for them by a local chairmaker, David W. Rogers, and a few copies of *Voice of Warning* were in circulation around the city. The inevitable counterattack by the sectarian clergy came quickly. La Roy Sunderland, editor of the Methodist *Zion's Watchman*, attacked the Mormons in an eight-part article (January 13–March 3, 1838). Sunderland based his series on the father of all anti-Mormon books, E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* [sic] (Painesville, Ohio, 1834); and he quoted freely from the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and *Voice of Warning*. When *Mormonism Unveiled* was first published, the Mormons all but ignored it. One finds only four or five passing references to it in the entire three-year run of the *Messenger and Advocate*. But in New York City, away from the main body of the Church, having felt the power of the press and seeing his own work attacked in print, Parley Pratt could only respond in kind. In April 1838, just before he left New York for the new Mormon colony at Far West, Missouri, he published his response to Sunderland, *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked, and Its Editor Mr. L. R. Sunderland, Exposed: Truth Vindicated: the Devil Mad, and Priestcraft in Danger!* This 47-page pamphlet marks another bibliographical milestone; it is the first of a vast number of tracts written in response to anti-Mormon attacks. And like *Voice of Warning*, it established a formula that would be followed by Mormon pamphleteers for another century, balancing a defense of Mormonism's sacred books and its doctrines with an assault on the religion of the attacker.

Parley reached Far West in the spring of 1838. There he found the colony wracked by the same dissension from which he had fled the year before. Within six months anti-Mormon violence had driven the Latter-day Saints from Missouri, and some of its leaders, including Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Parley Pratt, were beginning terms of many months in Liberty and Columbia jails.

For Parley the months of solitude in Columbia Jail meant a time to write;

and before he escaped on 4 July 1839, he produced a number of hymns and two significant essays. The first of these essays is an account of the anti-Mormon violence in Missouri. In October 1839, enroute to his mission in Great Britain, he paused in Detroit to publish this account as an eighty-four-page pamphlet entitled *History of the Late Persecution*.⁹ Three months later he republished it in New York City as a hardback book with the title *Late Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*. The second edition incorporates an introduction, not included in the first, which gives some of the early history of Mormonism as well as a summary of its most fundamental beliefs. None of the doctrinal concepts appearing in this introduction were new to the printed record; all are discussed, for example, in *Voice of Warning*. What was new was the concise formulation of these concepts in a few pages. In February 1840 Parley reworked the doctrinal portion of this introduction into a four-page pamphlet entitled *An Address by Judge Higbee and Parley P. Pratt . . . To the Citizens of Washington and to the Public in General*. This was the first short missionary tract outlining the fundamentals of Mormonism. Immediately after he reached England in April 1840, Parley reprinted his four-page address, slightly rewritten for a British audience, with the title *An Address by a Minister of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the People of England*. During the next three years it was reprinted twice more in England and three times in the United States.¹⁰

Parley's second prison essay is the more interesting of the two. Entitled "A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter" and printed in his *Millennium and Other Poems* (New York, 1840), it was the first writing to deal with the truly distinguishing doctrines of Mormonism. Earlier articles such as Sidney Rigdon's three serial pieces, "Millennium," "Faith of the Church," and "The Gospel," begun in *The Evening and the Morning Star* and continued in the *Messenger and Advocate*, could just as well have been published in the magazine of any Christian denomination. Even the "Lectures on Faith," printed first in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, treat only the most general Christian principles; just a single distinctive idea — that God and Jesus Christ are separate beings — appears in them, in the fifth lecture. "A Treatise," on the other hand, put in print for the first time such radical ideas as: matter and spirit can neither be created nor annihilated; the world was not created ex nihilo but organized out of existing matter; and God is bound by certain overriding laws. In short it announced that the "omnis" of traditional Christianity did not apply to Mormonism. Four years later the thoughts in "A Treatise" were amplified in a pair of essays, "Immortality of the Body" and "Intelligence and Affection," both included in Parley's *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York* (Nauvoo, 1844). These two essays express the most optimistic view of man in any Mormon printed source. And they establish, in my opinion, a high-water mark in Mormon theological writing.

The year 1840 marked the confluence of several streams of events which changed the course of Mormon intellectual history. During the two years following its appearance in 1837, the *Voice of Warning* demonstrated the usefulness of the press in spreading the Mormon message. By the fall of 1839, the

first edition of 3,000 was sold out and Parley was preparing a second edition. At this same time others turned to the press to advertise the Mormon expulsion from Missouri, while Joseph Smith journeyed to Washington, D.C., to seek redress from the U.S. Congress for the Mormon losses.¹¹ Free from the inhibiting anticreedal influence of David Whitmer and the old guard, Joseph Smith now began to openly discuss the unique doctrines of Mormonism which before had only been whispered of in Kirtland.¹² These public teachings, in turn, drew anti-Mormon attacks from the sectarian clergy.¹³ In addition, by the spring of 1840 nine of the twelve apostles were beginning their cataclysmic mission in Great Britain; and this massing of activity brought further attacks from the British clerics. Thus the stage was set for a flowering of Mormon pamphleteering. Where only three polemical tracts were published during the nine years 1830–38, eighteen were published by Mormons in 1840, eight by Parley Pratt.¹⁴ Before the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, Mormon writers produced more than seventy works, twenty by Parley.¹⁵

These ephemeral pamphlets fundamentally changed Mormonism. For as they multiplied, the tenets of the Church, bit by bit, were identified in print. In the absence of an official statement of doctrine, the ideas printed in these missionary tracts came to serve as the Church's confession of faith. And thus was Mormonism transformed from an anticreedal religion to one identified with a number of distinguishing doctrines.

By the early 1850s essentially all of Mormonism's distinctive beliefs had been discussed somewhere in print, but no single comprehensive treatment had yet been written. Again it fell to Parley Pratt to produce the first book of this kind. In San Francisco in August 1851, just prior to leaving for his mission to Chile, Parley began work on his *Key to the Science of Theology*. Sixteen months later the next-to-last chapter, Chapter 16, was printed in the *Deseret News*; and in March 1855 the first edition was offered for sale.¹⁶ *Key to Theology* is Mormonism's earliest comprehensive synthetical work. Its scope is complete: beginning with a definition of theology, it traces the loss of the true gospel among the Jews and the gentiles; then in linking chapters it discusses the nature of the Godhead, the origin of the universe, the restoration of the gospel, the means by which man regains the presence of God, the resurrection, the three degrees of glory, and the ultimate position of exalted men and women as procreative beings. Unlike the writings of Orson Pratt, Parley's brother, which are definitive, almost dogmatic, *Key to Theology* is poetic, allusive, at times ambiguous. It is a masterly book. It is also Parley Pratt's last major work, published just two years before his assassination.

There are other "firsts" to Parley's credit. During his mission with the Twelve to the eastern states in the summer of 1835, Parley stopped in Boston to publish *The Millennium, a Poem. To Which is Added Hymns and Songs*, the first book of Mormon poetry.¹⁷ Again in Boston nine years later, he took a day off from campaigning for Joseph Smith's presidency and wrote "A Dialogue Between Joe Smith and the Devil," which was printed in the *New York Herald* and later reprinted in pamphlet form. Although written to make a point — that modern Christendom was corrupt and Mormonism was the only

true Christian faith — *A Dialogue Between Joe Smith and the Devil* is the earliest work that can be classified as Mormon fiction.¹⁸

Just prior to leaving San Francisco for Chile in September 1851, Parley composed *Proclamation to the People of the Coasts and Island of the Pacific* and handed the manuscript to a fellow missionary Charles W. Wandell for publication. Two months later, immediately upon reaching Sydney, Australia, Wandell arranged for the printing of *Proclamation*.¹⁹ This was the first Mormon book published outside of North America and Western Europe, the first book associated with that extraordinary effort that sent Mormon missionaries in the early 1850s to Africa, India, China, and Australia.

While he was in Chile, Parley wrote *Proclamacion Extraordinaria Para Los Americanos Espanoles*, which he published in San Francisco after his return in May 1852. Soon after it appeared, a San Francisco newspaper attacked this tract and questioned the practice of polygamy among the Mormons. Not until 28 August 1852, would the Latter-day Saints first publicly acknowledge what had been a fact for more than ten years, that polygamous families existed among them.²⁰ But six weeks before this announcement and two months before it was put in print, Parley replied to the newspaper attack with his broadside "*Mormonism!*" "*Plurality of Wives!*" in which he implicitly admitted that Brigham Young was a polygamist and outlined a defense of plural marriage that, with various amplifications, would be repeated for another fifty years.

Parley Pratt's contribution goes beyond merely producing "first books," however. Although most of his works are now virtually unknown, much of what was printed in them has survived. The early Mormon pamphleteers thought little of borrowing from one another, and many of Parley's arguments and ideas flowed into the works of others and thus were perpetuated as a permanent part of Mormonism's gospel tradition. A few examples from publications by missionaries will illustrate this process.

Chapter 3 of *Voice of Warning* deals with the kingdom of God and is based on the following outline: the kingdom has (1) a king, (2) officers, (3) laws, (4) subjects; (5) faith, repentance, baptism by one with authority, and the gift of the Holy Ghost are requisite for entrance into the kingdom; (6) the kingdom must embrace apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, etc.; (7) its members must enjoy the "gifts of the spirit." Benjamin Winchester used this outline in the second number of his *Gospel Reflector* (Philadelphia, 1841) and again in his *History of the Priesthood* (Philadelphia, 1843). William I. Appelby followed it in his tract *A Dissertation on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (Philadelphia, 1844), at one point quoting Parley directly — without attribution. And the first number of David Candland's *Fireside Visitor or Plain Reasoner* (Liverpool, 1846) borrowed Parley's treatment of the necessity of baptism. But the most important use of this chapter was by Orson Pratt.

Orson arrived in Liverpool, England, in August 1848 to assume the presidency of the British Mission. Enjoined to "print, publish, and superintend the emigration,"²¹ he wrote sixteen tracts during the next two-and-one-half years which were published and republished by the tens of thousands and formed the

basis of the missionary work in Great Britain. Early in 1851 these tracts were bound together with a title page and table of contents forming a book which eventually came to be known as *Orson Pratt's Works*. This was an extremely influential book. It was published at a time when the British Mission was producing its most converts. For many of these new converts, Orson's tracts provided the first contact with published Mormon works. Orson Pratt was a towering figure in the British Mission, loved and admired as "the St. Paul of Mormondom," the "Gauge of Philosophy." With the onset of the Utah War in 1857, Mormon book writing almost totally ceased, and for the next twenty years virtually no new books were printed.²² What this meant was that those books which were in print before the Utah War continued to exert their influence for another generation, especially *Orson Pratt's Works* which simply outnumbered all others by many thousands. (The 1851 edition even now is a common "rare" book.) When LDS books began to be published again after the death of Brigham Young, *Orson Pratt's Works* was reprinted three times (1884, 1891, 1899). Two more editions have been published in our century. More important, *Orson Pratt's Works* was a principal point of departure for Mormonism's twentieth-century writers, e.g. B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and John A. Widtsoe.

Orson Pratt's Works includes a series of four tracts, *The Kingdom of God* (1848–1849), which treats, as the title suggests, the same subject as the third chapter of *Voice of Warning* and is constructed on an outline of seven topics essentially identical to Parley's outline in *Voice of Warning*.

Anticipating the claim of the sectarians that the Bible contains all sacred writings, Parley listed, in the fourth chapter of *Voice of Warning*, a number of sacred books mentioned in the Bible but not included in it. Expanded and accompanied by the biblical citations, this list was printed in his tract *Plain Facts, Showing the Falsehood and Folly of the Rev. C. S. Bush* (Manchester, 1840). A few months later John Taylor included Parley's list in his *Truth Defended and Methodism Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting* (Liverpool, 1840). Benjamin Winchester reprinted the list and citations in his *Gospel Reflector*, and Lorenzo D. Barnes incorporated it in his *References to Prove the Gospel in its Fulness* [Philadelphia and Nauvoo, 1841]. It was printed again in Erastus Snow and Benjamin Winchester's *An Address to the Citizens of Salem and Vicinity* (Salem, 1841). Finally, Orson Pratt used half of Parley's list together with the accompanying argument in the first installment of his six-part *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (1850–1851), also a part of *Orson Pratt's Works*.

The concluding section of *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked* attacks the doctrines of the Methodists, particularly their concept of a God without body, parts, or passions. Parley expanded this in his unsigned pamphlet *The True God and His Worship Contrasted with Idolatry* [Liverpool? 1842?] which argues that a belief in a God without body, parts, or passions is equivalent to a belief in a God that does not exist — a belief, the tract declares, that is nothing short of atheism. John Taylor quotes Parley's attack on the Methodists in *Truth Defended*, and W. I. Appleby incorporates it in

Dissertation on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream. The idea that those who believe in a God without body or passions are atheists is one of the central ideas in Orson's *Absurdities of Immaterialism* (1849), an important pamphlet in *Orson Pratt's Works*.

As mentioned above, Parley's *An Address by a Minister of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the People of England* was derived from the doctrinal part of his introduction to *Late Persecution. An Address* is quoted in part — with a citation — in Snow and Winchester's *Address to the Citizens of Salem and Vicinity*. It is reprinted in full — without citation — in John E. Page's *Slander Refuted* [Philadelphia? 1841?]; and its discussion of authority is evident in Moses Martin's *A Treatise on the Fulness of the Everlasting Gospel* (New York, 1842). But again it is Orson Pratt who makes the most intriguing use of this text. In Edinburgh in the fall of 1840 Orson published his *Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records*. This is a signal book, the first printed account of Joseph Smith's 1820 vision. Reprinted in 1848 with the title *Remarkable Visions*, it was included in *Orson Pratt's Works*. The last seven pages of *Interesting Account* contain "a sketch of the faith and doctrine" of the Church, which is generally considered to be the precursor of the thirteen Articles of Faith. It is clear, however, that Orson's "sketch of the faith and doctrine" was written with Parley's introduction to *Late Persecution* in view; at one point a paragraph from the introduction is quoted directly — again without credit.

The most egregious case of borrowing involved one of Mormondom's more outrageous characters. George J. Adams published *A Letter to His Excellency John Tyler, President of the United States, Touching the Signs of the Times, and the Political Destiny of the World: By G. J. Adams* (New York, 1844). This is nothing more or less than a faithful reprint, including typographical errors, of Parley's *Letter to the Queen of England* (New York? 1841). Adams supplied only a short concluding paragraph and acknowledged the source of his text in a grudging and disingenuous postscript: "It is but justice for me to add, that I am indebted to Elder P. P. Pratt for many truths contained in the foregoing letter."

If Parley Pratt was the inventor of Mormon book writing, why is his name not remembered as prominently as Roberts, Orson Pratt, Talmage, and Widtsoe? The answer lies in the accidents of history as well as in the nature of Mormon theology itself.

Even though it is a revealed religion, Mormonism is all but creedless — an inheritance from its primitivistic beginnings. While certain doctrines are enunciated in the standard works and some doctrinal issues have been addressed in formal pronouncements by the First Presidency, there is nothing in Mormonism comparable to the Westminster Confession of Faith or the Augsburg Confession. Few of the truly distinctive doctrines of Mormonism are discussed in "official" sources. It is mainly by "unofficial" means — Sunday school lessons, seminary, institute, and BYU religion classes, sacrament meeting talks, and books by church officials and others who ultimately speak only for them-

selves — that the theology is passed from one generation to the next. Indeed it would seem that a significant part of Mormon theology exists primarily in the minds of the members.

The absence of a formal creed means that each generation must produce a new set of gospel expositors to restate and reinterpret the doctrines of Mormonism. And as one looks back at the flow of LDS doctrinal exposition, one sees, beginning in the 1850s, this process of restatement occurring roughly every thirty years.²³ The books that are now best remembered are the great synthetic books that came out of these periodic restatements. Here the names of Widtsoe, Talmage, and Roberts come to mind.

Widtsoe was the most prominent gospel writer of the period near the Second World War. His three-volume *Evidences of Reconciliations* (1943–1951) discussed Mormonism with an eye to the prevailing notions of science and history. Roberts and Talmage were the preeminent Mormon writers of the period just after the turn of the century. Roberts's *Mormon Doctrine of Diet* (1903), *Seventy's Course in Theology* (1907–1912), his edited seven-volume *History of the Church* (1902–1932), and his six-volume *Comprehensive History* (1930) are still in print and still read, as are Talmage's monumental books *Articles of Faith* (1899) and *Jesus the Christ* (1915).

Roberts, whose *The Gospel* was first published in 1888, actually spanned two generations as did Orson Pratt. After Parley's death in 1857, Orson lived another twenty-five years, a period when almost no other Mormon books were written and most of the Latter-day Saints had a copy of *Orson Pratt's Works* on their shelves. His reputation as the great nineteenth-century Mormon intellectual was greatly enhanced by his lectures and articles in the *Deseret News* and *Millennial Star* on science and mathematics, his bettering of John P. Newman, chaplain of the U.S. Senate, in a debate on polygamy, and his conflicts with Brigham Young over doctrinal matters.²⁴

Except for *Voice of Warning* and *Key to Theology*, Parley's books were ephemeral missionary tracts printed in small editions. And it is tempting to conjecture that the Latter-day Saints preferred more direct, unambiguous books such as Orson Pratt's series *True Faith, True Repentance*, etc. (1856–1857); John Jaques's *Catechism for Children* (1854, 1855, 1870, 1872, 1877, 1879, 1887, 1888); Charles W. Penrose's "*Mormon*" *Doctrine Plain and Simple* (1882, 1888, 1897, 1917, 1921, 1923, 1928, 1929); and Franklin D. Richards and James A. Little's *Compendium* (1882, 1884, 1886, 1892, 1898, 1912, 1914, 1925), to the poetic *Key to Theology* — in spite of the fact that in spirit and approach *Key to Theology* is more faithful to the informal, idiosyncratic nature of Mormon theology.

Nevertheless *Voice of Warning* and *Key to Theology* are still in print and still affectionately read by a few twentieth-century Mormons. Parley grew prophetic when he wrote in the preface of the 1847 edition of *Voice of Warning*, "And should the author be called to sacrifice his life for the cause of truth, he will have the consolation that it will be said of him, as it was said of Abel, viz, 'He, being dead, yet speaketh.'"

NOTES

1. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints," *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 4 (Spring 1969): 13–26.
2. Everett L. Cooley, ed., *Diary of Brigham Young, 1857* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1980), p. 28, n. 32.
3. Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 6–36.
4. See *ibid.*, pp. 37–60. Peter Crawley, "The Passage of Mormon Primitivism," *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 13 (Winter 1980): 26–37. David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Mo., 1887), pp. 28–33, 45–48.
5. Crawley, "The Passage of Mormon Primitivism," pp. 26–37.
6. Just three polemical tracts were published before 1839: Orson Hyde, *Prophetic Warning* (Toronto, 1836); Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning* (New York, 1837); and Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked* (New York, 1838). Virtually all of the early Mormon tracts were self-published, including most of those cited herein.
7. Crawley, "The Passage of Mormon Primitivism," pp. 29–32.
8. Peter Crawley, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 516–18. Apart from its importance in the intellectual history of Mormonism, *Voice of Warning* was probably the most effective nineteenth-century Mormon missionary tract. Before 1900 the Utah Church printed twenty-four editions in English as well as editions in Danish, Dutch, French, German, Icelandic, Spanish, and Swedish.
9. Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," pp. 535–37.
10. Two editions were published in Manchester, England, in 1840; a third was published in Bristol, England, in 1841. Two editions were published in New York City in 1841; a third American edition was published in Philadelphia in 1843.
11. See, for example, John P. Greene's *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons* (Cincinnati, 1839); and John Taylor's *A Short Account of the Murders, Roberies [sic], Burnings, Thefts, and Other Outrages* [Springfield, 1839].
12. Crawley, "The Passage of Mormon Primitivism," p. 34.
13. Caleb Jones, a Methodist preacher, published two tracts under the pseudonym Philanthropist which were responded to by Samuel Bennett and Erastus Snow; and H. Perkins, a Presbyterian, delivered an anti-Mormon lecture which brought a response from Benjamin Winchester. See note 14.
14. The three early tracts are cited in n. 6. In addition to the works of Parley Pratt listed below, those works published in 1840 include: Samuel Bennett, *A Few Remarks by Way of Reply to an Anonymous Scribbler* (Philadelphia, 1840); Orson Hyde, *A Timely Warning to the People of England* (Manchester, 1840); Orson Pratt, *Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions* (Edinburgh, 1840); Sidney Rigdon, *An Appeal to the American People* (Cincinnati, 1840); Erastus Snow, *E. Snow's Reply to the Self-Styled Philanthropist, of Chester County* (Philadelphia, 1840); three tracts by John Taylor — *An Answer to Some False Statements and Misrepresentations Made by the Rev. Roberts Heys* (Douglas, 1840), *Calumny Refuted and the Truth Defended: Being a Reply to the Second Address of the Rev. Robert Heys* (Douglas, 1840), *Truth Defended and Methodism Weighted in the Balance and Found Wanting: Being a Reply to the Third Address of the Rev. Robert Heys* (Liverpool, 1840); two tracts by Benjamin Winchester — *An Examination of a Lecture Delivered by the Rev. H. Perkins* (n.p., 1840), and *The Origin of the Spaulding Story* (Philadelphia, 1840).
15. Chad J. Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978).
16. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography* (New York, 1874), p. 433. *Deseret News* 8 Jan. 1853. *Millennial Star* 17 (31 March 1855): 208.
17. Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," pp. 498–9.
18. Pratt, *Autobiography*, p. 376; *New York Herald* 25 Aug. 1844.

19. P. Crawley, "The First Australian Mormon Imprints," *Gradalis Review* 2 (Fall 1973): 38-51.

20. *Deseret News Extra*, 14 Sep. 1852.

21. *Millennial Star* 10 (15 Aug. 1848): 241.

22. Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930*.

23. The first synthetical books include Orson Spencer, *Letters Exhibiting the Most Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool, 1848); John Jaques, *Catechism for Children* (Liverpool, 1854); *Key to Theology* (Liverpool, 1855); Orson Pratt's series of eight tracts, *True Faith, True Repentance*, etc. (Liverpool, 1856-1857); and Franklin D. Richards, *Compendium* (Liverpool, 1857). In the 1880s this restatement occurred with such books as John Taylor, *Items on Priesthood* (Salt Lake City, 1882) and his *Mediation and Atonement* (Salt Lake City, 1882); Charles W. Penrose, "*Mormon*" *Doctrine Plain and Simple* (Salt Lake City, 1882); Franklin D. Richards and James A. Little, *Compendium* (Salt Lake City, 1882); John Nicholson, *The Preceptor* (Salt Lake City, 1883), and B. H. Roberts, *The Gospel* (Salt Lake City, 1888). After the turn of the century it occurred again through such works as B. H. Roberts, *Mormon Doctrine of Deity* (Salt Lake City, 1903) and his *Seventy's Course in Theology* (Salt Lake City, 1907-1912); and James E. Talmage's two books *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1899) and *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City, 1915). In the mid-twentieth century this process of restatement was repeated through the writings of John A. Widtsoe, Joseph Fielding Smith, Lowell Bennion, and others.

24. Thomas Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt — Early Mormon Leader" (MA Thesis, University of Chicago, 1932), pp. 86-134. Orson's reputation greatly extended beyond the facts; he was certainly not "one of the world's greatest scientists." *Ibid.*, pp. 2.

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2. The Millennium, a poem. To which is added hymns and songs on various subjects, new and interesting, adapted to the dispensation of the fulness of times. [six-line quotation] Boston: Printed for Elder Parley P. Pratt, author and proprietor. 1835. 52pp. 14.7 cm.
3. A voice of warning and instruction to all people, containing a declaration of the faith and doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. [five-line quotation] New-York: Printed by W. Sandford, 29 Ann St. MDCCCXXXVII. x[11]-216 pp. 14.7 cm.
Other editions: New York, 1839; Manchester, England, 1841; New York, 1842; Nauvoo, 1844; Edinburgh, 1847; Liverpool, 1852; Jersey, 1853 (in French); Hamburg, 1853 (in German); Liverpool, 1854; Copenhagen, 1855 (in Danish); Copenhagen, 1856 (in Danish).
4. Mormonism unveiled: Zion's Watchman unmasked, and its editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, exposed: truth vindicated: the Devil mad, and priestcraft in danger! By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. [two-line quotation] New-York: Printed for the publisher. 1838. 47pp. 18cm.
Other editions: New York, 1838 (two editions); Painesville, Ohio, 1838; New York, 1842.
5. History of the late persecution inflicted by the state of Missouri upon the Mormons, in which ten thousand American citizens were robbed, plundered, and driven from the

- state, and many others imprisoned, martyred, &c. for their religion, and all this by military force, by order of the executive. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. Written during eight months imprisonment in that state. [one-line quotation, prices] Detroit: Dawson & Bates, Printers. 1839. v[6]-84 pp. 18.6 cm.
Other editions: Mexico, New York, 1840; New York, 1840.
6. The millennium, and other poems: to which is annexed, a treatise on the regeneration and eternal duration of matter. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel. New York: Printed by W. Molineux, cor. of Ann and Nassau Streets. MDCCCXL. iv,21,148 pp. 17.7 cm.
 7. Late persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints. Ten thousand American citizens robbed, plundered, and banished; others imprisoned, and others martyred for their religion. With a sketech of their rise, progress and doctrine. By P. P. Pratt, Minister of the Gospel: written in prison. [two-line quotation] New-York: J. W. Harrison, Printer, 28 Catharine-St. 1840. xx[21]-215[1] pp. 14.8 cm.
 8. An address by Judge Higbee and Parley P. Pratt, Ministers of the gospel, of the Church of Jesus Christ of "Latter-day Saints," to the citizens of Washington and to the public in general. [at end:] Washington, February 9, 1840. 4 pp. 21 cm.
 9. An address by a minister of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to the people of England. [at end:] Manchester, May 18, 1840. Printed by W. R. Thomas, 61, Spring Gardens. 4 pp. 19.2 cm.
Other editions: Manchester, 1840; Bristol, 1841?; New York? 1841? (two editions); Philadelphia? 1843?
 10. Farewell song. By P. P. Pratt. Sung at the general conference of the Latter Day Saints, in the city of New York, as six of their elders, viz: B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Pratt, G. A. Smith, R. Hadlock [sic], and P. P. Pratt, were about to sail for Europe. They took passage on board the ship Patrick Henry, for Liverpool, and sailed on 7th March, 1840. [N.p., 1840?] Broadside 25×19.5 cm. on yellow paper.
 11. Plain facts, showing the falsehood and folly of the Rev. C. S. Bush, (a Church Minister of the Parish of Peover,) being a reply to his tract against the Latter-day Saints. [at foot of p. 16:] W. R. Thomas, Printer, 61, Spring Gardens, Manchester. [1840] 16 pp. 17.5 cm.
 12. A reply to Mr. Thomas Taylor's "Complete Failure," &c., and Mr. Richard Livesey's "Mormonism Exposed." [one-line quotation] By Parley P. Pratt. Manchester: Printed by W. R. Thomas, 61, Spring Gardens. 1840. 12 pp. 18 cm.
 13. An answer to Mr. William Hewitt's tract against the Latter-day Saints. [two-line quotation] By Parley P. Pratt. Manchester: Printed by W. R. Thomas, 61, Spring Gardens. 1840. 12 pp. 17.1 cm.
 14. An epistle of Demetrius, Junior, the silversmith, to the workmen of like occupation, and all others whom it may concern, — greeting: showing the best way to preserve our craft, & to put down the Latter Day Saints. [at foot:] Wm. Shackleton and Sons, Printers, Ducie-Place, Exchange, Manchester. [1840?] Broadside 36.8×23.8 cm. Text in three columns, ornamental border.
Other editions: Birmingham, 1841?; Norwich, 1842?; Peterboro, New Hampshire? 1842?; Philadelphia? 1842?
 15. A letter to the Queen, touching the signs of the times, and the political destiny of the world. [two-line quotation] Manchester: Printed and published by P. P. Pratt, No. 47, Oxford-Street. 1841. 12 pp. 18.7 cm.
Other editions: Manchester, 1841; New York? 1841?
 16. Truth defended, or a reply to the "Preston Chronicle," and to Mr. J. B. Rollo's "Mormonism Exposed." Extracted from the Millennial Star for July, 1841. [two-line quotation] Manchester: Printed and published by P. P. Pratt, 47, Oxford Street. 1841. 8 pp. 20.5 cm.
 17. Dialogue between a Latter-day Saint and an enquirer after truth. (Reprinted from the Star of January 1.) To which is added, a solemn warning to the Methodists. By one who was formerly a Preacher among them. Published by P. P. Pratt, 47, Oxford Street,

- Manchester, where all publications of the Latter-day Saints may be obtained. [1842] 4 pp. 21 cm.
18. The true God and His worship contrasted with idolatry. [Liverpool? 1842?] 8 pp. 19 cm.
 19. The world turned upside down, or heaven on earth. The material universe is eternal. — Immortal man has flesh and bones. — Earth is his everlasting inheritance. — To this bear all the prophets and apostles witness; the physical worlds were not formed for annihilation, but for the pleasure of God they are and were created. By P. P. Pratt. Published at the Millennial Star Office, 36, Chapel-Street, Liverpool, and sold by the booksellers. Printed by James and Woodburn, 14, Hanover-Street. [1842] iv[5]-25 pp. 18 cm.
 20. An appeal to the inhabitants of the state of New York, letter to Queen Victoria, (reprinted from the tenth European edition,) the fountain of knowledge; immortality of the body, and intelligence and affection: By Parley P. Pratt. [price] John Taylor, Printer, Nauvoo, Illinois. [1844] [2]40 pp. 21.1 cm.
Other editions: Milwaukee, 1844?
 21. Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter-day Saints. To all the kings of the world; to the President of the United States of America; to the governors of the several states; and to the rulers and people of all nations: Greeting: [at end:] New York, April 6, 1845. [New York, 1845] 16 pp. 21.7 cm.
Other editions: Liverpool, 1845.
 22. A dialogue between Joe. Smith and the devil! [New York? 1845?] 12 pp. 16.5 cm.
Other editions: Liverpool? 1846? (two editions).
 23. An apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was in the Island of Great Britain, for the gospel's sake; and being in the spirit on the 21st. of November, A.D. 1846, addressed the following words of comfort to his dearly-beloved wife and family, dwelling in tents, in the camp of Israel, at Council Bluffs, Missouri [sic] Territory, North America; where they and twenty thousand others were banished by the civilized Christians of the United States, for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus. [at foot:] Printed by Br. J. B. Fanklin, 5, Northampton Street, King's Cross. [London, 1851?] Broadside 44×23 cm. Text in two columns, ornamental border; gold print on blue paper, black print on orange paper.
Other editions: London? 1851?
 24. What do the Latter-day Saints believe; or, what is "Mormonism?" [at end:] Printed by J. Sadler, 16, Moorfields, Liverpool. [1851?] Broadside 21×13 cm.
 25. Proclamation! To the people of the coasts and islands of the Pacific; of every nation, kindred and tongue. By an apostle of Jesus Christ. Published for the author, by C. W. Wandell, Minister of the Gospel. [at end:] William Baker, Printer, Hibernian Press, King-Street. [Sydney, Australia, 1851] 16 pp. 21 cm.
Other editions: Madras, 1853.
 26. Proclamacion! extraordinaria, para los Americanos Espanoles. Por Parley P. Pratt, apostol de la Iglesia de Jesu Christo, de los Postiros Dias Santos [sic]. Read, preserve, and hand this book to your neighbor. Proclamation extraordinary! To the Spanish Americans by Parley P. Pratt, apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Later [sic] Day Saints. San Francisco: Monson, Haswell & Co., Printers, 1852. Wrapper title, [3]-18 pp. 21 cm.
 27. "Mormonism!" "Plurality of wives!" An especial chapter, for the especial edification of certain inquisitive news editors, etc. [at end:] San Francisco, Cal. July 13th, 1852. Broadside 28×19 cm.
 28. Spiritual communication. A sermon delivered by Elder P. P. Pratt, Senr. before the conference at Salt Lake City, April 7, 1853. [San Francisco? 1853?] 8 pp. 24.2 cm.
 29. Repent! Ye people of California! For, know assuredly, the Kingdom of God, has come nigh unto you. [San Francisco, 1854] Broadside 17.5×22.5 cm.
 30. Key to the science of theology: designed as an introduction to the first principles of spiritual philosophy; religion; law and government; as delivered by the ancients, and as restored in this age, for the final development of universal peace, truth and knowledge.

By Parley P. Pratt. [four-line verse] Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 15, Wilton Street, London: L.D. Saints' Book Depot, 35, Jewin St., City, and all booksellers. 1855. 2 p.l., [vii]-xv[1]-173[2] pp. 19.5 cm.

31. Marriage and morals in Utah, an address by P. P. Pratt, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Chaplain to the Council of the Utah Legislature. Read in joint session of the legislature, in the Representatives' Hall, Fillmore City, Dec. 31, 1855, by Mr. Thomas Bullock, Chief Clerk of the House. Reprinted from the "Deseret News." Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 42, Islington; London: L.D.S. Book & Star Depot, 35, Jewin St., City. 1856. 8 pp. 22 cm.
Other editions: Copenhagen, 1856 (in Danish); Abertawy, Wales, 1856 (in Welsh); San Francisco, 1856; Geneva, 1857 (in French).

Orson Pratt: Prolific Pamphleteer

The most prolific and perhaps most influential early Mormon pamphleteer was Orson Pratt. From his conversion in 1830 to his death in 1881, he authored over thirty works on both religious and scientific topics. Influential during his own lifetime, he wielded even more influence after his death. Writing for the Church's Centennial in 1930, John Henry Evans observed: "In the first century of 'Mormonism' there is no leader of the intellectual stature of Orson Pratt."¹ In Nauvoo, W. W. Phelps labelled him the "Gauge of Philosophy."² T. B. H. Stenhouse attributes to him "the first logical arguments in favour of Mormonism."³ In 1876, Edward Tullidge called Orson Pratt the "Paul of Mormonism,"⁴ for his contribution to Mormon theology. At Orson Pratt's funeral in 1881, Wilford Woodruff asserted that he had written "more upon the gospel and upon science than any other man in the Church."⁵ In the first scholarly study of Orson Pratt's life, T. Edgar Lyon's master's thesis in 1932, the author finds that "Orson Pratt did more to formulate the Mormon idea of God, the religious basis of polygamy (polygyny), the pre-existence of spirits, the doctrine of the gathering, the resurrection, and eternal salvation than any other person in the Church, with the exception of Joseph Smith. . . . Due to his efforts . . . the odds and ends of Joseph Smith's utterances were constructed and expanded into a philosophic system."⁶ And when Leonard Arrington asked fifty prominent Mormon scholars in 1968 to rank the leading intellectuals in the history of the Mormon Church, Orson Pratt was mentioned second only to B. H. Roberts, receiving more votes than Joseph Smith or his brother Parley.⁷

Orson was baptized on his nineteenth birthday, 19 September 1830, by his missionary brother Parley.⁸ He was born at Hartford, Washington County, New York, to Jared Pratt and Charity Dickinson, the next to youngest of their six children. In 1814 or 1815 his family moved to New Lebanon, Columbia County, New York, where he attended school and his parents taught him to read the Bible, although he could not remember attending church more than a few times.

During the winter of 1829–1830, he spent four months at a boarding school studying geography, grammar, and surveying. Simultaneously, he began seeking a religious experience. In the autumn of 1829, he says:

I . . . began to pray very fervently, repenting of every sin. In the silent shades of night, while others were slumbering upon their pillows, I often retired to some secret

place in the lonely fields or solitary wilderness, and bowed to the Lord, and prayed for hours with a broken heart and contrite spirit; this was for the Lord to manifest His will concerning me. I continued to pray in this fervent manner until September, 1830, at which time two Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, came into the neighborhood, one of which was my brother Parley.⁹

Following his baptism he traveled to Fayette, New York, where he was ordained an elder by Joseph Smith and sent to Colesville, New York, on the first of his many missions. An important aspect of accepting Joseph Smith as a prophet was “the purity of the doctrine . . . he had brought forth. I knew it was a scriptural doctrine, agreeing in every respect with the ancient gospel . . . when my mind became fully satisfied that God had raised up a people to proclaim the gospel in all its ancient beauty and simplicity, with power to administer in its ordinances. . . .”¹⁰

For the next several years he undertook many short-term missions in the United States and Canada. In addition, he attended the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, Ohio, marched to Missouri with Zion’s Camp in 1834, was ordained one of the Standing High Council in Missouri (July 1834) and even acted for a short time as a clerk for Joseph Smith. In February 1835, he became one of the members of the newly organized Quorum of Twelve Apostles. It was while studying Hebrew with members of the Kirtland School of the Prophets in the winter of 1834–1835 that he debated a fine point of the pronunciation of a Hebrew letter with Joseph Smith to the point of an argument. Joseph Smith recorded that Orson was stubborn and that only after some time did he calm down and ask for forgiveness.¹¹ Orson remembered that it was during the winter months of 1836–1837 that he began studying algebra without a teacher.

