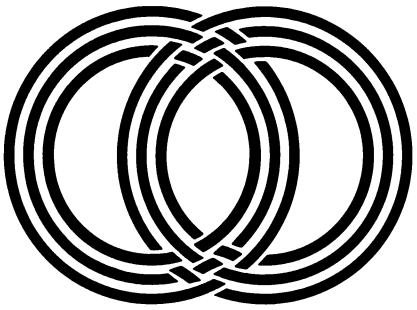
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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 Judeo-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.

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer 1986

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LETTERS

SUBMISSIONS POLICY

All submissions must be typed, double-spaced throughout (including block quotes and end matter), submitted in triplicate, and accompanied by return postage. The style for citations, notes, and bibliography follows the author-date style explained in *The Chicago Manual of Style* beginning on page 400 (13th ed.). A style sheet is available upon request.

We will withhold the names of authors on both articles and letters to the editor where appropriate; but we do not consider or accept anonymous or pseudonymous contributions.

Letters to the editor must be double-spaced. If documentation is required, it should follow the author-date citation style of the essays.

Thatcher Resilenced

Edward Lyman's "The Alienation of an Apostle from his Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case" (Summer 1985) is a selective, and in my opinion, somewhat inaccurate view of this particular episode of Church history. The author labels as "overly simplified" the generally accepted view that Thatcher's independent mind was "crushed" by the "Church hierarchy['s] arbitrary will."

Calling Thatcher "abrasive" and "stubborn," Lyman presents him as generally obnoxious (pp. 85, 89). In a different context, these same value-saturated adjectives might be interchanged with "forthright," "unwavering," and generally courageous. But Lyman apparently sees little of that in Moses Thatcher. He implies that any injustice done was not to Thatcher, but to the Twelve for suffering years of Thatcher's outbursts and insults before ejecting him from the Quorum.

Lyman quotes enough from Thatcher's colleagues in the Quorum to persuade me that some, if not all, thought Thatcher was an incessant bore. Lyman does not appear to entertain the notion that some journal entries might themselves be revisionist history and does not let Thatcher speak for himself. We again face the Mormon issue of the decade: a plastic history where the "good guys" are good (other than their "failure to communicate," as Lyman acknowledges p. 89) and the "bad guys" are bad. Unfortunately, Lyman omits significant facts that have a direct bearing upon Thatcher's alienation.

For example, he devotes his first six pages to an arduous narrative about Thatcher's dispute with George Q. Cannon over Bullion Beck stock. No doubt the dispute scarred both Cannon and Thatcher. But identification of fault is less important than perception of fault.

On 30 November 1896, Lorenzo Snow, then president of the Quorum of the

Twelve, published a letter in the *Deseret News* in response to an inquiry from five men who wondered why Thatcher had been "excommunicated" from his quorum. Writing almost seven years after the Cannon-Thatcher dispute, Snow claim that Thatcher's belligerent behavior towards Cannon was one of several reasons why he was dropped from the quorum. Is President Snow's claim itself revisionist history? "Half of the apostles bore various personal administrative grudges of such intensity [against Cannon] that they effectively blocked the organization of the First Presidency" from 1887 to 1889 (Quinn 1984, 30). Why then would Snow single out Thatcher from all the brethren with complaints against Cannon to claim, seven years after a resolution of Bullion Beck, that Thatcher's dispute with Cannon evinced a "disaffectian [sic] . . . dat[ing] back to a time long before political difficulties could enter into the matter"?

In Snow's words, "Moses claimed that Brother Cannon had defrauded him, and he threatened in the presence of President Woodruff and others of the Twelve to sue him at law and thus bring many private affairs before the public through the courts." Snow also claimed that "instead of Brother Cannon owing him [Thatcher], he was in Brother Cannon's debt."

Here is Thatcher's side of the story. In a letter to President Snow, dated 12 December 1896, Thatcher wrote: "For the present, at least, there is no need to go into further details regarding the Bullion Beck matters, except to correct your assertion 'that instead of Brother Cannon owing him, he was in Brother Cannons' debt.' I can think of no explanation so brief and authentic as a copy of the receipt I gave him in settlement of financial differences" (Thatcher, 12 Dec. 1896). Thatcher then quotes the receipt which acknowledges that Cannon transferred 2,368 shares of "pooled stock" (worth $2,500 in 1889) to Thatcher and that the receipt was intended to satisfy all demands Thatcher had against Cannon (Thatcher, 12 Dec. 1896). The receipt is dated 24 December 1889, seven years before Thatcher was dropped from his quorum.

The most glaring deficiency in Lyman's article is its treatment of the Political Manifesto. Lyman says, quoting B. H. Roberts, that this manifesto instructed Church officials to obtain permission from Church leaders before accepting political office. Lyman does not quote the manifesto itself, and, significantly, omits a part of the manifesto which stated "in most positive and emphatic language . . . that at no time has there ever been any attempt . . . to unite in any degree the functions of the one [Church] with the other [state]" ("To the Saints," Deseret News Weekly, 14 Aug. 1897, p. 533). The manifesto also asserted "it had always been understood that men holding high church positions should not accept political office without first obtaining approval." As Thatcher well knew, the Church's denial of involvement in state affairs was misleading at best. Amazingly, Lyman's article also omits any mention of the *Salt Lake Times* interview of 23 June 1891 in which Presidents Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon declared the Church "will not assert any right to control the political action of its members in the future[,]" and categorically denied the *Times*' charge that "the Church claims the right to exercise absolute authority over its members in all matters including direct dictation as to whom they should vote for." To that charge, the Presidents replied that "the Church does not claim any such right," in effect establishing Church neutrality in politics. They further announced, "We disclaim the right to control the political action of the members." On a separate but related issue, they vehemently denied the continued practice of polygamy. That, too, was a false statement (Quinn 1984, 59–60).

Lyman also fails to mention the subsequent and secret "Gardo House Meeting" (held some time before the 1892 election, Ivins n.d.) High Church officials there decided that only a Republican Utah

could obtain statehood, amnesty for polygamists, and the return of escheated Church property, and therefore adopted the policy that "men in high authority (in the church) who believed in republican principles should go out among the people" and campaign (Reasoner 1896; Ivins n.d.) Apostle John Henry Smith was given a roving commission to campaign for the GOP. Democrats were told to "remain silent." Thatcher did not attend the Gardo House Meeting but was incensed that the Church would violate its pledges of neutrality (Taylor 1978, 45; Thatcher, 12 Dec. 1896).

Thatcher, B. H. Roberts, and Charles W. Penrose, all Democrats, did not remain silent in the ensuing campaign but freely expressed their political (and Democratic) views. They soon found themselves "out of harmony" with their respective quorums. Lyman gives only passing reference to Robert's "disharmony," but that, too, is a complex story that has a bearing on Thatchers' alienation.

Although Truman Madsen's biography of Roberts claims that his paramount sin was not checking with the First Presidency before running for Congress (Madsen 1980, 222), it appears that Roberts did in fact discuss the matter with a member of the presidency who said "it would be all right" and did not raise Roberts's candidacy as an issue in a subsequent meeting with Roberts (*Salt Lake Tribune*, B. H. Roberts interview, 14 Oct. 1895, in Taylor 1978, 54).

At the October conference, 1895, President Joseph F. Smith publicly rebuked Thatcher and Roberts for accepting political nomination without Church approval. When the "Manifesto" was issued six months later, both Roberts and Thatcher refused to approve it. Thatcher said he could not sign it without personal "stultification" (Thatcher, 6 April 1896).

Lyman's claim that Thatcher suffered no unfair treatment because of his stand on the Political Manifesto is improbable. According to Thatcher, he had not been told in April 1896 that his name would not be withheld for a sustaining vote. Lyman correctly notes that Thatcher was gravely ill in April 1896 and had seen the manifesto only two hours before the conference. He suggests that the brethren did not discuss the manifesto with Thatcher out of concern for his ill health. Be that as it may, the brethren had labored with Roberts over several months *on two separate occasions* — once when Roberts refused to acknowledge that he had done wrong in campaigning for the Democrats, and again when he refused to sign the manifesto. Roberts repented on both occasions, but Thatcher remained unrepentant the second time.

Notwithstanding their public complaints against Thatcher, President Woodruff publicly prayed for him six months later in October conference 1896 (Woodruff, 5 Oct. 1896) and Lorenzo Snow enjoined the members, "I want you to pray for Brother Thatcher" (Snow, 5 Oct. 1896). But Counselor Joseph F. Smith spoke against Thatcher to "guard the people from unwise sympathy," further stating that he himself found it "impossible" to sympathize with Thatcher because he had done wrong (Smith, 5 Oct. 1896). One month later, at a Cache Valley stake conference, Smith publicly rebuked Bishop B. M. Lewis for praying that the Lord would help Thatcher see the error of his ways. According to an unidentified "prominent churchman," Smith's behavior "savored so strongly of a spirit contrary to divine love . . . that many who . . . considered Mr. Thatcher's opposition wrong wondered whether after all, some strong personal feeling did not underlie the pressure brought to bear on [Thatcher] . . ." (*Salt Lake Tribune* 21 Nov. 1896).

Lyman's article omits all these events. Lyman also suggests "[p]ublic reaction to Thatcher's dismissal was clearly mixed" (p. 88). Yet he does not discuss the negative reception the manifesto received in some wards and stakes. Three members of the Cache Stake High Council refused to approve the manifesto. At the Tooele

Stake Conference, three men voted against the manifesto. .Visiting Apostle Frank M. Lyman, in the afternoon session, declared the manifesto a revelation from God and asked the congregation to suspend high councilman Elder J. D. De La Mare apparently for voting against the manifesto. Between twenty and twenty-five voted to suspend De La Mare; about eight to ten voted against suspension, and about three hundred refused to vote, suggesting that the vast majority were deeply disturbed about the matter (Ivins n.d.).

Finally, Lyman's article challenges Thatcher's insistence on the separation of church and state by quoting an 1888 letter suggesting that Thatcher acquiesced to Church influence in politics (p. 73). I do not question the authenticity of that letter or that Thatcher said what he meant at the time. Yet certainly more relevant are the many occasions Thatcher preached publicly the separation of church and state. He was influential in securing the passage of Article I, Section 4 of the 1896 Utah Constitution which still says in pertinent part: "There shall be no union of church and state, nor shall any church dominate the state or interfere with its functions." Lyman's neglect of these contributions to Utah society presents a slanted view of Thatcher's beliefs.

One of Thatcher's public letters in response to a public attack from Apostles Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith perhaps best typifies Thatcher's view of Church involvement in politics. Said Thatcher, "If I believed politically and felt politically as do my Republican friends, Joseph F. and John Henry, I should no doubt write as they have written; but as I do not politically so believe and feel, I refrain from imitating their style. I fully recognize, however, their right to criticize anything that I may politically say or do; but I do not accord them higher right in that respect than that accorded to the humblest Republican in the rank and file of the party" (*Salt Lake Herald*, 25 May 1892). Thatcher's egalitarian attitude, while in harmony with the First Presidency's statement in the *Times*, is inconsistent with action taken at the Gardo House Meeting and the Political Manifesto.

If Thatcher was indeed "abrasive," as Lyman claims, or "rebellious and worldly minded" as President Snow said, the correspondence between Thatcher and Snow does not show it. The final paragraph of the final letter from Thatcher to Snow reveals the inner turmoil of a man trying to walk a tightrope between devotion to church and devotion to conscience. He wrote, "In conclusion, I desire to say that I do not complain of the treatment accorded me, nor do I murmur of the humiliation to which I have been subjected. But I cannot think the threatened excommunication from the Church, as intimated in some quarters, can be seriously entertained. Am I to be driven out of the church because of the Manifesto? I shall try and live the religion of our Savior. I want to live and die among my brethren and friends. I desire to do my duty to my church. I wish my children to observe the principles of the gospel, that they, too, may desire to live, die and be buried by the side of their father, when they shall reach, on the hillside, the final place of peace and rest" (Thatcher, 12 Dec. 1896).

On 14 November 1896 President Lorenzo Snow informed Thatcher that he had been "depriv[ed] of [his] Apostleship and other offices in the priesthood" (Snow, 14 Nov. 1896). On 30 July 1897, Thatcher's stake high council formally charged him with "apostasy and unchristianlike conduct . . ." (Taylor 1978, 62). Finding him guilty as charged, the council demanded that Thatcher confess "he was mistaken in conveying the idea that the church authorities desired and intended to unite church and state or to exercise undue influence in political affairs" (Taylor 1978, 62). Thatcher endorsed the council's decision "without qualifications or mental reservations" (Taylor 1978, 62).

Moses Thatcher died on 21 August 1909. On 23 August, the *Deseret News*

published an obituary claiming that Moses Thatcher "lived to acknowledge the justness of the action of his brethren of the Twelve." This statement brought a sharp rebuke from Moses Thatcher, Jr., whose letter to the editor was published in the *News* on 2 September 1909: "There is a wide difference between accepting the decision of that council, and even fulfilling its every requirement, and acknowledging the justice of the decision or the justice of the action of his brethren in the twelve in making the complaint. So far as I understand my father's position, or so far as his family and near friends understand it, he accepted the decision of the high council and complied with its requirements because it was the only thing he could do and retain his membership in the church, and to lose his standing in the church for him was not to be thought of. But the truth of the statement 'he lived to acknowledge the justice of the action of his brethren of the Twelve,' should be denied, for no such acknowledgement was ever made so far as I know or can find out."

It seems unfair that Lyman would accept the hearsay of John Henry Smith reporting that Thatcher, Jr., conceded his father was "insane" 26 July 1896 because of morphine addiction, yet omit mention of Thatcher, Jr.'s assessment of his father's character in 1909. Furthermore, Thatcher's writings, especially on the subject of his own "alienation," are not the ramblings of an insane man.

It is disappointing that Lyman did not think that Thatcher's own assessment and descriptions of the situation were relevant to understanding the man and the problems he faced.

Maxwell A. Miller
Salt Lake City, Utah

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Book of Mormon Peoples

With reference to "Indians Not Lamanites?" by George D. Smith (Summer 1985, p. 5) "Sorenson, an anthropologist at Brigham Young University, argues for abandoning the long-held doctrine that substantially all North and South American Indians are descended from the 'Lamanites' of the Book of Mormon."

Though some have held such views it should be recalled that President Anthony W. Ivins said, "It [the Book of Mormon] does not tell us that no one was here before them [the Book of Mormon people]. It does not tell us that people did not come after" (*Conference Reports*, April 1929, pp. 15–16).

Franklin S. Harris, Jr.
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Smith's "Naivete"

I question the accuracy of several of George D. Smith's assertions (Summer 1985, pp. 5–6).

Smith claims that the "limited region" approach to the Book of Mormon geography contradicts the Nephite record itself. To prove this, Smith cites Ether 2:5 and Helaman 11:20. In doing so he reveals a surprising naivete about the overall internal geographical picture presented in the Book of Mormon.

Even a casual reading of Ether 2 will make it plain that verse 5 refers to an area in the Old World, not the New. Helaman 11:20 simply means that the Lamanites began to inhabit "the whole face" of the land upon which the Book of Mormon history took place. (See Helaman 11:6, where the term "the whole earth" obviously refers only to the land area of the Nephites and the Lamanites. Parallels to this sort of geographical description can also be found in the Bible.) No informed student of the Book of Mormon's internal geography would claim that Helaman 11:20 is referring to a gigantic land area (such as all of North and/or South America), as Smith wrongly assumes.

In addition, Smith asserts that the "limited region" approach also contradicts certain statements about American Indians made by Joseph Smith and some of his associates. There is no officially canonized doctrine of the Church that *all* of the American Indians are *blood* descendants of Abraham, or Lehi, or Mormon, etc. It just doesn't exist.

Furthermore, during the Nauvoo period Joseph Smith made several comments about possible locations for certain Book of Mormon lands and cities which restrict the book's land area to Mesoamerica. (These are summarized in Verneil Simmons, *Peoples, Places and Prophecies: A Study of the Book of Mormon* [Independence, Missouri: Zarahemla Research Foundation, 1977], pp. 109–21.)

But most importantly, what we must concentrate on is what the Book of Mormon itself says about the size of the region upon which its history occurred. And the book makes it abundantly clear that its land area was a relatively limited one, whose dimensions and topography, interestingly enough, match those of Mesoamerica.

Smith's claim that the Book of Mormon "describes a civilization which is inappropriate for the New World" does not hold up in the face of the research done by such responsible scholars as John Sorenson, V. Garth Norman, David Palmer, M. Wells Jakeman, Kirk Holland Vestal, Bruce Warren, Kirk Magleby, and others. Furthermore, Norman will soon publish some important studies further substantiating ancient transoceanic crossings from the Old World to the Mesoamerican region.

Smith makes much of the current lack of conclusive evidence for the Book of Mormon's references to cows, pigs, and horses. There is a small amount of evidence for the existence of "cows" and "horses" in Mesoamerica during Book of Mormon times. (Milton R. Hunter, *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1956], pp. 1–10; Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1985] pp. 294–95.) What is needed here is perspective. First, negative evidence does not prove that cows and horses did not exist, only that their remains have not been discovered. Second, since only about 2 percent of the Mesoamerican ruins which date to the Book of Mormon period have been fully excavated, all the evidence is by no means in yet. (Kirk Holland Vestal and Arthur Wallace, *The Firm Foundation of Mormonism* [Los Angeles: LL Co., 1981], p. 103.) Third, despite all of the archaeological work done in biblical regions, there are still items mentioned in the Bible (such as lions) which have not yet been discovered. Fourth, the length of time it took archaeology to verify the Bible's statements about camels should caution us against relying too heavily on negative evidence. Fifth, since the names for the same animals can differ from culture to culture, we might be dealing with a linguistic problem, not an archaeological one. For an excellent discussion of animals in the Book of Mormon, see Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*, pp. 288–99.

I believe it is fair to ask Smith to deal with Sorenson's evidences for the Book of Mormon's statements about writing, metallurgy, population, cement, highways, fortified cities, and warfare as discussed in the article he critiqued, "Digging Into The

Book of Mormon" (*Ensign*, Sept.–Oct. 1984). Another fair topic would be the growing body of evidence for ancient transoceanic crossings from the Near East to Mesoamerica.

Since Sorenson treats the criticized topics and many others in *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*, it might be a better subject for someone seriously intent on challenging Sorenson's demonstration that the Book of Mormon's geography is consistent with Mesoamerica's geography and that the Nephite record has all of the characteristics of an ancient Mesoamerican codex.

Michael T. Griffith
Clarksville, Tennessee

Unselfish Chapter

I appreciated Neil Birch's recounting the origins of the Indian Student Placement Program (Winter 1985). Not much has been written about that unselfish chapter in Mormon history.

The program has always taxed people's ability to adjust and to give. Rearing foster children in addition to one's own is made doubly difficult by major cultural differences. The mostly comfortable middle-class Mormons who have served as foster parents needed extraordinary commitment, patience, and wisdom. The Indian child thrust into an alien environment, with its different expectations, often faced great frustrations. And the Indian family, parting with a child, suffered a wrenching experience. With the best intentions on all sides, the arrangements sometimes simply broke down. But a great number of success stories played out, too — marvelous examples of achievement and unselfishness, when children and families could make the necessary adjustments.

So far as I know, the only effort to tell what the program is like is Kay Cox's wonderful little book, *Without Reservation* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980], now unfortunately out of print. I have reread it several times, always with the same warm feeling.

During the past twenty years, she and her husband, Nyle, have taken in sixteen foster children, some for only short periods and others for years. Their efforts truly spanned a generation when their first foster child brought his son to live with them.

Only people who are both idealistic and durable could make the program succeed. Kay Cox demonstrates that wry good humor is a third valuable ingredient. One of my favorite incidents in the book occurred when a teen-age foster son insisted on dipping snuff. Kay told him that the next time she found a snuff can under his pillow she would lace it with what it looked like — manure. A day or two later she told him she had kept her word. He rushed off to brush his teeth. Returning, he said incredulously, "You didn't really do that? You're just trying to scare me." She said, "I did, and furthermore, if you can't tell the difference, for goodness sakes, don't buy it — sell it! We have a corral full and you are just welcome to all you want for yourself or any of your friends!" (p. 114)

Some Indian readers have been offended by the portrayal of Indian children as having problems; some social workers in the placement program have been offended at references to mistakes by well-intentioned foster parents and program administrators. But the book is lovingly full, too, of those small successes that add up to victory.

Edward L. Kimball
Provo, Utah

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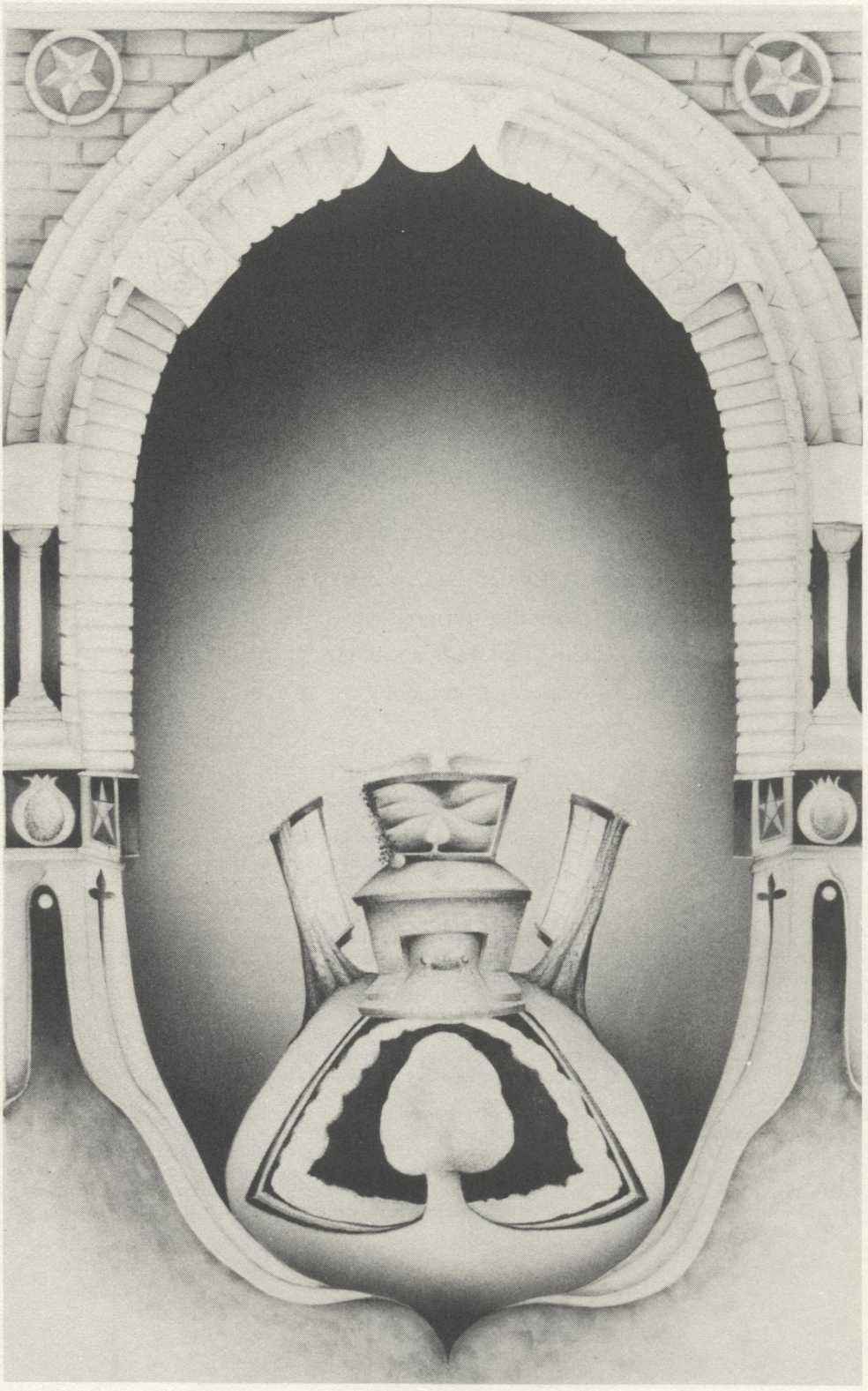

Joseph Smith and the Plurality of Worlds Idea

Robert Paul

JOSEPH SMITH WAS NOT THE FIRST PERSON to use the plurality of worlds concept. In the early seventeenth century, natural philosophers began speculating on the idea of multiple world systems. By the eighteenth century, Protestant evangelicals absorbed the idea into their Natural Theology. For them nature contained clear and compelling evidence of God's existence, substantiating their own Christian beliefs and countering religious skepticism (Westfall 1958; Hovenkamp 1978). Joseph used the concept quite differently, though never defensively. Theologically he related man, God, and the universe; religiously, his message was millenarian and directed toward eschatological issues. On careful examination, these complex issues suggest that the environmental thesis — the view that one's cultural matrix is entirely sufficient to account for the emergence of a coherent set of ideas or conventions — does not provide a wholly adequate explanation of the style and structure of restorationist pluralism.