By 1839 he was on his way with his fellow apostles to the British Isles, arriving in Liverpool on 6 April 1840. Though “penniless and strangers,” he and his companions baptized about eight thousand people in about twelve months. In Edinburgh, Orson managed in nine months to raise up a branch of 200 members.¹² On this mission he published his first pamphlet, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions . . .* (Edinburgh, 1840). Within this tract of thirty-one pages was the first *public* recording of Joseph Smith’s First Vision and a list of fifteen “Articles of Faith,” which may have suggested those Joseph Smith appended to the Wentworth letter two years later.¹³

Orson’s return to America in 1841 thrust him into a maelstrom of rumors and gossip in Nauvoo — the results of which led eventually to his own excommunication. He spent the next five months seeking the truth regarding both Joseph Smith’s calling and the new doctrine of plural marriage. He came to accept both with such assurance that he spent the rest of his life in their defense.

During the two years prior to Joseph’s death in 1844, the Twelve learned privately about the doctrines and ordinances which in time were to be taught to the entire Church.¹⁴ After the martyrdom of the Smith brothers, Orson joined with the Quorum of the Twelve in asserting its right to preside over the Church. Throughout this period he also spent “much of my leisure time in study, and made myself thoroughly acquainted with algebra, geometry, trigo-

nometry, conic sections, differential and integral calculus, astronomy, and most of the physical sciences. These studies I pursued without the assistance of a teacher.”¹⁵ His interest in math and astronomy found an outlet in two *Prophetic Almanacs*, one published in 1845 and one in 1846.

On 6 April 1848, Pratt was appointed to preside over the Church in Europe. In addition to carrying out all the usual tasks, he managed to write and publish sixteen pamphlets in defense of Mormon doctrines — works oriented as much to investigators as to converts.¹⁶ From the sale of these works he managed to support himself, his five wives, and ten children.

He returned to Salt Lake City in October 1851, and was soon assigned to teach at the newly established University of Deseret, delivering twelve lectures on astronomy that winter.¹⁷ It was at a special missionary conference in August 1852 that Brigham Young asked Orson Pratt to publicly introduce plural marriage. Though tradition implies that he gave the talk extemporaneously, evidence now available suggests that Church leaders had been preparing this announcement for several weeks. The talk is too carefully constructed to have been delivered without preparation.¹⁸ One outcome of the conference was Orson Pratt’s call to publish a Washington, D.C., periodical in defense of plural marriage. The twelve-month run of *The Seer* in 1853 provides what is still the most detailed analysis of the doctrine in Mormon literature. In May 1854, he returned to Salt Lake City where he picked up his interest in astronomy and, on 11 November 1854, announced to the world that he had discovered “The Law of Planetary Rotation.”¹⁹

The last twenty-five years of his life continued busy. In 1856 he again presided over the European mission, producing another set of pamphlets.²⁰ In 1864 he was appointed to missions in Austria and Britain. While not successful as a missionary in Austria, he published, in May 1866 in England, his *New and Easy Method of Solution of the Cubic and Biquadratic Equations*.

After Brigham Young’s death in 1877, Pratt was assigned to help prepare new editions of the modern Mormon scriptures. He provided much of the critical work for the 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, for the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon, and for the 1879 American edition of the Pearl of Great Price.²¹

In 1879, he published his *Key to the Universe* at Liverpool, but by this time he was suffering from diabetes. He preached his last public discourse on 18 September 1881 and died October 3 in Salt Lake City.

Orson Pratt’s early training in surveying, mathematics, and bookkeeping must have reinforced his inclination for exactness and precision. Mormons have traditionally claimed that he was most noted in non-Mormon circles as a mathematician and astronomer. Levi Edgar Young claimed that Pratt’s works were used as textbooks in England, Germany, and France, and others have repeated the claim,²² primarily about his major published mathematical work, *New and Easy Method of Solution of the Cubic and Biquadratic Equations* (London and Liverpool, 1866). He also published and wrote other mathematical works. He contributed several articles to mathematical publications, and left unpublished or incomplete manuscripts on differential calculus and

algebra.²³ These works demonstrate better than average skills in higher math, but he simply cannot be considered a great mathematician. Perhaps his real contribution, as critic Edward R. Hogan suggests, was his role as science teacher and educator on the Mormon frontier.²⁴ Given the disadvantages under which he worked, his work was still impressive.

His interest in mathematics led him to astronomy where he found in both fields the same evidence of God's existence and designs as contemporary scientist Benjamin Silliman found in his study of geology and chemistry, "a transcript of the Divine Character." Whether Pratt was aware of it, his own approach to nature was common among American thinkers by the 1820s. Identified as Baconianism, it was a thorough-going empiricism that had been borrowed from the Scottish Realists who believed that God spoke to man through scripture *and* nature, an attempt by orthodox protestants to find a satisfactory answer to the challenges of the Enlightenment.²⁵

Like many of his contemporaries, Orson Pratt was a natural theologian whose religious views were held to be as empirical as his scientific observations. As Herbert Hovenkamp suggests, these conservative protestants maintained a strong commitment to two broad principles: that God created nature and that the evidence of his creativity is obvious everywhere, and that God provided equally reliable information about himself in the Bible.²⁶ While such beliefs were seriously challenged during the second half of the nineteenth century, it is clear that Orson Pratt was nurtured on these assumptions during the formative years he studied his math, science, and religion. In an address to the Nauvoo Lyceum on 19 November 1842, he posed the question, "Is there sufficient evidence in the works of Nature to prove the existence of a Supreme Being?"²⁷ The contents of his later works suggest he argued strongly in the affirmative.²⁸

Throughout his life, Pratt combined science with his theology; each gave support and assurance to the other. It is not a coincidence that he turned more deeply to mathematics and astronomy during great crises, for the "finality" of empirical evidence provided a shelter from the storms of his life. During the Bennett affair, the challenge of plural marriage, the succession crisis of 1844, and his numerous disagreements with Brigham Young, contemporary records show his increased study of things scientific.

His first printed piece on astronomy appeared in the *Times and Seasons* in 1843 and his observations of the heavens continued throughout the rest of his life.²⁹ His *Prophetic Almanac* for 1845 and 1846 (he also proposed preparing almanacs for the British Isles), provided outlets for his interest in astronomy,³⁰ as did his series of twelve lectures of 1851–1852 in the Salt Lake Valley. These lectures were published in the *Deseret News* in 1854, with an expanded version delivered again in Salt Lake City, in January and February 1871. They provided the background for what many consider to be his principal scientific work, *The Key to the Universe*.³¹ In these published lectures Pratt most clearly revealed his natural theology. Woven through them is his central belief that "the study of science is the study of something eternal. If we study astronomy, we study the works of God."³²

Pratt's writings were the most complete attempt in early Mormonism to provide a vast teleological argument for God's existence. He concluded his second astronomy lecture in Salt Lake City in 1854 by proclaiming, "Before its potent energies the complex machinery of nature discloses its beautiful harmonies, and proclaims with inspiring tones, the Divinity of its Author." At the conclusion of Lecture IV he asked, "Who can but acknowledge the footsteps of Divinity in every part and in the whole?" At the end of another lecture on "Gravitation and Centrifugal forces," he concluded:

Nothing is calculated to inspire the mind of man with a more profound reverence for the Great Author of nature than the contemplation of his marvelous works. For the exact mathematical adjustments of the various forces of nature — the consummate wisdom and skill exhibited in every department of the universe, accessible to finite minds — the omnipotent power and grandeur displayed in the construction of the magnificent machinery of creation — proclaim the majesty and glory of Him who formed and governs the mighty fabric.³³

In all of this Orson Pratt was in tune with major thought in early nineteenth-century science. The concept of a mechanistic, clock-work universe was the product of the Enlightenment and its obsession with order and machines. Hence, inductive methods appeared to be the best way to understand the parts. There is no doubt that the science Pratt learned in the 1830s was heavily mechanistic, an emphasis visible throughout his mathematical and stellar work.

But at the same time, the rise of Romanticism had introduced an organic model which allowed for growth and change, placed God directly in nature and therefore tended toward a cosmic pantheism.³⁴ Orson Pratt managed to use both of these perspectives in his writings. Most of his work supported the mechanistic view, but his growing concern for discovering the absolute laws of nature led him to seek ultimate causes and universal laws which for him were metaphysical.³⁵

Pratt died before confronting evolutionary naturalism which seriously challenged the mechanistic model and in time completely secularized the organic view. Although *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859, it did not have an influence in America until the 1880s; Pratt died in 1881. The fact that Pratt's scientific work was centered in the physical sciences also helps explain his apparent unawareness of the revolutionary changes then taking place in biology.³⁶

Most of Orson Pratt's scientific theorizing centered on two main problems. The first was his search for the law which governed celestial dynamics. In the autumn of 1845, in his *Prophetic Almanac*, he first projected his hypothesis of universal law. In it he advanced a theory of "Intelligent Self-moving Matter." This theory found its fullest expression in his 1849 *Absurdities of Immaterialism*, in his 1851 *The Great First Cause* and, shortly thereafter in *The Holy Spirit*.³⁷ Brigham Young's denouncement of the latter in 1860 seems to have led Pratt to abandon his search for First Causes alone, and instead to seek for *the* underlying cause of all celestial laws.

This second problem found its "solution" in Pratt's work in astronomy. On 11 November 1854 he proclaimed that he had discovered the "Law of

Planetary Rotation.”³⁸ This theory has been abandoned by modern astronomy, but did describe rather accurately the movements of major planets known in his day.

A recent study has suggested the major flaws of his principal scientific work, the *Key to the Universe*: he does not mention energy; he misunderstands centrifugal force; he does not grasp the fundamental principles of dynamics; his theory of cosmic evolution fails to consider the conservation of energy principle; he informs the reader that he will avoid calculus, but in doing so he allows errors; his arguments for “ether” as part of gravitating matter ignore Newton; and finally, his approach in general shows he had not consulted the best thinking of his time on these questions. For example, he demonstrates no awareness of Maxwell’s electromagnetic field theory (1865) which suggests that he was not theoretically current.³⁹ Thus, he must be considered an amateur scientist, but one whose work should be acknowledged as impressive given his lack of formal education.

Of course, Pratt’s science must be viewed in the context of Mormon theology, which was strongly materialistic and intensely teleological. God was material, inside space and time, as were his creations. Creation was organization and the law that governed the universe was eternal, not superceded by men or God.⁴⁰ Man and God and nature were moving in the same direction — forward to a bright millennial day. In all of these areas he owed a heavy debt to Joseph Smith and his own brother Parley. The fact that he outlived his brother by about twenty-five years and that Joseph Smith left only fragments of his own teaching is likely the reason we tend to remember Orson more as the theologian of early Mormonism. Actually, it seems that Orson acquired his mechanical view of the universe from Joseph Smith and his organic view from his brother Parley and that both positions were reinforced by the scientific and religious thought of his day.

Orson Pratt’s greatest impact upon Mormonism came through his clearly and precisely written theological studies. Within each work he moved carefully from one point to another, gradually developing his position with the same exactness he would have used in solving a mathematical equation. More than anything else, his concern for definitiveness gave his works a finality early Mormons found reassuring in an unstable world, and his ability to simplify — to reduce things to their lowest common denominator — was especially appreciated by elders defending the faith in mission fields all over the world.

All of Orson Pratt’s religious pamphlets grew out of a missionary context. His first work, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions* was published in Edinburgh, Scotland as part of his efforts to introduce Mormonism in that country in 1840. As mission president in England, he issued two series of tracts: fifteen from 1848 to 1851 (under seven titles, including a reprinting of his 1840 work) and eight additional in 1857–1858. Little new Mormon doctrine surfaced in these works. Their importance lies in the extended arguments and “proofs” for the central tenets of Mormon theology. Mormon thought reduced to its essentials forms the core of Orson Pratt’s religious pamphlets.

Orson Pratt more or less outlined these essentials in his first pamphlet and then expanded them in his later essays. As we have noted, *Interesting Account* can be divided into several parts. He began with a biographical sketch of Joseph Smith, emphasizing his visions and his divine calling growing out of these experiences. Next he surveyed the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, discussing its inspired translation and the divinely inspired testimony of its witnesses as additional proof of both Joseph Smith's claims and of the fact of modern revelation. Next he told of the institutional embodiment of these things in the Church Joseph Smith organized in April 1830. Finally, he ended his sixteen-page pamphlet with a "sketch of the faith and doctrine of this Church." This sketch included fifteen articles of belief that outlined the basic doctrines of Mormonism: the Godhead, the fall of Adam, the atonement of Jesus Christ, the purpose of mortality and evil, the first principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ (faith, repentance, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost), that Mormonism is patterned after the New Testament church, that Christianity had apostatized from the true order, authority, and pattern originally established by Jesus, that the honest in heart will receive the true gospel when it is presented to them by proper messengers, that revelation continues, that the Church has been reestablished to prepare mankind for the second coming of the Lord, that the righteous will be gathered out of the world to assist in building a latter-day Zion, that ancient prophecies will be fulfilled through this latter-day work, and that terrible judgments await all those who fail to repent.

His later pamphlets expand on these notions by providing lengthy discussions and scriptural (mainly biblical) rationalizations for their authenticity. *Divine Authority, or Was Joseph Smith Sent of God* (1848) was an extended discussion of the Mormon position that modern revelation was absolutely necessary for any claim to be a disciple of Christ. The story of Joseph Smith, Pratt argued, was thoroughly consistent with the Bible which required heavenly messengers to open a dispensation of the gospel and to provide for legal administrators authorized to act for God pertaining to the salvation of mankind.⁴¹

Within one month after he finished *Divine Authority*, Orson began to issue *The Kingdom of God*. This series gave extended argument for the nature, purpose, and character of God's kingdom on earth. While Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt had earlier addressed this subject,⁴² Orson's ninety-six-page essay was the most complete discussion of "theocracy" in early Mormon literature, an extensive examination of the Church or kingdom, its establishment, its officers, its laws and the requirements for admission to it, and the privileges and blessings of its citizens both now and in the future.⁴³

After issuing two replies to anti-Mormon attacks, in which he repeated many of his earlier arguments, he then wrote an essay on the *New Jerusalem* of the last days⁴⁴ and a lengthy defense of the *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*.⁴⁵

In these works Orson Pratt spelled out the implications of the ideas he had surveyed in his 1840 pamphlet. With logic and biblical proof-texts, he challenged his readers by asserting throughout that they had only two alternatives:

either Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon were divinely inspired or they were frauds. The evidence Pratt marshalled suggested that only the first alternative was possible for the honest seeker. This simplifying of complex questions and issues to an either/or answer had obvious benefits for missionary work and goes a long way to explain the popularity of Pratt's pamphlets.

Orson's second series of pamphlets (1857–1858) continued the same approach, but with more precise topics. Beginning in August 1856, he issued, at two-to-four week intervals, tracts on faith, repentance, baptism, the Holy Spirit, spiritual gifts, miracles, and apostasy and the latter-day kingdom. Each had been listed as an item of faith and doctrine in his 1840 pamphlet and several had previously appeared in the second volume of *The Seer*.⁴⁶

By the time Orson finished his second set of pamphlets, there were few, if any, doctrines left to write about. It was in his pamphlets that the key Mormon doctrines of the gathering, premortal existence, plural marriage, eternal progression, the eternal nature of matter, the first principles of the gospel, and several central millennial beliefs were articulated and analyzed. The two series of pamphlets published by 1857 demonstrate that he was one of the first systematizers of Mormon thought. While these pamphlets do not constitute a *Summa Theologia*, they do go further in that direction than any other Mormon writer's work in the nineteenth century. It has been this comprehensiveness that led both his contemporaries and later scholars to judge him, perhaps more generously than he deserves, as *the* intellectual of the early Church.

What is Orson's true place within the development of Mormon thought? In almost every area he was taught the substance by Joseph Smith, often through his brother Parley. This suggests that Orson was more of a popularizer and systematizer than an innovator. Although there are great difficulties in tracing the sources of a person's thought, it becomes increasingly clear that the real mind of the early Mormon movement was Joseph Smith. Before April 1839 Joseph Smith had depended upon public spokesmen to articulate many of his ideas; but after his escape to Illinois, he began acting as his own spokesman. As can be clearly shown in the early Mormon pamphlet literature, new Mormon doctrines first surfaced in the written works of those elders who heard Joseph preach during his journey to and from Washington, D.C., 1839–1840. As Peter Crawley claims, Parley Pratt was first taught the doctrine of eternal marriage during this time; Orson Pratt soon thereafter journeyed to Scotland where he published his *Interesting Accounts of Several Remarkable Visions* (1840), which includes the first published account of Joseph Smith's first vision — suggesting that Joseph first taught this event publicly in 1839–1840; Samuel Bennett published in 1840 *A Few Remarks by Way of Reply to an Anonymous Scribbler* which affirms the notion of a corporeal, anthropomorphic God, among other new doctrines; and Benjamin Winchester published his *Examination of a Lecture Delivered by the Reverend H. Perkins*, which spoke of the doctrine of the premortal existence of spirits. That same year Joseph Smith first taught the doctrine of vicarious work for the dead. Little wonder that in April 1842, Joseph Smith accused several of his followers (including Orson and Parley Pratt) of publishing his ideas as their own.⁴⁷

In addition to learning from Joseph Smith, Orson Pratt benefited greatly from the writings of his brother Parley. Orson's *The Absurdity of Immaterialism* (1849), considered his most important philosophical treatise, demonstrates the fallacies of an ex nihilo creation and neatly dismantles the immaterial-matter argument by demonstrating that this position is really one of atheism — i.e., belief in nothing, which he claimed is what immaterial matter is. But behind Orson's work stand two important revelatory insights from Joseph Smith (D&C 93:29; 131:7–8) which laid the foundation for such a position. In addition, Parley had published in 1840 *The Millennium and other Poems* to which he attached a forty-four page essay he had written while in a Missouri jail in 1839: "A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter."⁴⁸ In 1844, Parley published two additional essays which expanded on his 1839 essay, and Orson had access to all of his brother's works.

Other works by Parley foreshadowed Orson's own writings. Parley's *Voice of Warning* (1837) provided such detailed arguments for the Book of Mormon and the basic principles of the gospel, including the gathering and the kingdom of God, that it is hard to ignore their potential influence on Orson. In addition, Parley's essays on such topics as "Intelligence and Affection" and "Celestial Family Organization," and his other pamphlets, which were replies to anti-Mormon writers as well as defenses of major Mormon doctrines, provided much upon which Orson likely drew. Parley's preference for "dialogue" in his tracts also provided Orson with a writing technique in defending Mormonism. Even Orson's detailed defenses of plural marriage were foreshadowed by Parley's San Francisco broadside published six weeks before Orson publicly announced the practice.⁴⁹

Orson clearly was aware of his brother's works. He wrote his wife in January 1840 about the publication of *The Millennium* and specifically noted the material on the eternal duration of matter.⁵⁰ A year later he began selling Parley's books out of his own home in Nauvoo and advertising them in Church periodicals.⁵¹ The best evidence of Orson's relationship to his brother comes in a letter he wrote Parley in 1853: "There are no writings in the church with the exception of the revelations, which I esteem more highly than yours. . . . Oh, my dear brother, in some way, burst these shackles and send forth your theological Works by thousands among all languages and nations till the whole earth shall be enlightened with the light thereof."⁵² This is not to say that Orson merely reproduced his brother's work. It is clear that Orson labored diligently over his writing. In another letter to his brother he shared his frustrations:

Writing always was tedious to me, but seeing the good that may be accomplished, I have whipped my mind to it, till I am nearly bald-headed, and grey-headed, through constant application. I almost envy the hours that steal away, I find myself so fast hastening to old age. A few short years, if we live, will find us among the ranks of the old men of the earth; and how can I bear to have it so without doing more in this great cause? I wish to accomplish something ere I die, that shall not only be esteemed great by good and holy men, but that shall be considered great in the sight of God.⁵³

In most of his work, however, Orson was an "elaborator," a systematizer, and popularizer of Mormon thought, not an innovator nor an originator. He was

among the most important of the approximately eighty pamphleteers in early Mormonism. He was at his best in developing the ideas of others and expanding them into fully elaborated statements. Without question, all religious movements in their infancy need such disciples.

NOTES

1. *The Heart of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., for the LDS Department of Education, 1930), p. 411.

2. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts, ed., revised ed., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954), 7: 434–35; originally published *New York Sun*, 6 Aug. 1845.

3. *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), p. 9.

4. *Life of Brigham Young* (New York: n.p., 1876), Appendix, p. 74.

5. *Latter-day Saint's Millennial Star* 43 (7 Nov. 1881): 707.

6. T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt — Early Mormon Leader" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1932), pp. 104, 99; see Orson F. Whitney, "Orson Pratt, Apostle, Pioneer, Philosopher, Scientist, and Historian," *Improvement Era* 15 (Jan. 1912): 195–206.

7. "The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Spring 1969): 22–23.

8. For full documentation on biographical sources, see David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), pp. 123–24.

9. As cited in Elden J. Watson, comp., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1975), pp. 8–9.

10. *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–1866), (11 Aug. 1867), 12:85. Hereafter cited as JD by date of speech, volume, page.

11. The context is provided in Louis C. Zucker, "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue* 3 (Summer 1968): 45. References to Orson's study of Hebrew in the *History of the Church* include 2: 326, 356–57, 397, 406.

12. Much of the story is told in James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 499–526; see also Andrew Jenson, *The Historical Record* 6 (Sept. 1887): 348–51; and Orson Pratt's letters in *LDS Millennial Star* 1 (Dec. 1840): 213–14; and 2 (May 1841): 10–12.

13. Some information on the textual background of the "Articles of Faith" is provided in John W. Welch and David J. Whittaker, "'We Believe' . . . : Development of the Articles of Faith," *Ensign* 9 (Sept. 1979): 51–55.

14. See D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187–233; and the "Message" of Orson Pratt in *New York Messenger* as reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 Aug. 1845): 995–99.

15. Quoted in Milando Pratt, "Life and Labors of Orson Pratt," *The Contributor* 12 (Jan. 1891): 85–87.

16. The fifteen pamphlets he issued during this time (1848–1851) include: *Divine Authority, or Was Joseph Smith Sent of God*, 16 pp. (30 Sept. 1848); *The Kingdom of God*, Part 1, 8 pp. (31 Oct. 1848); pt. 2, 8 pp. (30 Nov. 1848); pt. 3, 8 pp. (14 Jan. 1849); pt. 4, 16 pp. (14 July 1849); *Reply to 'Remarks on Mormonism'*, 16 pp. (30 April 1849); *Absurdities of Immaterialism, or a Reply to T. W. P. Taylder's Pamphlet, entitled 'The materialism of the Mormons or Latter-day Saints examined and exposed'*, 32 pp. (31 July 1840); *New Jerusalem or the Fulfillment of Modern Prophecy*, 24 pp. (1 Oct. 1849); *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*, 96 pp., no. 1 (15 Oct. 1850); no. 2 (1 Nov. 1850); no. 3 (1 Dec. 1850); no. 4 (15 Dec. 1850); no. 5 (7 Jan. 1851); no. 6 (no date given,

probably 15 Jan. 1851); and *Great First Cause, or the Self-Moving Forces of the Universe*, 16 pp. (1 Jan. 1851). These were published under one cover with some additional material in 1851. For bibliographical information on these and the other published works of Orson Pratt, including foreign language editions, see Chad J. Flake, ed., *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978). He also reissued in 1848 as *Remarkable Visions* his earlier *Interesting Account* . . .

17. These were published in the *Deseret News*, but are more conveniently found in N. B. Lundwall, comp., *Wonders of the Universe, or a Compilation of the Astronomical Writings of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: N. B. Lundwall, 1937).

18. The conference minutes were published in a *Deseret News* extra (14 Sept. 1852) and in an *LDS Millennial Star* supplement, 15 (1853). In addition, Pratt's speech can be found in JD 1: 53-66. The larger story and detailed examination of all of Orson Pratt's polygamy defenses and their impact in LDS thought appears in Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," pp. 333-43.

19. So far, the best overview of this work in early Mormonism is in Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830-1858," (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1979), pp. 358-428. See also Orson Pratt to Lucy Mack Smith, 28 Oct. 1853, Historical Department Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

20. His second series of pamphlets, eight in number, were issued separately, then bound into a book, *Tracts by Orson Pratt* . . . (Liverpool and London, 1857). They were issued between 25 Aug. 1856 and 15 March 1857: *The True Faith*, 16 pp. (25 Aug. 1856); *True Repentance* (8 Sept. 1856); *Water Baptism*, 16 pp. (22 Sept. 1856); *The Holy Spirit*, 16 pp. (15 Nov. 1856); *Spiritual Gifts*, 16 pp. (15 Dec. 1856); *Necessity for Miracles*, 16 pp. (15 Jan. 1857); *Universal Apostasy, or the Seventeen Centuries of Darkness*, 16 pp. (15 Feb. 1857); and *Latter-day Kingdom, or the Preparations for the Second Advent*, 16 pp. (15 March 1857). The pamphlet on the Holy Spirit had its origin in essays published in the *LDS Millennial Star* 12 (15 Oct. 1850): 305-9; 12 (1 Nov. 1850); 325-28. Since Pratt acted as the editor of the *Star* during his presidencies of the British Mission, much of the material that later appeared in pamphlet form was first printed in the *Millennial Star*.

21. See Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the *Doctrine and Covenants*" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 54-92; Jeffrey R. Holland, "An Analysis of Selected Changes in Major Editions of the Book of Mormon, 1830-1920," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966); James R. Harris, "Changes in the Book of Moses and Their Implications upon a Concept of Revelation," *BYU Studies* 8 (Summer 1968): 361-82; and James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955).

22. Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 320. Lundwall and others have repeated the claim. It apparently originated in a letter from Orson to his wife Marian from Liverpool, 23 December 1878, in which he told her he hoped "to distribute a few hundred copies [of *Key to the Universe*] among the Universities, Colleges, Academies, and the great mathematicians of both Europe and America. I do not expect that such a work would sell, excepting now and then a copy. But my object is not speculation, but to preserve the mathematical propositions which cost me so much time and labor to discover, from falling into oblivion." LDS Church Archives. Leonard J. Arrington called this letter to my attention.

23. In February 1861, he submitted to the *Mathematical Monthly* (Cambridge, Massachusetts) a series of problems concerning mathematical laws relating to the origin of the solar system. He later recalled: "In the month of May [February] 1861, I prepared a series of problems relating to this subject, and forwarded the same to the editor of the *Mathematical Monthly*, . . . But in the consequence of the war then pending, the paper ceased its publication, and I heard nothing further from the manuscript. But as it was hastily and somewhat imperfectly prepared, it is perhaps better that it remained unpublished," N. B. Lundwall, comp., *Wonders of the Universe*, p. 175. In a letter to the editor of the *Mathematical Monthly* dated 22 February 1861, Pratt noted that his work was done without the aid of "any mathematical works," Orson Pratt Papers. This collection is in the LDS Church Archives. See also his letter to the editor of the *Analyst* (Des Moines, Iowa) 18 Sep. 1876; "Six Original Problems," 3 (Nov. 1876): 186-87; "Problem 154," 4 (March 1877): 63;

and "Problem 221," 5 (Sept. 1878): 159. These are identified in Edward R. Hogan, "Orson Pratt as a Mathematician," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1973): 62, n. 8. As Hogan suggests, this periodical was an outlet for amateurs; the first serious mathematical periodical did not appear until 1878, and the American Mathematical Society was not founded until 1888. The Orson Pratt Collection includes two unpublished mathematical works: "Differential Calculus" (224 pp. — pages 79 to 103 are missing) and an incomplete text book on "determinants" (40 pp.) for junior students. According to Orson Pratt's 1 March 1878 letter to G. Rand (typescript in LDS Church Archives), he wrote the book on differential calculus after he published *Cubic and Biquadratic Equations* (1866).

24. Hogan, "Orson Pratt as a Mathematician," p. 66. This essay is the best evaluation available of Pratt's mathematical work, and my comments have greatly benefited from it. Hogan notes that Pratt's work, even when he claimed "originality" or "new discovery," was really only slight modifications of well-known existing theorems (p. 64). See also William J. Christensen, "A Critical Review of Orson Pratt, Sr.'s Published Scientific Books" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1929). Richard Anthony Proctor, a non-Mormon scientist, visited Salt Lake City in the 1870s and stated that Orson Pratt was one of the four real mathematicians in the world; his statement must be seen as good public relations, not an accurate judgment of Pratt's mathematical standing. As cited in Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1904), 4: 29. Lyon suggests that Proctor used Pratt's work on the Pyramid of Gizeh in his own *The Great Pyramid* (London: Chatto and Windus, Picadilly, 1883), "Orson Pratt," p. 96n.

25. The growing use of the inductive method and all Baconianism implied in early nineteenth century is presented in George H. Daniels, *America Science in the Age of Jackson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), esp. ch. 3; Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in the Age of Science, The Baconian Ideal and Ante-bellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); and Herbert Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion in America, 1800–1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978).

26. Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion in America*, p. xi.

27. See *The Wasp* 1 (12 Nov. 1842): [3].

28. Pratt functioned in Mormonism as Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864), a Yale professor of chemistry and natural history, did for New England audiences during the same period. While evidence is lacking, it is possible that Pratt attended some of Silliman's lectures in the 1830s while doing missionary work in the Boston area, a claim made by Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake* 2 vols. (London, 1861), 2: 12ff. For the fuller picture see Margaret W. Rossiter, "Benjamin Silliman and Lowell Institute: The Popularization of Science in Nineteenth-Century America," *New England Quarterly* 44 (Dec. 1971): 602–26. The growing professionalization of science in America during the same time is told in John C. Greene, "American Science Comes of Age, 1738–1820," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 22–41; and George H. Daniels, "The Process of Professionalization in American Science: The Emergent Period, 1820–1860," *Isis* 58 (Summer 1967): 151–66. Also valuable is Donald Zochert, "Science and the Common Man in Ante-Bellum America," *Isis* 65 (Dec. 1974): 448–73.

29. *Times and Seasons* 2 (16 Aug. 1841): 517; "Halos and Parhelia," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 April 1843): 151–52; *The Wasp* 1 (5 April 1843): 2, was dated 23 March 1843 and described the comet first seen from earth in late February and March 1843. Its appearance added to the public awareness of astronomy — an interest pricked by the 1835 return of Halley's Comet. Like the *Times and Seasons*, newspapers all over America were telling their readers about what they were observing. The continuing popularity of Pratt's writings and lectures on astronomy among the Mormons should be viewed in the context of the larger American interest in such matters. Some valuable background material is John C. Greene, "Some Aspects of American Astronomy, 1750–1815," *Isis* 45 (Dec. 1954): 339–58; and D. J. Warner, "Astronomy in Antebellum America," in Nathan Reingold, ed., *The Sciences in the American Context* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), pp. 55–75.

30. Both almanacs were twenty-four pages long and published in New York in 1844 and 1845 respectively. In addition to articles on religious matters (see the material from the 1846 *Almanac* in Watson, pp. 242–58), his calculations and observations went back to 6 April 1830 the day the Church was founded. In his 1879 *Treatise on the Egyptian Pyra-*

mid of Gizeh (Liverpool, 1879) he argued that the date for the organization of the Church was recorded in the chronology of the floor lines in the Grand Gallery of the Great Pyramid. See also, the *LDS Millennial Star* 41 (5 and 12 May 1879): 280–82; 296–98; Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, pp. 482–83 and Orson Pratt, Conference Address, 8 April 1880. Orson Pratt to Reuben Hedlock, 20 Aug. 1845 in *The New York Messenger* 2 (30 Aug. 1845): 67, claims an edition of 5000 copies for his 1846 *Almanac*. Early sources that report his work and thought in astronomy include *History of the Church* 7:554; Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, p. 478; “Mormon Philosophy, Space, Duration, and Matter,” *The New York Messenger* 2 (13 Sept. 1845): 81; “The Immensity of the Universe,” in Lundwall, comp., *Masterful Discourses and Writings of Orson Pratt*, pp. 208–9; and “General Reflections on Eternal Existence,” *LDS Millennial Star* 10 (1 Nov. 1848): 332–34.

31. *Deseret News* 4 (26 Oct. 1854), p. 3 and issues following. Pratt’s audience raised \$5000 in money and commodities to give to him at the end of the lectures, according to Lyon, “Orson Pratt,” pp. 62–63. Published in 1879 in Liverpool and Salt Lake City, *Key to the Universe* is most conveniently found in Lundwall, comp., *Wonders of the Universe*, pp. 214 ff.

32. JD, 12 Feb. 1860, 7:157.

33. Lundwall, comp., *Wonders of the Universe*, pp. 36, 75, 193, a lecture of 11 Aug. 1875.

34. See the discussion, from which I have drawn, in Hovenkamp, *Religion and Science in America*, pp. 97–117.

35. Examples of Pratt’s mathematical literalness applied to his theological discussion include his calculations of the number of children promised to Abraham whose seed was to be as “numerous as the sands of the sea shore,” (JD 1:61–62); his figures on the total number of spirit children created by God the Father (*The Seer* 1 [March 1853]:38) and the weight of the earth in pounds, expressed to twenty-six places. As Hovenkamp points out, this kind of exactness reveals a strong belief in mathematics as the key to the underlying structure of the universe. Pratt came closely to doing what Benjamin Pierce, a Harvard mathematician, was doing with math. See Hovenkamp, *Religion and Science in America*, pp. 103ff; and Russell Blaine Nye, *Society and Culture in America, 1830–1860* (New York: New American Nation Series of Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 236–82.

36. The full implications of this must await a separate essay but for good discussions of the issues, etc., see, in addition to Hovenkamp, Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in the Age of Science, The Baconian Ideal and Ante-bellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); Lorin Eislely, *Darwin’s Century* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958); John C. Greene, *The Death of Adam: Evolution and its Impact on Western Thought* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1959); Paul F. Boller, Jr., *American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism 1865–1900* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1969); William Coleman, *Biology in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); Michael Ruse, *The Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Neal C. Gillespie, *Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); and James P. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies . . .* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Shorter overviews are in Bert James Lowenberg, “Darwinism Comes to America, 1859–1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 28 (Dec. 1940): 339–68; and Richard Sherlock, “A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy,” *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 33–59. Pratt did suggest a kind of spiritual evolution in man’s premortal existence in *The Seer* 1 (March 1853): 37–39.

37. I summarize here from Donald Skabelund, “Cosmology on the American Frontier: Orson Pratt’s Key to the Universe,” *Centaurus: International Magazine of the History of Mathematics, Science, and Technology* 11 (1965): 190–204. See also Lyon, “Orson Pratt,” pp. 87–90. The best published history of Pratt’s conflicts with Brigham Young is Gary James Bergera, “The Orson Pratt, Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict Within the Quorums, 1853–1868,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 13 (Summer 1980): 7–49. Bergera does not, however, consider the larger epistemological and cosmological questions which must be examined to fully understand both Pratt’s position and Young’s reactions. Actually, *The Holy Spirit* is quite in line with nineteenth-century Mormon speculation on the subject of the Holy Ghost as seen in Parley’s chapter on the subject in *The Key to the Science of Theology* (1855 ed.). See also the relevant material in Thomas G. Alexander, “The Recon-

struction of Mormon Doctrine . . .," *Sunstone* 5 (July–August 1980): 24–33. At their base, both *The First Cause* and *The Holy Spirit* were defenses of Mormon materialism. They also were, like Orson Pratt's other scientific work, refutations of the deterministic atomism of Pierre Simon de LaPlace whose *Celestial Mechanics* (1799) argued for a completely mechanistic cosmos. See Ronald L. Numbers, *Creation by Natural Law: LaPlace's Nebular Hypothesis in American Thought* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977).

38. Originally published in the *Deseret News* 5 (1 Aug. 1855): 165–72, it was reprinted in other LDS periodicals: *St. Louis Luminary* 1 (13 Oct. 1855): 185; *The Mormon* [New York City] 1 (27 Oct. 1855); and *LDS Millennial Star* 17 (15 Dec. 1855): 792–97. There are many similarities between Orson Pratt's "Law of Planetary Rotation" and Daniel Kirkwood's theories which were introduced to the American scientific community in 1849, several years before Pratt announced his. On Kirkwood's ideas see Ronald Numbers, *Creation By Natural Law*, pp. 41–54. A photo of Orson Pratt's telescope and his observatory is in Lundwall, comp., *Wonders of the Universe*, p. 225 (telescope) and *Deseret News* (14 Nov. 1931) and *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1972): 66 (observatory). See also *Era* 15 (January 1912): 200.

39. These are summarized from Skabelund, "Cosmology on the American Frontier." The recent study of the cosmic symbolism in the architecture of the Salt Lake Temple greatly overemphasizes Orson Pratt's role and brilliance as a scientist. In addition, it fails to suggest the possible influence of nineteenth-century masonic astronomy on the symbolism. See C. Mark Hamilton, "The Salt Lake Temple: Symbolic Statement of Mormon Doctrine," in Thomas G. Alexander, ed., *The Mormon People, Their Character and Traditions*, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 10 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 103–27. The larger story of the study of astronomy in the nineteenth century is told in Bessie Z. Jones, *Lighthouse of the Skies . . .* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1965). Since astronomy was the queen of the physical sciences in the nineteenth century, public interest was broad-based.

40. Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), esp. parts one and two. See also Lyon, "Orson Pratt," pp. 88–90.

41. Pratt argued consistently that authority from heaven was the key to the correctness of the Mormon message. See JD (24 June 1860), 8:101–06; JD (24 Feb. 1868), 12:352–62; JD (27 Nov. 1870), 14:289–99; JD (19 March 1871), 14:137–47; JD (22 Sept. 1872), 15:178–91; JD (20 Sept. 1874), 17:278–88; JD (15 Nov. 1874), 17:264–77; JD (11 July 1875), 18:41–57; JD (20 Aug. 1876), 18:264–71; JD (26 Aug. 1876), 18:222–29; JD (10 Oct. 1880), 22:27–38.

42. Orson's essay on the kingdom of God was an extended treatment (in the same order) of the material presented in chapter three of Parley P. Pratt's *Voice of Warning* (1837). Joseph Smith's teachings on this subject are presented in D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163–97; and Andrew F. Ehat, "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth,'" Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253–79.

43. The Kingdom of God and Zion were regular topics in Pratt's writings and speeches. See *The Seer*, pp. 147–50; JD (8 July 1855), 3:70–74; JD (14 Aug. 1859), 7:210–27; JD (10 April 1870), 13:124–38; JD (4 Feb. 1872), 15:67–76; *The Seer*, pp. 261–71; JD (10 March 1872), 14:343–56; JD (7 April 1872), 15:44–53; JD (26 Jan. 1873), 15:329–41; JD (7 April 1873), 16:1–8; JD (15 June 1873), 16:78–87; JD (6 April 1874), 17:24–36; and JD (7 Feb. 1875), 17:289–306.

44. These defense pamphlets were *Reply to a Pamphlet Printed at Glasgow, with the "Approbation of Clergyman of Different Denominations," entitled "Remarks on Mormonism"* (Liverpool: R. James, 30 April 1849) and *Absurdities of Immaterialism, or, A Reply to T. W. P. Taylder's Pamphlet, entitled, "The Materialism of the Mormons of Latter-Day Saints, Examined and Exposed"* (Liverpool: R. James, 31 July 1849). *The Seer*, pp. 265–71, for his discussions of the New Jerusalem.

45. For Orson Pratt, the Book of Mormon was the key to Mormonism. His pamphlet on the *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* was an extended defense of modern revelation. He argued that to establish the truth of the Book of Mormon it must first be shown that continuing revelation is necessary, scriptural, and reasonable. The organization

of the work follows a logical format: he states a proposition and then presents numerous subproofs for the position. Orson presents seven main propositions: 1) to expect more revelation is not unscriptural; 2) to expect more revelation is not unreasonable; 3) more revelation is indispensably necessary; 4) without further revelation, the Bible and tradition are insufficient guides; 5) the evidences of the Book of Mormon and Bible are compared; 6) the Book of Mormon is confirmed by miracles; and 7) the prophetic evidence is in favor of the Book of Mormon. All of these themes appeared regularly in sermons: JD (21 Sept. 1879), 21:128–36; JD (25 Aug. 1878), 20:62–77; JD (2 Jan. 1859), 7:22–38; JD (28 Sept. 1873), 16:209–20; and JD (10 April 1870), 13:124–38. See also *The Seer*, pp. 257–61. Orson ended his pamphlet with his own testimony: “And I now bear my humble testimony to all the nations of the earth who shall read this series of pamphlets, that the Book of Mormon is a divine revelation, for the voice of the Lord hath declared it unto me.”

46. The emphasis of this second series of tracts on the basic principles of Mormonism probably reflects the counsel he received from Brigham Young as he was publishing *The Seer* in 1854. See the letter of Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 14 Feb. 1854, LDS Church Archives. The material that appeared in his second set of pamphlets that had previously appeared in *The Seer* includes: “Faith,” *The Seer* 2 (Jan., Feb. 1854): 198–204; 209–12; “Repentance,” *ibid.* 2 (Feb., March, April 1854): 218–24; 233–40; 252–54; “Baptism for the Remission of Sins,” *ibid.* 2 (April 1854): 254–56; and “Preparations for the Second Advent,” *ibid.* 2 (Aug. 1854): 305–20.

47. See “Relief Society Minutes of Nauvoo,” 28 April 1842, LDS Church Archives.

48. Parley P. Pratt, *The Millennium and other Poems, to which is annexed A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter* (New York: Printed by W. Molineux, 1840), pp. 105–48. Orson probably benefited from the 7 April 1843 discourse of Joseph Smith. See Joseph Smith, *Diary*, for that date, LDS Church Archives. See also Peter Crawley, “The Passage of Mormon Primitivism,” *Dialogue* 13 (Winter 1980): 26–37.

49. The broadside, dated San Francisco, 13 July 1852, is titled *Mormonism! Plurality of Wives! An especial chapter for the especial edification of certain inquisitive news editors, etc.*, photocopy in LDS Church Archives. It provided a curious defense of polygamy without admitting to its practice. See also Parley’s 1855 speech to the Utah Territorial Legislature, published as *Marriage and Morals in Utah* (Liverpool, 1856).

50. Orson Pratt to Sarah M. Bates Pratt, 6 Jan. 1840 in *Times and Seasons* 1 (Feb. 1840): 61.

51. *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 Aug. 1841): 502, 518, 534. Three of the four works advertised were by Parley.

52. Orson Pratt to Parley P. Pratt, 12 Sept. 1853, LDS Church Archives.

53. Orson Pratt to Parley P. Pratt, 2 Nov. 1853, LDS Church Archives.

Early Mormon Intellectuals: Parley P. and Orson Pratt, a Response

Parley P. and Orson Pratt were, with the exception of Joseph Smith, the most significant of the Mormon thinkers to emerge during the early years of the Restoration. Not only did the Church develop complex social and theocratic institutions, but Mormonism generated a uniquely sacred body of literature. Within a short period, this continually growing body of divine writ generated a continually growing body of theological commentary and exegesis. As Professors Crawley and Whittaker have amply shown, the Pratt brothers were both, in their own ways, central to the emergence of this essential intellectual dimension of the Mormon faith.

Generally speaking, essays and papers can be classified into one of several categories: (1) those that raise useful and productive questions, but fail in fundamental ways to answer them, thus generating more confusion and less light; and (2) those that, in the process of answering significant questions, go on to raise additional useful and productive questions. Thorstein Veblen expressed this same idea in these words: "The outcome of any serious research can only be to make two questions grow where only one grew before." But, as Hugh Nibley continually reminds us, it is not just the asking of questions but the asking of the *right* questions that is essential to make us keep looking productively. In this sense, history must always remain tentative. As in other dimensions of the historical enterprise, doing intellectual and cultural history is like trying to nail jello to the wall: Having demonstrated your case once and for all, new evidence, new views, new methods, and, more important, the asking of new questions or the asking of the old questions in a new light, leads the persistent to new and enlightened understanding. Viewed in this way, religious history may be neither faithful nor truthful (in the absolute sense of being true). Perhaps it would be best to say that one can only be faithfully true — that is, one can only be faithful to historical method, and not historical assertion. In this sense, history can be seen fundamentally as a body of questions and not a body of answers.

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Regarding Professor Crawley's paper, it might have been entitled: "Parley P. Pratt: The Father of Mormon Intellectuals." His paper argues that historically, Parley P. Pratt — though until now largely overlooked as an early Mormon intellectual — was one of the seminal intellectual figures in Church history. That despite Leonard Arrington's poll fifteen years ago which placed Pratt a distant ninth among intellectuals in Mormon history, perhaps he was the early Mormon intellectuals' intellectual — an assertion which has for all practical purposes been too little noticed among Mormon scholars. Professor Arrington himself recognized that the four paramount innovators and creators of new concepts in the emerging Church were Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley Pratt, and Orson Pratt.¹ Having said all of this, what are some of the "new" questions Professor Crawley has raised? Since Pratt certainly became influential for his ideas, I will restrict myself to his cultural and intellectual milieu. First, however, let me review briefly the essential questions and claims considered in Professor Crawley's paper.

Professor Crawley has suggested that Parley Pratt's influence was pervasive and, most importantly, at the foundation of much — if not most — of what was to follow in the development of Church theology. I use *suggested* carefully, since the focus of his paper deals with the impact of Pratt's productive output and not, generally, with specific ideas themselves. With the exception of Orson Hyde's broadside, *Prophetic Warning*, Pratt's *Voice of Warning* (1837) was the earliest published Mormon pamphlet. Significantly, in erecting the standard for all future Mormon pamphleteers, it raised the key doctrinal and intellectual issues which have come to occupy Mormonism almost ever since. Within twenty years of its publication, by 1855, Pratt went on to write his *Key to the Science of Theology*, the first comprehensive synthetic treatment of all the distinctive doctrines of Mormonism.

Having described the nature of Pratt's literary activities, Professor Crawley indicates some of the influence exerted by Pratt's works. With the exception of *Voice of Warning* and *Key to Theology*, most of his works are now virtually unknown. Yet, as Professor Crawley has written, "Many of Parley's arguments and ideas flowed into the works of others and thus were perpetuated as a permanent part of Mormonism's gospel tradition." Interestingly, the most important influence of Parley's work was apparently upon his own brother Orson and the book which came to be known as *Orson Pratt's Works* (1851), containing many of Parley's ideas, was expanded in the systematic and logical fashion which only Orson himself was particularly suited to undertake. And through the pages of *Orson Pratt's Works*, which became the principal inspiration for those who were to write in the twentieth century such as B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and John A. Widtsoe, Parley Pratt's ideas have continued to exert an enormous, direct influence.

Although it has been noticed before, now that Professor Crawley has again emphasized the importance of viewing Parley Pratt in his proper perspective as perhaps Mormonism's earliest creative and original thinker, with the exception again of Joseph Smith, what shall we do? Well, I for one, intend now to read and reread anew Pratt's wealth of material. For purposes of this discussion,

however, there are a variety of issues which we might explore to penetrate deeper into Parley Pratt's own intellectual and religious psyche. For instance, as Professor Crawley has noted, Pratt's 1840 essay "A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter" put into print some radical ideas, such as: (1) matter and spirit can be neither created nor annihilated, (2) the world was not created *ex nihilo*, but organized out of existing matter, and (3) God is bound by certain overriding laws. Although it was not Professor Crawley's purpose, what we would like to know is the immediate source of these unique — or perhaps not so unique — Mormon ideas.

Let me cite only one example of the context of Pratt's thinking on an issue which has yet to be treated adequately in contemporary Mormon literature, and which illustrates the interrelationship of Pratt's thinking with that of Joseph Smith. Chapters 6 and 16 of Pratt's *Key to Theology* are partially devoted to the idea of multiple inhabited extraterrestrial worlds — a notion more affectionately known simply as the plurality of worlds. This idea was presented by Joseph Smith in three places: the Book of Moses (1830), the Doctrine and Covenants, primarily sections 76 and 88 (both revealed in 1832), and the Book of Abraham (1835–1836). (Joseph's views on astronomical pluralism also appear in several additional sections of the D&C and in some of his writings which appeared later in the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons*.) Though not presented systematically, astronomical pluralism was eventually developed into a coherent structure. Primarily as a result of Joseph Smith's revelations, the concept of astronomical pluralism entered such Church publications as *The Morning and the Evening Star* and the *Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate*. It was also widely discussed within non-Mormon sources, however. Nearly every religious thinker and minister at the time held some version of the notion of the plurality of worlds. Moreover, it is to be found in such cultural sources as Tom Paine's widely read deistic tract *The Age of Reason* (1794), as well as, ironically, in the pages of the immensely influential evangelical books of Thomas Chalmers (*Astronomical Discourses*, 1817), Timothy Dwight (*Theology Explained*, 1818), and Thomas Dick (*The Christian Philosopher* (1823) and *The Philosophy of the Future State*, 1828). In addition to other books which also dealt with this otherwise very popular idea, area newspapers occasionally dealt with the plurality of worlds idea, as did farmers' almanacs. What makes Joseph Smith's version of the plurality of worlds idea unique, is that his full development of pluralism went far beyond the thinking of his contemporaries, both inside and outside the Church. Taken altogether, Joseph's ideas on astronomical pluralism evolved into a relatively complex set of inter-related notions. And under the pen of a gifted and articulate Parley Pratt, these ideas were further refined and integrated into an increasingly coherent theological system.

My purpose here is not to lessen the enormous contributions made by Pratt, but only to suggest additional connections, the answers to which will more than likely result in an increasingly complex, though clearer, portrait of a seminal early Mormon intellectual. Parley Pratt was apparently gifted with literary talents not possessed by his contemporary peers and intellectual heirs,

and thus he was perhaps in a unique position to affect the intellectual and theological history of his own Church.

In a letter from Orson to Parley in 1853, Professor Whittaker has shown that Orson understood much of his own intellectual indebtedness to his older brother. Thus despite statements to the contrary by such writers as John Henry Evans and T. Edgar Lyon, Orson Pratt was not the preeminent intellectual leader of early Mormonism, but stood behind Joseph Smith and his brother Parley. As a systematizer and popularizer, however, Orson may have had no peers. If Parley Pratt possessed literary gifts, Orson Pratt possessed unmatched analytic and logical talents. In this sense, Professor Whittaker's paper obviously complements that of Professor Crawley.

The number of studies about Orson Pratt, particularly about his science, is really quite large, but there has been virtually no attempt to understand Pratt's theological and scientific speculations in the broader context of intellectual and cultural history. In this regard, it is indeed refreshing that someone has taken the first step in trying to understand the man and his work by exploring his cultural and intellectual milieu. To grasp the essential nature of Pratt's thought we must know (1) what was his intellectual relationship with Joseph Smith and his brother Parley? and (2) what was the larger underlying set of assumptions which permeated Orson's world? Since Orson Pratt's views on religion and theology, and their connections with the ideas of others, are more fully known, let me focus on his science and the lesser-known relationships within the wider cultural context of the period. To do so, however, will require a brief digression into some of the salient nuances of prenineteenth-century science.

The birth of modern science in the seventeenth century fostered an intellectual climate which favored the growth of natural theology. During this period scientific and religious views complemented and supported mutual intellectual concerns. As the eminent Newtonian scholar Richard S. Westfall has argued, these developments have made it increasingly apparent that the relation of science to religion in the seventeenth century is the *central* question in the history of modern western thought.² Since the seventeenth century, science — or more properly speaking natural philosophy — has increasingly replaced religion as the dominant worldview, and, therefore, despite a sometimes symbiotic relation between the two, science has set many of the major problems faced by religion and philosophy in the last three centuries.

As a study in rational religion, natural theology asserted that the Christian God created a universe in which laws, design, purpose, and harmony were paramount and that the scientist, being a Christian, could find justification for his religious convictions in his scientific studies. The basic premise of natural theology holds that nature contains clear, compelling evidence of God's existence and perfection. In defending Christianity through the tenets of natural theology, Christian scientists prepared the ground for the deists of the Enlightenment. In time a radically different worldview emerged from their writings: the mechanical universe governed by immutable natural laws, the transcendent God removed and separated from his creation, the moral law taking the place

of spiritual worship, the rational man able to discover true religion without special revelation. Remove only the reverence for Christianity that the natural theologians maintained and deism, the religion of reason, steps full grown from their writings. With these developments in the eighteenth century, natural religion (or deism) and natural theology separated and became radically different entities.

Coming after the excesses of the French Revolution, the deism of the Enlightenment, and the subsequent rise of religious skepticism, however, the pre-Darwinian period of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the second great religious awakening. Such nineteenth-century evangelicals as Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Dick, David Brewster, and Hugh Miller all wrote on astronomy and stressed the compatibility of science and religious beliefs. Indeed, natural theology as a program permeated the evangelical Protestant world thoroughly. For instance, the calvinist Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University from 1795 until his death in 1817, delivered a series of 173 sermons to Yale students in a four-year cycle to save them from infidelity, to inspire their morality, and to instruct them in Christianity. During some years of Dwight's tenure, as many as one-third of the undergraduates studied for the ministry. As these men fanned throughout New England and the western territories, no doubt numerous sermons were delivered which asserted the dogma of natural theology. Particularly in the context of Anglo-American developments, science increasingly supported the structure of biblical understanding. Not only was God's word a testament of his continuing interests in human affairs, but also his *works* gave abundant evidence of the nature, power, and majesty of the divine presence. Theologians and scientists alike espoused natural theology in order to substantiate their faith and understanding in the wisdom of the creator.

Thus it should come as no surprise when Professor Whittaker tells us that Orson Pratt, immersed in an environment in which the religion of natural theology was practiced, should deliver a lecture entitled "Is there sufficient evidence in the works of Nature to prove the existence of a Supreme Being?" Before the rise of evolutionary biology with Darwin, astronomy, since the earliest days in Greek antiquity, was considered the preeminent science. Astronomy had always captured the popular imagination in ways which other fields of science were unable to do. Thus we find numerous evangelicals and theologians such as Chalmers, Dwight, Dick, and scores of others writing countless treatises on astronomy and Christianity — and particularly on the doctrine of the plurality of worlds. Orson Pratt very likely imbibed his penchant for both astronomy and natural theology from this incredibly rich and varied background. He expressed this view in his central claim: "The study of science is the study of something eternal; if we study astronomy, we study the works of God." Unlike many of his fellow Christian clergy, however, Orson Pratt, though clearly an amateur scientist, was nevertheless a gifted natural philosopher, possessing a sometimes brilliant speculative mind. We can be grateful to Professor Whittaker for bringing this dimension of Pratt's milieu sharply into view. Now remains the difficult task of *carefully* understanding Pratt's

astronomy and mathematics in light of his revealed religion and this natural theology.

In passing I should note, however, that not all early Mormon intellectuals were as vigorous as Orson Pratt in their use and espousal of natural theology. In fact, some rejected natural theology outright as a program by associating it with natural religion. W. W. Phelps, for instance, writing as editor of the *Evening and Morning Star* in September 1832, noted:

Human reason now lodges itself in new intrenchments, when it refuseth to submit to the faith. It even puts on new armor to attack it, for it hath invented new methods of self defence. Under pretence that natural science hath made greater progress, revelation is despised. . . . We are going to endeavor to prove that revealed religion hath advantages infinitely superior to natural religion: that the greatest geniuses are incapable of discovering by their own reason all the truths necessary to salvation.

Though Orson would not have disagreed with the larger dimensions of Phelps's statement, particularly with respect to natural religion, he surely would have outright rejected any attempts to debunk natural theology.

Professor Whittaker has also asserted that Orson Pratt was some sort of philosophical eclectic, espousing both mechanistic and Romantic views. While there appears to be some truth to this claim, let me underscore the qualification. Concluding his second lecture on astronomy and the nature of the universe, Pratt stated: "Before its potent energies the complex machinery of nature discloses its beautiful harmonies, and proclaims with inspiring tones, the Divinity of its Author." The first half of this statement could have been written by Pierre Simon de Laplace, the principal architect of the dominant model of the universe in Pratt's day. Yet Laplace concluded that the causal theories of celestial mechanics do *not* require, nor do they suggest, the divine presence. One story has it, that when queried by Napoleon as to where God resided in his system, Laplace replied that he had no need for the divine hypothesis. Thus for Pratt, his teleological argument for God's existence was more a condition of his theological commitments than his scientific beliefs; more a statement of natural theology, which Laplace rejected, than of mechanism. Laplace sought for absolute and universal laws also, but he was not motivated by the Romantic impulse.

It may still be the case that Orson Pratt acquired, as Professor Whittaker suggests, "his mechanical view of the universe from Joseph Smith and his organic view from his brother Parley"; but even the terms *mechanical* and *Romantic* need, in the Mormon context, additional qualification. For instance, the central philosophical problem raised by Descartes in the seventeenth century revolves around the relationship between mind and body. Good mechanists reduce mind to body and proclaim the primacy of matter. Romantics, uncomfortable with the implications for God (or spirit) in such a world, reverse the logic and reduce matter to mind (or spirit). Joseph Smith's solution was rather novel: While recognizing the importance of body, and, after 1841, in endowing God the Father with a material tabernacle, Joseph rejected the Cartesian dualism, opted for the primacy of matter, and retained spirit as

some sort of refined material substance (see D&C 131:7–8). Thus it seems that the very terms mechanical and Romantic may not be altogether useful in order to describe and understand complex Mormon theology.

On a larger scale, however, we would like to know how Parley and Orson Pratt helped shape the cosmology or worldview of nineteenth-century Mormonism. One author has recently written that “Mormon cosmology fits readily into the framework of nineteenth-century American science — at least as it was perceived in the popular mind.”³ The author means, among other things, that Mormonism was in some respects utilitarian, empirical, and pragmatic, that it dealt with the existential realities of Jacksonian America in which the common man could learn to control his own destiny. In this sense, the Mormon cosmology represented a quest for power by ordinary people. And Parley and Orson Pratt were among the key figures who developed fundamental theological issues out of which the nineteenth-century Mormon worldview took shape.

Recognizing that I may be indulging in numerical mysticism, let me conclude with the following observation. Leonard Arrington’s poll of the most eminent LDS intellectuals ranked Orson Pratt second, Joseph Smith third, and Parley Pratt a distant ninth. It strikes me now that close historical work of the kind offered in these two papers reveals a new ordering: Joseph first, Parley second, and Orson third. Professors Crawley and Whittaker have now made their case. It will now be up to their professional colleagues to examine their claims critically and to explore the larger matrix of issues regarding intellectual and cultural connections among those individuals dealt with in these two studies of early Mormon intellectuals.

NOTES

1. Leonard J. Arrington, “The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 4 (Spring 1969): 13–26.

2. Richard S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1973), p. ix. Recently, Professor Westfall was awarded the most prestigious prize of the American Historical Association for his brilliant biography *Never at Rest: A Biography of Sir Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

3. Klaus Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 82.

Thoughts on the Mormon Scriptures: An Outsider's View of the Inspiration of Joseph Smith

How is the Mormon Church viewed by those who are not members? One view is that Mormons are successful and prosperous, that they “take care of their own,” that they live good lives, and that their beliefs emphasize a healthy family life. While Latter-day Saints might hope that this point of view prevails, it is essentially superficial in that it is almost always unsupported by a knowledge of the spiritual motivation for the observed qualities of the Mormons, and therefore fails as a basis for an intelligent understanding of Mormonism's unique contributions to religious thought and American culture.

A second view is based upon the singling out of certain negative and stereotyped issues such as polygamy, the Negro doctrine, or Mormon financial and political power. These are used as an “educated” objection to Mormonism as a whole, which deprives those who hold this view of any comprehension of the more significant and positive teachings of Joseph Smith.

A third view, akin to the second, is that of the Christian denominations, a supercilious tolerance for the good character of Mormons while holding Joseph Smith to be at least misguided if not a downright liar, and his writings, the Mormon scriptures, to be false.

Although many historians and students of religion do not subscribe to any of these viewpoints, the average American most generally voices one of the three. These views are all inadequate because they reflect a lack of understanding of the spiritual wellsprings of Mormon life and a confusion about “truth” in scripture.

The Latter-day Saints are of particular interest to me, as a member of the Bahá'í faith, not only because they have become a church numbering nearly five million souls, but also because of a number of significant Bahá'í references to the Mormons, Joseph Smith, and the Book of Mormon. The Bahá'í faith was founded in Iran in 1844 by the Báb (Siyyid 'Alí Muhammad Shírází, 1819–1850) and Bahá'u'lláh (Mírzá Husayn 'Alí Núrí, 1817–1892), who are regarded by Bahá'ís as God's messengers for this age, equal in rank to Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Zoroaster, and Abraham. An international nine-member governing body, legislating on all matters not revealed in Bahá'í scripture, is the

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Universal House of Justice. In 1977, this body made an unequivocal statement about the indirect influence of the Bahá'í spirit on the development of Mormonism: "As for the status of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Faith, he is not considered by Bahá'ís to be a prophet, minor or otherwise. But of course he was a religious teacher sensitive to the spiritual currents flowing in the early 19th century directly from the appearance of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh and the Revelation of Their Messages of hope and divine Guidance."¹

Significantly, the Universal House of Justice does not detail the ways in which Joseph Smith was influenced or inspired by the impulse released by the two new Manifestations of God. In what manner was Joseph Smith sensitive to the advent of the Bahá'í era? Was it in finding metal plates on which was written an ancient record of a lost American civilization? Was it in the miraculous "translation" of this record? Was it in founding a new church? Or was it in certain of his teachings which show an astonishing similarity to Bahá'í tenets?

Revelation is a phenomenon which we can understand only "through a glass darkly" by the fragmentary descriptions given us by those who claim to be revelators. We must understand what is meant by "revelation" from a Mormon perspective and how this "revelation" is akin to or different from the revelations spoken of in other world religions. The following is an oversimplified statement of a complex topic, but it may provide a general outline for comparison.

In Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the Bahá'í faith, God reveals himself in a number of ways:

1) by directly appearing and speaking his word or law, as in his appearance to Moses on Sinai: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses, is not so. . . . With him will I speak mouth to mouth . . . and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold" (Num. 12:6-8);

2) by speaking through an intermediary, as in the revelation of the Qur'ān to Muhammad through Gabriel: ". . . Gabriel — for he it is who by God's leave hath caused the Koran to descend on thy heart. . . ." (Qur'ān 2:91). A Bahá'í example is that of the appearance of the Maid of Heaven, the personification of God in Bahá'í scriptures to Bahá'u'lláh: "While engulfed in tribulations I heard a most wondrous, a most sweet voice, calling above My head. Turning My Face, I beheld a Maiden — the embodiment of the remembrance of the name of My Lord — suspended in the air before Me"²;

3) by imbuing the revelator with his spirit in such a way that the revelator's deeds and person become the revelation as in the case of Jesus Christ, and to some extent Bahá'u'lláh: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John 14:9), and, "This is the beauty of God amongst you, and the power of His sovereignty within you. . . . This is the Mystery of God and His Treasure, the Cause of God and His glory unto all who are in the kingdoms of Revelation and of creation. . . ." ³;

4) through vision, such as the appearance of knowledge before the face of Bahá'u'lláh in the form of a tablet, the English equivalent of the Arabic *lawh*

meaning a written document or letter from one of the central figures of the Bahá'í faith. The scripture describing the function of a tablet is: "Whenever We desire to quote the sayings of the learned and of the wise, presently there will appear . . . in the form of a Tablet all that which hath appeared in the world and is revealed in the Holy Books and Scriptures. Thus do We set down in writing what the eye perceiveth."⁴

While these revelations may appear to an observer to be internal phenomena, they are expressed by the revelators in terms of objective experiences.

Joseph Smith had a distinctive form of revelatory experience which is outlined in a passage dealing with the "translation" of the Book of Mormon: "But behold, I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you; therefore you shall feel that it is right. But if it be not right you shall have no such feelings, but you shall have a stupor of thought that shall cause you to forget the thing which is wrong; therefore, you cannot write that which is sacred save it be given you from me" (D&C 9:8-9).

And in a telling description of the process of "revelation" Smith said, "A person may profit by noticing the first intimation of the spirit of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing into you, *it may give you sudden strokes of ideas*. . . . Thus by learning the Spirit of God and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation."⁵

Smith relates this experience of revelation, in contrast to those described previously as a subjective phenomenon — one which must, by its very definition, arise within Joseph Smith's internal mental and emotional landscape, a process requiring the recipient's own initiative and discovery. While there is something of the subjective and personal in the experiences of Moses, Muhammad, Buhá'u'lláh, and Jesus, the fragmentary information we have indicates that the experiences of these revelators are external phenomena, in which God takes the initiative. Similarly, Joseph Smith's revelatory experience was not necessarily a totally subjective mental process, for the last phrase of verse nine and Joseph Smith's account of his first vision, an appearance of and communication from the Father and Jesus Christ, may imply the opposite.

In Bahá'í terminology, Manifestations of God (major prophets) are those who found a new religion and law and include Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, the Báb, and Bahá'u'lláh. They are compared to the sun, which is itself luminous. Lesser prophets are compared to the moon which receives its light from the sun; examples are the prophets of Israel who reinforced the messages of the major prophets, receiving their light from the original revelations of Abraham and Moses. In 1950, the Shoghi Effendi (1896-1957), the great-grandson of Bahá'u'lláh and the guardian of the faith from 1921 to 1957, considered the case of Joseph Smith. Shoghi Effendi has very clearly stated that Joseph Smith is neither a Manifestation of God (a major prophet) nor a lesser prophet:

We cannot possibly add the names of people we (or anyone else) think might be Lesser Prophets to those found in the Qur'án, the Bible and our own Scriptures. For

only these can we consider authentic Books. Therefore, Joseph Smith is not in our eyes a Prophet.

As there is nothing specific about Joseph Smith in the teachings, the Guardian has no statement to make on his position or about the accuracy of any statement in the Book of Mormon regarding American history or its peoples. This is a matter for historians to pass upon.⁶

Similarly, while Bahá'ís accept Zoroaster, Buddha, and Krishna as true Manifestations of God, the sacred texts associated with the Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and Hindu religions are not regarded as authentic.⁷ Thus, Bahá'ís are like other non-Mormons — left to themselves to deal with the orthodox Mormon claims of the miraculous translation of the Book of Mormon from golden plates, and corollary claims of that book's historical accuracy as a narrative of an ancient American civilization founded by Israelites who fled from the Holy Land about 600 B.C. The Mormon believer often makes the error of supposing that the non-Mormon cannot appreciate the Book of Mormon without first accepting these claims.

There is not, however, a simple choice of becoming a total believer in or a total skeptic about the Book of Mormon and the gifts of Joseph Smith. This is the case particularly as we consider the Book of Mormon as a historical document. A number of RLDS scholars, who believe in the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon, have questioned whether it can be viewed as a report of historical fact.⁸ They approach this problem from a number of directions: comparison of the questions addressed by the Book of Mormon with the questions of burning interest in early nineteenth-century New York; investigation of anachronisms in the Book of Mormon, such as the report of horses in the New World in 590 B.C., or the application of the term Jews at a time when we know it was not applied to the Israelites; and the comparison of Biblical texts quoted in the Book of Mormon, many of which were not written down in Jewish canon until centuries after the Book of Mormon emigrants supposedly left for the New World. They find indications that the Book of Mormon was not the annals of a lost pre-Columbian civilization but rather the product of a nineteenth-century New Yorker with a fervent religious imagination.

Secondly, the lack of independent evidence from the archeological record to confirm the events or places described in the Book of Mormon removes a logical source of support.

We would, however, be unwarranted in dismissing Joseph Smith as fraud or the Book of Mormon as falsehood simply because of these findings. Every Mormon surely knows Moroni 10:4: "And when ye shall receive these things, I would exhort you that ye would ask God, the Eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, he will manifest the truth of it unto you, by the power of the Holy Ghost."

This verse is the key to a sympathetic approach to the Book of Mormon by an outside observer. The question is whether these things are true. When we use the word *truth* we are liable to equate it with historical fact. This is an unwarranted confusion of two very different ideas, a difference easily illustrated.

I might read a newspaper account of a man robbed while journeying from Jerusalem to Jericho. Such a story, while factual, would contain little or no truth which is relevant to my personal life. But the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–37), while not a recounting of historical fact (though it contains basically the same story as the newspaper account), has a far greater reservoir of relevant truth than the newspaper account. The newspaper story has facticity, a statement of the actual who, what, when. The second account, fictional rather than factual, contains not facticity but weighty truth, the statement of the spiritual and exemplary how and why.

Those outside the Mormon Church who recognize this distinction are able to consider another claim for the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. The believer will claim that facticity, historical actuality, is part of or even the most important part of the truth of the Book of Mormon. Mormons often quote the testimony of the Three Witnesses and the Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon as proof of the existence of literal golden plates from which Joseph Smith translated the work known as the Book of Mormon. In the case of the Three Witnesses, they asked to be permitted the privilege of seeing the plates, and receiving in answer section 17 of the Doctrine and Covenants, which promised that they would see the plates by faith. The historical record is quite clear that the witnesses prayed in the wood with Joseph Smith and were permitted a *vision* of the plates which were shown by an angel. In the case of the Eight Witnesses, Fawn Brodie argues that they never actually saw the physical plates but rather were allowed to heft a box in which the plates supposedly rested and were allowed to touch something under a cloth which was supposedly the plates.¹⁰ As a historical document, therefore, the Book of Mormon is unconfirmed by the evidence, whether internal or external. Russell compares such studies by Mormons with Biblical scholarship of the nineteenth century:

The Christian Churches faced a quite similar problem one century ago — when Biblical scholars concluded that biblical writings [which] claimed to be historical were actually fiction or myth. Some claimed that biblical scholarship would demolish the foundations of Christian faith. Apparently it did not, and it can be concluded that a much more vital and intelligible Christian faith emerged from the reinterpretation that scholarship required.

If we apply historical scholarship to the Book of Mormon, a similar reinterpretation for Latter-day Saints seems required. It is the judgment of this writer that Latter-day Saints must move forward with this reinterpretation, particularly if we want to both preserve our intellectual honesty as well as find value in an interesting book that a farm boy from New York published in 1830.¹¹

However, when I examine the Book of Mormon for truth rather than facticity, my reading reveals powerful, eternal, and relevant truths which are capable of changing and guiding men's lives. The Book of Mormon is a parable of the struggle between good and evil, between those who need the admonitions of their Creator and those who turn from his commands and sink to the level of the animal. But it is not an abstract statement. The Book of Mormon breathes with the excitement of the cosmic confrontation of light and darkness, and is peopled by characters who have names and personalities that are archetypal.

It is thus at the level of relevant truth that non-Mormons may be able to respond positively to the exhortation to “ask God . . . if these things are not true.” Even accepting the Book of Mormon as a repository of truth does not require the outside observer to immediately believe that the Book of Mormon was revealed or translated by the miraculous means reported. Klaus J. Hansen has noted that the Book of Mormon itself may well have been the product of Joseph Smith’s genius, “studied out” in his mind over a long period.¹² The account of gold plates and marvelous instruments, while a useful faith-promoting miracle story, does not convince the non-Mormon of the Book of Mormon’s truth, particularly considering that Mormons also discount miracles as reliable proofs.¹³

The clear statement in the Doctrine and Covenants on the revelatory process correlates with an application of modern psychological and physiological theories to Joseph Smith. Hansen has outlined some of the views on this subject, particularly those of Julian Jaynes on the bicameral mind. Studies done on subjects who have had the connection between the left and right hemispheres of the brain severed show that the two halves of the brain perform different functions. The left side is logical, analytical, and deductive. The right side is intuitive, synthetic, and inductive. Modern man is almost completely dominated by the left hemisphere of his brain. But some highly gifted individuals — artists, musicians, great thinkers — have a more highly developed right hemisphere. This half of the brain perceives patterns; it sees the whole; it synthesizes.¹⁴ Julian Jaynes’s theory attempts to explain *all* religious revelation as a product of the bicameral mind. While his theory may be useful in this respect, the objective nature of the revelatory process as spoken of by Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and Bahá’u’lláh does not provide such a straightforward connection with the internal working of the brain as does Smith’s description of a subjective mental and emotional process. It is possible that Joseph Smith used a fictional framework devised in the analytical side of his brain to express patterns of truth which were perceived and synthesized in the right hemisphere of his brain. Hansen’s use of Jaynes’s formulation is perfectly in accord with the statement, “you must study it out in your mind . . . and if it be right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you.” This theory does not diminish Joseph Smith’s stature or religious genius nor does it deprive the Book of Mormon of its reservoir of truth. I do not intend to raise Jaynes’s theory to an axiom dealing with Joseph Smith. It is one way of understanding the phenomenon of Joseph Smith while avoiding the extreme positions of true prophet vs. false prophet.

The Pearl of Great Price is, in most respects, similar to the Book of Mormon, in that it purports to be a translation made by Joseph Smith, in this instance from Egyptian papyri. However, in this case the original documents from which the translation was made are available for comparison. Translations made by some Egyptologists¹⁵ show no relationship to the text of this Mormon standard work. Richard P. Howard suggests that “one real possibility . . . would be that the Book of Abraham is not a translation at all, in the sense of transferring ideas from the Egyptian to the English language.”¹⁶ Once

again there is the possibility that the right hemisphere of Smith's brain saw patterns which were triggered by the unusual and at the same time inexplicable illustrations on the Egyptian funerary papyri in his possession. We can follow the same argument as with the Book of Mormon — that the Pearl of Great Price communicates not historical fact or even literal translation but truth and powerful myth.