In addition to examining the astronomical pluralism in Joseph's writings, this essay will assess the merits of the environmental thesis without suggesting that Joseph Smith as a religious leader must always be seen either as a prophet or as a charlatan, a dichotomy which has prevented useful and productive understanding of an enigmatic character. For purposes of this study, it is perfectly consistent with Joseph's own experiences and writings to see him as an *emerging* prophet, as one who was as much a part of the process of religious

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innovation as its primary medium of expression (Shipps 1974, 1985; Bushman 1976, 1984).

ASTRONOMICAL PLURALISM IN WESTERN THOUGHT

The pre-Socratic atomists of ancient Greece, Leucippus and Democritus, explored the plurality of worlds concept first; but with the rise of Aristotle's system in the fourth century B.C., it became largely dormant until the middle years of the European Renaissance. The image of an earth-centered universe, supported during the Middle Ages by religion, philosophy, and Aristotelian science, suggested a unique position for the earth in the cosmos. Thus, it was conceptually difficult to argue in favor of co-existing multiple world systems. In fact, if the earth were the singular center of the universe, it seemed absurd to suggest that the stars in the firmament were suns comparable to our own, let alone that they possessed inhabited planets. After all, went the argument, life in the universe was logically and empirically only at the center. The expanse of the cosmos and its perimeter was reserved for God, angels, and quintessential substances (Oresme 1977; Dick 1982, 6–12).

Not until the late years of the sixteenth century, after Copernicus presented his astronomically tenable heliocentric (sun-centered) cosmology in *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543), did pluralistic ideas first begin to emerge in the West. Heliocentrism is not necessarily essential to the plurality of worlds debate, but moving the sun instead of the earth to the center of the universe made it possible for the plurality of world ideas to emerge (Dick 1980; Dick 1982, 61–105; Lovejoy 1936, 24–98). Furthermore, the revival during this period of early Greek cosmogony suggested, in the new science of the seventeenth century, that since atoms were the ultimate agents of causality and that infinite causes must have infinite effects, the formation of an infinite number of worlds was demanded by the fortuitous coalescence of an infinite number of atoms. The invention of this mechanical philosophy of nature provided the metaphysical support required by radical Copernican cosmology. Together, Copernicanism and atomism altered the climate of Western thought in new and creative ways. Although several generations passed before people were able to understand fully the theological and scientific nature of this emerging world view, with the subsequent refinement of heliocentrism by Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Newton, Huygens, Leibniz, and a host of other seventeenth-century natural philosophers, the concept of astronomical pluralism began to develop in earnest.

Belief in the plurality of inhabited worlds eventually filtered down to the popular level with numerous editions and translations of Bernard de Fontenelle's widely known 1686 treatise, *On the Plurality of Worlds*, the first successful treatment of pluralism intended for general dissemination. (See also Wilkins 1640; Borel 1657). During the Enlightenment, belief in the doctrine became pervasive. Although some thought its reality improbable, many others accepted it. The European natural philosophers Thomas Wright, Immanual Kant, Johann Lambert, and later William Herschel, the most important observational astronomer of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

all advocated astronomical pluralism (Dick 1982, 159–75; Crowe 1978; Kawaler and Veverka 1981; Schaffer 1980). In eighteenth-century America the doctrine was advanced by a number of prominent figures. At Harvard, for instance, teachers explained that all the planets of the solar system, not just the earth, were inhabited; otherwise, they argued, these planets would have been created in vain, which God would not do. Within a decade, the pluralist view entered the curriculum and remained an essential ingredient of the theological training of Yale ministers. Thanks especially to Yale theologian Timothy Dwight, several generations of ministerial students were fed the pluralist diet. Such literary and religious figures as Ezra Stiles and the American Samuel Johnson spoke of the morals displayed by "those inhabitants of this earth and the planetary starry universe," while both David Rittenhouse, the colonies' foremost astronomer, and Benjamin Franklin, America's foremost scientist of the period, espoused the doctrine (Leventhal 1976, 244). By the end of the eighteenth century, pluralism was advocated by leading scientists and natural philosophers, who wedded the doctrine to the current scientific theories of the day. For instance, Pierre Simon de Laplace, the most gifted mathematical astronomer since Newton, argued that multiple world systems had to exist since the formation of stars and planets resulted from the rotation, contraction, and condensation of the primeval solar material and gases (Jaki 1977; Numbers 1977).

The plurality of worlds doctrine accompanied the birth of modern science in the seventeenth century, a time that fostered the growth of Natural Theology, when scientific and religious views complemented mutual intellectual concerns. 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 the scientist, being a Christian, could find justification for his religious convictions in his scientific studies. The basic premise of Natural Theology held that nature contained clear and compelling evidence of God's existence and perfection. In defending Christianity, however, Christian scientists prepared the ground for the deists of the Enlightenment. In time a radically different world view surfaced in their writings: a mechanical universe governed by immutable natural laws; God removed and separated from his creation; moral law taking the place of spiritual worship; and rational man discovering true religion without special revelation. With these developments in the eighteenth century, natural religion (or deism) and Natural Theology became fundamentally different enterprises.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the concept of multiple inhabited worlds found wide acceptance among secularists, deists, and natural theologians. Early nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicals Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Dick, and later David Brewster and Hugh Miller all wrote on the plurality of worlds, stressing the compatibility of science and religion. 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 interest in human affairs, but his *works* offered abundant evidence of the nature, power, and majesty of the divine presence.

The secular tradition of plurality of worlds was transformed into a religious idea and frequently seen as an endeavor to support religious views. Ironically, however, the plurality of worlds concept was not only used by sectarians to substantiate their faith but also by deists and others to debunk the claims of Christianity. Thus both Christians and secularists, believers and deists found evidence to support their views in the pluralist doctrine. As a result, pluralism filtered throughout American frontier society not only in the writings of such popular figures as Chalmers and Dick but also with deists such as Thomas Paine. Pluralism was disseminated by books, newspapers, almanacs, as well as orally, at religious gatherings and casual meetings.

DEISM AND THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS

The most widely known source of deism in early nineteenth-century America was Tom Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794). Fanned by the fires of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, Paine popularized along the lines of English anticlerical and rationalistic thought. Assuming the apotheosis of man's divine gift of reason, Paine's thesis was that Christian theology is fundamentally incompatible with human reason and man's increasingly scientific understanding of the universe. Reason alone, not biblical myth, is capable of informing man of the universe and its laws of operation.

Paine, who had immersed himself in the new astronomy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made his understanding of science — and astronomy in particular — the basis of his deism (Roper 1944). Part I of *The Age of Reason* manifests the power of astronomy over Paine and the central position the plurality of worlds came to occupy in his theological and scientific thinking. Thus, after describing in detail the immensity of the solar system, Paine extended his views to the vastness of the cosmos:

> Beyond this [the solar system], at a vast distance into space, far beyond all power of calculation, are the [fixed] stars. . . . Those fixed stars continued always at the same distance from each other, and always in the same place, as the sun does in the center of our system. The probability, therefore, is that each of those fixed stars is also a sun, round which another system of worlds or planets . . . performs its revolutions, as our system of worlds does round our central sun. . . . [T]he immensity of space will appear to us to be filled with systems of worlds, and that no part of space lies at waste (p. 47).

Intellectual historian Marjorie Hope Nicolson has argued that "the real basis of Paine's 'deism', . . . the chief source of his theological beliefs, . . . is the climatic and inevitable popularizing of . . . the controversy whether ours is not merely one of a plurality — even, some dared to think, of an infinity — of worlds, and whether such of these universes may not possess rational inhabitants" (Nicholson 1936, 107–8). Based on his understanding of astronomy, Paine believed that every evidence of science either "directly contradicts the Christian system of faith or renders it absurd" (p. 50). Thus, he wrote:

> From whence, then, could arise the solitary and strange conceit that the Almighty, who had millions of worlds equally dependent on his protection, should quit the care

> of all the rest and come to die in our world, because, they say, one man and one woman had eaten an apple? And, on the other hand, are we to suppose that every world in the boundless creation had an Eve, an apple, a serpent, and a redeemer? In this case, the person who is irreverently called the Son of God, and sometimes God himself, would have nothing else to do than to travel from world to world, in an endless succession of deaths, with scarcely a momentary interval of life (p. 49).

Paine's unrelenting attack on Christianity, the support he marshalled for his views in terms of the plurality of worlds and astronomy, and his claims of deism generally all entered early nineteenth-century American thought. As American historian Merle Curti has pointed out, "humble men in villages from New Hampshire to Georgia and beyond the Alleghenies discussed it by tavern candlelight" (Curti 1964, 153). In the six years between its publication and 1800, at least sixteen published criticisms of *The Age of Reason* appeared. The British Museum Catalogue lists more than fifty published responses (Nicholson 1936, 114; Stauffer 1919, 75–76).

While many wrote responses to Paine's *The Age of Reason*, however, others used it with missionary zeal to combat their perceptions of religious tyranny. Evidence indicates that Joseph Smith's father even had a copy. Joseph Senior's father, Asael, disapproved of Methodism, perhaps "because of its vigorous preaching of the eternal condemnation of the unregenerate," a view in contrast to Asael's own universalism (Anderson 1971, 207). Consequently, according to Lucy Mack Smith's unpublished history, when his son later considered joining the Methodists, Asael "came to the door one day and threw Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* into the house and angrily bade him read that until he believed it" (Bushman 1984, 38; Hill 1974, 90).

Although it has been argued that Joseph Smith himself read *The Age of Reason* and wrote the Book of Mormon to defend Christianity, there is no hard evidence that he either possessed or read a copy of Paine's work. It seems almost certain that he was acquainted with the ideas of "natural religion," but he shared New England attitudes that were, by the 1820s, already strongly and consciously opposed to infidelity (Hill 1969).[1] Thus, as far as deism is concerned, it is irrelevant whether Joseph was acquainted personally with *The Age of Reason.* In his insightful study of Joseph Smith, Richard Bushman has recently argued that the Smiths had been "more directly affected by Enlightenment skepticism than by Calvinist evangelism" and thus "were destined to live along the margins of evangelical religion" (Bushman 1984, 5–6). Though it lost ground for a time early in the nineteenth century, skepticism surfaced again beginning in the 1820s with the founding of various periodicals and remained an influence in frontier villages through newspaper editors and other homespun intellectuals (Bushman 1974; McLoughlin 1978, 99–105, 108–11). Yet Paine's plurality of worlds concept in *The Age of Reason* was not presented in a conceptually useful manner to have allowed Joseph Smith to develop his own

[1] Joseph's religious milieu, stretching from Vermont to the Western Reserve of Ohio, was saturated not so much with infidelity as with religious contention for authority. Joseph prayed not asking if Christianity was true (skepticism), but which religious sect had authority. (See T. Smith 1980, 3–21).

complex system of pluralist concepts. In fact, Joseph's theology of astronomical pluralism would more easily have been developed from sources other than Paine's *The Age of Reason*. We can be certain, though, that the plurality of worlds concept was widely understood and diffused during the early years of the century, partially as a direct consequence of Tom Paine.

RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY AND THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS

By far the most influential source of astronomical pluralism in the 1820s was no longer *The Age of Reason* but *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy* (1817) by the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, a young gifted Scottish minister. Though other writers espoused pluralism in the first decades after Paine's work, such as English poets Shelley and Byron, it was Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses*, beginning with the American edition, that produced among American readers an unparalleled appreciation of the magnificence of God's creation. Originally delivered as a series of seven complementary religious sermons, *Astronomical Discourses* met with instant and wide success. Its influence, like *The Age of Reason*, prompted one divine to express the view that "all the world is acquainted with Dr. Chalmers' splendid *Astronomical Discourses*" (in Crowe III, 3, 1).

Besides the brilliance Chalmers displayed in his literary talents, it appeared in America at a time characterized by religious revivals and evangelical fervor, when deism and rationalism were increasingly associated with infidelity and the excesses of French revolutionary tyranny and Jacobin extremism (Lipson 1977, 81–3). Furthermore, it was with *Astronomical Discourses* that *The Age of Reason* finally found a worthy opponent. As Paine had earlier used the plurality of worlds to argue against Christianity, Chalmers now used pluralism to support and defend the revival of religious neo-orthodoxy. Chalmers's intention thus became twofold: (1) to counter the skeptics' arguments and to remove difficulties in the way of belief, and (2) to examine the implications for Christian belief entailed in science and astronomy, particularly as suggested in the plurality doctrine (Cairns 1956). Thus Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses* became a significant example of Natural Theology — science used to support religious convictions.

Paine's most serious criticism of Christianity dealt with the presumed absurdity that Jesus Christ, the incarnation of God Almighty, should either come to this earth to extend the atonement and redemption to *all* his creations or travel from world to world in an endless succession of deaths. Paraphrasing the infidel, Chalmers introduced his first sermon by citing Psalms 8:3–4 that "he is mindful of us," and then stating the main theme of the discourses:

> This very reflection of the Psalmist has been appropriated to the use of infidelity, and the very language of the text has been made to bear an application of hostility to the faith. 'What is man that God should be mindful of him or the son of man, that he should deign to visit him?' Is it likely, says the Infidel, that God would send His eternal Son, to die for the puny occupiers of so insignificant a province in the mighty field of His creation? (p. 32; Brooke 1977, 259)

In one form or another, this theme thoroughly dominates *Astronomical Discourses*. Because of the relevance between Chalmers's treatment of deism, skepticism, and pluralist doctrine and Joseph Smith's treatment of these issues, it may be useful to summarize Chalmers.

After introducing his main theme, Chalmers sketches the dimensions of our solar system and the extent of the stellar universe, including the idea of multiple inhabited world systems. Here, he argues, since God's benevolence extends to all his creations, including the most insignificant of creatures, Christians should not be disturbed by God's having sent "His eternal Son, to die for the puny occupiers of so insignificant a province in the mighty field of His creation" (p. 32). In the second discourse, entitled "The Modesty of True Science," Chalmers praises the empiricism of Sir Isaac Newton vis-a-vis the rationalism of Voltaire and argues that the skeptic uses selective evidence and criteria based upon unverifiable assertions to speculate on other worlds while denying the universal applicability of Christianity. In "The Extent of the Divine Condescension," the third discourse challenges the assumptions imposed upon Christianity by the skeptic. Chalmers defies his opponents to indicate a single instance of God's inability to deal with the details of his universe. Moreover, to assume that God lacks commitment to his creations misrepresents the divine presence. In answer to the question of Christ's atonement, Chalmers responds that "the plan of redemption may have its influences and its bearings on those creatures of God who people other regions, and occupy other fields in the immensity of his dominions; that to argue, therefore, on this plan being instituted for the single benefit of the world we live in, and of the species to which we belong, is a mere presumption of the Infidel himself" (p. 73). Although the scriptures are not intended to give us a knowledge about worlds other than ours, Chalmers suggests in his fourth discourse that just as Christ's redemption is efficacious through the millennia of human history, so the atonement reaches throughout the universe. Not only is the human drama pursued with intense interest by the angels (the fifth discourse), but, just as a small and perhaps insignificant piece of land may decide the results of larger interests (the sixth discourse), so the earth, tiny and insignificant as it is, may decide the outcome of struggles between light and darkness universally.

The primary purpose of Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses* was not to lecture on the plurality of worlds or even to counter Paine's *The Age of Reason*, but to awaken its readers to the power of God's saving word. Thus, ending with the seventh discourse, Chalmers reminds his readers that they are agents in a cosmic battle and that Christianity provides not only the knowledge but the power needed for universal and personal salvation. Whether Chalmers succeeded as an evangelist is not entirely certain. What is clear, however, is that "many [of his readers] left convinced pluralists, certain that Christianity could not only be reconciled with the doctrine of a plurality of worlds, but could derive a new grandeur thereby" (Crowe III, 3, 13).

While Chalmers's *Discourses* was known widely in America, other sources of pluralism and Christian doctrine were also influential. Almost without exception, these sources are all examples of Natural Theology, any one of which

could have been used equally to support the Christian message. Though less accessible but perhaps more important as a source of ideas on astronomical pluralism among ministers was the work of a noted Calvinist, Timothy Dwight. As president of Yale University from 1795 until his death in 1817, Dwight delivered 173 sermons, published in 1818 as *Theology Explained*, to Yale undergraduates "to save them from infidelity, to inspire their morality, and to instruct them in Christianity" (Crowe III, 5, 3). During Dwight's tenure, as many as one-third of Yale undergraduates studied for the ministry. As these men fanned throughout New England and the western territories, no doubt many of their sermons asserted, implicitly or otherwise, the pluralist doctrine (Cunningham 1952, 330; Bainton 1957, 77).[2]

In many of his sermons, notably sermons 5–7, 13, 17, and 42, Dwight drew heavily upon astronomical pluralism and Natural Theology generally. Dwight, like Chalmers, felt compelled to answer Paine's central criticism of Christianity — that Christ would be forced either to travel from world to world in an endless succession of deaths or to atone on this earth for all of God's countless creations:

> This world was created, to become the scene of one great system of Dispensations toward the race of Adam; the scene of their existence, and their trial, of their holiness, or their sin, and their penitence and reformation, or their impenitence and obduracy. It was intended, also, to be a theatre of a mysterious and wonderful scheme of providence. The first rebellion in the Divine Kingdom commenced in Heaven: the second existed here. The first was perpetrated by the highest, the second by the lowest, order of Intelligent creatures. These two are with high probability the only instances, in which the Ruler of all things has been disobeyed by his rational subjects. The Scriptures give us no hint of any other conduct of the same nature: and no beings are exhibited in them as condemned at the final day, or sent down to the world of perdition, beside fallen angels, and fallen men. As, therefore, these are often mentioned as fallen creatures, and these only; it is rationally argued, that no other beings of this character have existed (Dwight 5:508).

As Dwight asserted, Christ's atonement on this earth was needed only by its inhabitants and was therefore unique among God's creations.

In addition to the pluralism presented in Paine, Chalmers, and Dwight, a fourth widely read source was available in rural America. Fawn Brodie has claimed that by 1835 Joseph had recognized the importance of formulating a metaphysics that would rationalize science with his own special brand of "Jewish and Christian mysticism." That synthesis, she argued, was the book of Abraham, and a major source of ideas was Thomas Dick's *The Philosophy of a Future State*, a work first published in 1828, which Joseph "had recently been reading" and which "made a lasting impression" on him (Brodie 1946, 171).

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[2] To date, we have firm information on only one minister, the Reverend George Lane, who may have had contact with Joseph Smith during the early 1820s. Lane was an itinerant Methodist preacher involved in the revivals of this period. Whether his sermons made reference to astronomical pluralism is not known, but being a neo-orthodox revivalist and believing that the spread of infidelity would undermine Christian faith, he probably dwelt occasionally on this topic (Porter 1969). It is unlikely, however, that the pluralist doctrine would have been as developed as in the writings of Dwight or Chalmers.

Not only Dick's *Philosophy*, but nearly all of his ten books were laced with astronomical pluralism. Though it did not specifically deal with the plurality of worlds, Dick's first work, *The Christian Philosopher; or, the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion* (1823), launched him on a successful career as a writer of science, religion, and Natural Theology. In his *Philosophy of a Future State* (dedicated to Thomas Chalmers), Dick speculates on the plurality of worlds in increasing detail, even calculating the number of inhabited worlds within the universe. His approach to the plurality doctrine and science generally assumed a cosmos characterized by purpose, order, and direction. This sort of teleological approach was often developed within Natural Theology, yet nowhere in his extensive writings does Dick feel compelled, as Chalmers and Dwight had earlier, to answer Paine's objections to Christianity. Even without this defense of the faith, Dick's writings became extremely popular both in Britain and America, and served to sustain much interest in the pluralist view.

While it may be doubtful that Joseph Smith consulted any of these works, it is probable that he heard them discussed in formal or casual conversation. Indeed, we can posit with reasonable confidence that Joseph first heard of the plurality idea during the revivalistic meetings of his youth. Chalmers, Dwight, Dick, and nearly all other religionists wrote on both the plurality of worlds and science in general as an example of Natural Theology to support Christian evangelicalism.

Pluralist Thought on the American Frontier

Over the last fifty years, it has been routinely suggested that during the 1820s Joseph Smith may have made use of the area's most important library (Paul 1982). Sometime around 1815, in the township of Farmington just five miles south of the Smith farm, the Manchester Rental Library Society was organized. As one of the region's first libraries to open to all patrons who paid for initial membership and continued with annual dues, the Manchester Library included a wide selection of books eventually growing to at least 421, of which 275 had actually been purchased by 1830. Included were copies of Dick's *The Christian Philosopher* (1826) and *Philosophy of a Future State* (1829), and Andrew Fuller's *The Gospels Its Own Witness; or, the Holy Nature, and Divine Harmony of the Christian Religion, Contrasted with the Immorality and Absurdity of Deism* (1803). Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State* is saturated with pluralism, while Fuller, though not nearly as influential as others we have considered, joins with Chalmers and Dwight in refuting Paine's *The Age of Reason*. As a critique of deism, Fuller's book was intended more as a religious work than as a defense of pluralism.

Despite the claims of some writers, none of the principals involved in the early years of the Restoration — including Joseph Smith — were members of the Manchester Rental Library Society nor made direct use of its splendid, though relatively sparse, resources. Moreover, if Joseph had wished to explore the literary materials of the day, it would have been unnecessary to travel the

five miles to Manchester when in Palmyra, only two miles distant, there were several book stores and at least one "library," the contents of which he would presumably have been free to peruse (Paul 1982; Backman 1980, 47–52). The contents of these "libraries," with the exception of the Manchester Rental Library, are unfortunately no longer preserved. Still, it is possible to surmise their holdings by examining the lists of books available for purchase in the Palmyra-Manchester-Canandaigua area as advertised in local newspapers.[3]

Timothy C. Strong, owner and editor of the *Palmyra Register*, announced the opening of a bookstore on 10 and 24 December 1817 in his Palmyra printing office. The following 12 May, Strong announced he had received a new selection of books for sale and advertised about 250 volumes on 15 September 1818 and on 27 October 1819 (Backman 1980, 48–49). From 27 December 1820 to 2 October 1822, two other bookshops opened in Palmyra, advertising works on science, history, religion, philosophy, medicine, and travel. After Pomeroy Tucker and E. B. Grandin purchased Strong's newspaper in 1823, they opened the Wayne County Bookstore (changing its name back to Palmyra Bookstore in 1826) and offered "a general and well selected assortment of books" (*Wayne Sentinel*, 12 May, 14 July 1824, 1 Dec. 1826). Shipments of a wide variety of books apparently arrived regularly about every year from 1818 on (*Palmyra Register*, 12 May, 15 Sept. 1818, 27 Oct. 1819; *Palmyra Herald*, 2 Oct. 1822; *Wayne Sentinel*, 12 May 1824, 1 Dec. 1826, 25 Jan., 19 Dec. 1828, 11 Dec. 1829). On 24 November 1824, for instance, *The Wayne Sentinel* advertised it had just received for sale *The Works of Thomas Chalmers* in three volumes, an edition that may have included his *Astronomical Discourses*, while the *Ontario Repository* advertised 16 February 1825 that both Dwight's *Theology Explained* and Chalmers's *Works* were available at the Canandaigua bookstore. These "bookstores" were generally part of a larger commercial enterprise, such as a newspaper or printing office, and thus the range of available books was limited.

Such advertisements were, of course, not the only source of the plurality of worlds doctrine available to local residents. Newspapers themselves constituted an important, if not a major, source of knowledge.[4] We know from second-hand information that the Smith family regularly obtained the *Palmyra Register* and that they may have continued with the *Wayne Sentinel* (Backman 1969, 316; *Wayne Sentinel*, 11 Oct. 1825, 6 Oct. 1826). Yet a close

[3] The first weekly newspaper in Palmyra was the *Palmyra Register* (1817–21) followed by the *Western Farmer* (1821–22) and the *Palmyra Herald, Canal Advertiser* (1822–23), all published by Timothy C. Strong. In 1823 Strong sold his paper to Pomeroy Tucker and E. B. Grandin, who superseded Strong's paper with *The Wayne Sentinel*. Five years later, *The Palmyra Freeman* (1828–29) began publishing as did *The Reflector* (1829–30), a short-lived serial best known for printing portions of a pirated copy of the Book of Mormon manuscript. The county seat for Palmyra, prior to the formation of Wayne County in 1823, was Canandaigua in Ontario County, about eight miles south of the Smith farm. A variety of newspapers were published there including the *Ontario Messenger*, the *Ontario Repository*, the *Ontario Republican*, and the *Ontario Freeman*.