The Doctrine and Covenants falls into another category from the previously mentioned standard works of the Church, in that they are presented as revelations given to the Church through Joseph Smith rather than as translations. Except for noting some revelations given through the Urim and Thummin, Smith gives few indications about whether these revelations came by means of God speaking in his ear, through an angelic messenger, or in vision or dream. Hansen notes that while some of Smith's revelations perhaps came in these ways, they were often "issued after serious reflection on a problem, speaking by way of inspiration."¹⁷ Again, we are reminded of the words, "Study it out in your mind." It is not difficult for the sympathetic outsider to see the operation of both analytical and intuitive powers in Smith's psyche, diagnosing the particular needs of individual members and of the Church, then couching the necessary counsel in powerful revelatory language.

The Doctrine and Covenants is not so much universal spiritual truths directed to all men as it is specialized truths for the Church and its members: first, to give Mormons evidence of God's particular interest in their every deed and in the course of their history; and, second, to develop the internal functioning of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The non-Latter-day Saint should feel comfortable seeing the particularized truth of the Doctrine and Covenants as an agent for the internal strengthening of the Church and its members, while still maintaining an understanding of these revelations as the result of reflections and inspiration studied out in the mind of Joseph Smith.

Fundamental to the Bahá'í interpretation of history is a generally accepted belief that the advent of a new Manifestation of God (major prophet) has both direct and indirect influence on civilization. Bahá'ís have long held that the coming of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh exercised indirect influence on a number of nineteenth-century religious groups which predicted the near return of Jesus Christ, for example, the Millerites, followers of William Miller, who are predecessors of the Seventh Day Adventists, and the nineteenth-century German Templers who gathered in several colonies in the Holy Land to await Christ's second coming.

George Townshend (1876–1957) was in a position to comment knowledgeably on the movement. An Irishman, he served as an Episcopal minister in Utah, later as canon of Saint Patrick's Cathedral of Dublin and archdeacon of Clonfert, but ultimately, in the 1920s, became a Bahá'í and was appointed as a Hand of the Cause of God, one of a group assisting the Shoghi Effendi. He described the subtle spiritual influence of the new messengers:

There swept quietly into the minds of European men the impulsion of a new spiritual force, an impulsion the beginnings of which can hardly be traced but which gradually

brought into men's minds a new spirit of hope and enterprise and happiness and creative vigour and which by steady gradations . . . during the early years of the nineteenth century took the definite shape of the dawning on earth of a New Age, of the divinely aided appearance of a new and better world, and in Christian circles of the return of Christ and the descent of the Kingdom of God from heaven. . . . The generality of the people in town and in country, high and low, learned and unlearned, felt this new transcendent power stirring creation. The time was one of religious revival, of church building, of missionary expansion, the central motive being always the belief in the imminent coming of Christ. . . . Adventist sects were started, a few of which remain to the present day, such as the Latter Day Saints.¹⁸

In which of his teachings did Joseph Smith show himself to be in touch with the inspiration of the Bahá'í age? Despite wide divergences on important doctrines, a few important points are striking in their similarity.

It is a basic tenet of Islam theology that God has left no nation without guidance: "Indeed, We sent forth among every nation a Messenger, saying: 'Serve you God, and eschew idols'" (Qur'án 16:38). The teachings of Bahá'u'lláh hold that God has revealed himself successively in a series of Manifestations of God who lift mankind to ever wider spiritual and social horizons; and that these manifestations will continue to be sent by God into the future.

In every age and dispensation the Prophets of God and His chosen Ones have appeared among men. . . . Can one of sane mind ever seriously imagine that . . . the portals of God's infinite guidance can ever be closed in the face of men? Can he ever conceive for these Divine Luminaries, these resplendent Lights either a beginning or an end? . . . There can be no doubt whatever that if for one moment the tide of His mercy and grace were to be withheld from the world, it would completely perish. For this reason, from the beginning that hath no beginning the portals of Divine Mercy have been flung open to the face of all created things. . . .

I testify before God that each of these Manifestations hath been sent down through the operation of the Divine Will and Purpose, that each hath been the bearer of a specific Message, that each hath been entrusted with a divinely-revealed Book. . . .¹⁹

A fundamental tenet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is that revelation has not ended, and that the word of God has been given to other nations and peoples. In verses reminiscent of the words of Bahá'u'lláh and strikingly akin to the Qur'án, the Book of Mormon testifies that the portals of God's grace have been open to all nations in many revealed books:

Woe be unto him that shall say: We have received the word of God, and we need no more of the word of God, for we have enough! For behold, thus saith the Lord God: I will give unto the children of men line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little. . . .

Know ye not that there are more nations than one? Know ye not that I, the Lord your God, have created all men, and that I remember those who are upon the isles of the sea; and that I rule in the heavens above and in the earth beneath; and I bring forth my word unto the children of men, yea even up on all the nations of the earth? . . . Wherefore I speak the same words unto one nation like unto another. . . . And because that I have spoken one word ye need not suppose that I cannot speak another; for my work is not finished. . . . For I command all men, both in the east and in the west, and in the north, and in the south, and in the islands of the sea that they shall write the words which I speak unto them; for out of the books which shall be written I will judge the world, every man according to their works, according to that which is

written. . . . And I shall also speak unto all nations of the earth and they shall write it. . . . And it shall come to pass that my people, which are of the house of Israel, shall be gathered unto the lands of their possessions; and my word also shall be gathered in one. (2 Ne. 28:29–30; 29:7–14)

A cornerstone of Bahá'í belief is that Bahá'u'lláh is the fulfillment of all the revealed religions' prophecies concerning a messenger who would return in the last days to establish justice and the reign of righteousness. Bahá'ís accept him as Christ returned in the glory of the Father. "Followers of the Gospel," Bahá'u'lláh addresses the whole of Christendom, "behold the gates of heaven are flung open. He that had ascended unto it is now come. Give ear to His voice calling aloud over land and sea, announcing to all mankind the advent of this Revelation — a Revelation through the agency of which the Tongue of Grandeur is now proclaiming: 'Lo, the sacred pledge hath been fulfilled, for He, the Promised one is come.'"²⁰

At the same time that Bahá'u'lláh was preparing for the revelation of his mission, Joseph Smith was organizing The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in preparation for that second advent of Jesus Christ which was "near, even at the door" (D&C 110:16), a time when "he shall manifest himself unto the nations" (1 Ne. 13:42), and when "I will reveal myself from heaven with power and great glory . . . and dwell in righteousness with men on earth a thousand years" (D&C 29:11) for "I am in your midst and ye cannot see me" (D&C 38:7).

The revelation of Bahá'u'lláh has given a tremendous amount of independence and spiritual responsibility to men and women. Bahá'u'lláh prohibited priestcraft and enjoined upon everyone the duty to investigate reality. He considers that "first and foremost" of the "favors, which the Almighty hath conferred upon man, is the gift of understanding," the purpose of which is to enable men "to know and recognize the one true God."²¹ His son 'Abdu'l-Bahá (1844–1921), whom he appointed to interpret the Bahá'í scriptures and be the "perfect exemplar" of Bahá'í life, defines this "greatest gift" to include "intellect, . . . the power by which man acquires his knowledge of the several kingdoms of creation, and of various stages of existence, as well as much which is invisible."²² This power is "the eye of investigation" by which man "may see and recognize the truth," for "each human creature has individual endowment, power and responsibility in the creative plan of God," so that he may "become completely purified from the dross of ignorance."²³ This independent investigation of truth and its concomitant responsibilities is based in part upon the Bahá'í belief that men are responsible for their own sins, since the concept of original sin is "unreasonable and evidently wrong, for it means that all men . . . without committing any sin or fault, but simply because they are the posterity of Adam, have become without reason guilty sinners," which is "far from the justice of God."²⁴

Joseph Smith, in keeping with the spirit of a new age and the development of very American ideas of liberty and individual responsibility, records the command "that there be no priestcrafts" (2 Ne. 26:29) and writes of "intelligence, or the light of truth" which "is independent in that sphere in

which God has placed it, to act for itself, as all intelligence also" and which is the basis for "the agency of man" (D&C 93:29-31). This power of intelligence, this light of truth, is to be used to know God's commands, to "seek . . . out of the best books, words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118) for "if there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things" (Articles of Faith 13). Man must be a free agent, able to investigate truth, for "men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression" (Articles of Faith 2).

The Bahá'í, it seems safe to say, may posit that Joseph Smith, along with William Miller and many other religious prodigies, enunciated a number of ideas which had formed in the collective unconscious of mankind over a long period of incubation, finally to see the light of day in the early nineteenth century. That the expression of these ideas should occur at the appearance of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh is a monumental coincidence. Joseph Smith, in founding a church which now has nearly five million members, and in tapping and channelling the spiritual currents of a new age in a unique scriptural canon, showed himself to be a religious genius of a most profound kind. An outside observer can, therefore, accept Joseph Smith as a seer — a man with considerable powers of insight. This conception of Joseph Smith arises from an understanding of Joseph Smith's revelatory experience as possibly different in kind from those described by such revelators as Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and Bahá'u'lláh. The Mormon scriptures can be seen as repositories of truth (either in the universal sense of the Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price, or in the particularized sense of the Doctrine and Covenants) though not necessarily as documents recording historical fact or arising through supernatural means. The distinction between truth and historicity makes this understanding possible. While admittedly, such an approach is inadequate and partial from the standpoint of the orthodox Mormon, it does allow the non-Mormon to approach with sympathy and appreciation the beliefs of those who do call Joseph Smith a prophet and who consider the standard works as the word of God.

NOTES

1. Universal House of Justice to Bahá'í individual, 7 Feb. 1977, quoted in Helen Hornby, comp., *Reference File* (Quito: Helen Hornby, approved by the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 1981), p. 320. Correspondence in the Bahá'í World Centre Archives, Haifa, Israel, may not be cited by the name of the recipient, many of whom are still alive.

2. Bahá'u'lláh, quoted in Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By* (Wilmette, Ill.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1974), pp. 101-2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

4. Bahá'u'lláh, *Tablets of Bahá'u'lláh Revealed after the Kitáb-i-Aqdas* (Haifa: Bahá'í World Center, 1978), p. 149.

5. Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, sel. by Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), p. 151.

6. Shoghi Effendi to Bahá'í individual, 13 March 1950 as quoted in William P. Collins, "The Bahá'í Faith and Mormonism: A Preliminary Survey," *World Order* 15 (Fall 1980/

Winter 1981) p. 44; Shoghi Effendi, *High Endeavours: Messages to Alaska*, comp. National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Alaska (n.p.: National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Alaska, 1976), p. 71.

7. Shoghi Effendi, *Letters from the Guardian to Australia and New Zealand 1923-1957* (Sydney: National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Australia, 1970), p. 41; Shoghi Effendi to Bahá'í individual, 25 Nov. 1950, quoted in Hornby, *Reference File*, p. 321.

8. See Wayne Ham, "Problems in Interpreting the Book of Mormon as History," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action* 1 (Sept. 1970): 15-22; Leland W. Negaard, "The Problem of Second Isaiah in the Book of Mormon" (B.D. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1961); Susan Curtis, "Palmyra Revisited: A Look at Early Nineteenth Century American Thought and the Book of Mormon," paper presented to the John Whitmer Historical Association, Graceland College, 10 May 1977; non-Mormon Robert N. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1980); William D. Russell, "The Historicity of the Book of Mormon: The Thought of Pre-exilic Israel and the First and Second Nephi Compared," unpublished paper, 1982.

9. Michael Coe, "Mormonism and Archeology: An Outside View," *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 8 (Summer 1973): 40-48; Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 12.

10. Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1971), pp. 75-80. It seems to me that Mormons have not yet answered the discussion of this subject by Brodie.

11. Russell, "Historicity of the Book of Mormon," pp. 14-15.

12. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, pp. 16-17.

13. James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1973), pp. 230-32.

14. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, pp. 13-21. He outlines Julian Jaynes's theory from Jaynes's *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1977). Another especially valuable review of psychological theories applied to Joseph Smith is T. L. Brink, "Joseph Smith: The Verdict of Depth Psychology," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 73-83. Brink argues that Smith's work can be seen as the product of a sound mind and as the result of authentic religious experience.

15. "The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: Translations and Interpretations," *DIALOGUE* 3 (Summer 1968): 67-105; Klaus Baer, "The Breathing Prmit of Hor: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham," *DIALOGUE* 3 (Autumn 1969): 109-134. The first set of articles includes Hugh Nibley's explanation of the orthodox Mormon view which is repeated and amplified in Benjamin Urrutia, "The Joseph Smith Papyri," *DIALOGUE* 4 (Summer 1969): 129-34. Mormons query whether it is really possible to state that the papyri were not a codified scripture which could be read in more than one way, or that Joseph Smith's power to translate did not transcend the mere mechanical act of rendering a word-for-word equivalent of the Egyptian in English.

16. Richard P. Howard, "A Tentative Approach to the Book of Abraham," *DIALOGUE* 3 (Summer 1968): 92.

17. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, p. 33.

18. George Townshend, *Christ and Bahá'u'lláh* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1976), pp. 59, 62.

19. Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh* (Wilmette, Ill.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1969), pp. 68, 74.

20. Bahá'u'lláh, quoted in Shoghi Effendi, *World Order of Bahá'u'lláh*, 2nd ed. (Wilmette, Ill.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1974), p. 104.

21. Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings*, p. 194.

22. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, 11th ed. (London: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1969), p. 41.

23. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *The Promulgation of Universal Peace* (Chicago: Executive Board of Bahá'í Temple Unity, 1922), p. 287.

24. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Some Answered Questions* (Wilmette, Ill.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1981), p. 120.

Gary E. Smith

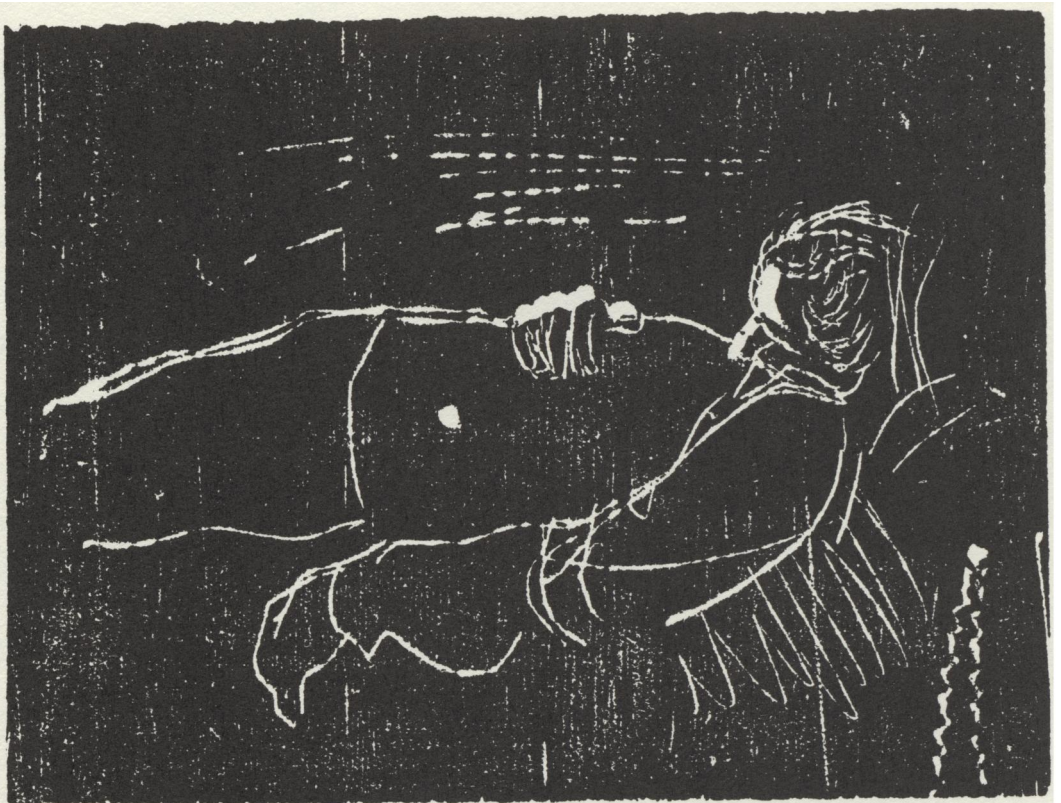
The Martyrdom





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Glory in death

Danny Smith

This Decade Was Different: Relief Society's Social Services Department, 1919–1929

For much of its history, the Relief Society has been primarily concerned with educating and providing compassionate service to its own members, carrying out instructions passed on from priesthood leaders, keeping its own organization running smoothly — a responding organization rather than an initiating one. Neither selfish nor narrow, this characteristic pattern has still tended to look within the circle of home, neighbors, and ward rather than reaching out to the wider community or the world. But one decade was different, infused by an unusual degree of organized activism against poverty and human want within the Mormon community. More than good neighbors, the Relief Society became a powerful relief organization and an agency for social reform. From 1917 to 1929, just prior to the Great Depression, the reform impulse that had made the Mormon women an effective voice for women's suffrage, blazed up again. Latter-day Saint women aligned themselves with the charity organization movements of the period and formed a department that directed the Church's affairs in attacking the evils of poverty.

For the LDS Church, it was a time of social experimentation. A new generation of Mormons comprised the general boards of auxiliaries like the Relief Society. Many of them had been educated, some with Church funds, at reputable Midwestern and Eastern universities. They were progressive-minded disciples of a Mormon-style social gospel searching to make Mormonism relevant to every segment of the Church's group life. One scholar called them the first and last generation of the liberal Mormon intellectuals.¹

Nationally, the activist impulse in the Relief Society during the 1920s would be considered by most historians to be out of step with the larger reform efforts. World War I had drained the energies of the national reformers and the twenties were thought of as the interlude between the Progressive Era and the New Deal. However, as social historian Clarke Chambers has demonstrated, voluntary associations like the Relief Society were finding themselves with a growing consciousness of social responsibility. For the Relief Society, World War I summoned up the social and leadership forces necessary to produce one of the Relief Society's golden decades.²

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In 1917 Utah's governor, Simon Bamberger, asked Amy Brown Lyman, general secretary of the Relief Society General Board and veteran social welfare student, to be an official Utah delegate to the National Conference of Social Work where the Federal War Department and the American Red Cross planned to discuss the handling of the social problems of military families which resulted from the war. The Federal Government had funded the Red Cross to develop curriculum, train people in social work methods, and establish offices throughout the United States to assist troubled and displaced families.³ Sister Lyman's appointment to represent Utah at the NCSW was in keeping with her earlier career interests. While her husband, Richard R. Lyman, apostle, civil engineer, and university professor, was studying at the University of Chicago, Amy pursued a curriculum of social welfare studies. During a brief internship, she studied and worked at Jane Addam's Hull House. In 1909 she joined the General Board of the Relief Society, and in 1913 she became its general secretary. In 1928 she would become first counselor to Louise Y. Robison and, in 1940, would become the Relief Society general president.

Upon her return, Sister Lyman worked with other Red Cross delegates in developing a program and making local arrangements for the Denver regional training sessions. In November, the Relief Society General Board called Sister Lyman and three other women to attend the six-week home service course in Denver, a training seminar to teach them to "mediate between the home front and the battle front."⁴ Each woman was called from a sizable Utah city where it was anticipated her services would be greatly needed by the families of the Church's 24,000 enlisted men. Sister Lyman was sent from Salt Lake City, Cora T. Kasius from Ogden, Annie D. Palmer from Provo, and Mary L. Hendrickson from Logan.

That intensive six-week experience was the beginning of professional social work in Utah. All four women went on for later training and made major contributions to social work in the state.⁵

Porter Lee, head of the New York School of Philanthropy, Mary Richmond, head of the New York Charity Organization, and T. J. Reily, head of the Brooklyn Institute, were responsible for organizing and condensing its manuals, lectures, and classroom materials to provide curriculum for institutes. The three taught their students throughout the country that the principal values and methods of charity organizations were 1) rehabilitation through diagnosis and case treatment of families in need; 2) education of the public in correct principles of social welfare work and cooperation; and 3) gathering evidence through the first two principles and establishing volunteer networks to eliminate the causes of poverty and dependence. The trainees were told that this method of charity assistance was more than an indiscriminate handout, that it was based on investigation and research, and that it would rehabilitate families so they could develop and use their own resources as well as community resources to effect a permanent cure.⁶ Furthermore, the trainees were taught how to discern the uniqueness of each case and how personal, family, neighborhood, civic, private charitable, and public relief sources could be shaped to the individual situation.

Upon their return, each of the four women took positions with county Red Cross agencies. In Salt Lake County, Sister Lyman became a special supervisor for all cases in which the families declared themselves to be LDS. In March 1918, after several months of working with LDS families, Sister Lyman and one of her colleagues were called to President Joseph F. Smith's office to discuss their work. Earlier, the president had reviewed samples of the records, case histories, registration sheets, and other forms and materials used in the office. He had decided, after consideration, that "if there was anything in the Church that needed improvement it was the charity work" but was deeply concerned about duplication, wasted efforts, wasted funds, and non-LDS case-workers who intervened in LDS family affairs. His solution was to propose a social services department within the Relief Society organization to be headed by Sister Lyman. The discussion turned to cases, procedures, and the benefits the office would bring to the Church. Obviously, the need was great and Sister Lyman supported the proposal but felt she would need further training in Denver before she could assume such a responsibility. With President Smith's encouragement, she returned to Denver on November 7 to work with its noted County Public Welfare Department where she could have more experience with case work and administration.⁷ Relief Society President Clarissa S. Williams voiced strong support of Sister Lyman's call and further training. Upon her return and after Heber J. Grant became president of the Church following Joseph F. Smith's death on 19 November 1918, the Relief Society opened its Social Services Department in January 1919. That same month, the LDS Red Cross transferred its caseload to the Social Services Department.

Between 1919 and 1929, Sister Lyman built a Social Services Department that not only reflected the three fundamental social work principles and maintained the contemporary standards of professional social work but was also loyal to the LDS faith. Clients came on their own. Sometimes bishops referred them. Case files document the struggling widow with small children, the ailing breadwinner, the homeless and jobless man, the deserted wife with children to care for, the distressed single or married woman with an unwanted pregnancy, and a variety of other cases. Typical procedure for a client was an immediate sympathetic hearing and registration with the Exchange Clearinghouse. This was a precaution employed in Salt Lake City and other U.S. cities to ensure against the duplication of efforts by social welfare agencies. If no other agency was handling the client's case, emergency relief was given in the form needed—usually cash, food, clothing, or arrangements for medical treatment.⁸

Then the case work began. The overriding objective of the work was to restore the individual or family to normal, self-sufficient living. An initial evaluation of the client's social environment and personality appraised the character traits he or she could bring to bear on the situation. Then pertinent information was collected from family members, neighbors, bishops, ward members, and public authorities. After some investigation, deliberation, and case history counseling within the agency, a social diagnosis designed to rehabilitate the person or family was outlined. Just as no two clients' situations were alike, the treatment of each case, varying in scope and length of time, was individual and unique.

Thus, the Relief Society Social Services Department became the center for cooperative work in serving LDS families in distress, not only in Salt Lake County, but throughout the state of Utah and even in some other states. Even though the Social Services Department did not have a full range of resources and services, it, like charity organizations in general, coordinated services and helped clients obtain aid from appropriate institutions and agencies. For instance, the department might help a widow get her mother's pension from the county or might arrange for the admission of a tubercular patient to a state-run sanatorium. In Salt Lake County alone the caseworkers of the department coordinated with the county charity department, county hospital, city and county courts, juvenile court, county jail, police station, state penitentiary, Charity Organization Society (now the Family Service Society), Red Cross, Volunteers of America, Salvation Army, YWCA, Traveler's Aid Society, Legal Aid Society, and several other organizations and institutions. It also received more than fifty requests for assistance a year from troubled Church members and referring social service agencies outside Utah.⁹

To do this delicate, demanding work with LDS families, Amy Brown Lyman built a corps of workers whose credentials were second to none in the Salt Lake Valley. She was very much aware of the social work profession's emphasis on technical competence and therefore required workers to have "a college education with a major in sociology and definite field training under supervision in an accredited family agency." From 1919 to 1928, the staff averaged six workers (generally four professionals and two stenographers to maintain the case histories). Seventeen workers during those years met the qualifications. Numerous other Relief Society members whom Sister Lyman thought to be compatible with the work and who were strongly recommended by stake Relief Society presidents were brought in as volunteers.

Sister Lyman frequently hired young, single women who had completed their bachelors degrees and were beginning graduate studies. She supervised their 200 hours of social work training and offered employment to those with whom she was impressed, generally for a one- to three-year period. Sister Lyman would then encourage the young women to leave the area and to pursue advanced degrees and training under the guidance of her friends and colleagues at the New York School of Social Work and at the University of Chicago's School of Social Services Administration.

This pattern was a policy. Sister Lyman considered the Relief Society Social Services Department to be one of the finest in Utah. Sharing her qualified professionals boosted their individual career development at the same time that it helped other agencies and kept the Relief Society's reputation high. In her opinion, this was the best way to spread the practice of good social case-work and expert agency management. In a community which still frequently relied on untrained personnel, the Relief Society Social Services Department was a valuable pool of trained workers and could take partial credit for the fine reputation of such people as Genevieve Thorton who worked three years for the Relief Society, earned her masters degree at the University of Chicago, and later headed a major New York welfare agency. Cora T. Kasius, who also

worked with the office periodically from 1919 to 1926, later went to the New York Charity Organization where she eventually became editor of the *Family Casework Journal*. Anna Laura Stohl Cannon after two years of experience, moved to the Washington, D.C., area. Sister Lyman contacted Grace Abbott, head of the U.S. Children's Bureau, alerted her to Sister Cannon's arrival and qualifications, and was gratified when Sister Cannon worked with the Children's Bureau during the White House Conference of 1931 and the formation of the Social Security Act of 1935.¹⁰

The Social Work Department, in addition to working with clients and other agencies, also launched a massive education effort aimed at Relief Society members. Its goals were three-fold: to recruit volunteers to assist the professional case workers, to spread information about case work methods throughout the Church, and to fulfill its obligation as a private charity organization by educating the community in correct charity methods.

In 1920, the Relief Society General Board and the Church's Social Advisory Committee, sponsored an intensive six-week course at Brigham Young University for Relief Society workers from Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Canada, and Mexico.¹¹ Sixty-five out of the Church's eighty-three stakes were represented. The women received instructions on discerning individual needs, carrying out social investigations, and effectively organizing community resources to help rehabilitate families. During the next eight years, the general board with some early cooperation from the Social Advisory Committee held 126 institutions at key locations so that area Relief Society leaders could attend. These courses were shorter but no less intensive — full time for an average of two weeks, though some were as short as two days and others were as long as twelve weeks. By 1928, 2,901 women had completed training at these institutes, been designated social services aides, and been assigned to assist their ward and stake Relief Society presidents with scientific social work.¹²

Even in outlying areas, charity and relief practices were revamped. In a 1922 circular letter the First Presidency instructed the bishops to contact the Relief Society president if a family was in need. She then would assign the case to an aide who would investigate, advise the president on the best method of handling necessary commodities, and make a recommendation for long-term therapy. The president would then report the work to the bishop; he was encouraged by the First Presidency and the Presiding Bishopric to consider their advice and to take it whenever possible.

The Relief Society General Board also used other resources to educate its members in social welfare concerns. The *Relief Society Magazine* published such articles as: "Tuberculosis: A Social Disease," and "Child Welfare in President Hoover's Administration," as well as reports on such professional meetings as the National Conference of Social Work to which the Relief Society faithfully sent a delegation of General Board members and case workers each year. General Relief Society Conference sessions emphasized the work through addresses on rehabilitating families, dealing with transients, employment counseling for girls and women, placing children in foster homes, and reducing juvenile delinquency. Finally, starting in 1919, one of every four

Relief Society monthly lessons concentrated on social services. In 1919–1921, “health and sanitation” was the general topic; in 1924–1925, “the field of social welfare”; in 1926–1927, “child welfare”; and in 1929–1930, “the field of social work.” The texts used in the courses during the decade were *Principles of Relief* by Dr. Edward T. Devine, *Social Diagnosis* by Mary Richmond, and *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble* by Karl De Schweinitz. All these individuals were nonmembers, professionals, and personal friends and mentors of Amy Brown Lyman.¹³

The third area of concentrated labor that distinguished the Social Services Department during this period was the genuine effort to eliminate the causes of poverty and dependence. In a toast made at a Relief Society banquet in 1922, Amy Brown Lyman said the Relief Society “should work for the abolishment of poverty, [and to right] all its humiliations.” Several areas of concern were high maternity mortality rates, juvenile delinquency, and chronic sickness and crime in the community. She saw a critical need for social insurance, child labor laws, federal health intervention, and provisions for dependent children and the feeble-minded. Sister Lyman reminded the audience, “Every form of social work is a criticism of one or more of the great fundamental institutions of society — the family, the school, industry, the government. It is not ideal that there should be forever groups of the population so handicapped by one thing or another that they are not able to bear a normal part in the community or to live their own lives without special assistance.”¹⁴

Doing case work day after day and seeing chronic poverty in a society where many prospered convinced Sister Lyman that the Relief Society had to augment its case work band-aid remedies with a program of prevention. Her own caseload was proof that personal laziness or unworthiness were seldom the root of the problem. Poor housing, inaccessible medical care, lack of facilities for the mentally retarded, and harsh treatment for first-time juvenile offenders were just a few societal wrongs that frequently exacerbated a family’s problems. Over and over, she and her colleagues witnessed how poor food led to poor physical and mental health, which led to a child’s inability to learn and a parent’s inability to earn, which again meant poor food. Poor beget poor, and retarded beget retarded.

Sister Lyman, the Social Services Department, and the Relief Society knew that more had to be done. Specializing efforts within the department offered the first solution to frequently recurring problems. Hence, in 1922, Sister Lyman oversaw the creation of the Employment Bureau to help women find stenographic, factory, and domestic employment. In the same year, the Social Services Department was designated as the Church’s agency for child placement and adoption. On 7 September 1927 the State Public Welfare Commission issued a license to the General Board of the Relief Society, the Social Services Department’s legal governing body, authorizing the department to receive and place children in foster homes and for adoption. In 1924 the Social Services Department established a program to temporarily place older, malnourished children in the rural homes of Church members for two weeks or longer where they could receive fresh air, good food, and healthy recreation.¹⁵

Beyond that lay the whole field of social legislation. On national issues, the Relief Society aligned itself with associations which could lobby Congressmen for social justice and which supported child labor laws, workmen's compensation, social insurance, industrial safety, protective legislation for women and children, and direct services for retarded citizens. On a state level, the Relief Society General Board charged itself to be well informed about social legislation. Biannual reports were made in the Relief Society general conferences about legislative action in Utah and surrounding intermountain states. On several occasions, members of the general board were instrumental in securing key pieces of legislation, both as elected representatives in the state legislature or by mobilizing Relief Societies on the ward and stake levels into open political activity. On matters such as mothers' pensions, vocational training, establishing a home for reformed prostitutes, continuance of the State Welfare Commission, licensing of qualified child-placing agencies, and inspection of maternity homes, the general board made the Relief Society's position clear to legislators and usually the bills passed with little more effort than the initial contact.¹⁶

However, a few key issues brought intense political activity from the Relief Society and its members. Two notable examples of this were the efforts to establish the American Fork Training School for the mentally retarded and the U.S. Infancy and Maternity Health Act. In 1929 the Relief Society actively lobbied for a \$300,000 appropriation for the American Fork Training School. The general board instructed local unit leaders to "personally interview their legislators." During a 1929 legislative session, the Relief Society presented petitions containing several thousand signatures supporting the appropriation. Furthermore, the general board rented buses and invited stake Relief Society presidents in the area to tour the site selected for the school — with pencil and paper to take notes on the lectures they would receive en route. That bill ultimately passed.¹⁷

One of the most imaginative and successful programs ever attempted by the Social Services Department and by the Relief Society General Board was in support of the Infancy and Maternity Act of 1921 designed to lower morbidity and mortality rates of mothers and children in the United States. That bill, named the Sheppard-Towner Act for its sponsors in Congress, was the first social reform measure to involve federal grants-in-aid to states. The Relief Society supplied political and financial support, cooperated with federal and state officials, and made its Utah wards available to State Health Department information and lobbying efforts. Amy Brown Lyman was serving as a member of the Utah House of Representatives in 1922 and sponsored the bill allowing Utah to receive the full amount of funds possible for the work.

During the legislation's seven-year span, local Relief Societies enthusiastically devised, promoted, and mobilized health care delivery for thousands of women and children. The reporting years of 1925 through 1929 show that in Utah alone 52,925 infants and children were examined at some 2,203 health conferences; 133 health care centers were established; 274 dental conferences were sponsored where 5,491 children were checked; and 3,766 women at-

tended “mothers classes” where they were instructed in prenatal health, nutrition, and child care. Over four thousand untrained volunteers — mostly Relief Society members — helped public health officials give physical examinations and made the local arrangements for conferences.¹⁵

Such efforts reduced Utah’s maternity mortality rate more than any other state in the Union. In fact, Utah’s successes attracted Grace Abbott, a famous social worker, educator, and chief of the U.S. Children’s Bureau, and the noted activist, writer, and University of Chicago professor, Sophonisba Breckinridge. These noted reformers and social work leaders met with the Utah State Board of Health, with the Relief Society general presidency (Clarissa S. Williams, Jennie B. Knight, and Louise Y. Robison), and with Sister Lyman as director of its Social Services Department to congratulate them on their work.¹⁹

The history of the Relief Society Social Services Department during the decade of 1919–1929 shows its development to be essentially parallel to that of other religious and public voluntary associations in the United States during that time. Historian Clarke Chambers has called the period “the seedtime of reform,” alluding to the social programs that would come as a result of the New Deal. However, for the Social Services Department, such a crop would not reach fruition. The climate within the Mormon Church, once tolerant of humanistic liberalism, turned cold, and with the chill, the Social Services Department withered and, in time, became barely recognizable.

The three tenets of professional social work employed by charity organizations, including the Relief Society (rehabilitation through social diagnosis, education of the community, and specific efforts to eliminate the causes of poverty) continued until the Great Depression. However, as caseloads swelled from 45 per social worker in 1928 to 700 per social worker by 1933, the priorities and goals of the Social Services Department shifted. As the Depression deepened and unemployment among LDS families rose sharply, more and more people declared themselves to be dependent. Such demand for aid and commodities convinced the General Authorities that another avenue had to be taken.

With the transition to the Welfare Plan in 1936, the Church’s earlier approach, which maintained that a society’s ills are the reflection and the responsibility of that society and that the unfortunate and oppressed have a right to receive help and assistance in a variety of forms, changed to a more conservative, Hooverian philosophy which emphasized individual responsibility and “by your own bootstrap progress.” Moreover, thinking they had effectively met the needs of the Mormon community, the Church hierarchy then cut and pared the once flourishing Social Services Department. For the next forty-five years, its jurisdiction was limited to adoption and foster care placements, and the counseling of unwed mothers. Occasionally, the women visited the juvenile courts and dealt with youth problems, but family counseling and particularly marriage counseling were forbidden by Church policy until 1966 with bishops being the only ones authorized to deal with such matters. Chronic physical and mental problems came under the purview of the Medical Welfare Department of the Presiding Bishopric’s Office, and the Church Welfare Plan

itself replaced the Relief Society's Emergency Relief Fund in distributing needed food and clothing.

Although there is a marked difference in the approaches of the Social Services Department and the Welfare Plan, the humanitarian efforts and goals of the department deserves not to be forgotten. The emphasis on assisting church members for whatever reason and on organizing both professional and nonprofessional people, who had as their primary goal to minister to the poor and ailing and to give hope to the unfortunate, should be appreciated. Not only was it a noble decade in Mormon history, but it also applies to the contemporary church and its responsibility to the impoverished masses throughout the world.

NOTES

1. Sterling M. McMurrin, "Introduction" in Ephraim Edward Erickson, *Mormon Social Group Life* (1922; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1975), p. x.

2. Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Services: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), pp. ix-xiv.

3. Amy Brown Lyman, "Social Service Work in the Relief Society, 1917-1928," September 1928, p. 3; Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives, James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 160-61, 182-83; Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 218.

4. Phyllis Watts, "Casework Above the Poverty Line: The Influence of Home Service in World War I on Social Work," *Social Service Review* 38 (Sept. 1964): 303-15.

5. Heber R. Taylor, "How Social Work Came to Utah," n.d., Social Work Library, University of Utah.

6. Frank D. Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 117; Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917); Edward T. Devine, *The Principles of Relief* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1904).

7. Lyman, "Social Service Work," p. 4; Amy Brown Lyman, *In Retrospect* (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Relief Society, 1945), p. 64.

8. The best available source for reviewing individual cases without jeopardizing client confidentiality is the *Relief Society Magazine*, 1919-1929; also see "Statement of Emergency Relief Fund" by the General Board of the Relief Society, 1921-1931, LDS Church Archives; Relief Society General Board, Minutes, 6 Nov. 1918 and 13 Mar. 1919, LDS Church Archives.

9. To see the degree to which Relief Society women embraced the profession see the conference addresses by Annie D. Palmer, Cora T. Kasius, Beth Bradford, and Amy Brown Lyman in Relief Society General Conference, 4 June 1919, as reported in the *Relief Society Magazine* 6 (Aug. 1919): 446-53.

10. Lyman, "Social Service Work," p. 25-27; Lydia Alder Bean, Oral History, Helen Migley Ross, Oral History, Anna Laura Stohl Cannon, Oral History, Leona Fetzer Wintch, Oral History, interviewed by Loretta L. Hefner, 1979, transcripts, the James Moyle Oral History Program, LDS Church Archives.

11. The Social Advisory Committee was a type of church correlation committee organized in 1916 to deal with contemporary social and moral conditions. It was largely headed by Stephen L. Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve and Amy Brown Lyman, assisted by a

host of Mormon social gospel advocates. The scope and activities of the committee confirm my general thesis that the 1920s were a unique decade in the Mormon Church's attempt to grapple with social issues. The committee was disbanded in 1922. For an insightful discussion of the committee, see Thomas G. Alexander, "The LDS Church and the Social Gospel: The Advisory Committee as a Case Study," paper given at Mormon History Association, annual meeting, Lamoni, Iowa, 26 May 1979.

12. Amy Brown Lyman, "Qualifications of Social Services Aides," Relief Society General Conference, 1 Oct. 1930, in the *Relief Society Magazine* 17 (June 1930): 668.

13. Relief Society General Board, Minutes, 10 Dec. 1919; 28 July 1921; 29 Sept. 1921; 4 Oct. 1921; 4 April 1922; 3 Oct. 1925; LDS Church Archives.

14. Amy Brown Lyman, "Vision of the Future in Relief Society: A Toast at the Relief Society Banquet," 1922, Amy Brown Lyman Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; for general biographical overview of Sister Lyman's involvement in other humanitarian efforts, see Loretta L. Hefner, "Amy Brown Lyman: Raising the Quality of Life For All," *Sister Saints*, ed. Vicki Burgess-Olsen (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), pp. 95-118.

15. Lyman, "Social Service Work," p. 18; Relief Society General Board, Minutes, 15 Sept. 1924; 24 March 1926; 2 April 1926; 2 Oct. 1926; 17 Aug. 1927; Clarissa S. Williams, "Summer Vacations for Children," Relief Society General Conference, April 2-3, 1925, *Relief Society Magazine* 12 (June 1925): 309-10; Lydia Alder, "Summer Vacations for Children," *Relief Society Magazine* 13 (Feb. 1926): 79-81.

16. Annie D. Palmer, "Social Legislation," Relief Society General Conference, 4 June 1919, *Relief Society Magazine* 6 (Aug. 1919): 446-48; Amy Brown Lyman "Social Legislation of Utah," Relief Society General Conference, 4 April 1923, *Relief Society Magazine* 10 (June 1923): 272-75; Bessie G. Hale, "Social Legislation of Idaho," Relief Society General Conference, 4 April 1923, *Relief Society Magazine* 10 (June 1923): 275-76.

17. Amy Brown Lyman, "Utah Provides for the Care of the Feeble-Minded," *Relief Society Magazine* 16 (May 1929): 253-54; Dr. D. A. Skeen (chairman of the commission to select a site for the school for the feeble-minded), untitled address, Relief Society General Conference, *Relief Society Magazine* 17 (June 1930): 306-7; Evelyn Mulder, Oral History, interviewed by Loretta L. Hefner, 1975, tape only, in possession of author.

18. *The Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication no. 203 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 138.

19. Loretta L. Hefner, "The National Women's Relief Society and the U.S. Sheppard-Towner Act," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (1982): 255.

Harvey Fletcher and Henry Eyring: Men of Faith and Science

The year 1981 saw the deaths of Harvey Fletcher and Henry Eyring, men of great religious faith whose superb professional achievements placed them in the first ranks of the nation's scientists. (See Steven H. Heath's "The Reconciliation of Faith and Science: Henry Eyring's Achievement," this issue.) Both could be said to have had simple religious faith — not because they were uncomplicated people incapable of subtlety, but because their religious character was early and firmly grounded in a few fundamentals. This freed them from a life of continuing doubt and struggle.

The two men, seventeen years apart in age, had a kind of family relationship. Henry Eyring's uncle Carl Eyring (after whom BYU's Eyring Science Center is named) married Fern Chipman; Harvey Fletcher married her sister Lorena. After their spouses died, Harvey Fletcher and Fern Chipman Eyring married. As a result, Henry Eyring called him Uncle Harvey. But that was not unique. Nearly everyone else did, too.

Harvey Fletcher was born in 1884 in a little frame house in Provo, Utah. Among his memories are attending the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple and shaking President Wilford Woodruff's hand. As a young boy, he recited a short poem at a program in the Provo Tabernacle; and after he finished, Karl G. Maeser, principal of the Brigham Young Academy, stopped him before he could resume his seat, put his hand on Harvey's head, and said, "I want this congregation to know that this little boy will one day be a great man." Instead of being pleased, Harvey was bothered; he perceived it as a prediction of political leadership, which he did not want.

Later, when he was president of the deacon's quorum, his bishop called on him to speak extemporaneously to the other deacons. Unable to think of anything to say, he stood first on one leg, then the other, and rubbed his head. Finally he blurted out, "I'd rather be good than great," and sat down. He often said that this was his best sermon.

When he graduated from eighth grade and took a job as delivery boy for a grocery store, he considered his education ended, but friends who went to high

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school at BYU influenced him to follow. He failed physics because he did not complete his laboratory journal, but the next year he earned an A+ and was hired as a laboratory assistant.

He received a college degree from BYU in 1907, one of six graduates that year, taught at BYU in 1907–1908, married Lorena Chipman, took leave of absence the same year, and went to the University of Chicago to obtain a Ph.D. He borrowed money for his first year of graduate work, then earned additional funds by teaching high school science and running the projector for lecture classes.

At the beginning of his second year Harvey Fletcher started work with Robert A. Millikan, then a young assistant professor. Fletcher tells what happened in this excerpt from his unpublished autobiography:

I went to Professor Millikan to see if he could suggest a problem upon which I could work for a doctor's thesis in physics. He was a busy man and I had a hard time making an appointment with him. Finally, he told me to come down to one of the research laboratories where he and Professor Beggeman were working and he would talk to me. First he and Professor Beggeman showed me the research work that they were doing on the electronic charge, and reviewed the work that J. J. Thompson and Regener had been doing along this line in Cambridge, England.

They had arranged a little box having a content of 2 or 3 cubic centimeters which was fastened to the end of a microscope. A tube was attached from an expansion chamber to the little box. By opening suddenly a petcock, a sudden expansion of the air in the little box was made which caused a cloud of water vapor to form. When viewed through a microscope this cloud was seen to be composed of a large number of tiny water drops. The droplets would soon drop from the top to the bottom of the box under the influence of gravity. A conducting plate was arranged at the top and another one at the bottom of the box so that an electric field could be produced.

When this electric field was turned on it would retard the fall of some droplets. They were trying to make the field just right so that the droplet would be suspended in the air between the plates. From the speed of the droplet, that is the fall speed, and the intensity of the field to stop the droplet, one could calculate the electrical charge on the droplet. This was essentially repeating the experiment that Regener did in England. However, the water forming the droplet evaporated so fast that the little droplet would only stay in view for about 2 seconds. So it was difficult to get more than a rough estimate of the charge.

We discussed ways and means of getting around the difficulty, and I think we all agreed that we should have a droplet that did not evaporate if we could get it small enough and could control it. Mercury, oil, and two or three other substances were suggested. In a discussion of that kind, it is rather difficult to be sure who suggested what. I left with the impression that I had suggested oil for it was easy to get and to handle. However, in Professor Millikan's memoirs he said he had been thinking of this before this conference. Of course, I cannot say yes or no to that but I do know what happened after this conference.

Professor Millikan said to me, "There is your thesis; go try one of these substances which will not evaporate." So out I went to do this and get started on my thesis. To build an apparatus like they were using would take considerable time. So I decided to make a crude setup in the laboratory and try it before designing an elaborate one. So I went out to the drug store that afternoon and bought an atomizer and some watch oil. Then I came back to the laboratory and set up the following apparatus:

First an arc light with two condensing lenses in front of it was set up. The combination made a bright beam of light. The experience which I had with projection lanterns for lectures made it possible to get this together very quickly. I then

used the atomizer and squirted some oil spray so that it fell through the beam of light. The light made these tiny drops of oil look like tiny stars. This indicated this part of the experiment would probably work. I then went down to the student shop and found some brass sheets about one-eighth of an inch thick. From them I cut two circular plates about 20 centimeters in diameter. Then I fastened (soldered) a stem onto each one so that they could be held by an ordinary laboratory stand with clamps. A small hole was then bored in the center of the top plate. These plates were then set up horizontally, being about 2 centimeters apart. In this first set-up the air between the plates was not enclosed. So I moved the stands holding the two plates over into the beam of light. I then put a large cardboard between the light and the plates and cut a hole just large enough to permit the light to go between the plates without touching them. I then found a cathetometer (an instrument commonly used around a physics laboratory) and placed it so the telescope on it was turned and raised and lowered until its line of sight went between the two plates and at about 120° from the direction of the light beam. The distance from the telescope to the plates was about one meter. I then tried out the apparatus. I turned on the light; then focused the telescope; then sprayed oil over the top of the plate; then came back to look through the telescope. I saw a most beautiful sight. The field was full of little starlets, having all colors of the rainbow. The larger drops soon fell to the bottom but the smaller ones seemed to hang in the air for nearly a minute. They executed the most fascinating dance. I had never seen Brownian Movements before; here was a spectacular view of them. The tiny droplets were being pushed first that way and then this way by the actual molecules in the air surrounding them. I could hardly wait until I could try an electrical field upon them to see if they were charged. I knew there were two or three banks of small storage cells in the laboratory. A large number of these small storage cells had been connected in series and mounted in storage compartments on a small trunk. Each one of these units would produce 1,000 DC volts at its terminal. So I soon rolled these into place near my crude apparatus. Insulated wires were attached electrically to each of the plates. The other ends of these wires were attached through a switch to the two terminals of the 1,000 DC battery. I finished most of this that first afternoon. The next morning I spent some time adjusting it and installing a meter to read the volts applied by the big storage battery. I was then ready to try the battery on these tiny oil drops.

The atomizer was used to spray some of the oil across the top plates. As I looked through the telescope I could see the tiny stream of oil droplets coming through the hole. Again I saw beautiful stars in constant agitation. As soon as I turned on the switch some of them went slowly up and some went faster down. I was about to scream as I knew then some were charged negatively and others positively. By switching the field off and on with the right timing one could keep a selected droplet in the field of view for a long time. I went immediately to find Professor Millikan, but could not find him so I spent the rest of the day playing with these oil droplets and got a fairly reasonable value of e [the charge on a single electron] before the day ended. The next day I found him. He was very much surprised to learn that I had a set-up that was working. He came down to the laboratory and looked through the telescope and saw the same beautiful sight of the starlets jumping around that I had already seen. He was very much excited, especially after turning on the field. After watching for some time he was sure he could get an accurate value of e by this method. He stopped working with Beggeman and started to work with me. We were together nearly every afternoon for the next two years. He called the mechanic who worked in our physics shop and we outlined a new design for our apparatus and asked him to build it. The principal changes were to make the plates more accurate and enclose the air between the plates to prevent air drafts. Also we obtained a radium source or X-ray source which we could shoot at the chamber to produce a greater ionization.

This took about a week after which we started in earnest on this research work which was later to become so famous. After working five or six weeks we had the

press come into our laboratory and see and hear our results. We also made a popular presentation. The papers were then full of this wonderful discovery. It was the first real publicity that I had received. My name ran right along with Professor Millikan's in the newspaper. I spent considerable time showing these experiments to various VIPs from all over the country.

I remember one of them was the great hunchback from the General Electric Company [Charles Steinmetz]. He was one who did not believe in electrons. He could explain all the electrical phenomena in terms of a strain in the "Ether." After watching these little oil droplets most of one afternoon he came and shook my hand and said, shaking his head, "I never would have believed it; I never would have believed it," and then left.

This was all great publicity for Professor Millikan. At that time his rank was only assistant professor. He had never published a noteworthy research. But he and Gale — another faculty member — had published an excellent high school physics text. I began to wonder if this work was to be my thesis as Professor Millikan promised at that first conference. We had never spoken about it since that first conference in December 1909. However, during the spring, we started together writing a paper to be published about the new research.

I wrote more of it than he did, particularly about the modification of Stokes' law and the arrangements of the data. He went over it all and changed the phrasing somewhat to make it read better. All the time I thought we were to be joint authors.

Phyllis was born May 21, 1910, about the time we finished this paper. When she was about one month old, I was baby sitting with her. Answering a knock I went to the door and was surprised to see Professor Millikan. I wondered why he had come to our humble apartment. I soon found it was to decide who was to be the author of the paper referred to above. There were four other papers in the formative stage that were coming out of these oil drop experiments and I expected they would all be joint papers.

He said that if I used a published paper for my doctor's thesis that I must be its sole author. The five papers on which we did the experimental work together were:

1. The Isolation of an Ion, a Precision Measurement of its Charge and the Correction of Stokes' Law. *Science*, September 30, 1910 — Millikan.
2. Causes of Apparent Discrepancies and Recent Work on the Elementary Electrical Charge. *Physik Zeitschrift*, January, 1911 — Millikan and Fletcher.
3. Some Contributions to the Theory of Brownian Movements, with Experimental Applications. *Physik Zeitschrift*, January, 1911 — Fletcher.
4. The Question of Valency in Gaseous Ionization. *Philosophical Magazine*, June, 1911 — Millikan and Fletcher.
5. A Verification of the Theory of Brownian Movement and a Direct Determination of the Value of Ne for Gaseous Ionization. *Physics Review*, Aug. 1911 — and *Le Radium*, July 11 — Fletcher. This was my thesis.

It was obvious that he wanted to be the sole author on the first paper. I did not like this but I could see no other out and I agreed to use the fifth paper listed above as my thesis and would be listed as the sole author on that paper.

People have frequently asked me if I had bad feelings toward Millikan for not letting me be a joint author with him on this first paper which really led to his getting the Nobel prize. My answer has always been no. It is obvious that I was disappointed on that first paper as I had done considerable work on it and had expected to be a joint author. But Professor Millikan was very good to me while I was at Chicago. It was through his influence that I got into the graduate school. He also found remunerative jobs for me to defray all my personal and school expenses for the last two years. Above this was the friendship created by working intimately together for more than two years. This lasted throughout our lifetime. Remember when we worked together

he was not the famous Millikan that he later became. When he wrote his memoirs shortly before he died he had probably forgotten some of these early experiences.

I graduated with a Ph.D. in Physics in 1911 with an honor "Summa Cum Laude." This was the first such high honor that was given to a physics student at Chicago.¹

One can sense in this account a struggle between his desire to be recognized for his part in one of the most famous scientific experiments of modern times and a desire to be fair to Millikan, who had a different perception of the significance of a graduate student's contribution to his ongoing work.

Harvey Fletcher had offers to teach at the University of Chicago and to work at Western Electric Laboratories upon graduation but chose to return to BYU to teach because of his loyalty to the institution which had granted him leave to pursue graduate studies. He served as head of the physics department but spent much of his time teaching elementary mathematics while continuing some further experiments growing out of those he started at Chicago.

Every spring I received a letter from Dr. Frank B. Jewett [of Western Electric] asking me this question, "Which is more important in your mind this year, business or sentiment?" After five years of this I finally accepted his offer to have me join his organization in New York City.

When I told President Brimhall of my intentions, he thought I was being disloyal to the church, and asked, Why don't you talk to President Joseph F. Smith and ask his advice? President Smith . . . was coming to Provo to attend a board meeting of the BYU and so I made a date to see him. I explained Dr. Jewett's proposition and then told him about the research department of the Western Electric Company. I said this department did most of the research and engineering for the entire American Telephone and Telegraph Company. So I just felt an urge to try my skill against the intellectual giants in this laboratory. After listening to my story he sat quietly in a thoughtful mood for a few minutes (it seemed forever) and then said, "Yes, I want you to go and take this position, but promise this, that you will keep your testimony strong and keep up your Church activities. If you do so you can do more good for the Church in New York City than you could do here at the BYU at the present time and you will be successful in your work. We need more Mormon boys to go out into the world of business and scientific research to represent our ideal of living."²

Harvey Fletcher spent the next thirty-three years with what later came to be known as Bell Telephone Laboratories. Because others were already engaged in working with electronics, he moved into acoustics, a field new to him. Out of these studies came a flood of wonderful acoustic devices, such as high fidelity recording, stereophonic sound, talking motion pictures, hearing aids, the artificial larynx, sonar, audiometers, and so on. An early hearing aid made especially for Thomas Edison weighed approximately 100 pounds.

Fletcher was the first Latter-day Saint to be nominated to the National Academy of Sciences, the premier organization in the United States to honor scientists for great accomplishment. He was nominated in three areas rather than one — in physiology for his study of the anatomy of speech (he had published *Sound and Hearing* in 1929), in engineering, and in physics.

Gradually he added administrative responsibilities, becoming director of acoustical research in 1925 and director of physical research in 1933. Under his administration three researchers at the Bell Laboratories developed the

transistor and received the Nobel Prize for their work. Another researcher developed the semi-conductor.

His goal of reproducing sound with realism had its first public demonstration in 1933. The *New York Times* of 24 January 1934 said that the audience was “mystified” and “often terrified. . . . Had it not been for the knowledge that they were witnessing a practical scientific demonstration,” the report stated, the audience “might have believed they were attending a spiritualist seance. Some women in the audience, admitting a feeling of ‘spookiness,’ left the auditorium in fright. Airplanes flew from the stage and circled over the heads of the audience with so much realism that all present craned their necks in fright.” With the cooperation of Leopold Stokowski, he demonstrated stereophonic sound by transmitting to Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., a live performance of the Philadelphia Orchestra from Philadelphia.³

He became first president of the Acoustical Society of America in 1928 and helped form the American Institute of Physics in 1932. He also served as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1937 and president of the American Physical Society in 1945. He belonged to many other societies, honorary and professional. Six universities gave him honorary degrees.

When Fletcher retired from Bell in 1949 at age sixty-five, he taught at Columbia, then returned to BYU in 1952 as director of research and head of the Department of Engineering Sciences. He became first dean of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences in 1954. The Engineering Sciences Laboratory Building was named in his honor. After a few years he returned to acoustical research and retired from teaching and administration. In his career he published more than fifty technical papers, held twenty patents, and received various medals and public recognitions.

Throughout, Harvey Fletcher remained true to the commitment he had made to President Joseph F. Smith. In New York City his home had been the center of Church life for the few members living there in the early days. He served ten years as president of the New York Branch and served a like period as president of the New York Stake, beginning in 1936.

His coworkers knew what he stood for — at least in a general way. One day as Stake President Fletcher was riding the ferry to work in Manhattan, he overheard two other Bell Laboratory employees talking behind him. One said, “Did you know that Harvey Fletcher is a bishop in the Mormon Church?” The other corrected, “Hell, he’s not a bishop. He’s an archbishop!”

A typical example of his kindly and realistic counsel was his wise approach to a member of the ward whose marriage broke up. Devastated, the man could see nothing worth living for. Brother Fletcher pushed an apple under the man’s chin and asked, “What do you see?” Baffled, the man replied, “Nothing.” Fletcher then held the apple out where the man could see it clearly and said, “You’re just too close to this tragedy now. You need to give it time. Then you’ll be able to see it in perspective.” This homely illustration made the point.

Successfully rearing a faithful family far from the Mormon community could not have been done without Lorena Chipman Fletcher. In 1965 she was

named Utah Mother of the Year and also national Mother of the Year. It pleased her husband Harvey to be able to take a supporting role for a change. He kept her scrapbook with care and showed it with pride.

The family's high standards are evident in the accomplishments of the five surviving sons, a son and daughter having died previously. Stephen was vice president and general counsel for Western Electric until his retirement; he now teaches part time at BYU Law School and is copyright lawyer for the Church. Harvey J. is professor of mathematics at BYU. James was president of the University of Utah, then head of NASA, and is now engaged in energy research. Robert is executive director of the integrated circuit development division of Bell Laboratories. Paul is an administrator in the field of lasers in the government laboratory at San Diego.

Harvey Fletcher wrote a 1961 Sunday School manual called *The Good Life*, a publication which deserves continued reading. He divided the good life into three aspects — love of God, love and use of knowledge, and love of fellow men. Few people have better exemplified “the good life” than he did, and the choice to be “good” was made early. When he was a boy in Primary, his teacher drew a chalk line on the floor of the classroom and said, “Here’s the big difference in life — who’s on the Lord’s side and who isn’t. I want you to make a decision whether you’re going to be on the Lord’s side or not.” He remembered all his life the good feeling of rushing over to the right side of the line.⁴

Henry Eyring was born in 1901 in Colonia Juarez, one of the Mormon colonies in northern Mexico. After initial hard times his father had developed a 14,000-acre ranch with 600 cattle and 50 to 100 horses. Henry remembered his childhood as an idyllic time, riding the range beside his father.

When he was four he suffered from typhoid fever. During the illness his Sunday School teacher, “Miss Allred . . . an attractive young lady,” visited him. “I was proud and happy that she cared enough to visit me. She spoke to me cheerfully, and after a brief visit with my mother and me, went on her way. But something important had happened to me. I had been a vital part of a fine teacher-student relationship that I have never forgotten. I learned that day how important it is to care about people even when they are small and may not seem very important.”⁵

In 1912 the Eyring family became refugees from marauding bands of Mexican revolutionaries, along with approximately five thousand other Mormon colonists. They spent a year in El Paso hoping to return to their homes. Henry illustrated early an unusual tenacity. He worked in an El Paso grocery store, rollerskating to work. At the bottom of his hill the sidewalk ended two feet above the road. Daily he tried to make the jump at full speed, nearly always falling and dropping his lunch pail. Only a few times during the year did he make a successful jump, but he kept trying.

His father settled the family again in the Gila Valley of Arizona on a ninety-eight-acre farm only partly cleared of mesquite. The rigors of dirt farming in arid country gave him incentive to succeed at his studies as a way out and he received a county scholarship to attend college.

As he was about to leave for school his father said to him, "Son, in this Church you don't have to believe anything that isn't true. You go over to the University of Arizona and learn everything you can, and whatever is true is a part of the gospel. The Lord is actually running this universe. I'm convinced that he inspired the Prophet Joseph Smith. If you'll live in such a way that you'll feel comfortable in the company of good people and seek the truth, then I don't worry about your getting away from the Lord." His mother advised him not just to be good, but to be good for something.⁶

Young Henry waited on tables and graded papers at the university to support himself while he obtained a bachelors degree in mining engineering, then went to work in the copper mines in Arizona. He says that having a rock smash his foot in the mine persuaded him to switch to metallurgy for a master's degree, and the noxious fumes of the blast furnaces then persuaded him to return to college for a career as a teacher. He obtained his Ph.D. in chemistry at Berkeley in 1927 under Professor George E. Gibson and was also greatly influenced by Gilbert N. Lewis.

With doctoral degree in hand he started teaching at the University of Wisconsin. At a Christmas party for Mormon students he met Mildred Bennion, then pursuing graduate study while on leave from her position as chairman of the women's physical education program at the University of Utah. They married in 1928. At Wisconsin Eyring became interested in reaction kinetics and studied it for a year in Berlin and another at Berkeley.

At Berkeley he used hydrogen and fluorine to test his theories. Conventional wisdom said that these chemicals, united in pure form, would explode, but Eyring's quantum mechanical calculations indicated no explosion at normal temperatures. He and a friend mixed the pure gases by remote control while they hid behind a barricade, and the mixture did not explode. To flush out the dangerous gases, they had arranged to use a tank of nitrogen but had forgotten to run the control to the place where they were sheltered. Eyring crawled across to turn the valve and the mixture promptly exploded, presumably catalyzed by material introduced from the nitrogen tank or the tubing. Fortunately, no one was injured by the flying glass.⁷

This vindication of his theoretical approach to chemistry drew an invitation from the American Chemical Society to participate in a special symposium on "Applications of Quantum Theory to Chemistry" and that exposure in turn brought him an invitation to join the faculty at Princeton University, which he accepted. His first public acclaim came in 1932 when he received a \$1,000 prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a paper that further illustrated how the principles of quantum mechanics applied to organic as well as inorganic chemical reactions.

In 1934 Eyring submitted a paper, "The Activated Complex in Chemical Reactions," to the *Journal of Chemical Physics*. The editor sent it out for review and the reviewer replied that "the method of treatment is unsound and the result incorrect." Eyring persisted, however, and obtained the endorsement of other scientists whose judgment carried more weight. They persuaded the editor to publish the paper, and it proved to be the single most influential

paper he ever wrote. He later stated wryly, "Ego is no small thing in the success of a scientist," yet his was the ego of confidence, not of arrogance. His absolute rate theory, as it is now called, is said to have been one of the most potent ideas to appear in chemistry in the last fifty years. It applies not only to chemical reactions but also to numerous physical and biological processes.

For this and other contributions to chemistry, he was repeatedly nominated for consideration by the Nobel Prize Committee. When asked about his not receiving the prize, he quipped, "I'm available!"⁸ In all probability the fact that his most significant single contribution to science came so early in his career and waited for some time to be fully appreciated limited his chance to receive the highly publicized prize. At Henry Eyring's funeral Dr. Dan Urry, his colleague, called him "one of the principal architects of physical-chemical theory of this century" for his theory of rate processes, the significant structure theory of liquids, and the theory of optical rotation, among other things.

In awarding Eyring the prestigious Swedish Berzelius Gold Medal in 1979, King Karl Gustav of Sweden said, "You are the only true alchemist; you have turned the hydrogen atom into pure gold." Eyring had started the development of his theory of rate processes by treating the reactions of hydrogen atoms and had rapidly expanded it to the more complex reactions in polymers and textiles, chemiluminescence and enzyme mechanisms, biological connective tissue and membrane permeability, and the physical chemistry of nerve action.

In New Jersey Henry Eyring served the Church well. He became branch president (1932-1944) and then was called as president of the New Jersey District (1944-1946), the spiritual head, as he said, of three million persons, "though most of them were blissfully unaware of the fact."⁹

He flourished professionally, sometimes so engrossed in his work that he forgot where he was. On one occasion he missed his train stop and went right on past Princeton. Getting off and boarding a return train, he missed Princeton a second time.

Albert Einstein was at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton during this period and Eyring enjoyed that association. Of Einstein he said, "He was first rate, there is no question about it, . . . but the picture some people have of him as a lone intellectual giant is a wrong one. I prefer to think of him as a man with few peers. There are other people who are comparable. Neils Bohr was another physicist of comparable scientific influence."¹⁰

Of this period a former student of his recalled: "When I came into Henry's lecture room for my orals, only Henry was there. The other members of the committee had not yet arrived. He sensed my anxiety and in an attempt to relax me asked if I had ever seen him jump to the table from a standing position. I had never seen him do this so he made a mighty jump which didn't suffice. He cracked both shins on the edge of the table. For a few moments I thought the oral would have to be cancelled, but with pain and determination he backed off and tried it again, this time succeeding."¹¹

In 1946 Eyring received an invitation from President A. Ray Olpin of the University of Utah (who by coincidence was Harvey Fletcher's former student, brother-in-law, and colleague at Bell Laboratories) to come teach at the Uni-

versity of Utah and establish a graduate school. He considered the offer, then declined. When his wife Mildred learned of this decision she did not trust herself to say the right thing and wrote him a long letter to read at the office expressing her feelings that it was time for them to "go home." He immediately wired President Olpin to disregard his earlier letter; he was coming.¹²

For twenty years he was the dean of the graduate school, the catalyst and leader needed to establish the University of Utah as a first-rate research institution. In his career he published 622 scientific papers and a dozen books, with collaborators, edited thirty-eight volumes in several series, and served as the personal mentor for 118 doctoral students. He taught actively until his last illness at age eighty, a unique resource for the university. University president David P. Gardner is quoted as saying, "Retirement? The university is not accustomed to retiring geniuses."¹³ The university's new chemistry building bears his name. Many other honors came to him, also, including fifteen honorary doctoral degrees, the National Medal of Science in 1967, the Priestly Medal in 1975, and the \$100,000 Wolf Prize in Israel in 1980, as well as more than a dozen other major medals and prizes. He served as president both of the American Chemical Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. No Latter-day Saint scientist was as widely known as he.

Eyring prided himself on his fitness. He walked to and from his office, politely waving off offers to ride, did standing jumps from the floor to the top of his desk, and, until 1978, challenged his students to an annual foot race, putting up cash prizes for the first four places. He pursued his scientific work with the same vigor and irrepressible excitement.

An affable speaker, quick with a witty aside or self-deprecating remark, he was popular as a scientific lecturer and as a Church speaker. As a teacher he made concepts vivid with images. Chemical reactions might involve bouncing ping pong balls, mountain passes, springs, or marching soldiers. "Dr. Eyring used to say that you must have a model before doing quantitative deductive thinking. A good model is best, but a bad model is better than none at all," recalls Dr. Milton Wadsworth, associate dean of the University of Utah's College of Mines and Mineral Industries. "He said it's not a sin to be simple and wrong, but it is a sin to be complicated and wrong, and he had a marvelous way of simplifying complicated material."¹³

Something of Eyring's personality and work style can be glimpsed in a report a Donald Carr made to the head office of Phillips Petroleum Company during a visit in September 1961 to the company research facilities in Oklahoma:

Henry Eyring took us over. I believe that this is the greatest "visitation" we have ever had (I use this much misemployed word deliberately, as one talks of visitations by kings, ghosts and billionaires).

Never have most of us seen such a man. Perhaps an instance from many may give an idea of his terrific impact. . . . The last day of Henry's visit, when he was about to take off with Ray Arnett and my wife for a whiz through Woolarco, Bill Nelson called me on the phone and with a bit of a sob in his voice said, "I just want to say, Don, that this is the greatest thing that has ever happened to the R & D department in the nineteen years I have been here."

The spell of Eyring is magical. It is compounded of what? Enormous ability, curiosity, imagination, kindness, inexhaustible energy, the incredible combination of a poet's facility with the English language and an advanced physicist's gift for higher mathematics, — above all, *happiness*. I believe he is the happiest man I have ever met, and this spreads, as it must spread from all great geniuses. I wonder how many Eyrings there are in the world? If there were enough we would have nothing to fear, nothing at all to fear.

A man of his accomplishments could afford complete egotism. But what was our toughest problem? To steer him with expedition through the laboratories, since he insisted on talking with everybody he met, asking him what he thought about this and that, fanning a little flame of genuine fellowship here, there, everywhere.

Since the unexpected is what one expects of Henry, his last lecture on the superficially rather unappetizing subject of optical rotation was, to me at least, his best. Here he delved into the theory of origins of life and the nature of things, even the true inwardness of light. With his beautiful surgeon's hands, he imitated a ghostly "dipole-ness," a sort of Carrollian grin of the cat, being propagated through space. He concluded that the most important thing in our history was that we were created as matter rather than anti-matter and close upon that was the biochemical triumph of the laevo rather than the dextro-alpha amino acids.

Even from the standpoint of time alone, he earned much more than his honorarium. His lectures were always at least two hours, and would have lasted longer, except for nervous monitors such as Don Smith and myself. His afternoon discussions were continuous eruptions of intellectual richness. At luncheon and in the evening, his charm dominated every table, every minute.

Even in the most complicated presentation in the Adams Building auditorium, he managed with his resonant actor's voice (without loudspeaker) to make everything seem clear and even cozy. He has a way of personalizing. At the blackboard, he would say, for example, "Now, since Don Carr and I went to Berkeley, we'll write this F instead of G, for free energy." And again: "Now, Don (Smith), doesn't that sound reasonable and good to you? If that isn't the truth (his liquid theory), it's the cutest pack of lies I know about."

Except for the great scientific stimulation, what can we learn from Henry the Great? Is it perhaps that, when you are born a genius, a fastidious clean and hardy life pays great dividends, whether you are a Mormon, a Catholic, a Jew or an atheist? He walks to work and back four times a day (10 miles total) and, when nobody is looking, he runs. In fact, he challenged everybody he met here to a fifty-yard dash, and had only one half-hearted taker in Bob Sears, although, unfortunately, there was no time to stage the sprint of the century.¹⁵

He lived chemistry. Even in the midst of a family group his mind used the odd moments to work at problems; in a meeting he might pull out an envelope and start writing equations.

He took immense pride in the professional accomplishments of his three children, all sons, but equal satisfaction in their service as bishops. His son Edward is professor of chemistry at the University of Utah. Henry has been professor of business administration at Stanford University, president of Ricks College, and is presently Commissioner of Church Education. Harden, an attorney, is executive assistant to the commissioner of the Utah System of Higher Education.

He could comfort with stories of his own foibles. When Harden had wrecked the family car, Eyring told him how he had once taken his father's gun down from above the fireplace and gone out on the front porch to frighten

a neighbor boy who was walking past. He aimed at the boy, pulled the trigger, and the “unloaded” gun went off with a roar. “Fortunately,” he said, “I was a terrible shot.”¹⁶

Elder Neal A. Maxwell said, at his funeral, “Henry’s humility and humor kept him from becoming a brilliant but irascible eccentric. Indeed, the humor of great individuals is possible because they are not preoccupied with their own ego concerns. Thus they are free to observe the incongruities and inconsistencies of life and themselves. Henry was good-natured and good-humored because he was good — laughter did not come at the expense of others, but . . . was the self-effacing kind.”¹⁷

With so much commitment to his career in science it would have been easy to have neglected his spiritual life, but Henry Eyring served the Church with unflagging energy and openness. In Utah, where he served for twenty-five years on the General Board of the Sunday School, his favorite assignment was helping prepare Gospel Doctrine lessons for adult classes each year. A favorite anecdote concerned a meeting to plan the new Church magazines.

I got a letter from Richard L. Evans to come down to a two o’clock meeting for the new magazines, along with a great many other people. I was visiting my sister [Camilla, wife of apostle Spencer W. Kimball,] and I said, “I am going to a meeting for the magazines.” Spencer said, “I am going, too, at nine o’clock.” I had forgotten in the meantime that mine was for two o’clock and assumed it was the same meeting. My secretary was not there that morning and I was a little bit late, so I hurried down to the Church Office Building. When I got there, I went in and said to the receptionist that I was supposed to go to a meeting. He said, “Well, isn’t it this afternoon?” I said, “No, it is this morning.” So he took me in and there were four apostles — Spencer Kimball, Marion Romney, Brother Evans and Brother Hunter — and the magazine editors. I was quite surprised that there was no one else from the Sunday School but I thought, well, they must regard me very highly, and so I just sat down. Everyone shook my hand so I sat down. The discussion went around and I was willing to offer my views quite freely. I told them that the Church magazines never would amount to a damn if they did not get some people with independence in there who had real ideas and would come out and express themselves. If they were going to rehash old stuff, they would not hold the young people. I told them I thought that *Dialogue* had caught the attention of more people and had more influence than our own Church magazines did. It has some of the kind of independence that I think is a good thing. I think it is walking a very dangerous road and could easily go sour, but so far it has been good. And I told them that if they left out people like Brother Wheelwright, who had been working with the *Instructor*, they would be making a big mistake, and so on. I gave them quite a bit of very fine advice and I damned a little when I wanted to and when I got through, Brother Evans said, “I do not know anyone who characterizes the idea of independence any more than you do; are you applying for the job?” “No, I am not applying for the job, but I think I have given good advice.” Everyone was very nice to me.

I did not have any feeling, even after I had been there, that there was anything wrong, and thought that they must have a high opinion of my wisdom. When I got back to my office, my secretary asked, “Where have you been?” I said I had been down to the Church magazine meeting. She said, “That is this afternoon at two o’clock.”

What is so funny is not that I made a mistake, but that I was so insensitive as to not realize it. I did not go to the two o’clock meeting. I felt I had done my work. Brother Evans got up in that meeting and, I am told, said that they had had a meet-

ing in the morning and that very useful advice had been supplied by Brother Eyring. He did not say I had not been invited.

I am amazed at the graciousness of the brethren in making me feel I belonged, when any one of them might well have been annoyed. They are a most urbane group. On my part, there was no holding back; I just tried to help them all I could.¹⁸

In 1969 Mildred Bennion Eyring, his wife of forty-one years, died. Two years later he married Winifred Brennan Clark, who added her four daughters to his family circle.

To the end of his life he was deeply involved in the three great loves of his life — chemistry, family, and church.

From 1974 on he was a faithful high councilor. During his last year, seriously ill, he still turned out to help weed the onion field at the stake welfare farm.