[4] In 1835 the New York *Sun* published Richard Adams Locke's six-part satirical fancy on moonmen. The articles were widely read and, for a time, helped raise the circulation of the *Sun* (Griggs 1852).

perusal of all Palmyra papers from the inception of the *Register* in 1817 through the *Wayne Sentinel* in 1830, as well as an examination of other newspapers in the region, principally those published in Canandaigua, the county seat of Ontario, reveals very little discussion of the pluralist doctrine. Occasionally area newspapers carried articles on science; particularly of interest were such astronomical topics as "solar spots," comets, and meteors (*Palmyra Register* 28 July, 11 Aug., 15 Dec. 1819, 22 March 1820; *Wayne Sentinel*, 6, 27 March, 9, 16, 23 Oct. 1829).

While Strong's *Palmyra Register* was opposed to deism and included material favoring a position similar to that held by Dwight or Chalmers, references to the pluralist doctrine were surprisingly infrequent (10 March 1818, 7 Feb. 1821). Except for a short extract from Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses* appearing in the *Ontario Repository* (25 May 1825), dealing explicitly with the plurality of worlds and related implications, there are only two additional essays, neither dealing with pluralism in a substantial way (*Wayne Sentinel*, 23 March 1827, 22 Aug. 1828). The 24 November 1819 issue of the *Palmyra Register* published the only really significant piece on the plurality of worlds during this period. Entitled "Varieties of Nature," this article described the cosmos and its creations by the "Supreme Architect" and urged readers to

> the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, which roll with so much majesty and regularity through the immensity of infinite space. . . . Some of them are opaque, others whose nature is that of our sun. They are constructed to enlighten superior worlds, and those worlds must be inhabited. The Creator has made nothing without adjudging it to some purpose and those suns above were not made for affording this earth a dubious light. A most convincing fact may be mentioned as a further proof of the plurality of worlds; that the optic tube [telescope] discovers at every glance more worlds and systems in the blue immense.

It can be inferred that the author favored Chalmers's or Dick's position rather than Dwight's regarding the significance and role played by Christ on this earth with respect to all of God's creations. The reference to telescopic observations of "more worlds and systems in the blue immense" deals with the large number of nebulae discovered by William Herschel during the preceding several decades. Herschel, however, was unable to resolve these objects into the stellar galaxies, star clusters, and planetary and gaseous nebulae astronomers subsequently accomplished.

Besides books and newspapers, perhaps the most widely read literature was almanacs. Literature, art, historical and current events, manners, morals, and entertainment were often presented in eighteenth-century almanacs, including astronomy, mathematics, Copernican theory, Newtonian mechanics, natural history, geology, and medicine. Typical astronomical data that might affect the weather — and according to some, humanity itself — included the positions of the sun and moon, the moon's phases, the position of the planets, and dates of eclipses (Stowell 1977, ix, xiv–xvii). The "philomath" almanacs of colonial times emphasized natural philosophy and particular astronomy for many years, including the plurality of worlds doctrine (Stowell 1977, 164–66 and passim). As "farmer's" almanacs were developed towards the end of

the seventeenth century, they emphasized more utilitarian concerns and fewer discussions of pluralism emerged in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions.

In Palmyra, as was typical throughout America, notices appeared in newspapers for every year from 1818 through 1830 advertising almanacs. Almanacs were also on sale in both Palmyra and Canandaigua, but they rarely discussed science and natural philosophy and, with only a few exceptions, never made reference to astronomy, let alone astronomical pluralism. For example, Andrew Beers's *The Farmer's Diary* (1824), published by James D. Bemis, editor of the *Ontario Repository*, printed one of the few essays on astronomy found in this period. Entitled "Formation of the Universe," this essay, however, only obliquely assumed the notion of the plurality of worlds. Generally speaking, even though almanacs were widely available, they represented a poor source of ideas dealing with the pluralist doctrine.

Other sources of a *formal* discussion of pluralism are possible but not likely. Masonic thinking does not use the plurality of worlds idea. The most relevant parallel between Mormonism and Freemasonry is the common use of certain astronomical symbols. In the construction of the Nauvoo Temple, for instance, sun, moon, and star stones adorned its exterior. In Freemasonry, these images symbolize degrees of understanding, while in Mormon temple cosmology they represent the several heavens of Mormon afterlife with all their pluralistic implications of multiple world systems. Even if Joseph was influenced by Freemasonry in his temple theology, such influence did not extend to his ideas on astronomy and its implied pluralism.[5]

Were other — more ancient — sources available to Joseph Smith dealing with the astronomy of either Abraham or Enoch? Excluding the canonized scripture of orthodox Christianity, it appears that the only non-Greek writings available in area bookshops and libraries in Palmyra and Canandaigua were editions of Josephus's *Works*. In his discussion of Jewish antiquities, however, Josephus barely touches on Abrahamic astronomy and nowhere discusses astronomy in any significant detail. Elsewhere, however, derivatives of Abrahamic astronomy were considered in the writings of some classical Greek authors. Unfortunately, the only writings of Greek origin advertised in local newspapers and available in bookstores and libraries included an occasional grammar, reader, or New Testament. Even the works of Aristotle, Plato, and neo-Platonists such as Proclus were rarely found in the area. In fact, the only serious classical source discussing Abrahamic astronomy was Thomas Taylor's 1816 English translation of Proclus's *Theology of Plato*, a work virtually unknown in America at the time.[6] Not until 1840 did a few apocryphal sources,

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[5] For an invaluable and mammoth exegesis of Masonic ceremony and mysticism, see Pike 1871, 581–800.

[6] The library of Thomas Jefferson, perhaps the finest in America, contained only one book by Proclus, *Philosophical and Mathematical Commentaries on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* (London, 1792). The more relevant *Six Books of Proclus on the Theology of Plato* (1816), trans. by Thomas Taylor, was virtually unknown at the time. For possible Pythag-

such as the works of Jasher and Enoch, become known among Mormons in Nauvoo.[7]

Astronomical Pluralism in Mormon Thought

Concerning the development of a plurality of worlds, intellectual historian Arthur Lovejoy has suggested five innovations implied in the new heliocentric cosmology: (1) other planets of the solar system are inhabited by living, sentient, and rational beings; (2) the closed world of medieval cosmology is replaced with an infinite universe; (3) fixed stars are suns similar to our own and surrounded by planetary systems; (4) these planets are inhabited by conscious beings, and (5) an infinite number of solar systems exist (Lovejoy 1936, 108; Koyre 1957).

As it emerged in Jacksonian America, the plurality of worlds doctrine reflected its Old World roots, conforming in broad outline to Lovejoy's scheme. Following the appearance of the books of Moses, Abraham, and the Doctrine and Covenants, Mormon writers began to develop this theme more fully. Although writers within the Church referred to the idea of celestial pluralism as early as 1832, the most significant development occurred first during the Nauvoo years of Joseph Smith and later in Utah by leading authorities. For instance, Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, Charles W. Penrose, Orson Hyde, and Erastus Snow all wrote on pluralism, particularly in light of the science of the day. Among the most significant treatises by Mormon authorities are those by Parley P. Pratt (1855, 1891), John A. Widtsoe (1903/04, 1908, 1927/28), and B. H. Roberts (1908, 1928, 1930).[8]

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orean connections with Abrahamic astronomy, see William Dibble's "The Book of Abraham and Pythagorean Astronomy," Dialogue 8 (Autumn/Winter, 1973): 134–38.

[7] "The Book of Jasher," *Times and Seasons* 1 (June 1840): 127; and "The Apocryphal Book of Enoch," *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840): 61–63. For a recent examination of the importance of the Book of Enoch in the development of Mormon theology, particularly the concept of Zion, see Olsen 1981.

[8] For Mormonism's earliest commentaries on this theme, see W. W. Phelps, "Nature," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (Oct./Nov. 1832): 40, 47; and Oliver Cowdery, "Signs in the Heavens," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (Dec. 1833): 116. Extensive commentary is also given in Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (Liverpool and London, 1855, 1891, 5th ed.), Chs. 6, 16; three works by John A. Widtsoe, "Joseph Smith as Scientist: The New Astronomy," *Improvement Era* 7 (1903–04): 337–44; *Joseph Smith as Scientist, A Contribution to Mormon Philosophy* (Salt Lake City: General Board of YMMIA, 1908), p. 49; *How Science Contributes to Religion* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1927), pp. 32–38, 44–48); three works by B. H. Roberts, comp. and ed., *The Seventy's Course in Theology. Second Year: Outline History of the Dispensations of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City, 1908), pp. 33–36; "The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology," (1928) photocopy of manuscript made available to me by an associate, Chs. 4–11; and *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:394–96. For a brief discussion of Roberts's ideas on the plurality of worlds, see Truman G. Madsen, "The Meaning of Christ — The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Analysis of B. H. Roberts' Unpublished Masterwork," *BYU Studies* 15 (Spring 1975): 263–69. For modern LDS advocates of the plurality of worlds idea see R. Grant Athay, "Worlds Without Number: The Astronomy of Enoch, Abraham, and Moses," *BYU Studies* 8 (1968): 255–69; and Hollis R. Johnson, "Civilizations Out in Space," *BYU Studies* 11 (1970): 3–12. Both Athay and Johnson, however, in their otherwise insightful essays, assumed uncritically that

As early as 1830, Joseph Smith first presented his ideas on multiple world systems within the context of Old Testament studies, justifying his own brand of astronomical pluralism as part of a long tradition of religious speculation on the subject. It has been argued (Brooke 1977) that Psalms 8:3–4 ("When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visiteth him?") has historically served as the point of departure for treatises on the plurality of worlds. Here the suggestion is made that man, as one of God's creatures, is no more significant than the creations of God elsewhere — on *other* planets! But in Joseph Smith's case both the Old and New Testaments provided material in new and innovative ways. In the process of revising these sacred books, Joseph presented new meanings of Genesis and sought for new understandings of celestial cosmology. In June 1830, he received the "Visions of Moses":

> And he beheld many lands; and each land was called earth, and there were inhabitants on the face thereof.
>
> And worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purposes; and by the Son I created them, which is mine Only Begotten.
>
> But only an account of this earth, and the inhabitants thereof, give I unto you. For behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power. And there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they unto man; but all things are numbered unto me, for they are mine and I know them.
>
> And the Lord God spake unto Moses, saying: the heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man; but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine.
>
> And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither to my words (Moses 1:29, 33, 35, 37–38).

And in December, he recorded the "Prophecy of Enoch":

> And were it possible that man could number the particles of the earth, yea, millions of earths like this, it would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations; . . .
>
> Behold, I am God; Man of Holiness is my name; Man of Counsel is my name; and Endless and Eternal is my name, also.
>
> Wherefore, I can stretch forth mine hands and hold all the creations which I have made; and mine eye can pierce them also, and among all the workmanship of mine hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren (Moses 7:30, 35–36).

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when Joseph Smith introduced the plurality of worlds doctrine, pluralism was considered at the time as either "quite advanced" or "fanciful speculation." In a later essay, Athay corrected himself but quoted from the noted historian of astronomy, Antoine Pannekoek, *A History of Astronomy* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1961), p. 402, who wrongly claimed that the plurality of worlds doctrine was "strongly antagonistic to the dominant religious creeds." See R. Grant Athay, "Astrophysics and the Gospel," *The New Era* 2 (Sept. 1972): 14–19. For a discussion of some Mormon implications of the plurality of worlds idea, see Frank B. Salisbury, *Truth by Reason and by Revelation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965), pp. 234–52. Surprisingly one of the few historical surveys of multiple inhabited worlds was undertaken by Mormon scientist Ralph V. Chamberlin, professor of biology at Brigham Young University and later at the University of Utah. Not always reliable in detail, it does not treat the concept of pluralism in Mormon theology. "Life in Other Worlds: A Study in the History of Opinion," *Bulletin of the University of Utah*, 22 (Feb. 1932): 3–52.

Although some of these sources were not publicly presented until 1843, they, together with Joseph's scriptural Copernicanism (Hel. 12:15 and Alma 30:44), formed the essential features of the Mormon concept of the plurality of worlds during the early years of the Church (Matthews 1975, 72, 221–24).

As a whole, this early pluralistic view supports Lovejoy's fivefold scheme. The ideas of inhabited planets and of an infinite number of planetary systems are directly expressed in these verses of Moses, while the infinity of space and stars whose planets are inhabited are all implied. In other words, the basic features of astronomical pluralism were evident in Joseph's thinking by December 1830. Moreover, in addition to this conventional view of the plurality of worlds, Joseph also stated the simultaneous existence of multiple world systems throughout time itself. Again in Moses, we read: "There are many worlds that have passed away. . . . And there are many that now stand . . . And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither to my words" (Moses 1:35, 38).

The pluralism developed early in Moses was carried over into Joseph's increasingly sophisticated theology. In February 1832, he and Sidney Rigdon received "The Vision" and as published in *The Evening and the Morning Star* (July 1932: [10–11]), it asserts "that by him [Christ], and through him, and of him, the worlds are made, and were created, and the inhabitants thereof are begotten sons and daughters of God; . . . worlds without end" (see D&C 76:24, 112). Later in December, Joseph recorded the "Olive Leaf," and in May of the following year he received Doctrine and Covenants 93, both of which record astronomical pluralism conforming to Lovejoy's scheme and to the notion of pluralism in time (see D&C 88:36–38, 42–47; 93:9–10; Cook 1981; Woodruff 1974).

The Book of Abraham presents a detailed cosmology featuring not only a plurality of worlds but an astronomy within which pluralism is an integral part.[9] Perhaps the central feature of "Abrahamic" astronomy is the concept of governing worlds — places that apparently delimit and control the bounds and dimensions of other worlds.

> Kolob is set nigh unto the throne of God, to govern all those planets which belong to the same order as that upon which thou standest. . . .
>
> And he [God] put his hands upon mine eyes, and I saw those things which his hands had made, which were many; and they multiplied before mine eyes, and I could not see the end thereof (Abr. 3: 9, 12).

Again, the plurality doctrine embedded in Abraham conforms to Lovejoy's scheme; but the notion that planets, or systems of planets, are controlled by other planets is a novel suggestion. (This idea of hierarchical control had been suggested in 1832, Doctrine and Covenants 88:42–44.)

Summarizing Joseph's views on the plurality of worlds, it is clear that he espoused a position in keeping with Lovejoy's but also had additional views:

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[9] A number of references in Abraham deal with cosmology and pluralism: "Facsimile no. 2," figs. 1 and 2, and Abr. 1:31, 3:1–17. Although all three references were originally published in 1842, Joseph had understood the principles of Abrahamic astronomy by 1835 (HC 2:286).

(6) worlds have passed away and others have and are being formed (Moses 1:35, 38); (7) worlds are governed in a hierarchical relationship (Abr. 3: 8–9); (8) every system of worlds has its own laws and bounds (D&C 88:36–38); (9) Christ made and/or makes all worlds (D&C 76:24; 93:9–10); (10) different kinds of people inhabit different worlds (D&C 76:112); (11) the earth has been the most wicked of all worlds (Moses 7:36); (12) resurrected beings also reside on worlds (D&C 88:36–38); and (13) worlds exist both in space and time (Moses 1:35, 38; D&C 88:36–38, 42–47; 93:9–10). Concerning the idea that this world is the most wicked of all God's creations, Joseph later wrote in Nauvoo,

> And I heard a great voice bearing record from Heav'n,
> He's the Savior, and only Begotten of God —
> By him, of him, and through him, the worlds were all made,
> Even all that career in the heavens so broad.
>
> Whose inhabitants, too, from the first to the last,
> And sav'd by the very same Saviour of ours;
> And, of course, are begotten God's daughters and sons,
> By the very same truths, and the very same pow'rs.
>
> (*Times and Seasons* 4 [February 1843]: 82–85)

Thus, (14) Christ's redemption is universal.

Although there was very little exegesis of this or any topic before Nauvoo, the framework within which pluralism is presented in Mormon scripture complements the basic theological ideas Joseph was developing.[10] In Moses, pluralism is developed within the context of the inhabitants of God's creations, particularly their unrighteous nature. In Abraham the focus shifts to a hierarchical ordering of a pre-mortal spiritual creation. Doctrine and Covenants 76 deals almost exclusively with the disposition of post-mortal mankind and the characteristics of the various Mormon heavens; the context of Section 88 presents a discussion of the laws governing these kingdoms. These two sections describe not only the several heavens of Mormon cosmology but also their conditions, binding laws, and inherent bounds. Hence, Joseph's concept of multiple inhabited worlds is more properly seen as cosmological pronouncements of religious and metaphysical import than speculations to convince the unbeliever of the truthfulness of Christianity.

MORMONISM AND PLURALIST THOUGHT ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

The ready availability of the concept of a plurality of worlds on the American frontier in the 1820s is obvious. This is not to suggest, however, that

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[10] For a discussion of the emergence of a Mormon theology, see Thomas Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 5 (July/Aug. 1980): 24–33; T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839–1846," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 435–46; Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 209–25; Grant Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," DIALOGUE 17 (Autumn 1984): 35–74.

accessibility to the idea constitutes sufficient evidence that Joseph derived his notion of multiple inhabited world systems exclusively from his environment. The mere availability of pluralist views is in itself not an adequate argument for Joseph's *coherent* system of beliefs. Ideas by themselves do not form an integrated and consistent system without the dimensions of a broader conceptual structure. Here, that basis is to be found neither in Natural Theology nor in a response to deism, but is uniquely cosmological. While it is not clear that Joseph's ideas on the plurality of worlds were coherent in his *own* mind, they are surprisingly self-consistent and coherent if viewed cosmologically.

Ultimately, the question is not whether Joseph Smith was acquainted with Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses* or Dwight's *Theology*, for example. Reading the book of Moses closely, one cannot fail to be impressed with the repeated reference to vast numbers of creations. Not only do we read of "millions of earths like this," but also "the heavens cannot be numbered" and "worlds without number." The overwhelming impression is one of awesome size and grandeur. Paine had earlier argued that such conditions imply the absurdity of the atonement. Whereas Chalmers suggested that there was nothing contradictory or absurd in the claim that God could use the earth and its inhabitants to work out a universal atonement, Dwight believed the earth only was in need of redemption. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, while assuming Chalmers's assertion and implicitly denying Dwight's, provided perhaps the most innovative alternative: "Wherefore, I can stretch forth mine hands and hold all the creations which I have made; and mine eye can pierce them also, and among all the workmanship of mine hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren" (Moses 7:36).

In the context of Enoch's discussion on the plurality of worlds, this verse justifies pluralism in light of the skeptics' most serious argument against Christianity.[11]

Besides the agreement on the plurality of worlds idea, there are other similarities between Dick's *Philosophy* and in the emerging theology of Joseph Smith. The two most prominent features that share some similarity deal with the "throne of God" and the "perfectibility of man," both of which Brodie notes and emphasizes. While she implies that Joseph derived his notion of Kolob from Dick's idea of the "throne of God," Dick views God as ubiquitous, universal, and ethereal. Thus, it would preclude Joseph's idea of a universal center upon which God, as a being, dwells. Joseph, and many others, shared Dick's view of the "perfectibility of man" but, in contrast to Dick, argued for the ultimate *divine* perfectibility of man, a concept Dick rejected. On such crucial doctrines as the attributes of God and his place of dwelling, the concept of eternal progression, creation *ex nihilo*, and the eternal nature of matter, there is also a wide divergence of belief. Moreover, Dick espoused a dualistic metaphysics, while Joseph became a strict monist. Theologically, Dick claimed

[11] Not all persons who actively engaged in Natural Theology to substantiate their Christian faith and who espoused the pluralist doctrine felt threatened by Paine and other skeptics. See, for instance, Henry Fergus, *An Examination of Some of the Astronomical and Theological Opinions of Dr. Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Macredie, Skelley and Co., 1818).

that man is utterly contingent upon God, while Joseph eventually argued that man is necessary (Ostler 1982). On the nature of evil, sin, and the fall, the two also held polar views. After an analysis of external evidences and doctrinal issues dealing with God, man, salvation, and other metaphysical views, at least one scholar, Edward T. Jones (1969), concluded there are so few similarities in their thinking that Brodie's assertion must be rejected.

Are there, however, as Brodie asserts, external reasons to justify the claim that Joseph had read Dick's *Philosophy* prior to producing the book of Abraham? Although Jones has shown that Brodie made numerous incorrect conclusions in trying to identify Joseph Smith's possession of Dick's *Philosophy*, Oliver Cowdery knew the book or excerpts. In the *Messenger and Advocate* (Dec. 1836, pp. 423–25), Oliver as editor quoted from Dick's *Philosophy* on, among other things, the plurality of worlds doctrine. In a later issue (Feb./March 1837, pp. 468–69), Oliver's brother Warren further inserted quotes from Dick's book, *The Philosophy of Religion; or, An Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe*, published in 1826. The first part speculated on the moral relations and conditions of extraterrestrial intelligences, while the second dealt with the foundations of morality. What cannot be ascertained without additional evidence is whether Joseph was acquainted early in his career with Dick's writings, irrespective of a general contact with the idea. Even if he were, it seems unlikely that Joseph benefited significantly from Dick's ideas. Moreover, Joseph had already extensively expounded upon the subject six years prior to the Dick references appearing in the *Messenger and Advocate*. Later he possessed a copy of Dick's *Philosophy*, though in January 1844 he donated it with about forty of his own books to the recently organized Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute (Godfrey 1974).

The primary sources for astronomical pluralism during the first third of the nineteenth century, Paine, Chalmers, Dwight, and Dick, were all widely known among the American reading public, with Dwight best known to the religious community. In a significant study of the development and diffusion of astronomical pluralism throughout this period, historian Michael J. Crowe has analyzed nearly every published source of the concept appearing in the English-speaking world.[12] The breadth of literature dealing with pluralism is astounding, and, in addition to the above, it may be grouped into the following categories: (1) that rejecting pluralism as irreconcilable with Christianity (Walpole); (2) that rejecting pluralism as absurd (Coleridge); (3) that accepting

[12] Pluralist works exerting peripheral influence during this period include: A. Fuller, *The Gospel Its Own Witness, or the Holy Nature and Divine Harmony of the Christian Religion Contrasted with the Immortality and Absurdity of Deism* (Clipstone, printed by J. W. Morris, 1799); E. Nares, *An Attempt to Shew How Far the Philosophical Notion of a Plurality of Worlds is Consistent, or Not So, with the Language of the Holy Scriptures* (1801); R. Harrington, *A New System on Fire and Planetary Life* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1796); J. Mitchell, *On the Plurality of Worlds* (London, 1813); Anon., *A Free Critique of Dr. Chalmers's Discourses on Astronomy* (London, 1817); H. Fergus, *An Examination of Some of the Astronomical and Theological Opinions of Dr. Chalmers* (Edinburgh, Macredie, Skelley and Co., 1818); J. Overton, *Strictures on Dr. Chalmers' Discourses on Astronomy* (Deptford, Kent, 1817); A. Maxwell, *Plurality of Worlds* (London, 1817); A. Copland, *The Existence of Other Worlds* (London, J. G. and Rivington, 1834).

pluralism as opposed to deism and supporting Christianity (Fuller, Nares, Harrington, Mitchell, Chalmers); (4) that rejecting Chalmers's particular advocacy of pluralism (Fergus, Overton, Maxwell); (5) that accepting pluralism and rejecting religion (Shelley, Byron); (6) that advocating pluralism as reconcilable with religion (Dwight, Swedenborg); (7) that advocating pluralism as science (Dick, Herschel, Copland); and (8) variations of the above.

The majority of these books were of minor importance or derived their arguments from the works of Chalmers, Dick, or Paine. A major purpose of many of these writers was not to explain science to the public so much as to provide arguments for the Christian message. Their arguments almost always took the form of extrapolation to the sciences of the day, of analogy to the human habitation, and of a teleological approach to God and the universe. Joseph Smith's version of pluralism, however, does not fit any of these categories easily. It is true that he could have supported positions (3), (4), and (6). Doing so, however, would have considerably altered the purposes for which he constructed his cosmology and would have compromised the terms in which he developed his views. He assumed pluralism — without defense! Astronomical pluralism, in Joseph's version, possessed its own, unique foundation, which, in the final analysis, was based on the emerging theology of the Restoration. Finally, Joseph Smith's writings on the pluralist question were never based on contemporary science nor did he argue by analogy or use a teleological approach. Because his views were presented in a variety of sources spread across a decade, however, it is not clear whether he built his system deliberately or otherwise. But from whatever sources Joseph Smith derived his views on the plurality of worlds, he developed them into a coherent system different from available sources.