During the last, painful illness Henry Eyring asked rhetorically, "Why is God doing this to me?" He then fell asleep and when he woke up he said, "God needs men of courage. He is testing my courage."¹⁹

NOTES

1. Harvey Fletcher, *Autobiography* (Provo, Ut.: privately published, 1967), pp. 29–36; copy in BYU Archives.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

3. As cited in Harvey Fletcher obituary, *New York Times*, 25 July 1981.

4. Harvey J. Fletcher, remarks at funeral of Harvey Fletcher, 27 July 1981.

5. Henry Eyring, "South of the Border," *Instructor*, Aug. 1967, p. 322.

6. As quoted by Harden Eyring at the funeral of Henry Eyring, 30 Dec. 1981, in Salt Lake City. Variations on the same conversation appear in a number of places: by Henry Eyring, "My Father's Formula," *Ensign*, Oct. 1978, p. 29; "Gospel Teaching I Remember Best," *Instructor*, April 1957, p. 107 (this source also includes the conversation with his mother); "Wisdom — Human and Divine," *Improvement Era*, March 1954, p. 146; and *The Faith of a Scientist* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), p. 66.

7. Steve H. Heath, "Henry Eyring, Mormon Scientist" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1980), pp. 48–49.

8. Edward L. Kimball, "A Dialogue with Henry Eyring," *DIALOGUE* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973): 100.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

11. Reminiscence by John R. Morrey, *Chemical Dynamics*, festschrift ed. by Joseph O. Hirschfelder and Douglas Henderson (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), p. 318; as cited in Heath, "Henry Eyring," pp. 148–49.

12. Heath, "Henry Eyring," p. 75; Mildred Bennion Eyring, *My Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1969), p. 87. Harden Eyring has written a biography of Henry Eyring, soon forthcoming.

13. Twila Van Leer, "Fellow Scientists to Honor U's Dr. Eyring," *Deseret News*, 3 April 1976, p. 8A.

14. Dorothy Stowe, "Science Was Art to Henry Eyring," *Deseret News*, 10 Feb. 1982, p. 1C.

15. D. E. Carr to J. A. Reid, 4 Oct. 1961, as quoted in Heath, "Henry Eyring," pp. 98–100.

16. Harden Eyring, remarks at funeral of Henry Eyring, 30 Dec. 1981.

17. Neal A. Maxwell, remarks at funeral of Henry Eyring, 30 Dec. 1981.

18. Kimball, "Dialogue," pp. 101–2.

19. Harden Eyring, remarks at funeral.

The Reconciliation of Faith and Science: Henry Eyring's Achievement

Few men in Mormon history have exemplified the unity of science and religion better than Henry Eyring. A devout student of science for over sixty years, a brilliant chemist who was internationally renowned, and at the same time a faithful believer, he exemplified the crucial possibility of being in the world but not of it for three decades. Despite his towering scientific achievements, he may yet be remembered in Mormon history as a model for LDS scientists — and for the well-educated Mormon generally — who wanted to stay happily and productively in the Church's mainstream.

As Edward L. Kimball has noted in his biographical paper, "Harvey Fletcher and Henry Eyring: Mormon Scientists" (this issue), this ability began with a strong grounding in fundamental beliefs in committed Mormon homes, continued with a personality that accepted these tenets, invested primary energy in service and professionalism, and concluded with the fortunate circumstance that the Church could and did use this combination of personal and professional skills in prominent and well-rewarded places.

Where Henry Eyring was concerned, however, the ability to keep a foot firmly planted in both the scientific and the religious camps was buttressed by a determination to keep both camps equally legitimate, an important attitude at a time when science was seen as the enemy of faith in some quarters and when the possibility of withdrawal into primitive fundamentalism at least showed itself on the horizon.

In 1946, fresh from his triumphs at Princeton, Eyring came to the University of Utah as dean of the Graduate School. He brought remarkable strength to the university, and as one colleague put it, "was the single most important person in transforming Utah into a research institution."¹

When Eyring moved to Utah in 1946, he was virtually unknown among members of the Mormon Church except for family, some friends, and a few Mormon scientists. Within three years of his coming, he had won the respect and admiration of thousands within the Church. Within months, he had been appointed a member of the Sunday School general board, received such honors

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as the Research Corporation Award in 1948, gave an increasing number of fireside talks to various groups, and was personally charismatic. In February 1948, the Church's official organ, the *Improvement Era*, ran a two-page biography by associate editor Marba Josephson and his address, "Science and Faith," was broadcast nationwide on CBS's "Church of the Air" program.² In that address, he affirmed, as he would thousands of times, that for him there was no "difficulty in reconciling the principles of true science with the principles of true religion."

Eyring's arrival in Utah preceded a crisis in the relationship of Mormonism to modern science. Earlier, Mormonism had not concerned itself with some of the fundamental questions like fixity or immutability of species and the contention that life is dependent on a vital force which is immaterial and divine, organic evolution, and the age of the earth which other Christian religions had defined as conflicts between science and religion. When authoritative pronouncements on organic evolution or the age of the earth had been made, Mormonism generally supported science.³ Beginning in 1953, that alliance with science was eroded by President Joseph Fielding Smith, president of the Quorum of the Twelve. President Smith's "anti-science" views were in partial reaction to what was perceived as an unsettling willingness on the part of some of the Church educational system's teachers to teach every "new up-to-date ultra modern" viewpoint in its religious instruction classes. President Smith, recognized as the Church's most eminent scripturalist, was further perturbed because of his literalism in reading the scriptures.⁴ Speaking on "The Origin of Man," to BYU students on April 22, President Smith attacked not only evolutionary theory but the scientific mindset. By mid-1954, he had produced a full-length book, *Man, His Origin and Destiny*, which as one author recently observed, marked "a milestone. For the first time in Mormon history, and capping a full half-century of publication of Mormon books on science and religion, Mormonism had a book that was openly antagonistic to much of science."⁵

In this book, President Smith used all four standard works as the basis for his arguments and continued his literal interpretation. In particular, he asserted that the temporal existence of this earth was very short, only a few thousand years; that there was no human life on this earth prior to Adam; that the so-called pre-Adamite finds of science were frauds or fakes; and that the theory of evolution espoused by biologists and geologists was irreconcilably opposed with religious views.⁶

The book was viewed by many within the Church as authoritative. It even had the support of a recognized Mormon scientist, Melvin A. Cook, who provided a special two-page introduction to it. But for many Mormon educators, scientists, and students, it represented a serious threat. Because Eyring had distinguished himself in science and was also a faithful Mormon, many turned to him for advice and support. Shortly after the publication of the book, he recalls the following sequence of events:

When President Joseph Fielding Smith's book, *Man, His Origin and Destiny*, was published, someone urged it as an Institute course. One of the Institute teachers came

to me and said, "If we have to follow it exactly, we will lose some of the young people." I said, "I don't think you need to worry." I thought it was a good idea to get the thing out in public, so the next time I went to Sunday School General Board meeting, I got up and bore testimony that the world was four or five billion years old, that evidence was strongly in that direction. That week, Brother Joseph Fielding Smith called and asked me to come in and see him. I said, "Brother Smith, I have read your books and know your point of view, and I understand that is how it looks to you. It just looks a little different to me." He said as we ended, "Well, Brother Eyring, I would like to have you come in and let me talk with you sometime when you are not quite so excited." As far as I could see, we parted on the best of terms.⁷

President Smith's book was being considered at the highest levels. Elder Adam S. Bennion of the Quorum of the Twelve asked Eyring for his opinion of it. His letter of response amounts to a tactful but unsparing review of its scientific shortcomings.

Dear Brother Bennion:

President Joseph Fielding Smith's book "Man — His Origin and Destiny" poses a variety of interesting questions. First it is an impressive compilation of scriptural references on Earth History and of statements of selected church leaders. One must say selected because our trained scientists among the general authorities are not only not quoted but are not even mentioned. It would be instructive to have President Smith comment on "The Earth and Man" by James E. Talmage, delivered from the tabernacle August 9, 1931, and "published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints;" or on "Science and the Gospel" by Brother John A. Widtsoe, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association Manual of 1908-1909. Both those latter brethren regard the earth as having a very great antiquity.

The consensus of opinion among the foremost earth scientists places the beginning of life on this earth back at about one billion years and the earth itself as two or three times that old. Whether or not these scientists are right is something which is best discussed dispassionately on the basis of a careful weighing of the evidence. Any other approach will not influence serious scholars.

Here I will briefly sketch a few of the more or less familiar lines of evidence on the age of the earth. The world is filled with radioactive clocks which can be read with varying accuracy but usually within ten percent or so and often considerably better. The principle involved is essentially simple. The heaviest elements such as uranium are unstable and fly apart sending out particles which can be counted in a Geiger Counter. From the number of counts one can tell how much of the radioactive substance one has. As the substance continues to decompose, the counts decrease, always remaining proportional to the number of particles not yet decomposed. Now the particles that are shot out are helium so that if the decomposing uranium is enclosed in a rock this helium will also be entrapped. Thus by determining how much helium is entrapped and how much uranium is present in the rocks one can tell exactly how long it has been since the rocks were laid down in their present form, since it always takes exactly the same amount of time for a given fraction of the uranium to decompose.

There is another check on this. Each time a uranium atom decomposes it leaves a lead atom behind as well as ejecting the helium atom. Thus the ratio of these residual lead atoms to uranium is another wonderful clock. Four and one half billion years must elapse in order that half of the uranium present will be gone. Half of what remains will decompose in another four and a half billion years and so on. Thorium, another radioactive clock, has a half life of fourteen billion years and there are a variety of other long time clocks as well as some short time ones like carbon fourteen with a half life of five and one half thousand years. The radioactive clocks, together

with the orderly way many sediments containing fossils are laid down, prove that the earth is billions of years old.

In my judgment anyone who denies this orderly decomposition of sediments with their built in radioactive clocks places himself in a scientifically untenable position. Actually the antiquity of the earth was no problem for one of our greatest Latter-day Saint leaders and scientists, Brother John A. Widtsoe (see *Evidences and Reconciliations*, Vol. I.) It also offers not the slightest difficulty to me and to most of my scientific L.D.S. friends. The Lord made the world in some wonderful way that I can at best only dimly comprehend. It seems to me sacriligious to presume that I really understand him and know just how he did it. He can only tell me in figurative speech which I dimly understand but which I expect to more completely comprehend in the Eternities to come.

Probably one of the most difficult problems in reading the scriptures is to decide what is to be taken literally and what is figurative. In this connection it seems to me that the Creator must operate with facts and with an understanding which goes entirely outside our understanding and of our experience. Because of this, when someone builds up a system of logic, however careful and painstaking, which gives a positive answer to this difficult question, I can't help but wonder about it, particularly if it seems to run counter to the Creator's revelations written in the rocks. At least can't we move slowly in such matters?

Our prophets have been given to see clearly the road we should follow and can point the path to the celestial kingdom, but being human they too must walk by faith and wait and study in order to partly understand many of God's wonderful works. I can understand "Man — His Origin and Destiny" as the work of a great man who is fallible. It contains many serious scientific errors and much ill humor, which mar the many beautiful things in it. Since the Gospel is only that which is true, this book cannot be more than the private opinion of one of our great men to be admired for the fine things in it. I find it much less satisfactory in scientific matters than the excellent writings of Brother Talmage and Brother Widtsoe with which it is in frequent disagreement. Our scientists in general have no difficulty in reconciling Earth History and the Gospel as presented by our scientifically trained general authorities. The concern of most L.D.S. scientists is as to what extent President Smith's interpretations must replace those of Brother Talmage and of Brother Widtsoe where they fail to agree with President Smith.

I hope my opinions offered for what they are worth will not seem presumptuous. Please feel free to make such use of this letter and the enclosed material as you may choose. Both Dr. Stokes and Dr. Smith are devout active members of the Church and are representative of our thoughtful L.D.S. scientists. Each is willing to document his opinions further if it would be helpful.⁸

Henry Eyring

This letter, obviously meant as an educational device, circulated widely and brought some interesting responses. Lowell Bennion, then director of the Church's Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, wrote Eyring: "Thanks to the courtesy of Elmo [Morgan], I read a copy of your letter to Adam S. Bennion and wish to congratulate you on the clarity, integrity, and humility which are evident throughout."⁹

When President Smith obtained a copy of the letter a few months later in April, he felt obligated to respond directly to Eyring. Eyring promptly answered the lengthy letter in a conciliatory way and expressed gratitude that brethren in high positions in the Church were allowed to disagree on questionable subjects. The two letters, important documents in the development of the issue as shaped by both men's personalities, are reproduced.

Dear Brother Eyring:

At the time of the General Conference of the Church a copy of your letter to Elder Adam S. Bennion was placed in my hands and I was given to understand that it had been given rather wide circulation. This letter was no doubt solicited for the purpose of obtaining scientific information that would discredit what I have written. If so, it is evident that it was not intended for Elder Bennion alone. The nature of the letter indicates the necessity on my part for a reply, although it was not written to me, and presumably not intended that it should fall into my hands. Permit me to say that I have rejoiced in your great accomplishments in your chosen field. I was present on one occasion when honors were conferred upon you and I joined in the applause which I felt was merited. Moreover, I am always pleased when members of the Church obtain honors and are rewarded whether it is in the field of science, art, or any other field. The great discoveries that have been made during the past one hundred years and more have been of inestimable value to mankind. I am firmly convinced, however, that every discovery and invention has come through the inspiration of the Spirit of the Lord which was promised by the Lord through Joel, for this dispensation of The Fulness of Times.

My contention with our scientific brethren and men of the world, lies in another field. I speak frankly and to some my words may appear harsh, and even filled with "ill humor," by those who hold to the theories which I have attacked. Nevertheless I feel that I am justified in referring thus to those who hold these evolutionary theories and who feel themselves to be superior in intelligence and wisdom and entitled to treat the rest of us as school boys and need disciplining and have no right to call them in question. It remains a definite fact that the majority of scientists have considered themselves to be superior in intelligence and wisdom. I am reminded of Job's answer to his brethren: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you." I am sure I have not said things more harsh than have been said by these advocates of organic evolution. We who believe in the mission of Jesus Christ have been designated as "curs," our doctrines have been ridiculed. We have been designated as ignorant, harking back to the days of "primitive savagery and ignorance," for believing the foolish doctrine of an anthropomorphic God! Surely these advocates are not immune from some harsh words when we consider their arrogance and claim to superior wisdom. Are we not justified as much as was our Lord when he referred to the wise men among the Jews as "hypocrites," "whited sepulchres," and "sons of Satan?" It may hurt when we retaliate in the same language which they use in references to the sacred beliefs of those who accept the revelations in the Bible. I have stated sincerely that these men whom I have called in question, "are honorable and presumably honest in their convictions." I have also spoken in the highest terms of the many who, through their discoveries have benefited mankind. (See Man, page 22.) No one realizes more than I, that I am "a fallible man;" and I accord to every other man, including the scientists, the same compliment.

There is one place, however, where I feel that men are infallible. That is when they, as prophets, reveal to us the word of the Lord. We have four published works which have been accepted by the members of the Church as *standard* in doctrine, revelation and government. These are: The Bible, the Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price. We accept of course, the Bible, as far as correctly translated. It is a well established fact that the copies coming to us based on translations, more or less semi-modern, contain many errors but when the Bible is in full accord with the other records, we accept what is written, whether the things written harmonize with the teachings of science or not.

President Joseph F. Smith has stated the case clearly:

The Church holds to the definite authority of divine revelation which must be the standard, and that, so-called "science" has changed from age to age in its deductions, and as divine revelation is truth, and must abide forever,

views as to the lesser should conform to the positive statements of the greater; and further, that in institutions of education, its instructors must be in harmony in their teachings with the principles of doctrine.

* * *

The truth persists, but the theories of philosophy change and are overthrown. What men use today as a scaffolding for scientific purposes from which to reach out into the unknown for truth, may be torn down tomorrow, having served its purpose, but faith is an eternal principle through which the humble believer may secure everlasting solace. It is the only way to find God! (*Man: His Origin and Destiny*, p. 8.)

The following I stated at the conference in October 1952:

So far as the philosophy and wisdom of the world are concerned, they mean nothing unless they conform to the revealed word of God. Any doctrine, whether it comes in the name of religion, science, philosophy, or whatever it may be, if it is in conflict with the revealed word of the Lord, will fail. It may appear plausible. It may be put before you in language that appeals and which you may not be able to answer. It may appear to be established by evidence that you cannot controvert, but all you need to do is to abide your time. Time will level all things. You will find that every doctrine, every principle, no matter how universally believed, if not in accord with the divine word of the Lord to his servants, will perish. Nor is it necessary for us to try to stretch the word of the Lord, in a vain attempt to make it conform to these theories and teachings. The word of the Lord shall not pass away unfulfilled, but these false doctrines and theories will all fail. Truth and only truth, will remain when all else has perished.

I, as a fallible man, do not claim to be able to give the answers to all the questions propounded by science; but I am convinced that if there arises any theory which is in conflict with the revelations given by the Lord, they will perish. It is a great regret to me that our scientific brethren at times take a contrary view which is, if the theories of science appear to be definite and possibly true and are in conflict with the revelations in these Standard Works, *then science is right and the revelations are wrong!* This attitude certainly gets some of our brethren in trouble. This is placing the judgment of man superior to God!

Here are a few doctrines taught by revelation which are rejected by evolutionary scientists because they are in conflict with their theories:

1. Adam was the first man on the earth. This is declared in the Bible, the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price. In the Prophet Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible, the last verse in the lineage of Christ in Luke, reads as follows: "And of Enos, and of Seth, and of Adam, who was formed of God, and the *first man on the earth.*" This is the same as recorded in the Pearl of Great Price, and the Doctrine and Covenants, Section 84:16. Those who accept organic evolution contradict this doctrine.
2. The scriptures teach that Adam was the first flesh on the earth. This is the doctrine in the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Pearl of Great Price, but it is rejected by the advocates of organic evolution.
3. These scriptures teach that Adam was *not* subject to the mortal and spiritual death before the Fall, and that the fall brought these deaths into the world. This doctrine is denied by organic evolutionists.
4. These scriptures teach that Jesus came into the world to atone for Adam's transgression and through his death redeemed Adam and all mankind from the effects of the fall. This is denied by the organic evolutionists.

5. These scriptures teach that through the death of Jesus Christ came the resurrection of the dead, and that *every soul* will be raised with spirit and body inseparably united. This is denied by organic evolutionists.
6. These scriptures teach that this earth is passing through seven days of *temporal* existence of one thousand of our years for a day, and that it was not temporal before the fall. This is clearly stated in the Bible, the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, but it is definitely and positively denied by organic evolutionists.
7. These divine records promise us that the earth on which we dwell will be renewed and restored to its primitive beauty for one thousand years and be cleansed of all its iniquity. This is denied by most scientists.
8. These divine records declare that the earth shall die, for it is a living body, and will rise again in the resurrection through the redemption of Jesus Christ, to become a celestial globe and the abode of the righteous. Scientist[s] preach a far different doctrine.

Now, Dr. Eyring, you state that I have "an impressive compilation of scriptural references on Earth History and on statements of selected church leaders, but that I have avoided the quotations of the "trained scientists among the general authorities," and you mentioned two, Dr. James E. Talmage and Dr. John A. Widtsoe. In my defense I have to say that I quoted the Prophet Joseph Smith, Presidents Brigham Young, John Taylor, Joseph F. Smith and his counselors, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt and others. Four of these held the keys of the Priesthood and revelation for the Church, the others were taught under the guidance of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Moreover, I backed what they had to say by the revelations in the Standard Works of the Church which we have received as the word of the Lord. Beyond such eminent testimony there was no need for me to go.

You also said: "It would be instructive to have President Smith comment on 'The Earth and Man,' by Dr. James E. Talmage, delivered from the tabernacle August 9, 1931, and published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." I assure you that it would have been a pleasure to have commented on that talk. No one is more familiar with it and how it came to be published than I, and I can state positively that it was not published by the Church, nor by the approval of the Authorities of the Church. There are some circumstances concerning this discourse which I think it is hardly proper for me to write inasmuch as the First Presidency, one of whom was President David O. McKay, gave the answer to Dr. Sterling B. Talmage in reply to an inquiry from him, which, in my opinion, sets forth the facts as I have stated them. I suggest that you write Dr. Sterling B. Talmage and ask him to permit you to read this communication from the First Presidency, Presidents Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay, dated December 19, 1935.

I understand that some of the things taught by Dr. Widtsoe in his M.I.A. lesson are no longer held as acceptable theories even in the scientific world. So far as his articles on "Evidences and Reconciliations" are concerned, I would be happy to discuss them with you personally, if we could do so calmly. Likewise some of the views of Dr. James E. Talmage in this memorable discourse and others of his writings. It might be of considerable interest.

So far as the evidence is concerned of the "Radio-active clocks," perhaps it might be possible for you and me to come to some common understanding as to the exceeding length of time it takes for the uranium, thorium and other elements to decompose. We might agree to change the viewpoint of their beginning. From what I have read it appears that the scientists look upon these elements as having been placed on the earth in their virgin, or creative state, when the earth was formed, and have been slowly, but consistently, disintegrating ever since. The Lord revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and it is recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants, (Section 93:33.) that the elements are eternal, I can readily believe that when the earth was formed, the Lord

brought the elements together and placed them in the earth wisely, and in such a manner that they would be discovered in his own due time for the use of man. I can believe that the gold, silver, copper, tin, carbon and every other element, including lead, if you please, were brought to their respective places of deposit in the rocks and the earth and that they had been existing from untold ages, before the earth was formed. This could be true of radio-active elements which could have been brought here as well as any other elements in the condition in which they are found. I have been taught to believe that the Lord knows the end from the beginning and that these things have at times been revealed to his servants who were told to seal them up, for they were not to come forth until the due time of the Lord. It will be no surprise to me to discover that the Lord when he comes will do as he has said:

Yea, verily I say unto you, in that day when the Lord shall come, he shall reveal all things —

Things which have passed, and hidden things which no man knew, things of the earth, by which it was made, and the purpose and the end thereof —

Things most precious, things that are above, and things that are, beneath, things that are in the earth, and upon the earth and in the heaven.

I am sure that when the day comes there will be many surprises when the history recorded in the beginning by prophecy is revealed and the activities of our present day will be discovered to have been recorded many centuries ago.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Fielding Smith

Dear President Smith:

Thanks for your letter of April 15, 1955. I am happy that you read my letter, which you refer to, as it expresses accurately my point of view.

Considering the difference in training of the members of the Church, I never cease to marvel at the degree of agreement found among believing Latter-Day-Saints. So far from being disturbed to find that Brother Talmage, Brother Widtsoe and yourself didn't always see scientific matters alike, this situation seems natural and as it should be. It will be a sad day for the Church and its members when the degree of disagreement you brethren expressed is not allowed.

I am convinced that if the Lord required that His children understand His works before they could be saved that no one would be saved. It seems to me that to struggle for agreement on scientific matters in view of the disparity in background which the members of the Church have is to put emphasis in the wrong place. In my judgment there is room in the Church for people who think that the periods of creation were (a) 24 hours, (b) 1000 years, or (c) millions of years. I think it is fine to discuss these questions and for each individual to try to convert the other to what he thinks is right, but in matters where apparently equally reliable authorities disagree, I prefer to make haste slowly.

Since we agree on so many things, I trust we can amicably disagree on a few. I have never liked, for example, the idea that many of the horizontally lying layers with their fossils are wreckage from earlier worlds. In any case, the Lord created the world and my faith does not hinge on the detailed procedures.

Thanks again for your kindly, thoughtful letter.¹⁰

Sincerely your brother,

Henry Eyring

Following the exchange of these letters, President Smith invited Eyring and Cook to visit with him about the questions his book raised. Later, Eyring re-

called the substance of that meeting and his personal feelings for President Smith:

As many people have remarked President Joseph Fielding Smith was a man without guile. He presented every question exactly as he saw it and accepted the consequences of his position whether this was pleasant or unpleasant. Every one who knew him even remotely knew that he was against sin, but it is only less generally known that he loved the sinner. . . .

A lively hour-long discussion [on "radioactive dating"] ensued. As so often happens, each person brought up the argument which supported his position and we parted each with much the same position he held when the discussion began. But what was much more important, the discussion proceeded on a completely friendly basis without recrimination and each matter ended there. No one was asked to conform to some preconceived position. The church is committed to the truth whatever its source and each man is expected to seek it out honestly and prayerfully. It is, of course, another matter to teach as a doctrine of the church something which is manifestly contradictory and to urge it in and out of season. The author has never felt the least constraints in investigating any matter strictly on its merits, and this close contact with President Smith bore out this happy conclusion.¹¹

This meeting did not, of course, settle the issue. In the spring of 1956, David O. McKay, president of the Church, requested information from Eyring on a paper Cook had written for President Smith questioning the reliability of radioactive time clocks such as radiocarbon. He argued that carbon dating is valid only if it is in equilibrium in the earth as a whole but for such an equilibrium it would take 30,000 years before an overall unbalance could be detected experimentally. Also important in Cook's view is the theory of continental drift. Using this theory and his literal interpretation of scripture, he accounts for Biblical events like Noah's flood and the dividing of the earth in the days of Peleg.¹² Eyring's reply continued to be tactful but firm:

Dear President McKay:

In accordance with your request, I am writing my opinion regarding Dr. Melvin A. Cook's paper, "Geological Chronometry." Dr. Cook has done a great deal of reading in the last few months and has thought intensively on the subject. His manuscript points up the accepted fact that there are pit falls in accurate radioactive dating. He has also provided a useful bibliography for the serious student. As he points out, the all but universal opinion of earth scientists at present is that the earth is around 3 billion years old. Three hundred years ago the general opinion in Christendom placed the earth's age at around thirteen thousand years or less.

The change in viewpoint came as the result of intensive study by many scholars with an outlay of time and effort equivalent to many millions of dollars. One may expect to upset this river of opinion only by supplying a massive array of carefully established facts. In my opinion, Dr. Cook has not succeeded in doing this. This is likewise the opinion of his geological colleagues, who have listened to several lectures he has given recently on the campus.

In particular, his argument that radioactive carbon in fact supports an age of about 12,600 years rests on very shaky foundations. His argument requires that the content of radioactive carbon in the atmosphere started at zero concentration in the beginning and has since risen to about three quarters of its final steady-state value. The basis for this is extremely tenuous. To plead that he quotes the same authorities whom he finds so unreliable on other points leaves much to be desired. If in fact the radioactive carbon content of the atmosphere is presently more nearly its final steady-

state value, a correspondingly greater antiquity for the earth would be given by his calculation. The usually accepted assumption is that for all practical purposes the radioactive carbon content has already reached its final steady-state value. This assumption leads to the usually accepted great antiquity of the earth.

I am sure if any of the brethren have the time and desire to listen to a scientific presentation of pertinent evidence of the great antiquity of the earth presented by believing Latter-Day Saints that such lectures could be readily arranged. In my judgment, such considerations are without bearing on the real question as to the divinity of the gospel, but are naturally of great scientific interest.

I hope you will feel free to show my letter to any person whom it might interest. If you care to talk to me further, I will be happy to call at your office any time.¹³

Sincerely your brother,

Henry Eyring

It is difficult to judge what effect Eyring's letter had, but by the next spring, the Quorum and First Presidency had, at least internally, expressed the view that the Church had no official position on the matter of evolution and related questions and that *Man, His Origin and Destiny* represented the personal views of its author.¹⁴

Interestingly enough, during this controversy, Eyring and a colleague, Frank H. Johnson, wrote a paper on evolution and rate theory, Eyring's scientific specialty, called "The Critical Complex Theory of Biogenesis." This paper outlines a theory of prebiological evolution and addresses the question of why living things are optically active. Even in different species, the amino acids are all of the l-configuration (left-handed). Using absolute rate theory and estimates of reactant concentrations, a reasonable rate of appearance of optically active templates is arrived at. These templates, capable of self-replication, began the era of biological evolution. But the chemistry is the same for the d-configurations (right-handed) and the likelihood of a world with d- rather than l-type optical isomers in living things is just as great. If analogous events occurred in nuclear evolution, it is possible to visualize a world with positive electrons rotating about negative nuclei. The result is there are four possible evolutionary worlds: l-type and positive nuclei (as our world is), l-type and negative nuclei, d-type and positive nuclei, or d-type and negative nuclei.¹⁵ For Eyring, it was not how this earth was created nor how life was placed on it that mattered. The gospel of Jesus Christ was true and God had already created this world and life on it the way he did it, and that could not be changed. "The Critical Complex Theory of Biogenesis" explains only how it might have happened.

During the decade of the 1950s, Eyring had clearly established himself as an important authority, at least from the Mormon point of view, on the subject of science and religion. He had carefully avoided being engulfed in a controversy that could have ruined his reputation. Many had encouraged him to take a more rigid stance, but he believed that the gospel was the truth, and, consequently, that both science and religion could provide answers. As a result, he became the Church's example during the next decade of how one can achieve academically and still be faithful. As early as 1961, he was featured

in a Church-sponsored film, "Search for Truth" produced by Brigham Young University. Its message was precisely what Eyring had advocated his entire scientific life: that the principles of true science and true religion are in complete accord. The film, directed toward strengthening the youth of the Church, contained dramatized scenes from Eyring's early life when he left for the university in 1919 and ended with his search for truth in "the six worlds of today": the world in which we live, the biological world, the chemical world, the astronomical world, the nuclear world, and the spiritual world.¹⁶

In addition to many fireside talks on science, Eyring willingly wrote articles on that subject for the *Improvement Era* and *The Instructor*. In 1958, Paul R. Green compiled *Science and Your Faith in God*, writings and talks by seven prominent Mormon scientists, including five of Eyring's early articles.¹⁷ A good friend, Dr. Francis W. Kirkham, published *The Faith of a Scientist* in the spring of 1967. The book contained twenty-seven articles on science and religion and two short, previously published biographical sketches. Its two printings provided Church members with a single influential source for his philosophy on this important subject. The book sold 8,265 copies and is now out of print.

Elder Mark E. Petersen was so impressed with the collection that he spearheaded an official project to reproduce a portion of the book in paperback for official distribution. Nine essays were selected, and during 1969 and 1970, 146,000 copies were distributed principally to the youth of the Church. The sound, consistent judgment of Eyring had prevailed and his views went to the Church with some official energy behind them.

Because of the book and his many speeches, his correspondence from both fans and seekers was voluminous. Of the thousands of letters written requesting advice on science and religion, Eyring showed interest and genuine concern, responding with the same courtesy to a stranger as to a friend.

An LDS woman from Arizona, after reading Eyring's book and discussing the possibility of pre-Adamites with her husband, asked Eyring's opinion on the theory that this earth was created from the materials of an older one. He responded:

I was trained as a mining engineer so that the evidence seems to me to point toward an age of the earth between four and five billion years and to the existence of pre-Adamic man. I don't think that it is reasonable to explain the observed geologic formations on the theory that they were moved from some other worlds. I have no difficulty reconciling myself to the idea of life before Adam and to a great age of the earth. Our scriptural accounts are brief and don't seem to me to rule out these possibilities. The scriptural emphasis is on God's dealings with Adam and his descendants and the treatment of pre-Adamic history is sketchy, no doubt for a good reason.

It seems, to me, clear that the Lord used the Prophet Joseph to restore His gospel. This is the important thing for me. Just how He runs the world, I'm obliged to leave up to Him. All I can do is find out how he does it by every means available.¹⁸

In 1967, President N. Eldon Tanner of the Church's First Presidency, asked Eyring how to respond to a letter he had received asking why BYU

required their teachers to acquire doctorates when higher education frequently made LDS teachers “lose their faith.” Eyring answered:

The gospel embraces all truth. Brigham Young especially emphasized the propriety of seeking all truth. The assumption that because a man understands something about the operation of the Universe, he will necessarily be less faithful is a gratuitous assumption contradicted by numberless examples. God, who understands all about the Universe, is apparently, not troubled by this knowledge.

Some people drift when they study, but some people drift when they don't study. If the Church espouses the cause of ignorance, it will alienate more people than if it advises man to seek after truth, even at some risk.¹⁹

These two letters are typical of the many in Henry Eyring's files, each containing a healthy dose of his sturdy integrity. Possibly the best summary, however, comes from an address he delivered on 4 December 1979 at the University of Utah shortly after receiving the Berzelius Gold Medal from the Swedish Academy. His intention was to give the advice he would give if it were his last lecture. For Eyring, the supreme good would be to bring happiness to as many people as possible for as long as possible. How? He advised his listeners first to be “honorable” in all their doings, “have no secrets”; second, to make plans by “walking into the future or backing into the future” (in other words, being flexible enough to change); third, “to work hard and do everything well” (he cited his mother who took her knitting when she visited); and fourth, “to compete only with oneself” (“the reason people like you is because you're helpful, not because you're smart”).²⁰ That philosophy made Henry Eyring a folk hero in the Church.

NOTES

1. Conversation with Sterling McMurrin, 17 May 1978.
2. Marba C. Josephson, “Henry Eyring — Distinguished Scientist and Churchman,” *Improvement Era*, 51 (Feb. 1948):81, 111. His speech was reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed by the Church in 1956. In 1958 it was published in a compilation by Paul R. Green, *Science and Your Faith in God* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), pp. 11–17 and in 1967 it was included in Henry Eyring, *The Faith of a Scientist* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), pp. 31–37.
3. For a thorough discussion see Duane E. Jeffrey, “Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 8 (Autumn/Winter, 1974):41–75.
4. See J. Reuben Clark, Jr., “The Charted Course of the Church in Education,” address to Seminary and Institute teachers, 8 Aug. 1938. (Salt Lake City: Church Education System, n.d.).
5. Jeffrey, “Seers, Savants,” pp. 65–66.
6. *Man, His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954). For a concise view of his position, see Bruce R. McConkie, comp. 3 vols., *Doctrines of Salvation — Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 1: chs. 5, 9.
7. Interviewed by Edward L. Kimball, “A Dialogue with Henry Eyring,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973):102.

8. Henry Eyring to Adam S. Bennion, 16 Dec. 1954, in possession of Henry Eyring family; photocopy in Steven H. Heath, "Henry Eyring, Mormon Scientist" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1980), appendix eleven.
9. Lowell Bennion to Henry Eyring, 15 Jan. 1955, in possession of Mrs. Winifred Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah.
10. Joseph Fielding Smith to Henry Eyring, 15 April 1955, in possession of Mrs. Winifred Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah; Henry Eyring to Joseph Fielding Smith, 18 April 1955.
11. Henry Eyring, "A Tribute to President Joseph Fielding Smith," *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 7 (Spring, 1972): 15-16.
12. See Melvin A. Cook and M. Garfield Cook, *Science and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1968).
13. Henry Eyring to David O. McKay, 26 March, 1956, in possession of Mrs. Winifred Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah.
14. Jeffrey, "Seers, Savants," pp. 66-67.
15. Henry Eyring and Frank H. Johnson, "The Critical Complex Theory of Biogenesis," *The Influence of Temperature on Biological Systems* (Washington, D.C.: American Physiological Society, 1957), pp. 1-8.
16. Dorothy O. Rea, "Church Sponsors Film 'Search for Truth' on Science, Religion," *Church News*, 23 Dec. 1961, pp. 4, 7, 8. See also Henry Eyring "Our Five Worlds," *The Instructor* (June 1953): 171-72. This article was revised and published as "Our Six Worlds" in 1967 with the appearance of Eyring's *The Faith of a Scientist*.
17. The other scientists were Carl J. Christensen, Harvey Fletcher, Joseph F. Merrill, Frederick J. Pack, John A. Widtsoe, and Franklin S. Harris.
18. Rosemary Kutch to Henry Eyring, 22 Jan. 1971, and Henry Eyring to Rosemary Kutch, 27 Jan. 1971, in possession of Mrs. Winifred Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah.
19. Eldon Tanner to Henry Eyring, 16 Oct. 1967, and Henry Eyring to N. Eldon Tanner, 19 Oct. 1967, in possession of Mrs. Winifred Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah.
20. From notes taken by Harold Bauman, professor in the history department, University of Utah, who was present at the lecture.

Persephone

The trees are making white
buds. Shrunken heads,
last year's berries, hang
on leafing branches. I do not
know the names. And here,
fur creeps out of the
pussy willow. I am
warned not to put
young stalks in water
for their bloom is jealous
yellow dust that drifts
into dark corners,
settles, and waits.

The Old Penitentiary, Boise

A plain table big enough for a few chairs
faces the plate glass execution room,
light and airy with ample space
to die. Below, not so close to heaven,
Rows of stiff cells carry the pall.
Did the rose garden, crisp under the
brittle blue sky, give them pleasure
as they walked to the ruined mess hall,
to the blank asphalt recreation ground,
or to solitary confinement in cement coffins?
Thick and solid, these will last longest.
The stones crumble standing,
A temple for just rites.