Conclusion

The idea that Joseph may have borrowed from cultural sources cannot, of course, be totally discounted, yet asserting indigenous sources requires at the very least an explanation of both his deviations from available sources and his integration of his pluralistic ideas with his scriptural writings. In the pluralist concept, Joseph seems to have deviated significantly from the mainstream of those writing on this subject, whether evangelical or deistic. Furthermore, in so doing Joseph integrated his ideas on astronomy into a cosmological framework of complex dimensions.

While we have explored only one aspect of Joseph's cosmology, his pluralism was primarily as an excursion into metaphysics and cosmology, rather than into Natural Theology. Joseph was not trying to substantiate the Christian faith by association with prevailing concepts and theories of science and philosophy. Neither was he interested in debunking deism. He felt no need to do so, since he personally, and the Smith family generally, did not feel threatened by deistic arguments. If he had, he would have emphasized pluralism as an example of Natural Theology. But none of this appears. Given the available data, I believe it is reasonable to conclude (1) the plurality of

worlds idea saturated both the scientific and religious communities of Joseph's time; (2) among the religiously orthodox, pluralism was used almost entirely as an instance of Natural Theology to substantiate the Christian message as a bulwark against skepticism; (3) Joseph himself probably first encountered the idea of the plurality of worlds within the oral traditions of his times; (4) he likely did not use available literary materials (Chalmers, Dwight, Paine, Dick, etc.) as primary sources for his own version of pluralism; and (5) while he would not have rejected the conclusions of his religious contemporaries on the idea of the plurality of worlds, his own version extended far beyond theirs into cosmological and eschatological issues.

Is there, however, a larger purpose Joseph addressed by advancing the doctrine of the plurality of worlds? If my analysis is reasonable and Joseph provided a framework for astronomical pluralism that extended beyond the concerns of his contemporaries, what purposes did his doctrine serve? Although others have suggested this theme, let me note the following, admittedly an after-the-fact historical justification for the evolution of his pluralistic cosmology.

Within Mormon theology, as it developed within the Utah church, the concept of the plurality of worlds has implications extending far beyond the idea of multiple inhabited worlds. Fundamentally, the plurality doctrine is wedded to a complex fabric with both theological and religious dimensions. Theologically, astronomical pluralism is a necessary feature of the other forms of Mormon pluralism — wives and gods. Speaking on plural marriage before a General Conference session on 6 October 1854, Brigham Young clarified this feature of the Restoration: "The whole subject of the marriage relationship is not within my reach or in any man's reach on this earth. It is without the beginning of days or the end of years; it is a hard matter to reach. We can feel some things with regard to it: it lays the foundation for worlds, for angels, and for Gods; for intelligent beings to be crowned with glory, immortality, and eternal lives" (JD 2:90). The sealing of men and women is the essential condition to attain godhood. In turn, God (male/female) propagates spiritual and eventually physical progeny, requiring, of course, worlds for inhabitation. Thus the complex of pluralism — wives, gods, worlds — establishes the fundamental basis of nineteenth-century Mormon cosmology.

This view of pluralism also has profound religious significance. It is within the Mormon concept of the temple that pluralism takes on a dimension unavailable in the theological relationship of these ideas. Not only does the temple represent the sacred place needed to consummate eternal sealings and blessings, but it also becomes a microcosm of the universe, entailing both symbolic and ceremonial representations of the various heavens of Mormon afterlife. Here pluralism is illustrated "as a program of intense and absorbing activity which [rewards] the faithful by showing them the full scope and meaning of the Plan of Salvation" (Nibley 1970, 247). Within this scheme, the plurality of worlds doctrine for Mormonism allows for the completion of the divine creation process. In this sense, Mormonism possesses an eschatological orientation that looks towards pluralism in its various dimensions for its ultimate jutification.

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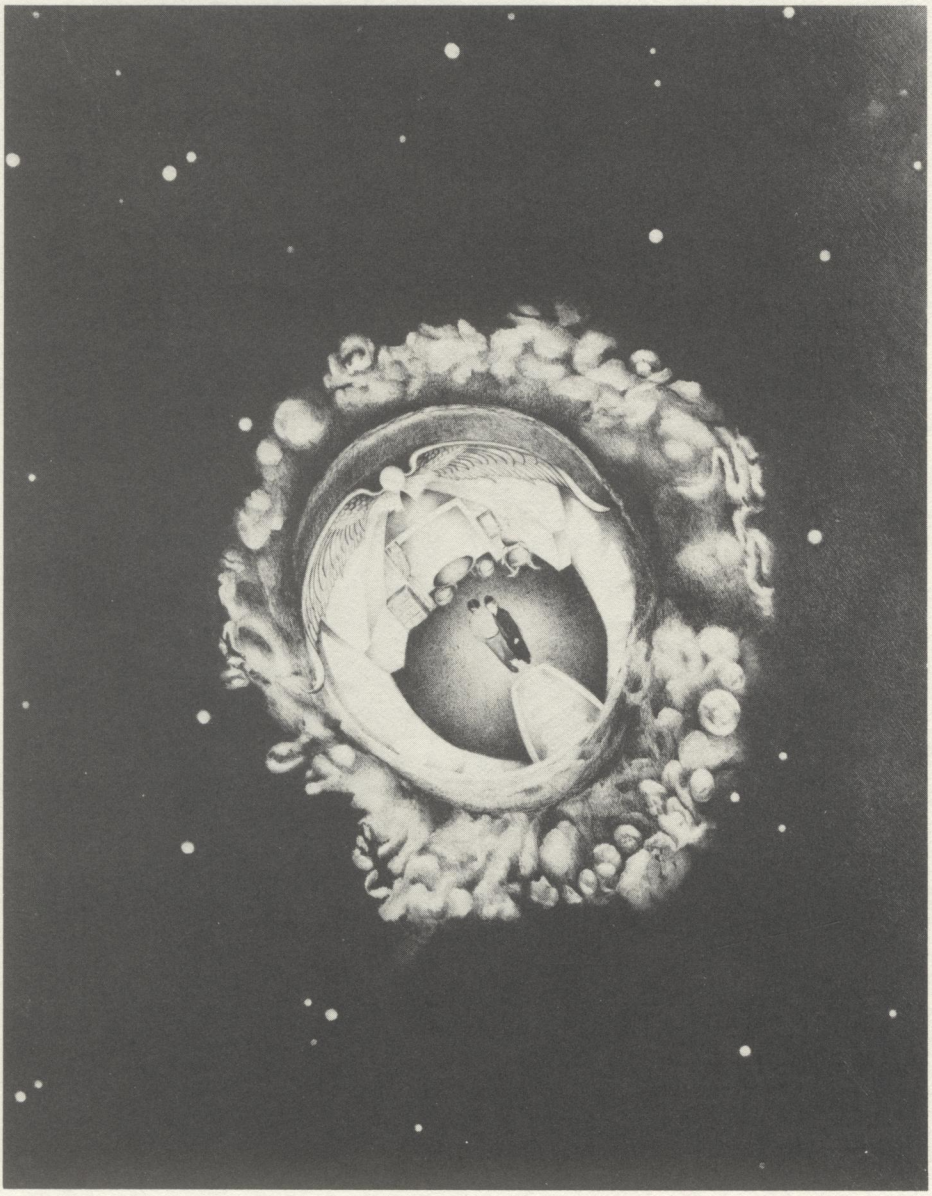

The Ahmadis of Islam: A Mormon Encounter and Perspective

Garth N. Jones

As the Church moves into societies and cultures never a significant part of its historical past, it will encounter new configurations of religion that it must understand to achieve its prophetic promise. Countries that have little or no tradition of Christianity are particularly challenging since missionaries and prospective investigators seldom have a large fund of shared experience upon which to draw in constructive dialogue.

In the case of Islam, the new Mormon encounters have generated particularly confusing perplexities. Muslim communities have long histories of resistance to Christian intrusions. Unlike other great world religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, Islam was a bearer of civilization to far-flung regions of the world and its zealots almost brought Europe within its fold. Today's Muslims have not forgotten this glorious epoch (Cox 1981, 73–80). Currently, fervent re-Islamization is sweeping the Islamic world. Nearly 800 million followers — one out of six people — of this great faith are to be found in more than seventy nations, including the Soviet Union and China. Islam is the second largest religion in Europe with 1.5 million adherents in the British Isles alone. Its present rate of growth exceeds that of Christianity. In the last two decades, for example, the number of African Muslims has doubled; over half of Africa, at this rate of growth, will soon be Muslim (Jansen 1979, 16–19).

This emerging situation presents serious consequences for Christian proselyters in Muslim countries. There is often no separation of church and state

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(or a separation that exists only on paper) and hence no protection for religious groups that are seen as heretical and dissident. Furthermore, while proselyting is illegal in most Muslim countries, it can also be illegal for an individual to change his or her religion or marry outside Islam (Jones 1982, 80–81; Katz and Katz 1975, 679–81). "Apostasy [is] a form of treason" (Abbott 1968, 154; M. Z. Khan n.d.c.; Chaudhry 1983).

In this context, the history and status of a major dissident movement in Islam, Ahmadiyyat, presents some interesting parallels with Mormonism which, despite almost a century's serious attention to accommodation within the American mainstream, is still frequently characterized as a non-Christian sect or even cult ("Anti-Mormons" 1983; Barlow 1979; Kirban 1971). It is interesting that nineteenth-century Christians, seeking terms to convey their repulsion for the Mormons, so frequently compared them to "Mohammadans" (Kinney 1912; Green and Goldrup 1971; Green 1983).

Like Christianity, Islam is an expansion-driven religion, aiming at nothing less than global expression of its socio-religious beliefs. The actual warfare in pre-Renaissance days between the countries that espoused each faith determined our current political and national divisions. If the great struggles had ended only slightly differently, Europe would have come within the Muslim fold (Weeks 1978, intro.).

Similar to Christianity, Islam has generated many dissident mystery sects that have sometimes attacked the very fabric of the culture itself (Ayubi 1982/83; Jansen 1979). These include, among others, the Alawites, who emerged in the tenth century and whose chief tenet is the divinity of Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad and the first true caliph, according to the Shi'a. They have been identified as non-Muslims for centuries and are a powerful minority in Syria. The Druze, who arose about the same time, are prominent in Lebanon. The Wahhabi movement of the early eighteenth century emerged in the Saudi peninsula as a reaction to what was viewed as corruption within Islam, including the Sufi movement. Sometimes these reform movements remain as Islamic sects and sometimes develop as separate religions. The Ahmadis define themselves as Islamic, but Islam itself seems bent on rejecting them.

From my Mormon perspective, it may be instructive to compare Mormonism and Ahmadiyyat. In terms of historical context they are contemporaries. Both began with the visions of two remarkable charismatic leaders. The followers of both faiths have experienced prolonged and intense persecutions. Nevertheless, both groups have survived to be counted as significant modern socio-religious entities. They are institutions in the fullest sense — neither grouping being an institutional accident but rather a product of progressive socio-religious growth and development. Although small in numbers, each following has generated an influence far beyond its numbers. Somewhat ironically, in the Muslim world both Ahmadiyyat and Mormonism have been categorized as heretical by the orthodox. Both strive to establish separate states within states, follow prophetic leaders, have developed institutional organizations, emphasize achievement in this life, value education, and actively proselyte.

Also to many Christians, Mormons are not Christians; to many Muslims, Ahmadis are not Muslims.

Although both Christianity and Islam have had many socio-religious restorers and modernizers, they have seldom been welcomed or found their task easy. Social change is never an easy proposition. Religious change is especially painful.

By 1830, Islam was struggling against traditionalism and separatism. Factional rivalries were ripping Islam apart while expanding European imperialism steadily eroded its political and social base. The pattern was particularly evident in India, where the British rapidly consolidated their power after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, terminating the centuries-old Muslim Mughal dynasty. Because the British mistrusted the Muslim communities and used Hindus in sizeable numbers in their bureaucracy, Hindu influence gradually erased Muslim power. By openly fostering Christian proselyting, the British further reduced the Muslim power base.

A reaction was predictable. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, native Indian movements arose with the purpose of revitalizing Islam worldwide, but particularly in India. Ahmadiyyat was one such movement. Its founder, Ghulam Ahmad, began by trying to prove dialectically that no other religion could compare with Islam. In the process, he eventually aroused the hostility of Islamic fundamentalism which rejected his reforming efforts and branded his community of followers as an apostate cult.

Ahmad was born in the Punjab village of Qadian, probably around 1835 (M. Z. Khan 1978a; Dard 1948). His family, originally favored by the Mughals, had owned extensive estates in the region but had lost them to the newly powerful Sikhs. As a boy, he received no formal religious instruction but studied the Koran under private tutors. Urdu was his native language, but he also learned Arabic and Persian, acquired some elements of *Unani* medicine from his father, and, thanks to his father's influence, became a clerk in the office of the deputy commissioner at Sialkot where he spent four years (1864–68). He had little interest in a clerical career and spent much of his time reading religious literature. During this period, he also met and discussed Christianity with missionaries. When his mother died in 1868, his father asked him to return and help manage the family estates. His father died in 1876, leaving Ahmad free at the age of about forty-one to pursue his own religious inclinations.

Three years earlier Ghulam Ahmad had had the idea of proving the superiority of Islam by sheer logic. Subsequently, his thought was incorporated into a four-part work now entitled the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiya* (The Proofs of Muhammad).[1] The first two parts were published in 1880 and generally well

[1] The four parts were published separately in the face of great difficulties, reminiscent of those plaguing the publication of the Book of Mormon. The first two parts were published in 1880, the third in 1882, and the fourth in 1884. A fifth part in 1905 is, for all practical purposes, an unrelated book. Ghulam Ahmad, a prolific writer, produced some eighty books — several of great length (Dard 1984, 70–81).

accepted by the Indian Muslim community. These two parts basically restated rational arguments which Muslim traditionalists commonly used.

This type of exposition does not violate the tenets of Islam, providing that the person acknowledges in his preface his acceptance of the true faith, which Ghulam Ahmad did. Within this context, a seeker after truth may bring forward and adduce religious verities from any scripture in any language, including any truth springing from his own intellectual endeavors.

Yet even in this first publication, the direction of Ghulam Ahmad's thought is evident. Islam espouses a belief of the second advent of great religious teachers. The Koran, Sura 62:4, predicts a second spiritual advent of the Holy Prophet (Muhammad) in the form of a *mahdi* (restorer) and a messiah. In explaining these provisions, a leading Ahmadi scholar, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, writes: "There has never been any expectation that the Holy Prophet would return to earth in his physical body. His second advent was to be expected to be fulfilled through the appearance of one so completely devoted to him as to be a spiritual reflection of him" (Khan 1978a, vii). Furthermore, "the Holy Prophet indicated" that this person would be of Persian descent, which Ghulam Ahmad was (Khan 1978a, vii).

Muslims generally believe that God (Allah) will appoint a restorer (*mahdi* — Arabic) for the beginning of every century. Religious scholars have identified thirteen *mujadiddin* (restorers — Urdu) who have performed significant roles in preserving and spreading Islam (Kalem n.d., 10–11). The Islamic fourteenth century, roughly corresponding to the last decade of the Christian nineteenth century, was the most recent dispensation. Ahmadis note with interest that several Christian denominations also proclaimed the second coming of Jesus the Christ during this same time period (Norman 1983; Larsen 1971).

Ahmadi scholars claim that Ghulam Ahmad is the promised restorer, substantiating their claim by ancient prophecies and supernatural signs. As Khan writes: "Jesus had indicated that the signs of his second coming would be earthquakes, plagues, epidemics, wars and rumors of wars, and general tribulations. These signs have been manifested" (Khan 1978a, xii). Furthermore, Khan quotes "two signs" in the heavens attributed to Muhammad: "For our Mahdi there are appointed two signs which have never been manifested for any other claimant since the creation of the heavens and earth. They are that at his advent there shall occur an eclipse of the moon on the first of its appointed nights, and an eclipse of the sun on the middle of the appointed days and both will occur in the same month of Ramazan (Khan 1978a, xii). Islamic scholars agree that these two eclipses occurred according to the Western calendar 21 March 1894 (for the moon) and 6 April 1894 (sun).

Ahmadis also believe that the fourteenth century ended 7 November 1980, with the appearance of the Hilal of Muharram, the first lunar month of the Muslim era, and that the fifteenth century began on the following day, 8 November. Given this chronology, they pose several questions: Who is the *Mujaddid* of the fourteenth century? Who is the restorer and who is the messiah? For the Ahmadis, the prophetic signs point to Ghulam Ahmad (Kalem n.d., 10–12).

However, this claim emerged only gradually from Ghulam Ahmad's writings and pronouncements. It was not until the third part of his work, published in 1882, that he claimed, "When the 13th century approached, I was informed by God Almighty, through revelation, that I was the *Mujaddid* of the 14th century" (Kalem n.d., 13). He compared himself to Shah Wali Allah Muhaddath Dehlavi of the twelfth century and Syed Ahmad Barelvi of the thirteenth century.

Ghulam Ahmad taught that Jesus had not died on the cross but rather was removed unconscious, was nursed back to health, and later went to Afghanistan and Kashmir where he lived to the age of 120 among the ten lost tribes. Ghulam Ahmad claimed by revelation that the tomb of a Muslim prophet called Yus Asaf at Srinagar in Kashmir was that of Jesus. (*Yus* was a corruption of Jesus and *Asaf* was the Hebrew verb, "together.") Ahmad also argued for this interpretation on theological grounds: if Jesus were alive in heaven waiting to return and save his people, then Jesus, not Muhammad, would be the real savior of Islam. Ahmad insisted that the second coming must therefore be spiritual and that he represented Jesus' spiritual nature. The position that Jesus did not die on the cross is considered orthodox by many Muslim scholars, but Ahmad's claim to represent Jesus' spirit led to outcries of heresy (Ayoub 1981; Khan 1978b; Larsen 1971, 26–27; Abbott 1968).[2]

Despite the radical nature of Ghulam Ahmad's claim, it did not seem to have unduly disturbed the Muslim theologians, possibly because the previous two parts of his work had been so well received. However, a few years afterwards Ghulam Ahmad took the drastic step of publicly stating that through divine revelation he was "the Messiah, whose advent among the Muslims had been promised from the beginning" (Kalem n.d., 13) and asserting that his own "excellence resembles the excellence of Messiah, the son of Mary and that one of them bears a very strong resemblance and close relation to the other" (Khan 1978a, 133).

In 1891 Ghulam Ahmad additionally claimed he was the great teacher of the entire world as prophesied in Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Zoroastrian writings, that he represented the incarnation of Krishna and the second coming of Christ, not in flesh but in spirit. "He was the promised Prophet of every nation and was appointed to collect all mankind under the banner of one faith." [3] In other words, God had spoken to other religious groups besides the Muslims concerning the last days. With Ghulam Ahmad's birth all of these prophecies were coming together.

On 4 March 1889, about five years after the publication of the fourth and last part of the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiya*, Ghulam Ahmad announced that he had

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[2] The Ahmadis were greatly interested in the recent investigations on the Shroud of Turin as possible support for the view of Ghulam Ahmad (Nasir 1982, Qadir 1981; N. Ahmad 1981; Berna 1975).

[3] Bashir-ud-Din in his "The Ahmadiyyat . . ." (Williams 1971, 244) writes: "Ghulam Ahmad [is] to be the Messiah for the Christians, the Mahdi for the Muslims, Krishna or Neha Kalank Avatar for the Hindus, and Mesio Darbahmi (the Saoshyant) for the Zoroastrians."

received a revelation from God authorizing him to accept *bai'at*, personal followers or companions who accepted his leadership and entered into a covenant fully supporting this new community of belief and its socio-religious practices (Lavan 1974, 36; Zaheer 1972; Walter 1918). This act marked the beginning of the organized Ahmadi movement, named not after Ghulam Ahmad but after the prophet Muhammad, who is also known as Ahmad. Ghulam Ahmad explained that Ahmadiyyat was not a new religion. "The name Ahmadiyyat is the name of a reinterpretation or a restatement of the religion of the Holy Quran . . . . The names Ahmadi, Ahmadiyyat, etc., are meant only to distinguish Ahmad Muslims from other Muslims" (M. G. Ahmad 1958, 7–8).

Bai'at thus represented no more than the initial effort in establishing any Islamic association (*jama'at*) based on the acceptance of God's messages. Yet opposition immediately arose in the Muslim community. In time, Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs also joined the persecution (Lavan 1972, 283–303). The Ahmadis have experienced virtually no periods of peace in nearly one hundred years of existence, yet stoically bear their difficulties and persecutions. They believe, "The purpose of God works itself out through miracles and through concerted hard work. [The path] is not easy. It needs sacrifice, self-denial and the ability to endure unjust accusations . . . . Take courage . . . and hold the bitter cup to your lips. Let us make ready to die, so that Islam may live" (H. Ahmad 1980, 98).

Westerners may find it difficult to understand why Ghulam Ahmad's teachings generate so much hostility. Admittedly, he made a number of unorthodox claims. However, these were not distressingly unique from those of other spokesmen of sects in the faith (Nyrop 1975, 9). Islam, like Christianity, has always had its controversial personalities (Binder 1963, 3–30).

Ghulam Ahmad was an exemplary religious figure, a seeker of truth who contributed much to the advancement of Islam. In fundamental beliefs Ahmadiyyat is a very compassionate and tolerant religion. Ghulam Ahmad required that his followers refrain from injuring any person, no matter what his or her religion (a denial of *jihad* by force). His son, Haji Mirja Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, writing as the second vice-regent of Ahmadiyyat, outlined twelve fundamental beliefs to illustrate to Muslim theologians that Ahmadis had not "strayed out of the orbit of Islam":

> "We believe: (1) . . . that God exists . . . , (2) that God is One . . . , (3) God is Holy, Free from all defects and full of all perfections . . . , (4) . . . that angels are part of God's creation . . . , (5) God speaks to His Chosen servants and reveals to them His purpose . . . , (6) when darkness prevails . . . human beings sink into sin and evil[;] without help of God it becomes difficult for them to release themselves from the hold of Satan . . . (7) . . . divine messengers, who in the past have helped mankind . . . have belonged to different levels of greatness . . . . The greatest . . . was the Holy Prophet . . . , (8) God hears prayers of His suppliants and servants . . . , (9) from time to time God determines and designs the course of events . . . (10) . . . death is not the end of all existence . . . . Those who do good deeds warrant generous awards . . . , (11) . . . disbelievers in God and his enemies . . . , and unless forgiven . . . , will stay in a place called hell . . . , (12) . . . those, who believe in God, His prophets and His books . . . will go to a place called heaven." (H. Ahmad 1974b, 4–10).

Ghulam Ahmad claimed to have received both personal inspiration (*ilham*) and a prophetic message for humankind (*wahy*). He allegedly performed miracles through prayer, including raising the dead and commending evil persons to death (Arberry 1957, 1–10). But was he, in fact, a *nabi* (prophet), and if so what did he mean by it? This point is the most controversial aspect of Ghulam Ahmad's life and his movement.

Theologically, the debate involves the interpretation of "the seal of prophethood." Orthodox Muslims believe that Muhammad was the last of a long line of prophets through whom God has spoken to mankind. With Muhammad's death, the office of prophethood closed and *wahy* ended. In Sunni Islam, the largest of the two major Islamic divisions, many saints have received revelations which are not meditations or rational deductions, and which are global in their scope. However, the Sunnis have strictly regarded such revelations as *ilham*.

After the death of Ghulam Ahmad of natural causes on 26 May 1908, the Ahmadi *jama'at* elected Mawlawi Nur-ud-Din, a highly respected figure in the community and an early follower of Ghulam Ahmad, as the *khalifah* — vice-regent of God and supreme community authority. Although without the same dynamism and attractiveness of Ghulam Ahmad, he received sufficient community support to retain authority and leadership until his own death in 1914 after nineteen years of service.

However, soon after his death, the community split into two rival factions: the Qadiani and the Lahoris. The Qadiani recognized Ghulam Ahmad as a *nabi* and his twenty-four-year-old son, Hadrat Mirz Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, as the second *khalifah*. Upon his death 8 November 1965, the *khalifat* passed to his grandson Mirza Nasir Ahmad, who died 8 June 1982 and was succeeded, by election of the Qadiani *jama'at*, by another grandson, Mirza Tahir Ahmad.

The Lahori society accepted Ghulam Ahmad as *mujaddid* but not as *nabi* and has sought to keep the Ahmadiyyat within the mainstream of the dominant Sunni sect while the large Qadiani have opted for separatism. The Lahori actively proselyte, though they are more concerned with winning converts to Islam than to their particular group. They work to liberalize orthodox Islam by making it more modern and intellectual. In a Mormon context, they would occupy the position of the RLDS church in relation to mainstream Protestantism. The Qadiani, in contrast, have a policy of communal exclusiveness, occupying somewhat the position of the Utah Mormon church. In spite of their mainstream stance, the Lahoris are still considered apostates and non-Muslims by orthodox Muslims.

Although the Ahmadi's religious beliefs have generated intense hostilities, their socio-religious practices have contributed to even greater rancor. Like early Mormons, Ahmadis sought to establish a state within a state, a theocratic commonwealth headed by a prophet-regent (*khalifah*), who claims religious and secular supreme authority in the *jama'at*. This structure is a departure from other Muslim sects as is the claim, similar to that of the president of the LDS Church, to be a living source of spiritual inspiration and guidance. Its

members need not seek guidance through the impersonal corpus of revelation and tradition available to their fellow Muslims. They have in effect a living prophet, a concept which is anathema to Muslims. The *jama'at's* basic organizational structure and practice approach that of a tightly operated institutional church. Ahmadis have shown extraordinary ability to establish and maintain strong and centralized administration, unique among Muslim communities throughout history and hence feared. Islamic teachings are full of warnings against institutionalized religion, somewhat paralleling Book of Mormon denunciations of a "great and abominable church."

Membership is by birth to Ahmadi parents or by formal profession of faith and acceptance of duties. Members make substantial contributions, according to prescribed regulations, providing the movement with considerable sums which it uses in carefully planned ways. The movement has an internal judiciary based on traditional Islamic principles and a strong central advisory council, elected for the most part. All power is, nevertheless, vested in the *khalifat*, an office carefully conceived as a successor to the original founder (W. Smith 1960; Brush 1955). At an annual general conference, the faithful throughout the world assemble to hear the messages of their *khalifah* and other *jama'at* leaders. Because of persecution in Pakistan, the last general conference (1984) was held in England.

Although orthodox Muslims typically resist Western influence, particularly secular education, the Ahmadis selectively combine secular study with their religious beliefs, creating an extremely well-educated community. Only intermittent effort has been made to foster interest in Arabic and Islamic subjects. Urdu is the principal language of the community and the use of English is stressed, even though Punjabi is the language of the area where Ahmadiyyat originated. (It is too closely identified with the Shikhs.) The Ahmadis took the prohibited step of translating the Koran into English, with paralleled suras in Arabic and Urdu, and has also provided translations in German, Dutch, Danish, Sepranto, Swahili, Lugandi, and Yoruba (Johnson and Weeks, 1978; Trimingham 1968, 80–141).

In social practice Ahmadis allow women to join in congregational prayers and permit the bride to be present at her wedding to give consent. Orthodox Muslims do neither. In their prayers, the Ahmadis follow the Hanafi practice of folding the arms hand to elbow at the beginning of prayer while orthodox of the Maliki school leave their arms at their sides. These distinctions are no more trivial in a Muslim context than the various ways of administering the sacrament or communion in a Christian context.

Ahmadis refuse to pray behind a non-Ahmadi *imam* (person who leads prayers at a mosque). Even Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, a remarkable Ahmadi Foreign Affairs Minister of Pakistan, refused to compromise his religious beliefs by praying behind a non-Ahmadi *imam* at the funeral services of the father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnal in September 1948 (Fisher 1969, 131).

Another area of tension was Ahmadi support for British imperial rule. In 1903, three Ahmadis were killed in Afghanistan. One was Abdul Latif, an

Afghan national, who had lived with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Qadian but had returned home. He was declared apostate by the *ulama*, put in the ground up to his waist, and stoned to death (H. Ahmad 1974, 237–39; S. Ahmad 1974). In criticism of the Afghan government, Ghulam Ahmad praised the British ability to keep order and exclaimed: "How different their strictly maintained impartiality, from the weak pliancy of Pilate and the Romans when the orthodox clamored for the life of Jesus! How splendid if the whole British Empire could be converted to Ahmadiyya." The British empire was a step towards a divinely willed world order, "one of the most mysterious ways in which God moves to perform his wonders" (Fisher 1969, 131).

From a Mormon perspective, this veneration of the empire somewhat parallels the belief expressed in the Twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, and in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." As one Ahmadi recently wrote: "For Islam enjoins upon its followers to live peacefully under a lawful government and to co-operate with it" (N. Muneer 1976, 211). Indeed, Ghulam Ahmad's image of the British Empire was not too far removed from the Mormon concept of the divine origin of the U.S. Constitution with its corollary belief, as Elder Mark E. Petersen is reported to have said, that "the flag of the United States is the flag of God" (Esplin 1981, 35).

In another Mormon parallel, Ghulam Ahmad launched an extensive, highly organized missionary effort (*tabligh*) to spread his version of the truths of Islam to all parts of the world. His organizational approach was very similar to that of conventional Protestant churches and even used some of the same terminology.

Although numbers of converts may not be impressive, pockets of believers have been established in Africa, Europe, Southeast Asia, and the United States. The American Black Muslim movement has diffused connections to the Ahmadiyyat, which is credited with tempering otherwise radical features of this movement (Lincoln 1973, 182–83; 244–45).

A significant proportion of the community's effort and energy are expended in missionary activities. If this effort were directed only toward non-Muslims, there would probably be no objections to it except possibly from a few orthodox *ulama* (theological leaders) who would complain that Ahmadiyyat represented a corrupted form of Islam. However, efforts to convert Muslims to Ahmadiyyat have aroused reactions including violence. The 1903 martyrs, for instance, were missionaries.

With the withdrawal of the British Raj in 1947 and the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan, the Qadiani *jama'at* found its position untenable and moved from Qadian in India with its fine facilities and the ancestral home of Ghulam Ahmad to a desolate site in Pakistan located about ninety miles southwest of Lahore where they constructed a new city named Rabwah. This historical coincidence is a strong reminder of the western exodus of the Mormons. But unlike the Western Mormons, many of their bitter enemies were caught by the partition and also moved (Binder 1963, 1–9; Stephens 1957, 239–45). In historical hindsight, the Ahmadis probably would have

fared better in India, which sought to maintain the socio-political pluralism of the British Indian government. But even though the Ahmadi leadership had shown no enthusiasm for separatism, they believed their survival was threatened in a Hindu nation and hoped to contribute to the creation of a new Islamic Republic.

It is true that a short period of peace and socio-religious consolidation followed. Because of their education, Ahmadis have been attracted in significant numbers to both the civil and military bureaucracies. When Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, an Ahmadi of impressive intellectual stature, became Pakistan's foreign minister (1947), orthodox Muslims believed that he and other Ahmadis were not only propagating their faith but infiltrating strategic administrative and political positions (Sayeed 1967, 179). From early 1948 onwards the articulated pressures against the Ahmadis assumed a clear pattern. Fundamentalists would describe Zafrulla as an apostate and traitor and often justify the sporadic mob killings of Ahmadis in a series of events somewhat reminiscent of the Mormon experience in Missouri.

In the late 1940s, the rumor that the Ahmadis planned to convert the entire Pakistani province of Baluchistan by 1952 triggered violent hostility. The Baluchis are a proud and independent people with a long tradition of raiding and warfare. Wholesale conversion was obviously not feasible, but the Pakistan government and the larger Muslim society saw the possibility as a crisis.

On 21 January 1953, a deputation of *ilama* and *mullahs* called on the Pakistani Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddim and presented three demands: (1) The government must take steps within a month to declare the Ahmadis non-Muslim; (2) Muhammad Zafrulla Khan must be removed from office; and (3) other highly placed Ahmadis must also be removed from government office. If these demands were not met, the *ulama*, representing the All-Pakistan Muslim Party convention would call for "direct action."

The government rejected the demands and leaders of the agitation were arrested (Sayeed 1967, 178–80; Binder 1963, 251–54). This act was followed by anti-Ahmadi agitation throughout the Punjab in its most violent form. In such large cities as Lahore, Sialkot, Gujanwala, Rawalpindi, Lyallapur, and Montgomery, mobs numbering five to ten thousand attacked the police stations, burning private and public property and escaping to the mosques where *mullahs* delivered sermons against the Ahmadis and urged the people to continue their demonstrations (Sayeed 1967, 180; W. Smith 1957, 230–31).

The campaign had wide-spread support, particularly among lower level government clerks who even contributed to the murder of police personnel. Several higher government officials were also implicated in covert activities. On 6 March 1953, martial law was imposed. The chief minister of the Punjab resigned, and a new provincial government was organized, but over 2,000 persons perished, according to official estimates.[4]

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[4]The judiciary has great stature in Pakistan and its judges have taken strong and courageous positions protecting traditional civil liberties. The so-called Munir report of the Punjab riots was produced by a special court consisting of Muhammad Munir, chief justice

The rapidity, extent, and duration of the anti-Ahmadi riots tested the political viability of the new Pakistan government which was based on the modern ideal of a democratic Islamic state including religious freedom (D. Smith 1971, 190–211). In the first years of Pakistan's existence, religious tolerance was incorporated, with herculean efforts, into its constitution (Sayeed 1967, 101–26).

Yet the beliefs and practices of the Ahmadiyyat *jama'at* are so repugnant to traditional Islam in Pakistan that there is virtually no room for socio-religious accommodation. The Western-educated elites who retain control of the government may espouse the position of their nation's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah that "Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state ruled by Priests with a divine mission" (Rosenthal 1965, 213); but over the years, they have experienced great difficulty in containing religious orthodoxy (Esposito 1980).

In the spring of 1974, the large Sunni community in Pakistan again officially demanded that the Ahmadis be declared a non-Muslim minority. Their comparative prosperity and influence had made them objects of envy in the abysmal poverty of Pakistan. On 29 May 1974, some 200 medical students traveling by train reportedly shouted abusive anti-Ahmadiyyah chants while passing through Rabwah, the Ahmadi religious center. When the same train returned, an estimated 5,000 angry Ahmadis attacked the students, injuring a dozen or so.

This incident triggered wide-scale rioting. Sunni Muslim mobs looted and burned mosques, homes, and businesses. Over seventy people were killed and several hundred were injured (Nyrop 1975; Keesing 1974a). The government took harsh measures to quell the disturbances. The *ulamas* reportedly agreed not to incite further violence but remained adamant about their demands. After two months of secret deliberations, the Pakistan National Assembly, again amended the Constitution to declare, among other things, that "for the purposes of the Constitution and law" the Ahmadis are not Muslim (Nasir 1977). With the act, Pakistan's 4 million Ahmadis were thus excommunicated from the Muslim world and the 6 million Ahmadis living elsewhere became religiously suspect.

The full impact of the 1974 constitutional amendment fell in early 1984. On 26 April 1984, under provisions of martial law, Pakistan President Muhammad Zia-Ul-Haq promulgated an ordinance to the Penal Code that prohibited Ahmadis from (1) calling themselves Muslims, (2) designating their houses of worship as mosques, (3) sounding the traditional call (*azan*) to prayer, (4) proselyting under pain of imprisonment up to three years, and (5) forbade any spoken, written, or visible expression of Muslim terminology under pain of a fine of unspecified amount ("Ord." 1984; "Ahmadis" 1984; "Zia" 1984).

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of the Supreme Court, and M. R. Kayani, former chief justice of the West Pakistan High Court, both men known for their honesty and integrity. Their investigation was published as the *Report of the Court of Enquiry Constituted Under the Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953* (Lahore, Pakistan: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1954).

Within forty-eight hours all Ahmadi mosques had their signs removed. Persecution and looting broke out again.[5]

Although "life, liberty and fundamental rights of all the citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of the religious communities to which they belong, shall be fully protected and safeguarded," Zia's action reduced the Ahmadis to less than citizens. Ahmadis have lower religious status than Christians and Jews, who as *dhimmis*, "people of the book," are accorded legal and social protection. Government quotas limit the representation Ahmadis have in the provincial assemblies. Intermarriage between Ahmadis and Muslims is not permitted. Several other Muslim states had even earlier enacted anti-Ahmadi legislation. Saudi Arabia had forbidden them entry even for the pilgrimage (*haj*) to Mecca (Keesing 1974b).

Like all national tragedies, the cost is born by individuals. One author wrote of "a young woman in a green sari," an Ahmadi whose husband had been killed in a military accident. Although extremely well educated and a government official, she had little prospect for advancement and had resolved to leave Pakistan with her children (Naipaul 1981, 107–226). Ghulam Ahmad was an exemplary religious leader. His followers, for the most part, are exemplary people. He has been greatly maligned because his opponents regard him as a *nabi* who usurps the place of Muhammad even though he never made that claim and the Muslim *mullahs* and *ulamas* testifying before the Pakistan court in 1974 could not agree what constituted a Muslim.

In theological terms and religious action, Ghulam Ahmad was a peaceful *mahdi*. Although forceful in thought, he never embraced the revolutionary role imposed on him by outside forces. For example, he took an extremely liberal position on *jihad* — the conduct of holy war. For the orthodox, *jihad* is an unending struggle between believers (the whole body of Muslims) and nonbelievers (the rest of humankind). In situations where an enemy actively seeks to destroy the Islamic religion by force or by changing Muslim beliefs, a *jihad* may be declared by the head of the believers. Persons who perish in the holy battle are guaranteed entrance to paradise. Since the British never sought to force religious change, Ghulam Ahmad stated that a declaration of *jihad* against them could never be justified. Moreover, he described *jihad* as "a state of mind in which after undergoing untold sufferings, a man is forced to resort in self defense to measures not necessarily warlike" (Rafig 1984; Haque 1971). In these terms, he was truly a peaceful leader who interpreted the Qur'an in such a way to repudiate the doctrine of *jihad* by the sword, not only for the present but also for the future. His interpretation was not in itself radical. Another Islamic group believes that under appropriate circumstances physical force in the form of *jihad* is justified, while still another believes that *jihad* does not ever properly include physical force, except in self-defense.

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[5] U.S. Ahmadiyyat headquarters has issued in its mimeographed publication *Ahmadiyya Digest* detailed accounts of human rights violations by the Pakistan government which have been incorporated in numerous newspaper stories published in the United States and Great Britain. For example, see Anderson 1984.

Ironically, the notion that it is the Qur'anic duty of believers to wage war upon those who do not accept Islam is increasingly being questioned (Cohen 1984, 98–103). A. K. Brohi, a leading Pakistani jurist and intellectual, calls *jihad* "a word which is untranslatable in English but, broadly speaking, means, 'striving', 'struggling', 'trying to advance the Divine causes or purposes'" (Malik 1979, ii). *Jihad*, therefore, may take many forms, with force being the most extreme and intense characterization. As the tradition of Islam holds, "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the Martyr" (M. A. Khan 1968, 118). Today's world, characterized by violent and bloody revolutions, needs more socio-religious leaders with this sort of conviction and belief.

Ghulam Ahmad's position on the second coming of Christ was also not unknown to Islam. Religious scholars recognize that the Qur'an and the Hadith are not clear. Will the returning Messiah be Christ or Muhammad? Either view is thoroughly Islamic (Abbott 1968, 155). Nevertheless, the vast number of *mullahs* deemed this position heresy and branded Ghulam Ahmad *Djjal* (anti-Christ) (H. Ahmad 1974, 237–92; S. Ahmad 1974, 28–31).

Aside from the interesting parallels between the personalities and histories of Ghulam Ahmad and Joseph Smith, the reaction of larger society to their tightly knit and evangelizing communities, and the general pattern of their histories, what are some implications of Ahmadiyyat for Latter-day Saints? One social phenomenon is that the emphasis on education in both groups has produced large numbers of people qualified for governmental and economic power. While the comparative visibility of both groups has increased their public exposure, it has had the negative effect of creating paranoia and making Mormon/gentile, Ahmadi/Muslim alignments occur almost spontaneously. One important historical difference has been that the Mormons were able to establish themselves in relative isolation during the Utah period but then assimilate effectively into mainstream American life. The Ahmadis reject this position and are paying the price as socio-religious pariahs. In religions as different as Buddhism and Puritanism, the faithful have been obliged to move to more tolerant lands, and Ahmadi leaders are already living in Great Britain. Ahmadiyyat can no longer be a modernizer operating within increasingly radicalized Islam but rather must become an influential force operating on its borders — in effect, being effective marginal actors in complex social situations.

As the LDS Church attempts to penetrate established Muslim societies, its leaders will do well to examine the Ahmadiyyat experience. One Muslim scholar recently stated at a Brigham Young University symposium on Mormons and Muslims: "I do not believe you people will be any more successful in converting Muslims to Mormonism than any missionaries who were before you. But you could be successful in one important area; that is, to create an important dialogue that could lead to a fellowship of faith between you and us. I believe that truth is bigger than any concept of truth held by any nation or religious community or individual" (M. M. Ayoub 1983, 182).

In a way, this is what Ghulam Ahmad also believed and taught, a noble aspiration for any believer, even though the case of Ahmadiyyat shows how nar-

row of those limits of tolerance appear to be in the vise of fundamentalist Islamic revivals. Perhaps a more fruitful missionary field for both the Ahmadiyyat and for Mormonism is Africa where Muslims, Christians, and animists live together in generally secularized states.

For me, Ghulam Ahmad and Joseph Smith were both inspiring men who accepted without any equivocation their respective divine missions as restorers and prophets of their faiths. On our shrunken planet, it was inevitable that in time the socio-religious ideals and intents of these two remarkable persons would eventually be placed into the same broad categorization. The lives of restorers and prophets have never been easy but their contributions for the future well-being of their people have always been vital and irreplaceable — reaffirming the divine in all great religious movements.

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The Restoration and History: New Testament Christianity

C. Robert Mesle

THE RESTORATION MOVEMENTS have tended to elevate historical claims to the level of theological dogma. But in our defense of historical beliefs we have often denied the reality of historical process by asserting that ideas, institutions, social relationships, and even written texts drop out of a timeless heaven rather than emerging from the historical process of human struggle. The very term, *restoration*, points to one major expression of this ahistorical tendency: the claim that the "true church" consists of an eternal (nonhistorical) priesthood structure and authority. We claim that the historical Jesus established this structure in New Testament Christianity, and that it was restored to earth by Joseph Smith, Jr., just as it was in the beginning, free of the taint of human, historical process.

We cannot examine extrahistorical realities, if there be such. But we can ask whether the New Testament justifies the historical claim that Jesus established a priesthood structure and authority similar to one which now exists in one or more of the Restoration churches. The answer, in my opinion, is no, on the grounds that Jesus apparently established no priesthood structure at all.

When we turn to the New Testament to examine such a claim, it must be understood that we have no documents at all written by Jesus and none by any of his original disciples. All of the texts attributed to the Twelve are probably pseudonymous and of late date. Further, there is compelling evidence that several letters attributed to Paul — definitely 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus and probably Colossians and Ephesians — are pseudonymous and come from at least the third generation of Christianity. The Gospel of Mark is commonly dated about A.D. 70 and the other Gospels between A.D. 80–95. Thus we must begin with the letters of Paul if we are looking for the earliest reliable informa-

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tion. What information we do have, however, is overwhelmingly against the traditional Mormon view of early Christianity.

Because only a small portion of the evidence can be examined here, I will propose four basic claims about New Testament Christianity for which I believe the supporting evidence is compelling. Then I will suggest a rough summary of how the early Christian communities may have moved from a loosely knit ecclesia to the early stages of becoming an institution, and discuss some implications of this for the LDS churches. The main argument of this paper presents a standard view held among many New Testament scholars, but what is well known in one community may be news to another. Thus I share it for its relevance to the LDS communities and suggest further readings for those interested in pursuing the topic further.

Claim One: Twenty years after the crucifixion, the Jerusalem church was still predominantly, perhaps entirely, Jewish.

Paul's letter to the Galatians, written about A.D. 53–54, is the earliest document we have which gives concrete information about the nature of the community of disciples in Jerusalem under its original leaders. Perhaps the most passionate text of the New Testament, it contains Paul's own wrathful account of his conflicts with "James, Cephas [Peter] and John, who were reputed to be pillars" (2:9; all New Testament quotations are from the Revised Standard Version).

Of central importance for us is the clear fact that James, Peter, and John were insisting that gentiles had to be circumcised and obey the Mosaic law — had to become Jews — to be accepted as disciples of Jesus. Paul was by this time preaching a different gospel. His own conversion experience had led him to conclude that gentiles could become Christians without becoming circumcised Jews. The conflict had immediate impact. Paul had already made converts among the gentiles. What would happen to these new members if the Jewish disciples in Jerusalem rejected them?

Hoping to solve this problem, Paul traveled to Jerusalem and "laid before them (but privately before those who were of repute) the gospel which I preached among the Gentiles, lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain" (2:2). He thought his diplomacy successful, for James, Peter, and John "gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised" (2:9). What happened in Jerusalem to squash this brief vision of ecumenism is lost to us, but

> when Cephas [Peter] came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, for he stood condemned. For before certain men came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing the circumcision party. And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely, so that even Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity (2:11–13).

We can imagine Paul feeling abandoned and even betrayed, yet fighting fiercely in his letters to preserve his mission. We need not belabor the details of the letter further to identify a virtually certain bit of historical data: twenty years after the crucifixion of Jesus, the leading disciples in Jerusalem were still Jews, and their perspective dominated the community of disciples there.

What could have led even Barnabas, Paul's closest companion, to abandon Paul and his gospel of grace? The reasons should be obvious. Jesus was a Jew, and so were all of the original "pillars." There is no reason to doubt that they all lived according to Mosaic law, including circumcision, obedience to dietary laws, celebration of Jewish holidays like Passover, and observance of the Sabbath. They worshipped in synagogues and in the temple. Jesus is portrayed not as rejecting the Mosaic law but as engaging with others in interpreting it. We are told that he sought to cleanse the temple, not to reject it. In general, there is every indication that Jesus criticized Judaism, its priesthood, and its law, not as an apostate standing outside them, but as a reformer standing within. We have no record of Jesus telling anyone not to be Jewish.

As Hans Conzelmann wrote in the *History of Primitive Christianity*, "The first Christians are Jews, without exception. For them this is not simply a fact, but a part of their conscious conviction. For them their faith is not a new religion which leads them away from the Jewish religion, but the confirmation of the promise to Israel" (1973, 37).

Claim Two. Early Christianity was dominated by the expectation that Jesus would return in the immediate future.

"The heart of the preaching of Jesus Christ is the Kingdom of God," wrote Rudolph Bultmann, one of the major New Testament scholars of this century (1958, 11). The literature of the New Testament consistently presents Jesus as calling persons, not primarily to belief in doctrines, rituals, or ecclesiastical authority, but rather to decision — for or against the kingdom (or reign) of God.

Bultmann expressed what is a very widely held consensus of New Testament scholars in the following description of Jesus' teaching: "God will suddenly put an end to the world and to history . . . Jesus expected that this would take place soon, in the immediate future" (1958, 12–13). We cannot be certain what Jesus said, but there is no doubt that a number of New Testament texts support Bultmann's view.

> Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:14–15).
>
> And he said to them, "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark 9:1).
>
> But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will be falling from heaven, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken. And then they will see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory. And then he will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven.
>
> From the fig tree learn its lesson: as soon as its branch becomes tender and puts forth its leaves, you know that summer is near. So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that he is near, at the very gates. Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away before all these things take place (Mark 13:24–30).
>
> These twelve Jesus sent out, charging them, "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And preach as you go, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.' . . . I say unto you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of man comes (Matthew 10:5–7, 23b).

Of course, this is a picture of Jesus presented by the authors of Mark and Matthew and written long after Jesus' death. For an earlier look at the thought of the church we must go to Paul's letters. Here we also find abundant evidence that Paul expected the world to end and Jesus to return in the near future — certainly during his own lifetime.

In his earliest extant letter, 1 Thessalonians, written about A.D. 50, Paul confronted the problem that some Christians in Thessalonica had died, an event apparently unexpected by the disciples there. Like Paul, they had expected the return of Jesus so soon that death would not be a problem. Notice Paul's use of "we" as he sought to reassure them:

> But we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope. . . . For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first; then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air (1 Thess. 4:13–17).