Jeanette Clough

Persephone

The trees are making white
buds. Shrunken heads,
last year's berries, hang
on leafing branches. I do not
know the names. And here,
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pussy willow. I am
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Lowell L. Bennion

Thoughts for the Best, the Worst of Times

On 12 June 1982, Lowell L. Bennion, a 1928 graduate of the University of Utah, was awarded an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, by his alma mater in Salt Lake City. He had earlier earned a doctoral degree in social philosophy from the University of Strasbourg in 1933.

Long associated with the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah as director and teacher, Dr. Bennion has been executive director of the Community Services Council of the Salt Lake area since 1972. He is currently bishop of the East Mill Creek Twelfth Ward.

Professor J. Boyer Jarvis, associate vice president for Academic Affairs, read the following tribute to Dr. Bennion, whose response to the 1982 University of Utah graduates is printed below:

For his lifetime of service as an inspiring teacher, a trusted counselor and a compassionate community leader, for his unselfish dedication to the advancement of civil rights and equal opportunity, for his deeply rooted ethical idealism and his unceasing quest for ultimate human values, and in recognition of his countless contributions to the well-being of others, the University of Utah, with authority given by law, confers upon Lowell L. Bennion the degree Doctor of Humane Letters.

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times It was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair.”¹ This was Charles Dickens’s appraisal of life in the late eighteenth century in his *Tale of Two Cities*. Granted, his two cities were Paris, paralyzed by violence, and London, paralyzed by fear, during that bloody period of the French Revolution known as the Reign of Terror, but I feel the same way about the twentieth century. There is much that is bad in our time: world wars, unresolved conflicts in the Middle East and the South Atlantic, the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, and social problems which do not diminish.

But there is also much that is good about living at this time and in this country. I appreciate the comforts of life: a hot shower, a glass of orange juice, central heating, and fast and pleasant means of travel and communication. Had we been born in the eighteenth century, half of us probably would not have outgrown childhood and many of our mothers would have died agonizingly in childbirth.

I am especially grateful for the rich cultural heritage which we enjoy. All the creations of science, the arts, philosophy, and religion are at our disposal.

This university has opened our eyes to many of them. I am so happy to have been born after Amos, Jesus, Confucius, Socrates, Shakespeare, Goethe, Robert Frost, and countless others.

I acknowledge, however, the injustice, the inequality, the great amount of suffering, and the tragedy of life. I know that our human existence is tenuous, uncertain, and contingent upon forces beyond our control. But human life has always been at risk. It was not made for the faint of heart, never meant for cowards. Our existence is fraught with risks.

I wish today to suggest a few ways of coping with this uncertainty. We can never anticipate the turn of events. We cannot build life around the unknown. Our best hope is to prepare ourselves in mind and heart to meet any situation which may arise. "'Tisn't life that matters, but the faith we bring to it," said Hugh Walpole. I would add, 'Tisn't life that matters as much as the faith, integrity, wisdom, and love we bring to it.

Keep faith with life. Don't be defeated twice, once by circumstance and once by yourself. Believe in the venture of living, accept your life as a precious gift, live it to the full. Plan your life as though you were going to see it through. I meet young people who say, "Why work, why study, why sacrifice, why postpone immediate satisfactions for long-range values when there is no future?" To them I say, the uncertainty of life does not make it less valuable. That uncertainty is no reason to waste life in shallow, meaningless living. I remember an English poet's reaction to the bombing of his native London in World War II. He reported that he became vividly aware of many delightful things in his environment which had before gone unnoticed. I can understand his response.

By virtue of my age, my days are numbered. For that reason, they become increasingly precious to me. I want to know life in all of its beauty, goodness, and truth — that is, as much as I can grasp of it. Come what may, I urge you to be anxiously engaged in life and to live it with hope and courage, attitudes worthy of the human spirit. Recently I stood by the bed of a friend stricken with multiple sclerosis — a big, strong, young man laid low by one of the worst of diseases. He looked up and smiled and said, "Doc, if it were not for bad luck, I wouldn't have any luck at all."

I also like the spirit of this Greek epitaph: "A shipwrecked sailor, buried on this coast, bids you set sail. Full many a gallant bark, when we were lost, weathered the gale."² Ecclesiastes, the most realistic book in the Bible, acknowledges the futility of much of our striving but does not despair.

Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart
Let thy garments always be white; and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with thy wife whom thou lovest all the days of thy life of vanity, which he [God] hath given thee under the sun: *And whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.* (Eccl. 9:8–10; italics added)

My second suggestion on how to cope with uncertainty is to continue to do what you have been encouraged and even forced to do at this university — that is to think, to use your mind. "Human life divided by reason," said

Goethe, “leaves a remainder.” Life is more than reason. Human values transcend thinking. Logic alone fails us in the most difficult decisions we must make. We have no choice but to walk by hope, by faith, by feeling as well as by thinking. Although we must go beyond knowledge, I believe we ought never to ignore it or to act contrary to what we know. An elderly German carpenter friend, uneducated academically, told me about the nonsense he had to listen to in a class he attended. Then he said, “I don’t believe anything that doesn’t make good horses senses.” “Bravo,” I replied. “Neither do I!”

Thinking is crucially needed when we seek to express that great ethical-religious principle, “Love thy neighbor as thyself.” I believe to love other human beings unconditionally is a great good for the one who loves, but to love one’s neighbor intelligently — with some knowledge of human nature and its need — is essential if love is to be a blessing to the recipient as well as the giver.

The problems of our time cannot be resolved by good will alone because they are rooted in conditions which need to be understood rationally. Permit an illustration. I believe that about 20 percent of our people are so handicapped physically, emotionally, or mentally that they cannot compete successfully in our so-called free market economy. To meet their needs, we have created a motley group of welfare measures which are well intended and presently quite necessary. But they do not, for the most part, contribute to the dignity and self-worth of the recipients. For this 20 percent of our citizens, we need an economic order adapted to the capabilities of the handicapped in which they can become productive, contributing members of society. Such an order could complement the free enterprise system which serves the 80 percent of us reasonably well.

Compassion alone will not meet the needs of the disabled. Knowledge alone will not change society. But knowledgeable and compassionate men and women can improve almost any situation. I encourage you to be realistic idealists — idealistic in your aspirations and values but realistic in the means you choose to achieve your ends.

Thus far I have recommended that you keep faith with life and that you bring to it your best thinking. I have two other suggestions which I shall describe briefly. They relate to the moral-ethical life. As human beings, we not only act, but we also reflect on our actions and come to terms with our behavior. I believe that all the ethical principles of life are expressions of two primary virtues — integrity and love. Integrity includes humility, honesty, sincerity, meekness, and moral courage; kindness, patience, compassion, forgiveness, tolerance, and empathy are expressions of love of neighbor.

Integrity means oneness, wholeness. To have integrity one must have convictions, principles, standards, and live in harmony with them. One of the finest expressions of integrity I find in the Hindu devotional classic, the *Bhagavad Gita*. It reads: “On action alone be thy interests / Never on its fruits / Let not the fruit of action be thy motive . . .”³ We have limited control over the results of our actions. Mother Nature, human beings, and God respond and react to us as they will. But my action I can control. And when I give my full attention to action, without worrying about blame or reward,

I have a heightened sense of oneness and wholeness. The more of life we can enjoy for its own sake, the richer it will be. Hold fast to your integrity. It will give you moral strength, courage, and peace of mind.

Integrity, however, is not enough. We are not only individuals in need of inner strength and unity, we are also social beings. We “live and move and have our being in each other.” To live a selfish, self-centered life is contrary to our nature. It will bring neither fulfillment to us individually nor harmony to society. So I say, invest yourself in humanity. Find security and meaning in your linkage with friends and loved ones and by reaching out as Albert Schweitzer did, with empathy and compassion to those less fortunate than you.

In memory of my dear friend, Louis Zucker, may I conclude with a post-script on integrity and love in the words of one of his heroes, the prophet Micah: “Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the high God? . . . He hath showed thee, a man, what is good and what doth the Lord require of thee, *but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.*” (Mic. 6:6–8; italics added)

Thank you, and may you have good sailing.

NOTES

1. Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1960), p. 13.

2. Theodoridas, *Palatine Anthology*, trans. Henry Wellesley book 7, p. 283, as cited in Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, 1937 ed., p. 1092.

3. *Bhagavad Gita*, 2:47, trans. F. Edgerton in Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, 1980 ed., p. 94.

Rachel R. Grant: The Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal

We can imagine ourselves visiting Aunt Rachel Grant, long-time president of the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society and one of the Mormon Church's "leading ladies," at her home on Salt Lake City's Second East Street. In the year of our visit, 1890, her two-story, plastered adobe home partakes of the prevailing feminine ideal which stresses homemaking and handicraft. The stove is highly burnished, while the arms of each chair are covered with homemade lace crocheting. A corner "whatnot" meticulously displays pictures, small framed mottoes, wax and hair flowers, and other curios. Rachel's person also reflects her times. Despite her sixty-nine years, her skin remains supple and clear. She credits her preservation to a lifetime devotion to skin hygiene — no cosmetics, no sunlight without a protecting bonnet, no dusting nor sweeping without gloves.¹

We visit Rachel Grant not wishing to find fault with her domesticity and primness nor the other Victorian values she so fully embodies. Rather, we seek to understand her and her age — and in a sense ourselves. Aunt Rachel may not be as celebrated a feminist as her contemporaries Eliza R. Snow, Bathsheba W. Smith, or Emmeline B. Wells. But she has influenced later generations certainly as much and perhaps a great deal more. In our age which often overlooks the obvious, we forget the power which a nineteenth-century woman often wielded from her home. Rachel's only child, Heber J. Grant, with whom she enjoyed a particularly close relationship, led the Church for twenty-seven years of the twentieth century, preaching and practicing the values he had learned from her.

When we understand Rachel Grant, we will also learn something about the personality of present-day Mormonism.

II

Rachel Ridgway Ivins was born at Hornerstown, New Jersey, 7 March 1821, the sixth of eight children. She would have few memories of her parents. Caleb, her father, evidently involved himself in the family's expansive business

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concerns which included Hornerstown's distillery, country store, and grist and saw mills. Due to apparent sunstroke exposure, he died when Rachel was six. To compound the tragedy, Edith Ridgway Ivins, her mother, described by her contemporaries as a "lovely, spirited woman, liked by all," died just four years later.²

The orphan was subsequently raised by a succession of her close-knit relatives. For several years she remained at Hornerstown with Caleb, Sr., her indulgent grandfather. However, she found the stringent household of her married cousins Joshua and Theodosia Wright at Trenton more to her liking. The Wrights' home, which was set off by gardens complete with statuary and wild-life, represented no diminution in her lifestyle. Moreover, much to Rachel's delight, the house was run by cousin Theodosia with precision, industry, and regularity. Under the older woman's demanding, six-year tutelage, teenage Rachel learned both personal discipline and the domestic arts. An able student, she returned to Monmouth County when she was about eighteen as a housekeeper for Richard Ridgway, her widower uncle.³

She must have marveled at the religious changes in her neighborhood. Like upstate New York's earlier and more famous "Burned-Over" district, central New Jersey experienced wave after wave of religious excitement during the first half of the nineteenth century, with the newfangled and despised Mormons competing with the more established Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. By the late 1830s, a cadre of some of Mormonism's ablest missionaries, including Jedediah Grant, Erastus Snow, Benjamin Winchester, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson and Parley Pratt had founded a half-dozen LDS congregations in central New Jersey, several with their own unpretentious chapels.⁴

Rachel's kin played a major role in this activity. Young Israel Ivins was the first LDS convert from Monmouth County. Merchants Charles and James Ivins soon followed. Parley Pratt described the latter as a "very wealthy man" and enrolled him, along with himself, as a committee of two to reissue the Book of Mormon in the East. But no conversion was as telling upon Rachel as that of her older sister, Anna Lowrie Ivins. Optimistic and stoical, Anna was her alter ego and would remain so to the end of her life.⁵

Little is known of the sociology of conversion and less of its psychology, but Rachel, despite her initial belief that the Mormon preachers were "the false prophets the Bible speaks of," seemed ideally prepared to accept the new religion. She always had been "religiously inclined, but not of the long-faced variety" and had enjoyed reading the Bible. Yet in a century which cultivated such things, she was a young lady without strong ties to a visible religious establishment. For generations her progenitors had been practicing Quakers, but by the nineteenth century this commitment had begun to wane; Rachel herself bridled at the Friends' prohibition against song. While at the straitlaced Wrights' who banned music from their home, she would retreat to a small grove of trees where she would sing as she sewed for her dolls. This penchant for music may have contributed to her conversion at sixteen to the more musically inclined Baptists, though her commitment failed to go very deep. She later claimed to have "never learned anything from them."⁶

When Anna and a friend from Trenton told her that Erastus Snow and Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, would preach at the "Ridge" above Hornerstown, she concluded after some hesitation to go. Though she found Joseph to be a "fine, noble looking man . . . so neat," she was by her own account "prejudiced" and thus paid little heed to his message. Only politeness to her Trenton friend persuaded her to return the following day, Sunday, to hear Smith once more. Thereupon she returned to her room and pled for the Lord's forgiveness for deliberately listening to false doctrine on the Sabbath. But Smith's preaching planted a seed which continued to grow. "I attended some more meetings," she recalled, "and commenced reading the Book of Mormon [so enthralled she began reading one evening and did not stop until almost daybreak], *Voice of Warning*, and other works," and was soon convinced that they were true. "A new light seemed to break in upon me, the scriptures were plainer to my mind, and the light of the everlasting Gospel began to illumine my soul." When a Baptist minister's funeral sermon consigned an unbaptized youth to hell she noted with favor the contrast of Orson Hyde's discourse on the innocence and salvation of young children.⁷

Rachel's interest was neither isolated nor unique. "Hundreds attended the [Mormon] meetings," a local historian wrote of Smith's preaching foray, and he "sealed [in baptism] a large number." The drama of the moment was heightened when the Prophet anointed a lame and opiated boy, promised him freedom from both his pain and crutches, and saw the results as promised. Alarmed at the rising Mormon tide, the old-line clergy used stern methods to put down the new faith. Rachel's Baptist minister admonished her that if she continued attending the Mormon meetings, she could retain neither her pew nor her fellowship in the congregation. "This seemed to settle the question with me" Rachel remembered. "I soon handed in my name [to the Mormons] for baptism and rendered willing obedience."⁸

"Oh, what joy filled my being!" she exclaimed. Her conversion opened a floodgate of suppressed emotions which brought her Quaker relatives to the point of despair ("When she was a Baptist, she was better, but now she is full of levity — singing all the time"). She delighted in the words of Joseph Smith and those of another young dynamic preacher, Jedediah Grant, and became completely enmeshed in the Saints' close-knit society. In addition to the Ivinses, of whom probably a dozen joined the new faith, many of her neighbors also were baptized. "What good times we had then," she proclaimed years later.⁹

Nevertheless, Rachel wanted to settle at Nauvoo, Illinois, the hub of Mormon activity during the early 1840s. Already Charles and James Ivins had reconnoitered the area and returned with plans to move their families there. Driven by "the spirit of gathering," Rachel along with several of her Ivins relatives ventured to the Mormon capital in the spring of 1842.¹⁰

"The first year of my stay was a very happy one," she remembered. Her cousins Charles and James Ivins rose to immediate prominence. As two of the richest capitalists in the young city, they resumed their merchandising, met in council with Church leaders, and eventually operated the Nauvoo ferry. Their

imposing, Federal-style, three-building complex on the corner of Kimball and Main Streets was used for retailing and small community gatherings, and served as a home as well. Here Rachel lived with James and his family in comfort and relative high style.¹¹

Well-bred and in her early twenties, Rachel must have turned the head of more than one admirer. While she herself denied having been a belle, she possessed charm and quiet refinement. A friend remembered her Nauvoo appearance: “She was dressed in silk with a handsome lace collar, or fichu, and an elegant shawl over her shoulder, and a long white lace veil thrown back over the simple straw bonnet. She carried an elaborate feather fan . . . , I recall the fascination of that fan. One could easily discern the subdued Quaker pride in her method of using it, for Sister Rachel had the air, the tone, and mannerisms of the Quakers.”¹²

There was more than a subdued and attractive facade. While little is known of her daily Nauvoo activity and interests, her bosom companion was Sarah Kimball, which suggests a great deal. Several years Rachel’s senior, this young and affluent matron entertained Mormon leaders with memorable elegance. Significantly, she was a thorough-going feminist who sought stimulation beyond the thimble and needle and who helped to initiate the Nauvoo Female Relief Society. The intimate friendship of Sarah and Rachel would continue the rest of their lives.¹³

During these Nauvoo days Rachel came to see the Church and its leaders at close view. Her understanding and acceptance of LDS teachings deepened. Because of her love of family and tradition, she especially found the newly declared doctrine promising salvation to the worthy dead “very precious to my soul.” Yet, Joseph Smith proved to be an enigma. When he preached, his power deeply affected her. But in private and informal moments, he seemed distressingly “unProphet-like.” Outgoing and playful, his personality was the polar opposite of Rachel’s — and contradicted her view of what a prophet should be.¹⁴

There were interludes when Joseph whittled away at her sectarian seriousness, and she came to admire him, along with his brother Hyrum, more than any men she had ever known. She was often at the Prophet’s home for parties, although he was present only occasionally. “He would play with the people, and he was always cheerful and happy,” she remembered of these occasions. Once while visiting the Ivinses on the Sabbath, he requested the family girls sing the popular “In the Gloaming.” Rachel believed singing and newspaper reading breached the Sabbath and responded with a mortified, “Why Joseph, it’s Sunday!” Smith swept her objections aside with a smile and the comment, “The better the day, the better the deed.”¹⁵

These pleasant moments were not long lasting. Smith’s opponents, some of whom were in Rachel’s own household, were gathering force. Charles and apparently James Ivins joined the Law, Foster, and Higbee brothers in resisting the growing economic and doctrinal complexity of Mormonism. Charles, who despite his original capital worth, had not prospered in Nauvoo, reacted with particular outrage to rumors that some church leaders were teaching and practicing plural marriage.¹⁶

Rachel also knew of these rumors in a very personal way. When Joseph sought an interview with her, she believed he wished to ask for her hand in plural marriage. Her personal turmoil over this prospect must have been excruciating. On one hand, there was the weight of outraged tradition, her cautious and puritanical instincts, and her family's clamor that she withdraw from the Church with them. (Charles Ivins's name appeared on the anti-Smith *Nauvoo Expositor* masthead as one of its publishers.) Her initial response was offended outrage, and she vowed with untypical shrillness that she would "sooner go to hell as a virtuous woman than to heaven as a whore." Yet in other moments she must have considered her still strong feelings for Mormonism and her respect for Joseph. In her emotional distress, Rachel found it impossible to throw off a persistent fever which eventually threatened her life.¹⁷

The record during these difficult times is inconsistent, perhaps reflecting her own ambivalence. She refused to meet with Smith, yet years later she insisted that her faith in Mormonism never wavered. In fact, she repeatedly requested that the elders rebuke her illness; each time she felt strengthened. When Sidney Rigdon sought to lead the Church after Smith's assassination, she saw Joseph's mantle fall instead upon Brigham Young. "If you had had your eyes shut," she later testified of Young's remarkable speech, "you would have thought it was the Prophet [Joseph]. In fact he looked like him, his very countenance seemed to change, and he spoke like him."¹⁸

Notwithstanding, these remarkable experiences, Rachel left Nauvoo in late 1844 bewildered and emotionally scarred. As her son later revealed, "When plural marriage was first taught my mother left the church on account of it." She returned to New Jersey, ailing physically as well as spiritually and planning never to mingle with the Saints again. She would be gone almost ten years.¹⁹

III

In Victorian symbolism, a dried white rose had an unmistakable meaning: better be ravaged by time and death than to lose one's virtue. While Mormon leaders insisted that their plural marriage was heaven-sent and honorable, Rachel, like most women of her generation, initially rejected the practice. She was, in fact, the quintessence of the nineteenth century's prevailing feminine ideal. Where and how she absorbed these values can only be suggested. Her first school was an eighteen-by-twenty-four-foot affair with a ceiling hardly high enough for an adult to stand, but nothing is known about what really counts — her teachers, primers, and curricula. She continued her formal studies while living in Trenton. Schools for young women in the area, like the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bordertown, emphasized as their most important duty "the forming of a sound and virtuous character." Rachel was schooled in the heart, not necessarily the mind. She also assimilated the ideal image of womanhood by reading popular religious literature and almost certainly women's magazines and gift annuals — the common purveyors of the reigning feminine ideal.²⁰

Following her Nauvoo experience and her return to the East, Rachel first ran the old Hornerstown household. When her brother Augustus married, she transferred her talents successively to the homes of her sisters Anna, Edith Ann, and particularly Sarah. Very much in her natural element, Rachel became a devoted spinster-aunt. She sang to her nieces and nephews the melodies of her own youth, sewed their clothing, and did more for them, according to their hard-pressed mothers, than they themselves could do. There were also times of inspiration. When consumptive Sarah lay discouraged because of her daily fevers and chills, she asked Rachel to pray and sing several Mormon hymns. When Rachel rendered, "Oh, Then Arise and Be Baptized," Sarah found the unexpected strength to sing with her and, remembering the hymn's message, requested LDS baptism. Thereupon Sarah's fainting spells ended.²¹

The New Jersey branches which previously had yielded LDS converts so bounteously still had some members. Sam Brannan recruited some of the New Jersey Saints to join the *Brooklyn's* 1846 voyage to California. Two years later Elder William Appleby returned from the West to revive the local flocks and, incidentally, to administer to Rachel for her periodic bronchitis. But this activity was a pale imitation of the excitement which had once burned through the region. Seeking to integrate Mormonism more fully with their daily lives, Anna Ivins, her husband-cousin Israel, and several other members of the Ivins family still loyal to the new faith decided in 1853 to join a large company of New Jersey Saints gathering to Utah.²²

The request forced Rachel into a final weighing of Mormonism and plural marriage. For a time after Nauvoo she had compartmentalized the two. Even in her early distress about polygamy, she had refused to listen to William Smith, Joseph's schismatic brother, when he had come to the Ivinses' Hornerstown home preaching "another Gospel." When possible she continued her outward LDS activity. But for at least several years she struggled with plural marriage, until at some point through prayerful self-searching she found she could accept the doctrine. Although anti-Mormon family members warned that the westward journey would endanger her health and offered a lifetime annuity if she would stay, Rachel turned her face once again to the Mormon promised land and this time did not look back.²³

She prepared carefully. Anticipating frontier scarcity, she filled a chest with bedding, wool and calico piece goods, and a practical wardrobe of bonnets, gloves, and dresses. Other members of the emigrating party, all relatively prosperous, were equally well stocked. By their preparations they were in fact saying good-by to their life in the East.²⁴

The emigrants traveled comfortably. Rachel had the familiar society of several of her Ivins relations, including her cousins Theodore McKean and Anthony Ivins as well as Anna and Israel. Leaving Toms River on 5 April 1853, the party — comprising "a large number of persons from Toms River and other places in the state" — made its way to Philadelphia, boarded the train to Pittsburg, and then floated on river steamers via Saint Louis to Kansas City. After visiting sites of interest in Jackson County, they purchased mule and

wagon outfits (remembered as “one of the best equipments that ever came to Utah in the early fifties”) and began the trek west.²⁵

The two-and-a-half months on the plains passed equally pleasantly. Anna and Israel travelled with a milk cow and two heavily provisioned wagons. One of these was furnished as a portable room, complete with chairs, a folding bed, and stairs descending from its tailgate. Rachel walked, spent much of her time knitting, and when tired mounted the stairs and the bed for a rest. Rachel believed the arid Great Plains air permanently thinned and dried her hair, but it also cured her longstanding bronchitis. After about a 130-day journey from New Jersey the Ivins pioneers arrived in Salt Lake City on 11 August and turned up Main Street. There they found temporary lodging with their preacher-friend from years before, Jedediah Grant.²⁶

Rachel was now a mature thirty-two. The bloom of youth had passed, but her statuesque charm remained. In polygamous Utah, where sex ratios were perhaps slightly in her favor, she must have had her admirers. But the Ivinses seemed unhurried and cautious about such things. Three of her four brothers never married, and the fourth waited until he was in his thirties. Two of her sisters married cousins. For Rachel’s part, she discounted romance or physical attraction. “One could be happy in the marriage relations without love,” she reportedly advised, “but could never be happy without respect.”²⁷

Whether seeking respect or more likely hoping to find a spouse worthy of her own esteem, Rachel’s hopes were fulfilled by Jedediah Morgan Grant. She had known him from her late teens when “Jeddy,” as he was familiarly known, barnstormed through the New Jersey camp meeting circuit as a Mormon missionary. His wit and eloquence won scores of Mormon converts and his preaching reputation became a local legend. A biographer has aptly labelled him “Mormon Thunder,” but he was more than a religious enthusiast. As a teenager he ambitiously read from Wesley, Locke, Rousseau, Watts, Abercrombie, and Mather. In Salt Lake City his charity was open-handed and widely heralded. Brigham Young chose him as his counselor and as mayor of Salt Lake City. Already much married, Jeddy sought out Rachel’s hand two years after her Utah arrival as his seventh wife.²⁸

Given Grant’s church, civic, and connubial duties and Rachel’s practicality, their courtship probably was unceremonious and perfunctory. Brigham Young insisted that she first be “eternally sealed” by proxy to his predecessor, apparently to satisfy any obligation owing Joseph. Then on 29 November 1855, Rachel left the home of Anna and Israel, where she had lived for the last two years, and married Grant “for time [in mortality] only” in the Endowment House.²⁹

Life at the Grant adobe home on Main Street (the site now occupied by downtown ZCMI) must have been challenging to a woman so private and self-controlled. In turn, her ways and presence unsettled others. When little Belle Whitney was once sent to the Grant home for silk thread, she was startled. “I saw this strange, beautiful woman sitting there,” she recalled. “She looked to me like a queen, and I really thought she was one. I did not dare ask her for the silk . . . I turned and ran [away].” Initially the other Grant wives were

also caught off guard. Instead of exchanging close confidences as women of the century were prone to do, Rachel was restrained. "She writes frequently [to you]," complained one of Jeddy's wives with some edge, "but does not see fit to read them to us."³⁰

Rachel was not altogether happy at the Grant household. "Remember the trials your dead grandma had and that she was only a wife for a year," wrote her son many years later to one of his own children. The fault did not lie with Jeddy. Though he was often absent on church assignment, the two evidently enjoyed a satisfactory relationship. She remembered her tendency to "lean" upon him — perhaps too much she later wondered, and in after years she never expressed a hint of criticism of her husband. In turn, one of Grant's few surviving letters expresses concern, cautioning her "not to work to[o] hard." On 22 November 1856, she bore him a son, Heber Jeddy Grant, nine days before "lung disease," a combination of typhoid and pneumonia, took his life at the early age of forty.³¹

For a time attendants also feared for the new mother's life. Rachel's labor had been difficult and the shock of her husband's sudden death weakened her further. Without him she had no tangible source of security. Her cache of New Jersey "store goods" had long since been personally used or distributed to those around her, while Grant's small estate would have to be divided with her sister-wives. Her eastern relatives had promised that the latch-string would always be out for her return — if she would renounce her religion. But she rejected this; in matters of faith Rachel had made her decision.³²

Rachel eventually recovered, and because of the two dominant forces which now shaped her life — her religion and her son — she remarried. President Young promised the Grant wives if they would remain as a unit and accept George Grant, Jeddy's brother, as their new husband, they would successfully raise their children to be faithful Mormons. Rachel and several of the Grant wives complied, although her preference was to return to Anna's Salt Lake household. She married George on 17 February 1858, resolute in her religious obedience and hopeful for the future of her son.³³

The union was a disaster. George, once a faithful churchman, Indian fighter, and hero of the 1856 handcart tragedy was, unbeknownst to Church leaders, on a downward course. His erratic and immoderate behavior, apparently due to alcoholism, soon became public. Six months after his marriage to Rachel, George "committed an unprovoked attack on Thos. S. Williams with [the] attempt to kill." The fracas ended in a street brawl. With such incidents and George's drinking becoming more common, President Young dissolved the two-year-old marriage, but Rachel's hurt never entirely healed. "It was the one frightful ordeal of my mother's life, and the one thing she never wishes to refer to," Heber remarked in later years.³⁴

Rachel thereafter rejected every opportunity for remarriage. Although prizing her independence, her overriding concern was Heber. Nothing — not a new father nor any other uncontrollable circumstance — must inhibit his promise. For several years she and her son remained at the Grant home on Main Street with a couple of the other widowed and now divorced wives. But

the lack of money forced the sale of that property and the break-up of their extended family. With President Young's permission, Rachel took her \$500 share of the transaction and purchased a cottage on Second East Street.³⁵

The change in living standards was wrenching. The disappointed and disoriented six-year-old Heber wandered back to the Main Street home and vowed that some day he would live there again. Certainly the new home had no luxuries. Rachel at first had only six dining plates, two of which were cracked, an occasional cup and saucer, her bed and bedding, and several chairs. There were blustery nights with no fire and a meager diet which allowed only several pounds of butter and sugar for an entire year. One Christmas Rachel wept because she lacked a dime to buy a stick of candy for her boy's holiday.³⁶

Poverty, or at least scarcity, was a part of pioneer living, and Rachel's situation differed from many others only in degree. Yet being accustomed to relative affluence and to giving rather than receiving, she must have found these trials poignant. Once while visiting Anna, who had moved to Saint George in southern Utah, she firmly declined an offer from President Young of Church aid. Instead, she supported herself and Heber by sewing, at first by hand in the homes of others and later with a Wheeler and Wilcox sewing machine in her own house. "I sat on the floor at night until midnight," Heber remembered many evenings, "and pumped the sewing machine to relieve her tired limbs." The machine's constantly moving treadles became a symbol of the Grant family's stubborn independence.³⁷

Despite her financial distress, she retained her personal style and preferences. A willing hostess, she often subjected Heber and herself to a diet of "fried bread" (warmed slices of bread in a greased frying pan) so she could "splurge" on entertaining her friends. And she continued her fastidious habits. "She could wear a dress longer than anyone I have seen and have it look fresh and nice," a relative recalled. "She always changed her dress in the afternoon and washed herself and combed her hair, and if at home put on a nice white apron. . . . it would not look soiled [for several days]." Only her providence allowed this. She often cannibalized several threadbare garments to produce something "new" and usable.³⁸

About five years after moving to Second East Street, Rachel began serving meals to boarders out of her small basement kitchen. Alex Hawes, a non-Mormon New York Life insurance man, helped make her venture successful. Attracted by her intelligence, charm, and culinary skill, Hawes first boarded and then at his own expense outfitted a small room at the Grants for his use. His rent and warm testimonials to Rachel's cooking provided her, as the boarding business increased, with a growing margin of financial security.³⁹

Conversation at the Grants' boarding table was interesting and at times lively. "How I used to chaff her on matters religious or otherwise," Hawes recalled, "& how with her quiet sense of humor she would humor my sallies! We even made bets on certain events then in the future." The intelligent, detached, and agnostic Hawes enjoyed the iconoclast's role. "I know I respected [Hawes]," remembered Miss Joanna Van Rensselaer, a Methodist boarder,

“notwithstanding his belief or want of belief — and recall vividly an argument between him and Miss Hayden — as to whether there was a real Devil.”⁴⁰

Rachel was Hawes’s antithesis. She permitted no smoking in her home; gentlemen were told to indulge their habit on a tree stump in the yard. She was equally firm in defending Mormonism before her gentile boarders, never neglecting, as she remembered, “any opportunity to introduce Mormonism to them.” W. H. Harrington, an editor of the Salt Lake *Herald*, recalled her kindly and repeated assurances of his forthcoming but never realized conversion (“at which I would smile quietly”). Her boarders came to call her “Aunt” Rachel, following the lead of her two nieces who served the table.⁴¹

Shortly after starting her boarding house business, Rachel was “ordained, blessed and set apart” as the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society “presidentess.” Relief Societies had been organized briefly in Nauvoo and later in Utah during the middle 1850s, but not until a decade later did the movement gain momentum. When it reached Rachel’s Thirteenth Ward, she fit Bishop Edwin D. Woolley’s bill of particulars for the job. “It was not his habit to be in a hurry in his movements,” Woolley told the women at their organizing session, and he wished the Relief Society sisters to be likewise “cool and deliberate” and their leaders obedient in carrying out “such measures as he should suggest from time to time.” His eye naturally rested upon Rachel.⁴²

The burden of leadership was often heavy. She trembled to overcome her diffidence when speaking or conducting meetings. The kindly Scandinavian sisters unknowingly repelled her as they grasped and kissed her hand. She “scarcely knew what to do” with some women who behaved irrationally and then demanded the Society’s charity. Rachel repeatedly gave herself solace by saying “it was not the numbers that constituted a good meeting.” And there was Bishop Woolley, whose bark was as legendary as his toothless bite. He scolded them for having “left undone some things that he told us to do, and we done some things that we ought not to.” But his comments apparently were nothing more serious than passing irritation, for he and his two successors retained Rachel in her position for thirty-five years.⁴³

The detailed minutes of the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society suggest she closely resembled the nineteenth-century Mormon ideal woman. On occasion she prophesied. Her friends recognized her “unusual power” in anointing and administering to the sick. She experienced uncommon faith and expression while praying. Following priesthood counsel, she used when possible, articles manufactured in Utah, and when Brigham Young requested women to abandon their cumbersome eastern styles, she wore, despite ridicule from many women, the simplified and home-designed “Deseret Costume.” Her name appeared with those of a half dozen other prominent LDS women protesting the passage of the anti-Mormon Cullom Bill. Likewise, she was a member of a committee of leaders representing the “large and highly respectable assemblage of ladies” thanking Acting Governor S. A. Mann for his approval of the Utah Women’s Suffrage Act.⁴⁴

However, as her Relief Society sermons show, Rachel was more a moralist than an activist. “We all have trials to pass through,” she spoke from personal

experience, “but if living up to our duty they are sanctified to our best good.” Her tendency was to see only the good in life. She called for obedience to authority and the avoidance of fault-finding. God’s hand and his rewards were omnipresent. “I am a firm believer in our being rewarded for all the good we do,” she insisted, “& everything will come out right with those who do right.” She had long since made her peace with plural marriage. While its practice might be a woman’s “greatest trial,” she rejoiced that she herself had experienced the “Principle.” Propounding duty, goodness, obedience, toil, and sacrifice, her Quaker-Mormon attitudes blended comfortably with the era’s prevailing Victorianism.⁴⁵

Rachel and her Thirteenth Ward sisters did more than sermonize. Notwithstanding “often having to endure insults,” the Relief Society block teachers canvassed the congregation to discover the needy and to secure for their relief an occasional cash donation. The sisters were usually more successful in procuring yarn, thread, calico pieces, rugs, and discarded clothing which they transformed into stockings, quilts, and rag rugs. The Relief Society women also braided straw, fashioned hats and bonnets, stored grain, and sewed underwear, buckskin gloves, and burial and temple garments. On these items the poor had first claim; the remainder were sold with most of the proceeds going to charity. During Rachel’s three-and-a-half-decade ministry, a time of scarcity and deflated dollars, the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society’s liberality in cash and goods exceeded \$7,750. The little money left she invested for her sisters in securities which appreciated spectacularly after her death. By 1925 the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society had assets worth \$20,000.⁴⁶

Rachel Grant’s “greatest trial” during her years as Relief Society president was her worsening hearing. She had noticed a hearing loss in late adolescence, but when she was almost fifty, an attack of quinsy left her virtually deaf with what she described as a “steam engine going night and day” in her head. No longer hearing melody, much conversation, nor the proceedings of her church meetings — among the things she valued most — she nevertheless attempted to carry on. In her Relief Society meetings she compensated for her disability with what her friends felt to be an extra sense. “She often picked up the thread of thought and conversation,” commented one of her Relief Society coworkers “and voiced her own conclusions so appropriately and so ably that her associates marveled afresh at the keenness of her spiritual comprehension.”⁴⁷

Because she led the women of the prominent Thirteenth Ward, and in part because of her able manner, her influence in later years spread. She became recognized as one of Mormondom’s “leading sisters” who in lieu of a centralized Relief Society staff, travelled throughout the territory speaking and advising on distaff questions, becoming “Aunt Rachel,” an honored pioneer title, to more than her boarders. While never rivaling Eliza R. Snow, Bathsheba W. Smith, or Emmeline Wells as women’s exponents (the latter two served under her presidency during the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society’s early years), she was nonetheless esteemed as a model of proper behavior. Stately, serene, fastidious, and proper, Rachel came to be compared with Victoria herself.⁴⁸

Rachel might travel and preach in the outlying settlements, but she was

always uneasy at center stage — restrained not only by her natural hesitancy and lack of hearing but also by her preoccupation with Heber. She never doubted that the boy's destiny would at least equal his father's, and her urgent anticipations coupled with her light discipline did much to forge his character. If the youthful Heber took advantage of her leniency and proved to be very much a boy, in later years his attitude toward her became reverential. "There are many things about her that I could wish were different," he candidly declared in adulthood, apparently with reference to her firmly programmed ways and mannerisms, "but mother is one of the sweetest and kindest of women and as loveable as can be."⁴⁹

In many ways, and especially in the ways most pleasing to her, Heber proved a facsimile of herself. Neither prim nor systematic, he accepted the Ivinses' business-mindedness and Rachel's Victorian values. Above all, she bequeathed to him her towering commitment to Mormonism along with her feelings of LDS embattlement and persecution. As Heber J. Grant rose to commercial and Church prominence, becoming during the last twenty-five years of her life a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, his career was the fulfillment of her own.