The same theme is sounded in the familiar words of 1 Corinthians:

> Lo! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed (1 Cor. 15:51–52).
>
> The appointed time has grown very short; from now on let those who have wives live as though they had none, and those who mourn as though they were not mourning, and those who rejoice as though they were not rejoicing, and those who buy as though they had no goods, and those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it. For the form of this world is passing away (1 Cor. 7:29–31; see also 1 Thess. 1:9–10; 2:19; 3:11–13; 1 Cor. 1:7; 10:11; 16:22; Phil. 3:20–21; 4:5; Rom. 13:11–13; 1 Peter 4:7; and James 5:7–8).

Virtually every New Testament author struggled with this expectation in some way or another. Apart from the hints of imminent expectation in 6:2 of Luke, its author tried to put the kingdom far off in the future and to emphasize the need to apply Christian values in this world. Notice, for example, that Luke drops Mark's opening proclamation that "the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:15) and replaces it with Luke 4:18–19: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has annointed me to preach good news to the poor." Also, Luke has moved Mark 1:15 to the apocalyptic discourse and has put it into the mouth of the false prophets! "And he said, 'Take heed that you are not led astray; for many will come in my name, saying, "I am he!" and "The time is at hand!" Do not go after them' " (Luke 21:8). The Gospel of John, though heavily edited, also includes an effort to set aside concern for a return of Jesus (3:16–19; 4:23; 5:21–24; 12:31–2; 17:1–3). But the expectation persisted. It is evident throughout the book of Revelation, which opens with the words, "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave him to show to his servant what must soon take place; . . . for the hour is near." The closing chapter is equally

clear: God "has sent his angel to show his servant what must soon take place." "And behold, I am coming soon . . . for the time is near. Behold, I am coming soon. . . . I, Jesus have sent my angel to you with this testimony for the churches" (Rev. 22:6, 7, 10, 11, 16). Such passages abound in the New Testament literature. It is obvious why Bultmann concluded: "The eschatological expectation and hope is the core of the New Testament preaching throughout" (1958, 11–12).

Bultmann's stance is representative of a standard position of responsible biblical scholars. The diversity and complexity of the ways in which various New Testament authors struggle with the failure of Jesus to return only reinforce the evidence that this expectation of his imminent return permeated early Christianity. As Ernst Käsemann insists:

> We can and must determine the various phases of earliest Christian history by means of the original imminent expectation of the parousia [second coming], its modifications and its final extinction (1969, 236–7). I can acknowledge as earliest Christianity only that which still has its focus in an eschatology determined by the original imminent expectation in its changing forms (1969, n. 1, 236–37).

Claim Three: Early Christian ministry was charismatic rather than institutional.

It should be clear by now that the earliest disciples were Jews who were responding to the call of one whom they believed to be the Messiah and whom they expected to return soon to usher in the Kingdom of God. As Jews they continued to worship within Judaism, including the observance of sacrifices conducted by the temple priesthood. But as followers of Jesus they had no separate organization and certainly no separate priesthood. While the early Jerusalem community eventually faded into obscurity (perhaps dispersed or killed in the Roman invasion of Jerusalem in A.D. 70), Christianity survived because Paul and others transplanted it into the larger gentile world. These gentile Christians had no direct allegiance to Judaism or its priesthood, and thus seem to have formed their local groups without using the framework of a hierarchical priesthood structure.

One of the New Testament words for these groups, which we translate, perhaps misleadingly, as "church," is *ecclesia*. Its Greek origin is significant. When an official entered a city to make a decree, those who gathered to hear the proclamation were called the ecclesia — the "called-out" or the "assembled." The New Testament writers adopted and transformed this word to refer to those who were called out by the Lord Christ and who had responded to his word. As a self-designation, "ecclesia" reveals much about their self-understanding. Like its secular counterpart, the ecclesia of Saints was essentially structureless apart from the natural leadership of those who had been closest to Jesus. It had no priesthood, no formal offices. The Saints were united by their common awareness of having been called out by Christ, whose proclamation they continued in their own work of ministering to each other and preaching, both to themselves and others. Through the letters of Paul we are able to discern something of the theology and practice by which ministry and leadership were maintained in the structureless ecclesia.

Ernst Käsemann writes of the Apostle Paul, "The Apostle's theory of order is not a static one, resting on offices, institutions, ranks and dignities; in his view authority resides only within the concrete act of ministry as it occurs" (1964, 83). The letters of Paul provide clear evidence of this charismatic view of ministry. Paul saw every Christian as having received gifts from God to be used for the community. He obviously made no distinctions between what we might call natural versus spiritual gifts. In Paul's mind every good ability a person has is spiritual because it comes from God:

> Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of working, but it is the same God who inspires them all in every one. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good (1 Cor. 12:4–6).

Paul then lists wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, working of miracles, prophecy, and tongues as some of the gifts of the spirit. After presenting his famous analogy of the body, he continues in 12:28 by saying:

> Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it. And God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, then helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues.

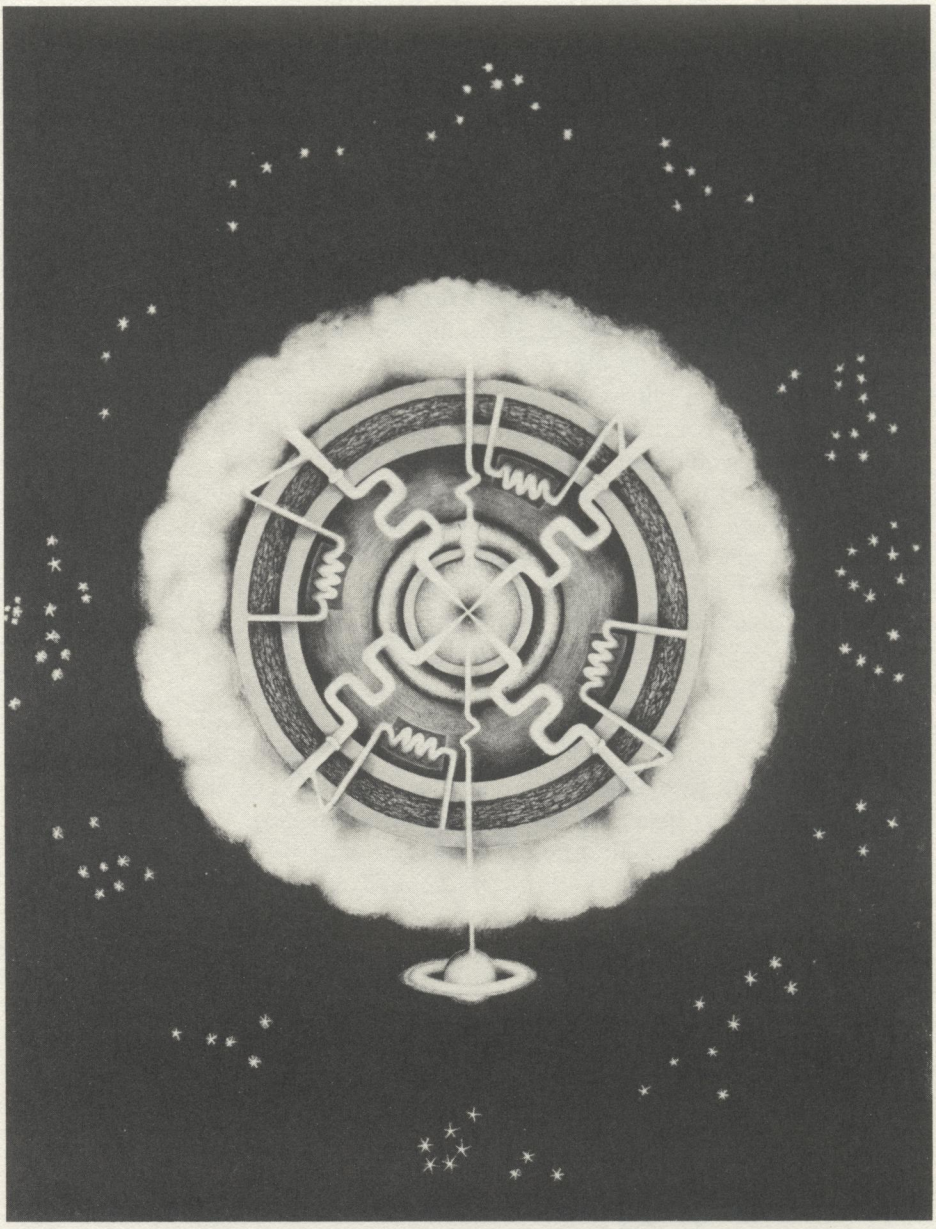
Paul then reminds us that while not all may have these particular gifts, we should all seek the higher gifts. And what is the highest gift of all? Paul tells us in his magnificent chapter 13: "The greatest of these is love."

It has been common for apologists in the LDS and RLDS movements to cite the first half of 1 Corinthians 12:28 to show that the early church contained the offices of apostle, prophets, and teacher as in modern LDS churches. But the context shows this to be the worst kind of proof-texting. Paul was not talking about offices at all, but about various gifts of interpersonal service which were manifested in the community.[1] Note that the list includes helpers, administrators, and speakers in tongues. And compare this with the similar list in Romans 12:4–8 where Paul includes acts of generosity and mercy among the spiritual gifts which rank with prophecy and teaching:

> For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another. Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us use them: if prophecy, in proportion to our faith; if service, in our serving; he who teaches, in his teaching; he who exhorts, in his exhortation; he who contributes, in liberality; he who gives aid, with zeal; he who does acts of mercy, with cheerfulness.

There is no justification here for assuming that these are formal offices which were believed to constitute the nature of the church. It was *ministry*, the will-

[1] I have not included Ephesians 4:11–14 here because I am personally convinced that it was not written by Paul, but by "Deutero-Paul" and should be dated somewhere between Paul and the Pastoral Epistles. However, I do not see that this text is really very helpful for our purposes. It certainly says nothing which would significantly challenge my claims, and it could very well be seen as simply another example of the already-given lists. Notice also, that Ephesians 2:20 supplies no real support for the standard LDS position. This passage is entirely consistent with what I have said elsewhere about the state of the churches around the early second century A.D.



ingness to serve others, which constituted the ecclesia, not institutional offices.

Furthermore, the Gospels and the book of Acts also seem to describe an office-free group life. The Gospels give no indication that Jesus established a church structure apart from Judaism. Nor does the book of Acts give any hint that the post-crucifixion disciples had any interest in or knowledge of a complex hierarchy of priesthood offices. Acts only confirms what we already expected on the basis of Galatians. "They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and prayers . . . Day by day, attending the temple together and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food with glad and generous hearts (2:42–46).

Of course, the Gospels and Acts are less reliable as sources about the events they describe than they are as indicators of how their authors understood those events. Thus what they seem to be telling us is that these authors, writing between about A.D. 70 and 95, did not know any tradition of Jesus establishing a priesthood structure and also did not themselves think of the church as having any ecclesiastical offices of theological significance. If they had, they very probably would have presented Jesus as having instituted those offices.

Certainly I would not argue that the New Testament church never developed any structure. Indeed, it seems quite clear that while no specific structure was imposed by Jesus, structure did develop — but gradually, in the historical lives of the various congregations. This brings me to my fourth claim.

Claim Four: Gradually, Christian congregations began to institutionalize varying combinations of offices under three names: *Episkopos* (overseer, or bishop), *Diakonos* (servant, or deacon), and *Presbuteros* (elder).

Anyone who has come to recognize the growth and healing which comes through the love of family and friends knows that there can be ministry without priesthood. Common human experience also shows that there can be leadership without formal structure. Just as Paul speaks of preachers, teachers, and healers, he also speaks of helpers and administrators (1 Cor. 12:28). It may be in the same sense that he refers to Phoebe as a *diakonos* (servant) and sends greetings to the *diakonoi* and *episkopoi* (overseers) in Philippia (Phil. 1:1). The general consensus of scholars regarding these references is expressed by Conzelmann (1973, 106–7) in his study of primitive Christianity: "As persons of special position Paul names bishops and deacons (Phil. 1:1). Of course the bishop is not yet the monarchical priestly church leader of a later time; this is already shown by the plurality of 'bishops' in a congregation. . . . There was not yet any authority of office, but only authority of service" (See also Käsemann 1964, 81–83). Consider, in support of this, Paul's remark in 1 Corinthians 16:15–16 regarding the household of Stephanas: "They have devoted themselves to the service of the saints; I urge you to be subject to such men and to every fellow worker and laborer." Here, as always, Paul sees authority residing in the concrete act of ministry.

But if neither the earliest disciples in Jerusalem nor the Saints in Paul's churches had any Christian priesthood structure or interest in one, how did it develop? Early Christian priesthood developed because the kingdom did not come, because history and its forces continued to surround the early ecclesia.

As Bultmann observed: "No human society can have permanence in history without regulations. Hence, it is self-explanatory that regulations gradually developed in the primitive Christian congregations" (1955, 2:95).

Specifically, there appear to be two major reasons why leadership positions crystallized as priesthood offices. First, there were practical concerns of daily community life, as suggested in Acts 6. When they met for table fellowship, the food had to be distributed, tables had to be set and cleared, and other basic jobs had to be done. While these could be handled as needed for a while, it gradually became more efficient to assign these tasks to people who were willing to handle them over a long term. The tasks of overseeing these practical jobs slowly formalized into organized structures and identifiable positions. At first, such positions had no religious significance for the churches; they simply helped to keep things going. But they slowly acquired theological importance as they merged with the positions developed to meet the second set of problems.

Theological disputes and social conflicts, often creating schisms, were almost inevitable in the ecclesia. With so many people — many of whom traveled from city to city — preaching and teaching divergent, if not contradictory, understandings of the gospel and different views of the morality implied by the gospel, the unity of the churches was in constant jeopardy. Paul's passionate battle with the leadership in Jerusalem is one striking example of this. But after the dispersion of that special congregation there was no clear touchstone or locus of authority to whom people could appeal for definitions of the orthodox faith. Surrounded by a hostile world, the early Christian churches had to find some way to overcome these disputes and to retain the unity of the Body of Christ.

They seem to have used a two-fold process. First, charismatic preachers, prophets, and leaders whose views were judged divisive (according to the prevailing view of the local church) had to be excluded. Second, persons with "sound" views and community respect had to be given authority and office to preach and discipline regardless of whether they had the "gifts" of preaching and leading. As service in practical matters merged with leadership in theological and moral discipline, the concept and structures of priesthood began to emerge in early Christianity.

It is not until the second century A.D., however, that we have textual evidence for deacons and bishops as formal officers. Although 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus were written in Paul's name, there is virtually universal agreement among non-fundamentalist scholars that they were not written until long after his death — possibly as late as A.D. 135. The author of these letters describes the qualifications needed by one who aspires to be a bishop or deacon. Notice, however, that 1 Timothy 5:9–14 also gives similar qualifications for a select group of widows who are to be "enrolled" — apparently as congregational workers.

One of the most striking evidences of the two-fold process of restricting charismatics while developing local officers is found in a document called the Didache, written in the early second century. The author expresses respect for apostles (traveling preachers) and for prophets but also shows considerable

suspicion regarding them: "Now about apostles and prophets: Act in line with the gospel precepts. Welcome every apostle on arriving, as if he were the Lord. But he must not stay beyond one day. . . . If he stays three days, he is a false prophet. . . . If he asks for money he is a false prophet" (Richardson 1970, 176).

Along with his cautions about the charismatic apostles and prophets, the author of the Didache encourages the congregations to choose local leaders who can provide the same ministry but whose character and orthodoxy can be known in advance. "You must, then, elect for yourselves bishops and deacons who are a credit to the Lord, men who are gentle, generous, faithful and well tried. For their ministry to you is identical with that of the prophets and teachers. You must not, therefore, despise them, for along with the prophets and teachers they enjoy a place of honor among you" (Richardson 1970, 178).

Obviously, the author did not see apostles or prophets as the highest officers in a priesthood hierarchy governing all of Christendom. Indeed, the evidence is clear that different Christian congregations were developing their own structures of leadership at different paces and in different ways. But in most places, the churches still did not think of themselves as constituted by their offices.

The earliest extant statement of the view that certain offices are essential to the church is found in the letters of Ignatius, dated about A.D. 110–117. Ignatius constantly insisted upon the need for members to be obedient to their bishops, presbyters, and deacons. He wrote, for example:

> Let the bishop reside in God's place, and the presbyters take the place of the apostolic council, and let the deacons (my special favorites) be entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ (Richardson 1970, 95).
>
> Flee from schism as the source of mischief. You should all follow the bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father. Follow, too, the presbytery as you would the apostles; and respect the deacons as you would God's law. Nobody must do anything that has to do with the Church without the bishop's approval (Richardson 1970, 115).

Most important of all, however, is Ignatius' clear declaration: "You cannot have a church without these [offices]" (Richardson 1970, 99). In contrast to the earlier texts studied above, Ignatius' insistence is profoundly, perhaps heretically, new, for it is a clear rejection of the free charismatic spirit of the Pauline ecclesia.

Some commentators have observed that the very vehemence with which these authors insist upon the dominance of the hierarchy may make us suspicious. As one writer suggests, Ignatius "describes less an established order than one which he will move heaven and earth to establish" (Gealy 1955, 11:346). But whether this institutional situation be fact or hope, Ignatius has expressed what is found *nowhere* in the literature of the New Testament — a view of the church as dependent upon priesthood offices.

Although this summary oversimplifies a complicated process, my real concern is not with the details of the process. I simply want to point out that the development of institutional priesthood offices was the result of a long and natural historical process.

For this very reason the concept of a "restoration of the New Testament church" has little meaning if it is understood to refer to specific offices, structures, and doctrines. At what point in its development will we arbitrarily break in and label it the *true* New Testament church? The more highly structured it is, the more easily we can define and reconstruct it, but the further it is from its original nature. The closer we come to its "calling out" the more impossible it becomes to identify what it is we are supposed to restore. Thus it seems clear that one of the major errors in Restoration thinking is the belief in a given priesthood structure and authority, ordered by the historical Jesus, which could be lost and then restored. This belief, in my opinion, contradicts the clear sense of the New Testament and reflects ahistorical thinking.

Though I am not a social historian, it seems obvious that there is nothing unique in the general process by which the ecclesia of early Christianity became an institution. It must surely be common for groups to develop structure, doctrine, and a sense of institutional identity only after gathering together. The movement founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., awaits a historian who will examine its emergence along these lines.

Although I am not qualified to say how accurately they reflect the actual process, early sections of the Doctrine and Covenants seem to suggest the general outline of a movement from ecclesia to institution. In July or August of 1828, Joseph presented as revelation what stands, so far as I know, as the first definition of the church in LDS scripture: "Behold, this is my doctrine: whosoever repenteth and cometh unto me, the same is my church; whosoever declareth more or less than this, the same is not of me, but is against me; therefore, he is not of my church" (D&C, LDS 10:67–8; RLDS 3:16). For such an ecclesia, only a priesthood of all believers would be appropriate: "Therefore, O ye that embark in the service of God, see that ye serve him with all your heart, might, mind and strength, that ye may stand blameless before God at the last day; therefore, if ye have desires to serve God, ye are called to the work . . . and faith, hope, charity, and love, with an eye single to the glory of God qualifies him for the work" (LDS 4; RLDS 4:1, Feb. 1829). And for such a group of missionaries — untrained, uncensored, unstructured — there would have to be only a simple, clear message: "Say nothing but repentance unto this generation" (LDS 6:9, RLDS 6:4b, April 1829).

If Joseph's 1841 history actually reflects some of his early experiences at revivals, it would be easy to see this emphasis on repentance as arising out of those experiences. He paints a picture of harmony existing when ministers from different denominations gather to preach the common theme of repentance. But he also writes of bitter conflict arising when those same preachers fall on the repentant souls with conflicting claims for doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority, with "priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words and contest of opinions" (JS-H 1:6). If indeed such experiences shaped Joseph's thought, we can well imagine him seeking to transcend this unchristian division by insisting that true disciples limit

themselves to a fundamental message upon which all can agree and in which all can join in preaching.

In these and other early texts, there is a vision of an ecclesia with a priesthood of all believers, awaiting the return of Jesus to a repentant world. But Joseph's unstructured ecclesia did not last long. Almost immediately Joseph found it necessary to begin specifying who should preach and what they should say. Partly, I think because he shared the popular view that there was a "true" New Testament structure which could be restored, Joseph began formulating structures very quickly (see RLDS 10:8, 10; 16:4e, 5, 6d; 17. LDS 11:15–16, 21–22; 18:22, 27–32, 42; 20).

Whatever the details which emerge as historians study this process of institutionalization and the factors which shaped it, it would be helpful to remember the original definition of the church. An ecclesia which grows very large cannot long exist with any stable sense of identity, but those early texts suggest an approach to the nature of discipleship and ministry which ought to keep us suspicious of "eternal" priesthood structures and open to a more fluid community and ministry.

To the extent that we hide from reality we are asking for trouble. One basic reality is that persons, texts, communities, and institutions are all creatures of history. We are surely better off when we recognize that we live and move and have our being, values, and commitments in history.

The tremendous harm which can be done by an anti-historical perspective was well illustrated at the 1984 RLDS conference in the debate over the ordination of women. No one argued that women are incapable of being effective ministers. The only argument offered on the conference floor against the ordination of women was pseudo-historical: the eternal plan does not include the ordination of women. The evidence offered for this claim was simple: they did not ordain women in the city of Enoch, in Ancient America, or in New Testament Christianity, so why should we? Put simply, the argument denied the reality of the historical process, a denial founded in the concept of Restoration as the recovery of an eternal and unchanging priesthood structure and authority.

The RLDS Presidency was able to make the move to ordain women because they have substantially abandoned this anti-historical claim and have come to recognize the historicity of persons, texts, and institutions. While editing a condensed form of this essay for the *Saints' Herald* (March and April 1985), the First Presidency inserted a comment which ultimately appeared in the article as follows:

> In recent years, for example, church leaders have been led to reinterpret *restoration* as a principle for application in all periods of the church's history, rather than as a claim about only one period of church history. "Restoration" now suggests to many church members that God was not only "in Christ reconciling the world to himself," but also in the body of Christ, continuing that ministry of restoring humanity to God. Thus the work of restoration continues in individual lives, in the church as a whole, and ultimately in society (Mesle 1985, 13–14).

This understanding of "Restoration" as an ongoing redemptive process is universal in its scope and realistic in its historical implications. Reinterpret-

ing, perhaps remythologizing, the symbol of "Restoration" dramatically demonstrates the effort of the Presidency to help the membership reconceive the nature and mission of the church.

An alternative reinterpretation of "Restoration" might try to build directly on the past error. Frankly confessing our anti-historical idolatry of priesthood structures, we might redeem the mistake by drawing forth a lesson. Our study of early Christianity may help us to understand the compelling historical reasons why communities adopt structure. The struggles of early Christianity, compared and contrasted with our own, may help us to see the inevitable tension between creative freedom and effective structure. A freely flowing ecclesia has difficulty sustaining identity and direction as it grows in size, and it may also have difficulty influencing the larger society in some vital respects. Emerging structures can help to solve these problems, but may stifle the free development and exercise of individual gifts and the ability of the community to respond to new insights and needs. Perhaps we could speak of a "restoration principle" which would call us to constantly seek to restore that dynamic and elusive balance between freedom and effective structure.

We may, of course, decide to abandon the symbol of restoration altogether. Provided that we do not abandon its lessons, I prefer this approach. In any case, I am confident that a fresh reading of the New Testament, especially of Paul, can give us valuable and exciting visions for freeing ourselves to discover and exercise more adequately the gifts of every person.

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SUGGESTED READINGS

The list below represents a fairly broad spectrum of New Testament scholarship which deals with one or more of the four claims I made. I do not claim that each text supports me on each point and certainly not that they agree on all vital issues. However, they will provide greater information about New Testament Christianity, and I believe all of them would agree that Jesus did not establish a clearly structured organization that could be "restored."

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Sarah M. Pratt: The Shaping of an Apostate

Richard S. Van Wagoner

> I am the wife of Orson Pratt . . . I was formerly a member of the Mormon church. . . . I have not been a believer in the Mormon doctrines for thirty years, and am now considered an apostate, I believe (Journal History, 22 Jan. 1875).

SARAH MARINDA BATES PRATT, first wife of Apostle Orson Pratt, is almost always portrayed in Mormon history as a sharp-tongued shrew with a shady past — Hester Prynne's rival for the scarlet letter. Who is the woman behind the rumor?

Sarah, the first daughter and third child of Cyrus Bates and Lydia Harrington Bates's twelve children, was born in the sleepy hamlet of Henderson, New York, on 5 February 1817. During the summer of 1835, when Sarah was eighteen, Mormon missionaries taught the Bates family (Bates and Harrington). Sarah believed the Mormon message and also fell in love with the intense, blue-eyed missionary who delivered it — twenty-four-year-old Apostle Orson Pratt. Orson baptized Sarah on 18 June 1835, four days after he baptized her brother Marcellus and sister Lydia Augusta. Other siblings would be baptized later: Ormus Ephraim on 4 July 1836 and Orissa Angelia, on 14 April 1838 (Bates Family Group Sheet). Though Pratt moved on to proselyte in other areas, he did not forget Sarah. "Went to Brother Bates," he wrote in his 7 June 1836 journal, "found them all well. I was very much enjoyed to see them as I had been absent about 1 yr., and more especially as I had previously formed an acquaintance with their daughter with whom I had held a correspondence by letter and with whom I shortly expected to enter into the sacred bonds of matrimony" (Watson 1975, 82).

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Orson and Sarah were married a month later on 4 July 1836 by Apostle Luke Johnson in the sturdy stone house Sarah's father had built ten years before. After a three-day honeymoon, Orson resumed his missionary duties, leaving Sarah with her family. He returned to Henderson several times before October, when he and Sarah moved to a dollar-a-month apartment in Kirtland, Ohio.

Orson began trading in stoves and ironwear, but a general downturn in the national economy coupled with Kirtland's spiraling land speculation and the fiscal mismanagement of the Kirtland Safety Society destroyed the economic foundation of the Mormon utopia. The couple had few financial resources when Sarah gave birth on 11 July 1837 to Orson Pratt, Jr., the first of her twelve children. In mid-August, when she and the baby were able to travel, the young family moved back to the Bates homestead in New York where Orson worked as a laborer for two months. On 2 October he left Henderson to "labor in the vineyard," filling brief, local missions throughout the winter (Watson 1975, 93). In the spring he moved his family to New York City, where he was appointed branch president.

New York was not destined to be the Pratt home for long. On 8 July 1838 Joseph Smith received a revelation (D&C 118) instructing members of the Quorum of the Twelve to prepare for a mission the following spring "over the great waters." Quorum President Thomas B. Marsh in the 3 August 1838 *Elder's Journal* specifically called Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and John E. Page to "come immediately to Far West [Missouri], to prepare for a great mission."

Orson put his New York affairs in order and the family started west, but river ice and Sarah's second pregnancy made travel beyond Saint Louis impossible. There, on 17 December, Lydia was born. When the Mississippi ice floes broke up in the spring, Sarah and Orson headed upstream to Quincy, Illinois, a temporary haven for Mormon refugees from Missouri. By mid-May 1839, they were living in a small log cabin with the Wilford Woodruff family at abandoned Fort Des Moines in Montrose, Iowa (Woodruff 1881, 74–75). Two months later they moved across the Mississippi to live in a fourteen-by-sixteen-foot "shanty" that Heber C. Kimball had nearly completed in Nauvoo (Whitney 1945, 262).

The brackish waters of the undrained river bottom lands surrounding Nauvoo produced epidemics of cholera, typhoid, and malaria. Sarah's eight-month-old baby, Lydia, the first of six of her twelve children who would not attain adulthood, died 18 August 1839 and was buried across the Mississippi at Montrose. Eleven days later, grief-stricken Sarah bade Europe-bound Orson goodbye, an act she would perform many times as he fulfilled his missionary callings.

Sarah could have gone with Orson as far as New York where her family, especially her seriously ill father, would have welcomed her. He would die a few weeks later on 3 October at the age of forty-seven. But baby Orson was young, and Church leaders emphasized gathering to Nauvoo. So Sarah remained in the city. Orson left his family little to live on. Years later, Sarah

remembered of the early Nauvoo years, "There was little money then in circulation and people were obliged to be content to earn what would merely keep soul and body together" (S. M. Pratt 1884). To supplement her meager Church rations, she took in sewing.

Joseph Smith had been hiring Sarah for his own family's sewing needs; and in the fall of 1840, he brought John C. Bennett, a newcomer to Mormonism, to Sarah's house, saying Bennett "wanted some sewing done and that [Sarah] should do it for [him]." Sarah said that she "assented and Bennett gave me a great deal of work to do" (Wyl 1886, 61).

Bennett, a Campbellite minister, self-trained lawyer, doctor, thirty-third-degree Mason, brigadier general in the Illinois Invincible Light Dragoons, and Quartermaster General of Illinois, seemed to be a real catch for Mormonism. With the missionary-apostles in Europe and counselor Sidney Rigdon chronically ill, the Church was experiencing a power vacuum. The glib, bombastic, and seemingly aristocratic John C. Bennett ingratiated himself into the inner circles of the Church; he was appointed "Assistant President" of the Church on 8 April 1841. Joseph Smith was so impressed by his new convert that he adopted many of the doctor's personal mannerisms, including his oratorical style, his military dress and bearing, and his habit of using foreign phrases in written communications. Bennett boarded in the Prophet's home, and the two were near-constant companions. William Law, a member of the First Presidency (1841–44) recalled in an 1871 letter that Bennett was "more in the secret confidence of Joseph than perhaps any other man in the city" (Stenhouse 1873, 198).

Loyal, trustworthy men of his own mind were important to Joseph Smith during the early Nauvoo years when he introduced plural marriage to a select group. Polygamy, a criminal act under the 1833 Illinois Anti-bigamy Laws, was so unacceptable to monogamous nineteenth-century society that it could be introduced to the Church only in absolute secrecy. John C. Bennett, Smith's closest confidant during this period, apparently was one of the first individuals to know of the Prophet's plans. At least he knew of several of Smith's earliest polygamous relationships, because later, in his 1842 exposé, he referred in code to seven women who can be identified as plural wives of the Prophet. For example, he correctly wrote that "Miss L***** B*****" (Louisa Beaman), the first of Smith's plural wives, was sealed to him through a marriage ceremony by Joseph Bates Noble — a fact known to only a handful (Bennett 1842–1842a, 256).

Bennett also scathingly declared that he had become a Mormon only to "get behind the curtain, and behold, at my leisure, the secret wires of the fabric and likewise those who moved them" (Bennett 1842a, 7). But in 1940, Smith believed Bennett to be sincerely converted.

Bennett would play a major role in the controversy that would follow Sarah Pratt all her life. Sometime in late 1840 or early 1841, Joseph confided to his friend that he was smitten by the "amiable and accomplished" Sarah Pratt and wanted her for "one of his *spiritual wives*, for the Lord had given her to him as a special favor for his faithfulness" (emphasis in original). Shortly

afterward, the two men took some of Bennett's sewing to Sarah's house. During the visit, as Bennett describes it, Joseph said, "Sister Pratt, the Lord has given you to me as one of my *spiritual wives.* I have the blessings of Jacob granted me, as God granted holy men of old, and as I have long looked upon you with favor, and an earnest desire of connubial bliss, I hope you will not repulse or deny me." "And is that the great secret that I am not to utter," Sarah replied. "Am I called upon to break the marriage covenant, and prove recreant to my lawful husband! *I never will.*" She added, "I care not for the blessings of Jacob. I have one good husband, and that is enough for me." But according to Bennett, the Prophet was persistent. Finally Sarah angrily told him on a subsequent visit, "Joseph, if you ever attempt any thing of the kind with me again, I will make a full disclosure to Mr. Pratt on his return home. Depend upon it, *I will certainly do it.*" "Sister Pratt," the Prophet responded, "I hope you will not expose me, for if I suffer, all must suffer; so do not expose me. Will you promise me that you will not do it?" "If you will never insult me again," Sarah replied, "I will not expose you unless strong circumstances should require it." "If you should tell," the Prophet added, "I will ruin your reputation, *remember that*" (Bennett 1842a, 228–31; emphasis in original).

According to Bennett, Sarah kept her promise. Even Orson did not know of the incident. Later Sarah recalled that "shortly after Joseph made his propositions to me . . . they enraged me so that I refused to accept any help from the tithing house or the bishop." She also added that "Bennett, who was of a sarcastic turn of mind, used to come and tell me about Joseph to tease and irritate me" (Wyl 1886, 61).

Nearly a year after Orson's return to Nauvoo, in mid-July 1841, another incident, according to Bennett, forced Sarah to tell Orson of the Prophet's behavior. If one believes Bennett's account, Joseph kissed Sarah in his counselor's presence. Sarah caused a commotion that apparently roused at least one neighbor, Mary Ettie V. Smith, who lived across the street from the Pratts. She recalled eighteen years later that during the fracas "Sarah ordered the Prophet out of the house, and the Prophet used obscene language to her" declaring that he had found John C. Bennett "in bed with her" (Green 1859, 31).

Bennett recounts (1842a, 231) that when Sarah told her husband of the Prophet's behavior, Orson approached Joseph and told him "never to offer an insult of the like again." Though full details of the confrontation between the two men have not been uncovered, it seems certain from subsequent events that Joseph not only denied Sarah's allegations, but accused her of being Bennett's paramour. Orson believed Sarah, however, a position that caused serious difficulties between him and Joseph Smith.

The rift between Joseph and Orson Pratt became public on 11 May 1842, one day after Sarah had given birth to daughter Celestia Larissa, when Church leaders announced that John C. Bennett would be disfellowshipped. According to Bennett, Orson Pratt refused to sign the announcement because, as he put it, "he knew nothing against him" (Bennett 1842a, 40–41). Perhaps as a

result of this mild resistance, six days later, on 17 May, Joseph Smith wrote to Church Recorder James Sloan, "You will be so good as to permit Bennett to withdraw his name from the Church record, if he desires to do so, and this with the best of feelings towards you and General Bennett" (Bennett 1842a, 40–41). Two days later at a Nauvoo City Council meeting where Bennett turned over the mayorship to the Prophet, Joseph asked Bennett if he had anything against him. The former mayor responded: "I know what I am about, and the heads of the Church know what they are about, I expect. I have no difficulty with the heads of the Church. I publicly avow that any one who has said that I have stated that General Smith has given me authority to hold illicit intercourse with women is a liar in the face of God" (HC 5:38).

Bennett was referring to widely circulated rumors about polygamy or "spiritual wifery," as it was usually called in Nauvoo. Accusations and denials abounded. For example, in mid-January 1842, Martha Brotherton, a young Nauvoo woman, was allegedly approached by Brigham Young in Joseph Smith's private office. "Were it lawful and right," Brotherton reported Young as saying, "could [you] accept of me for your husband and companion? . . . Brother Joseph has had a revelation from God that it is lawful and right for a man to have two wives; for as it was in the days of Abraham, so it shall be in these last days . . . if you will accept of me, I will take you straight to the celestial kingdom." Brigham then left the room and returned ten minutes later with the Prophet. "Just go ahead, and do as Brigham wants you to," Brotherton reported Smith as saying. "I know that this is lawful and right . . . I have the keys of the kingdom, and whatever I bind on earth is bound in heaven, and whatever I loose on earth is loosed in heaven." Martha noted she begged for time to consider, then left for Saint Louis, where she published her story in the 15 July 1842 *St. Louis Bulletin.*

Hyrum Smith, believing Joseph's public posture that polygamy was not sanctioned, addressed the Saints on 7 April 1842 "in contradiction of a report in circulation about Elders Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, himself, and others of the Twelve, alleging that a sister had been shut in a room for several days, and that they had endeavored to induce her to believe in having two wives." Joseph then addressed the group: "There is no person that is acquainted with our principles who would believe such lies" (HC 4:585–86).

Joseph and Hyrum were not the only Smiths denying accusations of polygamy. "A Record of the Organization and Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," in the handwriting of secretary Eliza R. Snow, provides substantial evidence that Emma Smith was using her powerful position as president of the Church's Relief Society to protect the Prophet from scandal and to suppress polygamy. In the organizational minutes, 17 March 1842, Emma remarked that members should not only "seek out and relieve the distressed," but "must deal frankly with each other to watch over the morals and be very careful of the character and reputation of the members of the Institution." Her meaning became clear during the 24 March meeting when she reported, "Clarissa Marvel was accus'd of scandalous falsehoods on the character of Prest. Joseph Smith without the least provocation." Clarissa had lived with

Don Carlos Smith's widow, Agnes Coolbrith Smith, for a year and thought she detected a polygamous relationship between Joseph Smith and his widowed sister-in-law — a relationship John C. Bennett also accused the Prophet of pursuing (Bennett 1842a, 256). After considerable pressure from Emma Smith and others, Clarissa marked an X by the statement: "This is to certify that I never have at any time or place, seen or heard any thing improper or unvirtuous in the conduct or conversation of either President Smith or Mrs. Agnes Smith. I also certify that I never have reported any thing derogatory to the characters of either of them" (Record, 28 Sept. 1842).

During a 30 March Relief Society meeting, Emma discussed the Clarissa Marvel situation again, then read a secret letter to the group from Joseph Smith and other Church leaders to see if the sisters were "good Masons." The letter warned against "iniquitous characters . . . [who] say they have authority from Joseph or the First Presidency." Relief Society sisters were advised

> in the name of the Lord, to check & destroy any faith that any innocent person may have in any such characters; for we do not want any one to believe any thing as coming from us, contrary to the old established morals & virtues & scriptural laws, regulating the habits, customs & conduct of society: and all persons pretending to be authorized by us, or having any permit or sanction from us; are & will be liars & base impostors, & you are authorized on the very first affirmation of the kind, to denounce them as such & shun them as the flying fiery serpent, whether they are prophets, Seers, or revelators: Patriarchs, Twelve Apostles, Elders, Priests, Majors, Generals, City Councillors, Aldermen, Marshals, Police, Lord Mayors or the Devil, are alike culpable & shall be damned for such evil practices: and if you yourselves adhere to anything of the kind, you also shall be damned.

The Nauvoo High Council closely investigated charges of polygamy, hearing testimony of several witnesses from May through August 1842. On 20 May, Catherine Fuller Warren, responding to charges of "unchaste and unvirtuous conduct with John C. Bennett," admitted them and also confessed to intercourse with others, including Joseph Smith's younger brother, Apostle William Smith. She rationalized that the men had "taught the doctrine that it was right to have free intercourse with women and that the heads of the church also taught and practised it which things caused her to be led away thinking it to be right" (Hutchins 1977, 33).

Both Bennett and William Smith, members of the Mormon hierarchy, were aware of at least some of the Prophet's polygamous activities and obviously felt entitled to take "spiritual wives" themselves, without Joseph Smith's blessing, encouraging others to do so as well. Their actions were a threat to the secret "Church-sanctioned" plural marriages, however, and endangered both the Church and Joseph Smith's personal relationship with his wife Emma. To diffuse the "spiritual wifery" rumors, charges were brought against Bennett, William Smith, and others. The charges against the Prophet's brother were soon dismissed. Quorum of the Twelve President Lorenzo Snow later referred to William Smith's guilt and the subsequent withdrawal of charges against him,

> Brigham Young was once tried to the very utmost by the Prophet, and for a moment his standing in the Church seemed to tremble in the balance. Wm. Smith, one of the

> first quorum of apostles in this age had been guilty of adultery and many other sins. The Prophet Joseph instructed Brigham (then the Pres. of the Twelve) to prefer a charge against the sinner, which was done. Before the time set for the trial, however, Emma Smith talked to Joseph and said the charge preferred against William was with a view to injuring the Smith family. After the trial had begun, Joseph entered the room and was given a seat. The testimony of witnesses concerning the culprit's sins was then continued. After a short time Joseph arose filled with wrath and said, "Bro. Brigham, I will not listen to this abuse of my family a minute longer. I will wade in blood up to my knees before I will do it." This was a supreme moment. A rupture between the two greatest men on earth seemed imminent. But Brother Young was equal to the danger, and he instantly said, "Bro. Joseph, I withdraw the charge" (A. Cannon, 9 April 1890).

William was then sent on a mission to Pennsylvania. But Bennett and several lesser-known Nauvoo men were excommunicated, an action which drew attention away from Joseph Smith's own polygamy for a time.

Had Bennett left Nauvoo after withdrawing from the Church, things would have been much easier for Joseph Smith. But the former mayor "intend[ed] to continue with you," as he informed the city council on 19 May. "I hope the time may come when I may be restored to full confidence, fellowship, and my former standing in the church, and that my conduct may be such as to warrant my restoration, and should the time ever come that I may have the opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or true man" (HC 5:38–39).

On the afternoon of 25 May Joseph addressed the Nauvoo Relief Society, directing his comments to Emma. Emma did not like John C. Bennett, believing him unworthy of her husband's trust. "One request to the Pres[iden]t and Society," Smith advised, "hold your tongues about things of no moment — a little tale will set the world on fire. At this time the truth on the guilty should not be told openly — we must use precaution in bringing sinners to justice but in exposing their heinous sins, we draw the indignation of a gentile world upon us (Record, 26 May 1842). Later that evening after listening to John C. Bennett's purported confession of wrongdoing before 100 of his fellow Freemasons, Joseph requested mercy for his friend and former counselor.

Bennett stayed in Nauvoo at the Robert Foster residence until mid-June. Though Smith had opposed exposing Bennett, pressures from his wife and others and testimony being given before the high council apparently caused him to change his mind. On 18 June, the Prophet spoke "his mind concerning the iniquity & wickedness of Gen. John Cook Bennet[t], & exposed him before the public" (Woodruff 2:178). Bennett, who conceivably thought his difficulties with the Prophet were on the mend, was incensed. He left Nauvoo a few days later, claiming he feared for his life, and wrote a 27 June letter to the editor of the *Sangamo Journal* of Springfield, Illinois, promising an exposé of Mormonism. The paper published the letter on 8 July, urging Bennett to "come out NOW. . . . To produce 'documentary evidence,' that the public may form opinions that cannot be gainsaid."

Bennett did not disappoint the reading public. Feisty letters from the flamboyant ex-Mormon soon appeared in the paper. Orson Pratt apparently

initially considered writing a letter also. His brother-in-law, William Allred, married to Sarah's sister Orissa, wrote a 5 July letter to Bennett requesting medical help for his ailing wife, and added, "Mr. Pratt would write, but he is *afraid* to. He wishes to be *perfectly still*, until your second letter comes out — then you may hear" (Bennett 1842a, 45; emphasis in original). Chauncey L. Higbee, a friend of Bennett's, had reported a day earlier in a letter to the doctor that the Pratts were privately saying, "If Smith ever renews the attack on them, they will come out against him, and stand it no longer" (Bennett 1842a, 450). Bennett reported that during a 14 July public speech Joseph spoke of Sarah "in a manner only befitting the lowest and most degraded vagabond in existence" (Bennett 1842a, 225). And visitors to Nauvoo on this date heard the Prophet call Sarah a "[whore] from her mother's breast" (*Sangamo Journal*, 1 Aug. 1842). Bennett's second letter, published on 15 July, exposed the details of the Prophet's polyandrous proposals to Sarah Pratt and urged her to confirm the story.

Orson was thrown into a quandry. As was evidently his habit during personal turmoil, he sought solitude, leaving family members a note that seemed to threaten suicide. When Joseph heard, he "caused the Temple hands and the principle men of the city to make search for him" (Manuscript History, 15 July 1842). Ebenezer Robinson, an editor of the Church-owned *Times and Seasons*, later remembered, "Apostle Pratt had been told Joseph Smith wanted Orson's wife as his own plural wife and John C. Bennett was accused of having committed adultery with his wife. Both men denied these charges. Under these circumstances his mind temporarily gave way, and he wandered away, no one knew where. . . . He was found some five miles below Nauvoo, sitting on a rock on the bank of the Mississippi river" (Robinson 1890, 287).

After Orson returned, Joseph called a public meeting. The official account of that gathering simply states that he "gave the public a general outline of John C. Bennett's conduct" (Manuscript History, 15 July 1842). Brigham Young, who was probably present, was more expansive two days later in a 17 July letter to Orson's brother Parley in England:

> Br Orson Pratt is in trubble in consequence of his wife, hir feelings are so rought up that he dos not know whether his wife is wrong, or whether Josephs testimony and others are wrong and due Ly and he decived for 12 years or not; he is all but crazy about matters, you may aske what the matter is concirning Sister P. — it is enoph, and doct, J.C. Bennett could tell all about [the words "it if he" are crossed out] himself & hir — enoph of that — we will not let Br. Orson goe away from us he is to good a man to have a woman destroy him.

On 20 July sworn statements by prominent Nauvoo citizens affirming that Joseph Smith was of "high moral character" and not guilty of any of Bennett's accusations were published in *The Wasp*, a Mormon Nauvoo newspaper. Orson Pratt was one of three prominent Nauvoo citizens who refused to sign the resolution. The other two, Sidney Rigdon and his son-in-law George W. Robinson, were feuding with Joseph Smith over the Prophet's polygamous proposals to Rigdon's daughter Nancy. Like Sarah Pratt, Martha Brotherton and Nancy Rigdon also suffered slanderous attacks because they exposed the

Church's private polygamy posture. *The Wasp*, for example, on 27 August 1842 denounced "John C. Bennett, the pimp and file leader of such mean harlots as Martha H. Brotherton and her predecessors from old Jezebel." Orson Hyde attempted to blacken Nancy Rigdon's character by saying her conduct was "notorious in this city" where she was "regarded generally, little, if any better, than a public prostitute," defending the Prophet's actions toward Nancy as efforts to "reprove and reclaim her if possible" (Hyde 1845, 27–29).

While the city buzzed with rumors of the Prophet's difficulties with the Pratt and Rigdon families, a public meeting was called on 22 July to obtain an "expression of the public mind in reference to the reports gone abroad, calumniating the character of Pres. Joseph Smith." A resolution presented by Wilson Law declared in part: "Having heard that John C. Bennett was circulating many base falsehoods respecting a number of the citizens of Nauvoo, and especially against our worthy and respected Mayor, Joseph Smith, we hereby manifest to the world that so far as we know him to be a good, moral, virtuous, peaceable and patriotic man" (*Times and Seasons* 3 [1 Aug. 1842]: 869). When a vote was taken on the matter, Orson Pratt and "two or three others" voted against the resolution. The minutes of the meeting are brief, but Orson's explanation of his vote caused Joseph Smith to jump to his feet asking, "Have you personally a knowledge of any immoral act in me toward the female sex, or in any other way?" "Personally, toward the female sex," Pratt replied, "I have not." Though Pratt elaborated further, perhaps defending his wife, his comments were not recorded; then William Law, Heber C. Kimball, and Hyrum Smith bore "testimony of the iniquity of those who had calumniated Pres. J. Smith's character." Ironically, Wilson Law, his brother William, and others later became disillusioned with Joseph Smith and exposed the Prophet's involvement in plural marriage in the June 1844 *Nauvoo Expositor.*

As rumors about the Pratts spread throughout Nauvoo, the 29 July *Sangamo Journal* editorialized: "We do not know what course will be pursued by Mr. Pratt. If he sinks under the denunciations and schemes of Joe Smith — if he fails to defend the reputation of himself and of the woman he has vowed to protect before high heaven — he will fix a stain upon his character which he can never wash out, and carry to the grave the pangs caused by 'the gnawings of the worm that never dies.' "

Pratt continued to stand by his wife. Brigham Young recorded that during this period he and other members of the Quorum labored nearly constantly with "Elder Orson Pratt, whose mind became so darkened by the influence and statements of his wife, that he came out in rebellion against Joseph, refusing to believe his testimony or obey his counsel. He said he would believe his wife in preference to the Prophet. Joseph told him if he did believe his wife and follow her suggestions he would go to hell." Even the threat of losing his Quorum membership did not deter Pratt; he responded fearlessly to Brigham Young's hints that his position might be in jeopardy by advising him to ordain Amasa Lyman "in my stead" (Watson 1968, 120–21).

Wilford Woodruff corroborates in his 10 September 1842 diary: "There was a counsel of the '*Twelve*' held for four days with Elder *Orson Pratt* to

labour with him to get him to recall his sayings against Joseph & the Twelve but he persisted in his wicked course & would not recall any of his sayings which were unjust & untrue, The Twelve then rejected him as a member of their quorum & he was cut off from the Twelve. Dr. John Cook Bennet was the ruin of Orson Pratt" (2:187; emphasis in original).

Smith was not directly involved in the excommunication of Orson Pratt on 20 August 1842. The Prophet was walking a tightrope, attempting to restore peace with the Rigdon family while fighting extradition to Missouri as "an accessory to an assault with intent to kill" Missouri's former governor, Lilburn W. Boggs on 6 May 1842. Fearful of being kidnapped and taken to Missouri, the Prophet went into hiding on 11 August 1842, contemplating escape to the Church timberlands in Wisconsin (HC 5:105–06).