Her last years were again dominated by family concerns. Due to the long illness and eventual death of Lucy Stringham Grant, the first of Heber's three plural wives, Rachel's grandmotherly duties were heavy. For a time, the seventy-year-old woman personally tended Lucy's six children. Later she moved to an upstairs room and surrendered much of this role to her son's second wife, Augusta Winters Grant. Yet she still darned, mended, and sewed for the family and invited her grandchildren to her room for school study and silent companionship — though they learned that Rachel's displeasure might easily be aroused if they wandered too close to her immaculate and painstakingly made bed. Her deafness insulated her from the family's quarrels and prompted occasional humor. The children "had no idea," she told them, "how funny it was to see their angry faces and hear none of their words."⁵⁰

Such a statement reveals a characteristic attempt to see the bright side of her tormenting disability. To the end she refused to accept its finality. Sisters and elders repeatedly anointed and blessed her. As a measure of their regard, congregations from Idaho to Arizona in 1900 fasted and prayed for her hearing. She repeatedly repaired to the temple, hoping that baptism in a holy place might bring a cure. "I watched in breathless silence to see the miracle performed," Susa Young Gates recalled of one such temple experience. "I saw my miracle . . . eight long agonizing times [she was baptized with no effect] . . . the vision of Aunt Rachel's beaming smile at God's refusal to hear her prayer gripped my soul with power to bear." The miracle, of course, lay within Rachel herself.⁵¹

Rachel Grant was equanimity personified. The financial panics of the 1890s crushed her son's ascendancy for several decades; to aid him, she transferred to him the stocks and property which he had previously given her. She reacted with similar stoicism to the death of little Heber, her semi-invalid grandson upon whom she had lavished so much love and attention. In 1903

at the age of eighty-two, she retired from the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society. "I am not one," her resignation read, "who wishes to hold on to an office when I can not do as I wish." She thus conceded to old age what she had steadfastly refused to grant to her deafness.⁵²

During her final five or six years Rachel retired from most pursuits — with the exception of her reading, meditating, and letter-writing. She was annually honored by a "surprise" birthday party. After one such fête, a reporter from the *Woman's Exponent* found her "the picture of health and happiness. . . . It can truly be said of Sister Rachel, that she has grown old gracefully." Yet her lifetime of physical and psychological toil had its effect. Rheumatism, nerves, and the constant cacaphony within her head would often not allow sleep until 3:00 or 4:00 A.M. Accordingly, she would take a hymnal from under her pillow and sing the silent sounds of the past. "I was awake early this morning & thinking of my past life," she wrote revealingly to Heber on such an occasion. "When you were young I thought & prayed that I might live to see you grown then I would be satisfied, if you wer[e] a faithful L[.]D[.] Saint . . . when thinking of the many things I had passed through hard & unpleasant how happy it makes me now that I never complained . . . not even to my sister. I knew she would feel bad. I can talk about them now without cairing." Clearly her outward serenity had often been a mask.⁵³

After fighting for a week with pneumonia which brought little actual suffering, Rachel died on 27 January 1909 at 1:10 A.M. — with "absolute and perfect confidence" in what lay ahead. She was almost eighty-eight. Heber, who would justify his mother's faith by becoming the president of the Mormon Church, was at her bedside. Through him and his administration of almost three decades, her personality would touch yet another generation of Saints.⁵⁴

NOTES

1. Lucy Grant Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," undated manuscript, Heber J. Grant (hereafter cited as HJG), Letterpress Copybook, vol. 65, p. 182, 185 (hereafter cited as LC by volume and page), Heber J. Grant Papers, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter respectively cited HJG, LC, and LDS Church Archives. Annie Wells Cannon, "Rachel Ivins Grant," *Improvement Era* 37 (Nov. 1934): 643. I am indebted to Marlena Ahanin and Peggy Fletcher for their assistance in researching this paper.

2. Luther Prentice Allen, *The Genealogy and History of the Shreve Family*, p. 210, as quoted in Frances Bennett Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way: The Life of Rachel Ivins Grant, My Great-Grandmother," p. 1, typescript, 1952, LDS Church Archives.

3. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 2; Rachel Ridgway Grant [hereafter RRG] to HJG, 18 Dec. 1904, Box 176, fd. 22, HJG Papers; and Lucy Grant Cannon, "Recollections of Rachel Ivins Grant," *Relief Society Magazine* 25 (May 1938): 295–96.

4. The Mormon invasion and success in central New Jersey is an important but untold story of early LDS proselyting. The Mormon chapels must have been among the earliest built by Church members anywhere. William Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," typescript of a memorandum prepared in 1897, LDS Church Archives, p. 3; Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, NJ: E. Gardner and Son, 1890), p. 253; and Franklin Ellis, *The History of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Cottonport, La.: Polyanthos Publishing Company, 1974), p. 633. Later in the 1840s, LDS

converts apparently founded a small fishing village on the New Jersey coast which they named "Nauvoo," Stanley B. Kimball, "'Nauvoo' Found in Seven States," *Ensign* 3 (April 1973): 23.

5. Anthony W. Ivins, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 3, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; Kimball S. Erdman, *Israel Ivins: A Biography* (n.p., 1969), p. 3, LDS Church Archives; Parley P. Pratt to Joseph Smith, Jr., 22 Nov. 1839, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives. At the Mormon Church Conference held in Philadelphia, 13 Jan. 1840, Ivins suggested and Joseph Smith agreed that the Book of Mormon should be printed instead in the West, Philadelphia Church Records, 1840–1854, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

6. RRG, "How I Become a 'Mormon,'" unpublished memorandum, HJG Papers, Box 177, fd 19; RRG, "Minutes of a Meeting of the General Boards of the Young Men and Young Women MIA," 11 June 1902, in LC 35:324; *Woman's Exponent* 31 (1 and 15 Dec. 1902):53. For women and nineteenth-century religion see Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800–1860," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, eds. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row/Harper Colophon Books, 1974), pp. 137–57; and Mary P. Ryan, "A Woman's Awakening: Evangelical Religion and the Families of Utica, New York, 1800–1840," *American Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1978): 602–23.

7. RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 1; and RRG, "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Young Woman's Journal* 16 (Dec. 1905): 550–51.

8. Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints, or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," pp. 1–2; Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, p. 253; RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" pp. 1–2.

9. RRG, "How I Became A 'Mormon,'" pp. 1–2; RRG, "Minutes of a Meeting of the General Boards"; and Relief Society Minute Book 1875, Thirteenth Ward, 1 April 1875, p. 10, LDS Church Archives. In addition to the Ivinses, the Appleby, Applegate, Brown, Bennett, Curtis, Doremus, Horner, Implay, McKean, Robbins, Sill, Stoddard, Woodward, Wright, and Wychoff families mixed together without social distinction in their central New Jersey branches.

10. Erastus Snow, *Journal*, typescript, vol. 2, p. 25, LDS Church Archives; and RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 2. Snow, who visited his New Jersey flock in late 1841, declared, "I found them strong in the faith, many having of late been added to them and several families, I found about ready to move to Nauvoo," *Journal* 2:28.

11. RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 2; *Journal History of the Church*, 30 April, 27 June, and 14 Aug. 1842, LDS Church Archives. Nauvoo Trustees Land Book, Part B [p. 29], LDS Church Archives; Nauvoo City Tax Assessments Books, Wards 1–4, 1841–1844, LDS Church Archives; and Nauvoo Restoration, *The James Ivins-Elias Smith Printing Complex* (Nauvoo, Ill.: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., n.d.), pp. 1–4. Visitors in present-day Nauvoo identify the Ivins buildings as belonging to John Taylor and used for the printing of the *Times and Seasons*, an early Church periodical.

12. Emmeline B. Wells as quoted by Mary Grant Judd, "Rachel Ridgway Ivins Grant," *Relief Society Magazine* 30 (April 1943): 229.

13. Their intimate friendship is repeatedly mentioned in the HJG Papers; see for instance HJG to Harold A. Lafount, 24 April 1924, LC 61:839; Sarah Kimball's life is sketched by Jill C. Mulvay, "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 205–221.

14. RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 2; and RRG, "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," p. 551.

15. RRG, "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," p. 551; HJG, "Remarks Made at a Sunday School Union Board Meeting," 7 Jan. 1919, draft in LC 54:348; RRG to Edith [Grant], 17 Sept. 1904, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers; and Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book B: 1898–1906, 17 March 1902, pp. 100–1, LDS Church Archives.

16. Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A: 1868–1898, 11 Feb. 1897, p. 611, LDS Church Archives. In several letters to Brigham Young, Ivins steadfastly maintained his innocence. "I can say that I never to the best of my recollection persuaded the first person to join either Law or Sidney [Rigdon] — all I have bin guilty of is believing the doctrine of

Mormonism as it was taught me in the beginning," Charles Ivins to Brigham Young, July 1845, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

17. Lucy Grant Cannon to Truman G. Madsen [?], 15 April 1960, quoted in Truman G. Madsen, *The Heritage of Heber J. Grant* (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1969), pp. 12, 30; RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 2; and HJG to Ray O. Wyland, 12 Dec. 1936, LC 74:530-31. Erdman, *Israel Ivins*, pp. 5-6, claims that Smith actually proposed to her.

18. RRG, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" p. 2; and RRG, "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," p. 551.

19. HJG to Heber M. Wells, 28 April 1904, and HJG to E. S. Tainter, 25 Aug. 1926, LC 38:590 and 64:611; and HJG and Anthony W. Ivins, "Remarks at a Birthday Dinner for Heber J. Grant," transcript in HJG Typed Diary, 22 Nov. 1924, pp. 314-15, HJG Papers.

20. Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 151, 153; and Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, p. 639. The school described here was probably Rachel's, for John Horner, as cited in Ellis, recalled attending his early grammar studies with her.

21. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 181; and RRG, untitled and undated memorandum, HJG Papers, Box 147, fd. 9.

22. William Appleby Journal, 17 Nov. 1845, 26 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1848, LDS Church Archives.

23. RRG, untitled and undated memorandum, HJG Papers, Box 147, fd. 9; and Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 8.

24. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 9; and [Toms River] *New Jersey Courier*, 9 Nov. 1934.

25. Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," pp. 2-3; Theodore McKean, "Autobiography," unpublished draft, p. 2, LDS Church Archives; and [Toms River] *New Jersey Courier*, 9 Nov. 1934.

26. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," pp. 9-10.

27. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 181; and Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Population Growth in the Mormon Core Area: 1847-90," *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*, ed. Richard H. Jackson, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 9 (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University, 1978), pp. 116-24. Wahlquist found the female imbalance to be most significant during the years of marriageability — a tendency which plural marriage must have heightened.

28. Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 265.

29. Caleb Ivins, Jr., Group Sheet, Archives, The Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; and HJG, "Remarks at a Birthday Dinner for Heber J. Grant."

30. Israel Whitney Sears to HJG, 20 Feb. 1919, General Correspondence, HJG Papers; and Susan and Rosetta Grant to Jedediah M. Grant, 7 Jan. 1855 [1856?] photocopy of holograph, Grant Family Correspondence, LDS Church Archives. Another wife complained that the frequently writing Rachel monopolized all the news, *ibid*.

31. HJG to Florence [Grant], 8 June 1905, LC 39:832; RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 7 July 1870, p. 70; and Jedediah M. Grant to Susan Grant, 14 October 1856, photocopy of holograph, Grant Family Correspondence.

32. HJG to Claus [?] H. Karlson, 28 Oct. 1885, LC 6:203-204; Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 9. Eventually only four of the Grant wives participated in the distribution of their husband's property — those who left the Grant homestead and remarried elsewhere were excluded.

33. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 182-83.

34. George Goddard Journal, 27 Aug. 1858, LDS Church Archives; HJG to Junius F. Wells, 30 March 1905, LC 39:502; and Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 183.

35. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 12.

36. "Two Octogenarians," *Improvement Era* 39 (Nov. 1936): 667; HJG, "Faith-Promoting Experiences," *Millennial Star* 93 (19 Nov. 1931): 760; Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 183; and RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book B, 13 Feb. 1903, p. 95.

37. [Toms River] *New Jersey Courier*, 9 Nov. 1934; HJG, "Faith-Promoting Experiences," p. 760. Her refusal of aid was categorical. "I . . . told him [Young] that persons had said to me I was a fool for working as I did when your father [Jedediah] killed himself working in the kingdom. I told him I did not wish to be supported by the church. I was too independent for that." RRG to HJG, 19 Oct. 1901, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers.

38. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 183.

39. HJG, *An Address Delivered by Invitation Before the Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Missouri* (Independence, Mo.; Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1924?), p. 15; HJG, Press Copy Diary, 20 Aug. 1887, HJG Papers; HJG, Remarks, "President Grant's Seventy-first Birthday Party," memo in Box 177, fd. 23, HJG Papers. Heber was explicit on Hawes's effect upon the Grant household: "I may say the turning point in my mother's life came when Colonel Hawes entered our home as a boarder," HJG to Elizabeth L. Peltret, 19 March 1914, LC 49:363.

40. Alexander W. Hawes to HJG, 28 Dec. 1912, LC 48:151-52; and Joanna H. Van Rensselaer to HJG, 21 Jan. 1925, General Correspondence, HJG Papers.

41. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 184; RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 7 March 1872, pp. 106-7; and W. H. Harrington to HJG, 1 Dec. 1897, HJG Papers.

42. Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 18 April 1868, pp. 1-2.

43. RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book B, 17 March 1902, pp. 100-1; Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 184. Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 7 Aug. 1873, 29 June 1876, and 26 October 1887, pp. 154, 260, and 466. Sister Emma Goddard, the secretary, discreetly crossed out Woolley's remarks and replaced them with a more grammatical sentence, see Relief Society Minute Book 1875, Thirteenth Ward, 3 June 1875, pp. 25-26.

44. RRG to HJG, 8 Jan. 1891, 12 Oct. 1901, and HJG to RRG, 12 Oct. 1907, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers; Hannah C. Wells to HJG, 28 Feb. 1907, General Correspondence, HJG Papers; Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 187; *Woman's Exponent* 37 (April 1909): 52; HJG, "Address at BYU Centennial," 16 Oct. 1925, in LC 63:553-54; Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 15 April 1875, p. 227; Relief Society Minute Book 1875, Thirteenth Ward, 1 April 1875, pp. 9-10; Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 20-30.

45. RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 5 March 1874, 4 June 1874, 2 Sept. 1875, and 13 Jan. 1898, pp. 175, 188-89, 244, and 633; RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book B, 13 March 1902, pp. 97-98; Lucy Grant Cannon, "Recollections of Rachel Ivins Grant," *Relief Society Magazine*, 25 (May 1938): 293-98; RRG to HJG, 7 May 1905, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers.

46. RRG, Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A, 4 Dec. 1873, p. 164; "Rachel Ridgway Grant," memorandum dated 28 March 1903, Box 176, fd. 22, HJG Papers; *Woman's Exponent* 4 (1 Dec. 1875): 98, 5 (1 June 1876): 5, and 14 (15 June 1885): 13-14; and Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 184.

47. Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 187; Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 13; Susa Young Gates, "Relief Society Beginnings in Utah," *Relief Society Magazine* 9 (April 1922): 189; and *Woman's Exponent* 31 (1 and 15 Dec. 1902): 53.

48. Mary Grant Judd, "Rachel Ridgway Ivins Grant," *Relief Society Magazine* 30 (May 1943): 316; and May Booth Talmadge, "Coronets of Age: Rachel R. Grant," *Young Woman's Journal* 19 (April 1908): 182-85. The *Woman's Exponent* occasionally recorded Rachel's visits among the outlying areas, see 9 (15 June 1880): 13; 12 (1 and 15 Sept. 1883): 55, 60; 14 (1 Oct. 1885): 70; and 15 (1 April 1887): 164.

49. HJG to Lucy Grant, 17 April 1892, Lucy Grant Papers, LDS Church Archives. Her parenting provided the classic conditions which often produced an entrepreneurial type of

personality, see Everett E. Hagan, *On the Theory of Social Change* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962), p. 93; and David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961), especially pp. 353–76.

50. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," p. 17; Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 188.

51. Susa Young Gates, "A Tribute to Rachel Ivins Grant," *Young Woman's Journal* 21 (Jan. 1910): 30.

52. Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way," pp. 17–18; RRG to HJG, 28 June 1903, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers.

53. *Woman's Exponent* 31 (March 1903): 77; Cannon, "A Few Memories of Grandma Grant," p. 181; and RRG to HJG, 27 Nov. 1904, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers.

54. HJG Manuscript Diary, 27 Jan. 1909, HJG Papers; and HJG to Mrs. S. A. Collins, 12 Feb. 1909, Family Correspondence, HJG Papers.

Book Reviews

A Mormon Perspective — Cockeyed

The Old Testament: A Mormon Perspective, by Glenn L. Pearson, Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, 1980, 232 pp., \$6.95.

Reviewed by Melodie Moench Charles, who received her Master of Theological Studies in Old Testament from Harvard Divinity School. She teaches the Gospel Doctrine class in her Arlington, Virginia, Ward where she lives with her husband and son.

Glenn Pearson begins his book by defining good LDS scholars as “scholars in the best priesthood sense” (p. 1). Because he doesn’t explain this term, I’m not certain what he means, but because I am female I think he disqualifies me from reviewing his book. Now that the reader has been warned of my inadequacies, let the reviewer warn the reader of Pearson’s. Though he has read much, he has not read widely. While he is somewhat inventive, he is neither perceptive nor analytical and has limited skill in conveying a thought completely, clearly, and pleasantly. He does not understand the Old Testament people, their culture, or their religion. He is unconcerned with accuracy in reporting facts which no one, Mormon or otherwise, disputes. If he is a “scholar,” I am happy not to be considered among such scholars.

He thoroughly misunderstands the composition of the Old Testament. When he explains that the Jehovah’s Witnesses Translation “alters the King James text so much in some places as almost to be a commentary instead of a translation” (p. 5), he seems to think that the King James Version was the original text from which the Jehovah’s Witnesses translators worked. (He doesn’t say which J. W. translation he used but the one I’m aware of, *New World*

Translation of the Holy Scriptures [1961], is translated from the “original languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.”) He warns his readers about secular scholars whose credentials the reader does not know and who pretend “to be able to deal with the languages without the profound knowledge required in this work” (p. 17). Yet without demonstrating or claiming such knowledge himself, he expects to be believed when he tells us that translations newer than the King James Version “are not as true to the texts” (p. 165).

Had he used even the most elementary sources he could have eliminated some of the false or contradictory material which he dispenses as facts. In explaining that *Pentateuch* is “a Greek title that, roughly translated, means ‘five books of law’” (p. 21), he merits the denunciation he directs at others — “this is not translation; it is interpretation” (p. 6). Yet Pearson counsels the Latter-day Saint against accepting “interpretation” when secular scholars do it (p. 6). Pearson dates Ezra (whom, for some unspecified reason, he credits with writing the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Ruth, and Proverbs) in the sixth century B.C. (p. 20). The book of Ezra makes Ezra a contemporary of either Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.) or II (404–339 B.C.), dating him in the fifth century at the earliest. On page 131 he puts Daniel in Babylon at about 604 B.C., then on page 133, Daniel is one of those people who “were placed in high state positions” in the Persian Empire. Had he checked he could have found out that the Maccabean revolt occurred from 175–164 B.C. rather than in the third century B.C. as he claims (p. 133).

Pearson’s basic premise is that almost all Old Testament scholars are attempting

to undermine the faith of the faithful. While "some of the higher critics are, themselves, quite devout . . . apostasy and infidelity follow them wherever they go" (p. 13). He further generalizes that "neither the Jews nor the Christians believe the Bible as literally or completely as do the Latter-day Saints. Besides this, those who criticize our position are hopelessly inconsistent because they have all been involved in translation and research to increase knowledge of what the original texts may have said" (p. 3). His criteria for reliability are that the scholar be "fundamental (a strong believer and a devout respecter of the Bible)" and that he "does not pretend to be going beyond his own language and the prophets" (pp. 16-17). Apparently he thinks that believers are more trustworthy than those who have worked hard to become familiar with the subject and who use their skill to discover the most accurate biblical texts.

While he probably would not rely on a physics or chemistry text from the early nineteenth century to understand those sciences, he seems quite willing to ignore most biblical research done since that time, for he recommends the commentaries of Adam Clark and John Smith, both written over 150 years ago. Secular Old Testament scholarship which does not agree with Mormonism is dismissed with the epithets, "so-called" and "pseudo-scientific." In contrast, when a scholar happens to agree with Pearson's view, Pearson insists that the scholar has "conceded" the point. Pearson implies that any Mormon armed with a testimony, a Pearl of Great Price, and a Book of Mormon can understand the Old Testament better than any secular scholar can. His self-righteous attitude of superiority is embarrassing in the light of the book he produced with his Mormon tools.

Equally embarrassing is his presumption that he knows what others think and feel. He generalizes about amazingly large groups of people and passes his generalizations off as fact. He claims that biblical translators "for hundreds of years, have as-

sumed that God is a single, formless spirit that fills the immensity of space" (p. 6), that Christians and Jews in general "believe that the Old Testament started as myth and gradually evolved" (p. 19), and that Bible readers "have well-developed world pictures" (p. 196). Without disclosing the source of his information, he tells the reader that although one rarely finds in the books in the Bible the idea that they would be joined, "God intended this [the union of the books into one volume] to be the case" (p. 20).

He demonstrates how little he understands Old Testament people by claiming that they "were not particularly opposed to the union of church and state" (p. 194). He encourages readers to "think of Isaiah, for example, as a very knowledgeable Latter-day Saint — perhaps as an apostle, or, more likely, as the president and prophet of the Church" (p. 192). This incredibly bad analogy conjures up a vision of Isaiah as an ex-business executive in a three-piece suit, addressing a respectful and appreciative crowd in the Tabernacle rather than someone who, at God's command, "walked naked and barefoot three years" as a sign that Assyria would take the Egyptians and the Ethiopians captive (Isa. 30:3-4). I pity the naive Mormon who takes Pearson's advice and thinks he or she has come closer to understanding Isaiah by comparing him to Heber J. Grant or Joseph F. Smith.

He presumes a commonality with his reader which is unfounded, and therefore, he leaves much that is essential unexplained. I was baffled by his unexplained statement that the Old Testament "becomes a priesthood handbook" (p. 1). No more clear was his reference to "some traditionally correct Hebrew Bibles" (p. 43), again unexplained. When he explained that "the United States Constitution is essentially an Old Testament document" (p. 2), I wondered if he meant that the Constitution took its concepts of freedom of speech, protection against illegal search and seizure, and separation of the national government into executive, legislative, and judicial branches from the Old Testament.

More curious are his uses of *humanism*, *environmentalism*, *radical relativism*, *integration*, *equality*, *segregation*, and *radical libertarianism* (pp. 204–9). From the context I could see that they were all words with negative political overtones, but he left me to guess at the meaning of each. I remain confused about why he ended his book with modern conservative political polemics, some not even marginally tied to the Old Testament. Perhaps this ancient scripture contains an anti-abortion, pro-life stance (pp. 205–6), but I think he is stretching to make the Old Testament “a testimony of the evils of big and powerful government that encroach upon private property rights” (p. 195), and I fail to notice Old Testament denunciations about the evils of public schools (p. 208).

His style is no better than his content. He explains the self-evident, telling us that the Bible of Jesus’ day “was a truly Jewish book . . . speaking in a national and cultural sense” (p. 2) and that the Jews were “affected somewhat by their environment just as we are, only their environment was different” (p. 194), and that the prophets in the Old Testament are hard to understand “because of the prophecies in their writings” (p. 167). He confuses *literal* with *important* or *serious*, advising the reader that “the first lesson in interpreting figurative passages is that figurative passages are meant to be taken just as literally as literal passages. . . . When they are understood, they are just as literal as any other passage” (pp. 170–71).

Pearson must be given some credit for fulfilling the promise of his title and presenting some of the Old Testament interpretations which are purely Mormon, for example, that Elohim is the father of Jehovah, and that Jehovah is Jesus, who acts as the God of the Old Testament, and that all the Old Testament prophets knew about Christ and worshipped him. He also presents many interpretations which are purely Pearson. However, I think few Mormons would agree with his analysis that “after Jesus had come and had been rejected,

the Jews became non-Christian and anti-Christian” (p. 191). For all of this, I can (with difficulty) forgive Pearson. But for his patronizing attitude in considering his fanciful interpretation to be far more profound than “the world’s” interpretation of Job as “a superb poetical essay on the meaning of suffering,” my charity faileth. Here is Pearson at his worst:

Job was . . . a patriarch in one of the lines of Abraham. No doubt he had been endowed, and had had his family sealed to him for eternity, and he knew about the premortal and postmortal worlds. That is why he was so family-oriented and so concerned about not having his wife given to another and his posterity rooted out. It explains why, when everything else was doubled, his second family was the same size as the first — because, of course, he still had the first. Therefore, his family was doubled, too. Many of Job’s most passionate pleas would have no meaning, or a different meaning, if he had not been a king and a priest to the Most High God.

With this approach to Job we begin to see that the Lord was forcing Job to come to him and receive the Second Comforter. With his wealth, his great faith, his satisfaction to be busy helping others, Job was content — busy, yes; but content. He would not have sought the ultimate mortal experience if he had not been pushed to it. His suffering caused him to plead for an audience with the Heavenly King so that he could demand an explanation for what he felt was unjust treatment. When he was sufficiently humbled and refined, he got his audience. But then he no longer wanted to plead his case, saying: “I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes” (Job 42:5–6). To a Latter-day Saint who accepts Job as a “former-day Saint,” that statement is not the literary style of the world’s greatest poet — for the world concedes that the writer of Job was the world’s greatest poet. But it is the testimony of a prophet who actually saw God as he really is.

Had he not been pushed to it, Job would not have seen God and the book of Job would not have been written. And its value is beyond any human calculation. It was part of the Lord’s

plan for the mortal world to follow. The eternal perspective that only Latter-day Saints have is necessary to understand Job and the value of the book of Job. It is, of course, valuable to the world, even if they do not fully understand it. But the Latter-day Saint should be able to see more. He sees in it the doctrine of witnesses of God. He sees the price that has to be paid for the greatest spiritual experiences. He sees words and phrases that only a temple-going Latter-day Saint would see. (pp. 192-94)

Pearson sees so much more in Job than is there — and so much less — that I must disassociate myself and my church from his interpretation and say that it is not *A Mormon Perspective*, but only one Mormon's perspective.

Pearson's idea of compiling Mormon interpretations of the Old Testament was ambitious, and he obviously put much sincere effort into the project. However, his sincerity, effort, and ambition did not produce a worthy contribution to Mormon thought.

A Beloved Apostle

Lucile C. Tate, *LeGrand Richards, Beloved Apostle*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1982, 326 pp., \$7.95.

Claudia L. Bushman is the author of *A Good Poor Man's Wife* and teaches in the Honors Program at the University of Delaware.

This triumphant biography is very much what we would expect the official story of a beloved General Authority to be. It is the story of the good boy who grew better and better, of the apostle as super-salesman. Conflicts are introduced only to be overcome. LeGrand Richards moves into every challenging and discouraging situation and turns it around.

Lucile C. Tate's praise for the leader is unstinting. Elder Richards was, at sixty-six, "seasoned, tried, and virtuous; virtuous in the larger, knightly sense of the word, which adds to chastity all the qualities of moral excellence—faith in the cause; valor; courtesy; compassion; justice; and loyalty" (p. 243). But the book is saved from being too much of a good thing by the subject's freshness and practicality. When he attended the Salt Lake Temple dedication he noted, "And I looked around for angels, but I didn't see any." (p. 11) While playing the peacemaker on the Board of Trustees of what is now Utah State, he said, "Better united on a poor policy than divided on a good one" (p. 248).

Organized around the ever-ascending Church positions that Brother Richards has filled, the book tells of many practices which have changed. Young LeGrand, for instance, was called to the Southern States Mission. His bishop wanted him called to Europe and suggested a change which was cheerfully granted; Richards went to Holland. Later in 1925 when President Heber J. Grant called for one thousand men of "mature years and sound judgment" to serve short-term missions, the then Bishop Richards virtually called himself to the Eastern States. Mission President B. H. Roberts told him "not to get in the way of the members or full-time missionaries, but just show them how to convert." (p. 125) Grimly frosty New Bedford, Massachusetts, discouraged even Bishop Richards before he, with superhuman effort, managed to convert the little band of Saints who built the first Mormon chapel in New England.

Another interesting detail is that Stake President Richards of Hollywood (California) Stake called a Sister Kathrine Higginbotham as stake clerk with President Grant's approval. And still another is that when Brother Richards was called as Presiding Bishop, President Grant planned to inform the new counselors Marvin O. Ashton and Joseph L. Wirthlin of their callings from the pulpit when they were sustained. Bowing to Bishop Richard's request, Presi-

dent Grant called them in advance, allowing about an hour's notice.

Love and mutual respect among the brethren is amply illustrated here. This male bonding makes the relationship of the men to their wives especially interesting. Brother Richards's father, the saintly George F. Richards, as devoted and precocious a Church leader as his son, is shown in his official capacities while his wife, Alice Almira Robinson, is shown keeping house in their primitive adobe home in Plymouth, Utah. LeGrand remembers helping her do the washing for her family of fifteen children. "She would sometimes stand and rub the clothes on a washboard with big tears rolling down her cheeks from weariness or discomfort when a new baby was on the way" (p. 9).

LeGrand told his own wife, when he proposed to her, that "There will always be one that will come ahead of you" (p. 56). Ina Jane Ashton, that "little bundle of sweetness," consented to accept the second place he offered, behind his commitment to the Church. Their life together was very satisfying to both of them. As her husband went from triumph to triumph, Ina Jane contented herself with her home and family—and got sick. Frail and easily tired, she watched and supported her ebullient husband with pride. One of the last things she said was, "I never stood in Daddy's way, did I?" (p. 289)

This book is one of the better examples of Mormon hagiography or biographies of

the sainted. It is written clearly and researched thoroughly. The author had the benefit of extensive interviews with Elder Richards and access to his files and journals. The pictures are numerous and well produced. The book includes a bibliography and an index which many in this category do not. One small complaint is that the references are printed in parentheses in the text rather than in notes. As some of the references are fairly long, I find them distracting.

Reading this book has caused me to wonder about the future of this genre. As the Church grows and the General Authorities proliferate, the personalities they project grow less distinct. In our small and distant ward, where many are converts, where general conference is limited to an occasional hour or two, where subscriptions to Church publications are few, and where General Authorities appear only once a year at great distance to give standard talks, the intense preoccupation with Church personalities and politics, so common in Salt Lake, is scarcely known. President Kimball is a figure to my ward's members. Others are not. It will be interesting to note the future of these biographies of Church leaders as our distant situation grows increasingly typical.

For now, President Richards's good spirits, his refusal to speak from a prepared text, his years of devoted and effective service, and his alert old age put him in a unique position. Will he be remembered?

No Diplomatic Immunity

J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years by Frank W. Fox (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press/Deseret Book Company, 1980), 702 pp., \$10.95.

Reviewed by Michael C. Robinson, executive secretary of the Public Works Historical Society in Chicago, Illinois.

To members of the Mormon Church, J. Reuben Clark holds an exalted place in

the organization's history. For nearly three decades (1933–1961) he was an influential, innovative, and charismatic member of the Church's First Presidency in Salt Lake City. Clark was an articulate and powerful speaker, lucid and prolific writer, and embodied the essence of the Mormon leadership style: self-assuredness without arrogance, humility without piety, and affection without condescension. He was a church

fixture, as much a Mormon exemplar in conduct and image as the prophets he served.

Few rank-and-file church members, however, are familiar with "the making" of this Mormon General Authority. Prior to his calling as a religious leader, Clark had distinguished himself as an international lawyer in government service and private practice. He was a rare Mormon for the early twentieth century, who sought and earned professional success in the East; yet retained his loyalty to and fondness of the religious and cultural milieu of the Great Basin Kingdom.

Most of the volume treats Clark's government career prior to his church service. Upon his graduation from the law school at Columbia in 1906, Clark became assistant solicitor of the Department of State. In that capacity, he directed the department's legal operations until he was officially appointed solicitor in 1910. Through bureaucratic guile and productive effort he gained the respect and support of Secretary of State Philander Chase Knox and other government leaders. He became expert in Latin American affairs and was one of the architects of the nation's policy during the tumultuous Mexican Revolution.

When the Democrats took office in 1913, Clark went into private practice and remained active in diplomacy by serving on the American-British Pecuniary Claims Commission. During World War I, he worked in the Army's provost marshal general headquarters and in the office of attorney general. Following the termination of hostilities, he crusaded against the League of Nations, moved back to Utah, unsuccessfully dabbled in politics, and received several State Department assignments. In 1926 he assumed charge of the United States-Mexico Mixed Claims Commission and wrestled with the thorny legal problems caused by the Mexican Revolution. Clark was subsequently appointed legal counsel to the U.S. ambassador to Mexico, and in 1930, reached the high point of his public career when he was named ambassador.

The book is of great value to students of American diplomatic history. It illustrates, through the life of one government official, the professionalization of the conduct of American foreign affairs during the United States' emergence as a world power. Fox also has some valuable insights into the development of America's Latin American policy as well as the role of career government employees in the conduct of diplomacy. The reader observes the young statesman developing and exercising his talents as well as coping with the trials imposed by government service. The author also presents a panorama of Clark's friends, foes, and family as he ascended the rungs of responsibility and influence.

Fox's research and analysis is prodigious and exhaustive. However, at times the volume becomes tedious and exhausting. One doubts that a single notecard or photocopied document was left unused. The author clearly should have left more paint on his brush. Too often, the reader becomes bogged down in the tedium of the diplomatic craft and the events that touched upon Clark's life. For example, the book provides long discussions of various imbroglios between the United States and Mexico that intrude upon rather than embellish the discussion of the statesman's acumen in international affairs. The author also has an inclination toward convoluted sentence structure, but for the most part the book is skillfully crafted and reads easily.

Until recently, few solid professional biographies have been written on Mormon ecclesiastical leaders. Book-length accounts of the lives of General Authorities have tended to be Mormon hagiographies filled with uplifting trials and triumphs but rarely plumbing the depths of human frailties and contradictions. Fox directly and often by implication portrays a brilliant, complex man. Throughout the book, Clark's drive, ambition, competence, and capacity for work are laid bare. Equally apparent are the trials most Latter-day Saints face in trying to strike a balance between the often competing demands of family, work, and

church. Debts, illness, fourteen-hour work days, and long separations strained Clark's marriage and family life, yet he was clearly a devoted family man — protective of his children and supportive of his brothers who remained in the West.

One of Fox's greatest achievements is illustrating how "Reuben evolved from the Grantsville boy of unalloyed faith into a far more complex, rational, and questioning individual." Other Mormons such as Reed Smoot and James H. Moyle built their eastern successes on Utah bases of support, while Clark "had beaten the East on the East's own terms." In addition, Clark was strong-willed, independent, and likely to subject official dicta from any source to close scrutiny.

Thus, as he reached adulthood, Clark came to question some aspects of Mormon institutional orthodoxy. The nascent General Authority in fact frequently exercised his independence and found fault with church policies and practices. Fox notes that when "Reuben applied his new-found skepticism broadly . . . the world of his Mormon childhood often came up short." Clark clearly retained his testimony of Mormon gospel essentials, but he had a distaste for theocracy and was often not in con-

formance with church directives. His observance of the Sabbath was less than rigorous and Clark opposed his brother Frank's call to an Australian mission, suggesting that his employment with the U.S. Geological Survey would be of far greater benefit to the Church. Clark also fell behind in tithing payments, sent his children to a Protestant Sunday School, adopted a liberal attitude toward the Mormon Word of Wisdom, and objected to wearing temple garments in Washington's stifling summers. He exerted his free agency on many matters and once suggested that "if we are to blindly follow someone else, we are not free agents."

The book, despite its vivid portrayal of the professional and personal side of Clark's life, fails to come to grips resolutely with his spiritual and theological development. Discussions are included on Clark's interest in and study of Mormon doctrine, but the volume does not present a clear understanding of his views and feelings with respect to gospel principles. Did Clark's intellectual skepticism and independence cause him to subject certain points of Mormon doctrine to rigorous inquiry? Perhaps the forthcoming sequel to this generally impressive biography will more fully explore this dimension of J. Reuben Clark.