Joseph continued to be infuriated by Pratt, Rigdon, and Robinson's refusal to certify his "high moral character." As his brother Hyrum addressed the Saints on 25 August, the Prophet appeared, causing a stir. Taking the stand, he admonished the Twelve and others to "support the character of the prophet, the Lord's anointed." He lashed out at "O[rson] Pratt and others of the same class [who] caused trouble by telling stories to people who would betray me, and they must believe these stories because his Wife told him so!" "And as to all that Orson Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, or George W. Robinson can do to prevent me," the Prophet concluded, "I can kick them off my heels, as many as you can name" (Manuscript History, 29 Aug. 1842).

Smith continued with a plea for volunteers to "disabuse the public mind in relation to these false statements of Dr. J. C. Bennett." To provide ample ammunition to the 380 elders who volunteered, the Church press printed on 31 August a special edition of *The Wasp* which contained "Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits contained In John C. Bennett's Letters." To discredit Sarah Pratt's accusations, the publication contained a 23 July 1842 letter allegedly from Stephen A. Goddard, whom Sarah had boarded with in 1840, to Orson Pratt:

> . . . considering it a duty upon me I now communicate unto you some things relative to Dr. Bennett and your wife. . . . I took your wife into my house because she was destitute of a house, Oct. 6, 1840, and from the first night, until the last, with the exception of one night, it being nearly a month, the Dr. was there as sure as the night came. . . . One night they took their chairs out of doors and remained there we supposed until 12 o'clock or after; at another time they went over to the house where you now live and came back after dark, or about that time. We went over several times late in the evening while she lived in the house of Dr. Foster, and were most sure to find Dr. Bennett and your wife together, as it were, man and wife.

The special edition also contained a sworn statement from Stephen Goddard's wife Zeruiah: "I would further state that from my own observation, I am satisfied that their conduct was anything but virtuous, and I know Mrs. Pratt is not a woman of truth, and I believe the statements which Dr. Bennett made concerning Joseph Smith are false, and fabricated for the purpose of covering his own iniquities, and enabling him to practice his base designs on the innocent."

Years later, when disaffected from the Church, Sarah gave her account of the Goddard incident:

> In his endeavors to ruin my character Joseph went so far as to publish an extra-sheet containing affidavits against my reputation. When this sheet was brought to me I discovered to my astonishment the names of two people on it, man and wife, with whom I had boarded for a certain time. . . . I went to their house; the man left the house hurriedly when he saw me coming. I found the wife and said to her rather excitedly: "What does it all mean?" She began to sob. "It is not my fault" said she. "Hyrum Smith came to our house, with the affidavits all written out, and forced us to sign them. '*Joseph and the Church must be saved,*' said he. We saw that resistance was useless, they would have ruined us; so we signed the papers" (Wyl 1886, 62–63; emphasis in original).

The Goddard story had serious problems that even Sarah did not point out. John C. Bennett had been appointed 4 October 1840 to help Joseph Smith draft the Nauvoo Charter and was selected as a delegate to lobby the passage of the bill through the legislature at Springfield, almost a hundred miles away. That Bennett could draft the complicated documents, travel to and from Springfield, and be with Sarah Pratt every night except one during a one-month period, seems highly improbable. In addition, it seems unlikely that if Sarah and Bennett were having an affair they would flaunt their illicit behavior before the Goddards — personal friends of Orson Pratt.

Hancock County Sheriff J. B. Backenstos also provided a sworn affidavit in the 31 August special edition of *The Wasp* testifying that during the winter of 1841–42 he had accused Bennett of "having an illicit intercourse with Mrs. Orson Pratt . . . when said Bennett replied that she made a first rate go." But during that winter Orson was in Nauvoo and Sarah was sick and pregnant with their daughter Celestia; Mormon Backenstos's statement may thus be dismissed as slander.

Joseph Smith, III, in Salt Lake City, quizzed Sarah on these stories in the mid-1870s. According to his account, he asked Sarah: "It has been frequently told that I dare not come to you and ask you about your relations with [my father], for fear you would tell me things which would be unwelcome to me." "You need have no such fear," Sarah reportedly replied to young Joseph, "your father was never guilty of any action or proposal of an improper nature in my house, to me, or in my presence, at any time or place. There is no truth in the reports that have been circulated about him in this regard" (Anderson and Hulmes 1952, 69–71). According to Sarah's account, however, "I saw that [Joseph] was not inclined to believe the truth about his father, so I said to him, 'You pretend to have revelations from the Lord. Why don't you ask the Lord to tell you *what kind of man your father really was*?' " (Wyl 1886, 61; emphasis in original).

Unlike most Mormon dissidents, the Pratts refused to leave Nauvoo. Orson wrote in the 2 September 1842 *Wasp* that, contrary to rumor, he had not "renounced 'Mormonism,' left Nauvoo, &c." He further explained how he was able to believe his wife's accusations against Joseph Smith while remaining in the Church: "The lustre of truth cannot be dimmed by the shadows of error

and falsehood. Neither will the petty difficulties existing among its votaries weaken its influence or destroy its power. Its course is onward to accomplish the purposes of its great Author in relation to the happiness and salvation of the human family." Pratt wrote again two weeks later in the 26 September *Wasp* that he and Sarah were not "preparing to leave and expose Mormonism" but intended to make "NAUVOO OUR RESIDENCE, AND MORMONISM OUR MOTTO" (emphasis in original).

John C. Bennett, humiliated, stripped of his Mormon power base, and accused in *The Wasp Extra*, 17 July 1842, of deviant acts, including "adultery, fornication, embryo infanticide and buggery," wrote the Pratts and Rigdons on 10 January 1843 for testimony corroborating his accusations towards Joseph Smith. Bennett explained he was collaborating with Missouri authorities to extradite Smith: "We shall try [him] on the Boggs case, when we get him into Missouri," Bennett wrote. "The war goes bravely on; and, although Smith thinks he is now safe, the enemy is near, even at the door. He has awoke the wrong passenger." Rigdon, the Nauvoo postmaster, received the letter five days later, read it, and gave it to Pratt (HC 5:250–51).

Bennett underestimated Rigdon's and Pratt's loyalty. Though they were angered by Smith's actions towards Nancy and Sarah, they still believed in Mormonism and neither was willing to conspire in handing the Prophet over to Missouri authorities. Orson immediately took the letter to Smith.[1] Though Joseph was concerned about Bennett's threats, he was elated at Orson's allegiance. Two days later on 20 January the Prophet called a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve to consider Orson's case. Though a quorum had not been present when Amasa Lyman was voted in earlier, Smith startled the group by announcing that "as there was not a quorum when Orson Pratt's case came up before that he was still a member — he had not legally been cut off." Quorum President Brigham Young added that all he personally had against Orson "was when he came home he loved his wife better than David," a cryptic reference to Joseph Smith. Smith, speaking of Sarah Pratt's accusations, then turned to Orson. "She lied about me," the Prophet said. "I never made the offer which she said I did. I will not advise you to break up your family — unless it were asked of me. Then I would council you to get a bill from your wife and marry a virtuous woman — and a new family but if you do not do it [I] shall never throw it in your teeth" (Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve, 20 Jan. 1843).

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[1] While delivering a pro-polygamy speech before an 1878 audience of anti-polygamy members of the RLDS Church, Orson seemingly commented on his 1842 difficulties by saying "he got his information from a wicked source, from those disaffected, but as soon as he learned the truth he was satisfied" (*Millennial Star* 40 [16 Dec. 1878]: 788). One may only speculate what or who he was referring to. Not only were John C. Bennett and Sarah Pratt disaffected at this time, but so were others, including Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Olney, George W. Robinson, Francis Higbee, Chauncey Higbee, Nancy Rigdon, and Martha Brotherton. Though Orson Pratt at no time indicated he did not believe Sarah, John C. Bennett's 10 January 1843 letter was obviously the turning point in Orson's recommitment to Joseph Smith — "protecting the Lord's anointed," as it was called in Nauvoo.

Was the Prophet being forthright? Or was he attempting to cover his own polygamous behavior? Was Sarah Pratt telling the truth or was she hiding an affiair with John C. Bennett?

If Sarah Pratt and John C. Bennett were sexually involved, why is her name never mentioned in the Nauvoo High Council Minutes, which extensively detail John C. Bennett's "spiritual wifery" relationships? Why were charges against her membership not filed by Joseph Smith or anyone else? If the alleged 1840–41 Bennett/Sarah Pratt affair was as public as the Goddard account implies, why did Joseph Smith appoint John C. Bennett assistant president of the Church in April 1841? Why did Smith not link Sarah Pratt's name with Bennett's until *after* he was confronted by Orson Pratt? And what of the January 1841 revelation that declared of John C. Bennett, "I have seen the work he hath done, which I accept if he continue and will crown him with blessings and great glory" (D&C 124:17).

In addition to these important questions, several other married Mormon women, including Mary Elizabeth Rollins, Sarah M. Kimball, Nancy Marinda Johnson, Sylvia P. Sessions, Zina D. and Prescinda Huntington, long after Nauvoo, detailed Joseph Smith's polyandrous proposals to them (Van Wagoner 1985). However, Jane Law's situation resembled most closely Sarah Pratt's difficulties with Joseph Smith. After the Laws had left the Church, William Law, a former counselor in the First Presidency, wrote in his 13 May 1844 diary: "[Joseph] ha[s] lately endeavored to seduce my wife, and ha[s] found her a virtuous woman" (Cook 1982, 65). The Laws elaborated on this in a public meeting shortly thereafter. "The Prophet had made dishonorable proposals to [my] wife . . . under cover of his asserted 'Revelation,' " Law stated. He further explained that Joseph came to the Law home in the middle of the night when William was absent and told Jane that "the Lord had commanded that he should take spiritual wives, to add to his glory." Law then called on his wife to corroborate what he had said. She did so and further explained that Joseph had "asked her to give him half her love; she was at liberty to keep the other half for her husband" (A. Young 1876, 61). Jane refused the Prophet, and according to William Law's 20 January 1887 letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Smith then considered the couple apostates. "Jane had been speaking evil of him for a long time . . . slandered him, and lied about him without cause," Law reported Smith as saying. "My wife would not speak evil of . . . anyone . . . without cause," Law asserted. "Joseph is the liar and not she. That Smith admired and lusted after many men's wives and daughters, *is a fact*, but they could not help that. They or most of them considered his admiration an insult, and treated him with scorn. In return for this scorn, he generally managed to blacken their reputations — see the case of . . . Mrs. Pratt, a good, virtuous woman" (emphasis in original).

Some have assumed that Joseph Smith did not intend to marry wives of other men but merely wished to test their virtue or loyalty. In Sarah Pratt's case, for example, the *New York Herald* of 14 September 1877 declared: "It is said that the Prophet admitted to [Pratt] the attempt he made on his wife's

virtue, but that it was only done to see whether she was true to her absent husband." Jedediah Grant, second counselor to Brigham Young and father of Church President Heber J. Grant, commented on such tests in a Utah sermon delivered on 19 February 1854:

> When the family organization was revealed from heaven . . . and Joseph began . . . to add to his family, what a quaking there was in Israel. Says one brother to another, "Joseph says all covenants are done away, and none are binding but the new covenants; now suppose Joseph should come and say he wanted your wife, what would you say to that?" "I would tell him to go to hell." This was the spirit of many in the early days of this Church. Did the Prophet Joseph want every man's wife he asked for? He did not . . . the grand object in view was to try the people of God, to see what was in them (JD 2:13–14).

However, with at least some married women, the Prophet's intent went beyond "trying the people." He did secretly marry a few women with living husbands. Under these circumstances, Sarah Pratt's story of Joseph Smith's proposals to her seems plausible. Furthermore, neither Sarah nor Orson retracted their statements or denied them. Though Sarah was apparently not excommunicated during this time and Orson's excommunication was invalidated, one hour after the adjournment of the 20 January 1843 Quorum of the Twelve meeting in which the Prophet denied Sarah's accusations, she and Orson were rebaptized in the Mississippi River by Joseph Smith himself.

By mid-February 1843, Nauvoo seemed tranquil. The Pratts were quiet, and Joseph had temporarily resolved his difficulties with the Rigdon family. The Prophet continued to practice plural marriage, being sealed to at least nine women in the spring and early summer of 1843, but Church leaders, including Joseph Smith, frequently denied they were sanctioning polygamy. Prefabricated stories to protect polygamy were common. Sidney Rigdon, in the 18 June 1845 *Messenger and Advocate*, quoted Parley P. Pratt: "We must lie to support brother Joseph, it is our duty to do so."

In the spring of 1843, Orson Pratt prepared for another mission to New York. His brother Parley, away in England during both the 20 August 1842 Quorum meeting when Orson was excommunicated and the 20 January 1843 meeting when Joseph Smith declared the excommunication invalid, knew of Sarah and Orson's difficulties with Joseph Smith only through Brigham Young. In a 7 May letter to the Pratt's then non-Mormon cousin, John Van Cott, Parley attempted to explain away the controversy:

> Bro. Orson Pratt is in the church and always has been & has the confidence of Joseph Smith and all good men who know him. . . . As to Bennett or his book [*The History of the Saints*, 1842] I consider it a little stooping to mention it. It is beneath contempt & would disgrace the society of *hell* & the *Devil*. But it will answer the end of its creation viz: to delude those who have rejected that pure & glorious record the Book of Mormon. There is not such a thing named among the saints as he represents. & his book or name is scarcely mentioned, & never except with a perfect disgust. His object was vengeance on those who exposed his iniquity (Pratt to Van Cott; emphasis in original).

Interestingly, Orson added a postscript to Parley's letter: "J.C. Bennett has published lies concerning myself & family & the people with which I am

connected. . . . His book I have read with the greatest disgust. No candid honest man can or will believe it. He has disgraced himself in eyes of all civilized society who will despise his very name." Sarah later disagreed: "[I] know that the principle statements in John C. Bennett's Book on Mormonism are true" (Statement).

Orson also explained to his cousin that Sarah and their two children were going with him on a mission to "Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and other places in the east." They returned to Nauvoo on 7 November 1843. By early spring Pratt was sent to Washington, D.C., to petition Congress to raise an army of 100,000 to police the western United States. Failing in this effort, he journeyed through New York and New England campaigning for Joseph Smith's U.S. presidential platform.

Orson, along with other campaigners, returned to Nauvoo by early fall in response to news of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's murders on 27 June 1844. After a brief power struggle between Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young, the Quorum of the Twelve emerged as the governing body of the Church. The group's continued, secret promulgation of polygamy outraged Rigdon. "It is a fact, so well known," he wrote in a letter published in the 15 October 1844 *Messenger and Advocate*,

> that the Twelve and their adherents have endeavored to carry on this spiritual wife business . . . and have gone to the most shameful and desparate [sic] lengths to keep it from the public. First, insulting innocent females, and when they resented the insult, these monsters in human shape would assail their characters by lying, and perjuries, with a multitude of desparate [sic] men to help them effect the ruin of those whom they had insulted, and all this to enable them to keep these coorrupt [sic] practices from the view of the world.

Though Sarah Pratt may have felt vindicated by Rigdon's published account, her ordeal with polygamy had just begun. On 27 October 1844, she gave birth to her namesake, Sarah Marinda Pratt. Less than a month later, on 22 November, despite misgivings, she permitted Orson to marry his first plural wife — twenty-year-old Charlotte Bishop. For obedience to the "Law of Sarah," Sarah Pratt was sealed to Orson for eternity by Brigham Young on this same date (O. Pratt, "Brief Abstract").

The "Law of Sarah" as outlined in D&C 132:65 explains that a wife who does not consent to give her husband other wives "becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt" from seeking her approval in the future. Women who refused to cooperate had little recourse. As outlined in Orson Pratt's treatise on plural marriage:

> When a man who has a wife, teaches her the law of God, as revealed to the ancient patriarchs, and as manifested by new revelation, and she refuses to give her consent for him to marry another according to that law, then, it becomes necessary, for her to state before the President the reasons why she witholds her consent; if her reasons are sufficient and justifiable and the husband is found in the fault, or in transgression, then, he is not permitted to take any step in regard to obtaining another. But if the wife can show no good reason why she refuses to comply with the law which was given unto Sarah of old, then it is lawful for her husband, if permitted by revelation through the prophet, to be married to others without her consent, and he will be justified, and

she will be condemned, because she did not give them unto him, as Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham, and as Rachel and Leah gave Bilhah and Zilpah to their husband, Jacob" (O. Pratt 1854, 41).

President Joseph F. Smith elaborated during the Reed Smoot Hearings:

A. The condition is that if she does not consent the Lord will destroy her, but I do not know how he will do it.

Q. Is it not true that . . . if she refuses her consent her husband is exempt from the law which requires her consent?

A. Yes; he is exempt from the law which requires her consent. She is commanded to consent, but if she does not, then he is exempt from the requirement.

Q. Then he is at liberty to proceed without her consent, under the law. In other words, her consent amounts to nothing?

A. It amounts to nothing but her consent (*Proceedings* 1907, 1:201).

Three weeks after Orson's marriage to Charlotte Bishop, on 13 December 1844, Sarah was voted into the Endowment Council, a secret organization also called the Endowment Quorum, the Quorum of the Anointed, Joseph Smith's Prayer Circle, or simply the Quorum. It was primarily organized to teach select men and women how to obtain full salvation with God. A secondary function was to "test" initiates' ability to keep a secret prior to their introduction to plural marriage. The introduction of Freemasonry to Mormonism in 1842 also apparently served this purpose (Quinn 1978, 82–96). Sarah also participated that day in Orson's sealing to Adelia Ann Bishop, Charlotte's eighteen-year-old sister.

Orson's family continued to expand. On 27 March 1845, Sarah witnessed his marriage to twenty-five-year-old Mary Ann Merrill. Four months later, on 26 July 1845, after Orson had left for another mission to New York, nine-month-old Sarah Marinda died and, according to Orson, was "buried on my city lot, opposite my dwelling house, east" (Watson 1975, 5).

Orson was poor in New York, and his four wives were even poorer in Nauvoo. Charlotte, perhaps sensing financial security elsewhere, "married a young man by the name of Tyler," Orson reported in his "Brief Abstract of My Genealogy and Ancestry," and moved to Missouri. The 18 October 1845 *New York Messenger* contained a letter from Orson to the Saints describing

> . . . my own circumstances, how that I had labored long, with untiring patience and zeal for the salvation of man; without the opportunity of entering into any kind of business, to acquire even the necessaries of life for my increasing family. Already I perceived myself involved in debt, to the amount of about four hundred dollars, occasioned by borrowing a little money here and there, to bear my expenses from place to place, and to feed and clothe myself and family (O. Pratt 1845).

He then asked readers if "they would with one accord contribute to his relief, by sending through the mail, or otherwise, sufficient to release him from his unpleasant condition." Financial contributions were small and insufficient. However, before returning to Nauvoo in November, Orson obtained Sarah's share of the sale of her family property in Henderson and used it to purchase a carriage and span of horses.

In Nauvoo, the Saints concentrated on obtaining their endowments. Orson and Sarah were endowed in the Nauvoo temple on 12 December 1845 (the day after Orson's return) and were again sealed on 8 January 1846 — a customary step for sealings that had earlier been performed outside the temple. But on 11 January, during an unusual event in the temple, both Orson and Sarah were evicted by vote because of a conflict with Parley P. Pratt. Parley had been secretly sealed to Belinda Marden by Brigham Young on 20 November 1844, and, on 1 January 1846, she gave birth to a son, Nephi. Though Belinda was living in the Pratt home, Parley's legal wife Mary Ann did not know of the sealing. Evidently Sarah Pratt told Mary Ann that the baby's father was Parley, because during the 11 January temple session Parley confronted Sarah, accusing her of "influencing his wife against him, and of ruining and breaking up his family," as well as "being an apostate, and of speaking against the heads of the Church and against him" (Watson 1975, 495). Orson strongly defended his wife as he had done in 1842, and they were both expelled from the temple.

The next day Orson felt conciliatory though justified in his actions. Apparently unaware of his brother's sealing to Belinda Marden, Orson criticized Parley when he wrote Brigham Young on 12 January 1846:

> With all the light and knowledge that he has received concerning the law of the priesthood and with all the counsels that he had received from our quorum, if he feels at liberty to go into the city of New York or elsewhere and seduce girls or females and sleep and have connexion with them contrary to the law of God, and the sacred counsels of his brethren, it is something that does not concern me as an individual. And if my quorum and the church can fellowship him, I shall find no fault with him, but leave it between him, the church, and God.[2]

Orson continued by defending Sarah:

> When it comes to that, that my wife cannot come into this holy & consecrated temple to enjoy the meetings and society of the saints, without being attacked by [Parley's] false accusations and hellish lies, and then too in the presence of a large assembly, I feel as though it was too much to be borne. Where is there a person, that was present last evening, that heard my wife say the least thing against him or his family. . . . And yet she was accused by him, before that respectable company, in the most impudent and mailcious [sic] manner of whispering against him all over the temple. Under these circumstances, brethren, I verily supposed that I had a perfect right to say a few words in defense of my much injured family. I therefore accused him of false accusations and lying. It was my belief at that time, that there was no place nor circumstances, in heaven, on earth, or in hell, too sacred to defend the cause of my innocent family when they were publicly attacked in so unjust and insulting manner.

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[2] Orson Hyde also later rebuked Parley P. Pratt in November 1846 for teaching polygamy in England when specifically told not to by Brigham Young. Parley responded to Hyde: "You, Elder Hyde, do not hold the keys of sitting in judgement upon my head, by your dreams, visions, whispering of the Spirit, doubts or fears, or by any other means. This belongs to a united quorum and they can only do it by testimony according to the laws of the Kingdom" (S. F. Pratt 1984, 385).

His letter provides insight into how Church leaders expected him to respond in such situations:

> After I learned that it was my duty to stand and hear my family abused in the highest degree without the least provocation, and yet not open my mouth in her defense, I immediately confessed my fault to the counsel, but my confession was rejected. Now brethren, I stand ready and willing to make any further confessions to the counsel, necessary to my restoration from banishment to the enjoyment of your meetings, which you in your wisdom may dictate. And as I frankly & freely confessed the thing pointed out by Prest. as being wrong, namely "*The opening of my mouth*" (Brigham Young Collection; emphasis in original).

The letter was apparently considered sufficient evidence of remorse, and later that afternoon Orson and Sarah were initiated into the "Fulness of the Priesthood," a sealing ordinance received through the second anointing and also referred to as "calling and election made sure," "second endowment," and "higher blessings" (Buerger 1983).

About this time, Orson took his fourth plural wife, Sarah Louise Chandler.

By mid-February the Saints were leaving Nauvoo. Orson recorded in his journal: "Myself & my family consisting of my wife and three small children — the youngest a babe only of three weeks old [Vanson Pratt, born 23 January 1846] and three young ladies who were intending to accompany us across the mountains bid adieu to our comfortable habitation & started in the cold & storm for the ferry." The three ladies were Orson's plural wives ("Report of 3rd Fifty 2nd Ten — Shoal Creek, 1 April 1846," and Watson 1975, 316).

By 17 June the Pratts had reached Council Bluffs, Iowa, where they wintered. Orson prepared to go westward with the first pioneer group and was the first Mormon to enter the Salt Lake Valley. He left Salt Lake on 26 August, arriving at Winter Quarters on 31 October. He found his family changed: Sarah had given birth to a son, Laron Pratt, on 10 July 1847; eighteen days later eighteen-month-old Vanson had died, and Adelia Bishop had given birth to Lucy Adelia, the first of thirty-three children born to his plural wives.

During the long, cold winter of 1847–48, most of the Saints were sick and had only scanty provisions. Orson's families were so poor that "their best meal was frozen turnips and dry buckwheat cakes" (M. Pratt 1891, 12:392). In the spring, Orson was appointed to preside over the European mission, left his plural wives in the care of Sarah's brother, Ormus Bates, and took Sarah and her children to England.

The British Isles were a successful missionary field for Orson, but Sarah found the English people "cold and indifferent" (S. M. Pratt to B. Smith, 17 July 1849). On 13 October 1848, she gave birth to a son, Marlon, who lived only eleven months, and a daughter, Marintha Althera, 21 December 1849. Sarah kept busy with her sewing and with music lessons for Orson, Jr., and Celestia, but she was homesick and disappointed that so few of her friends wrote. She had been in Liverpool almost a year before she received her first letter from Salt Lake City on 17 July 1849 — from her close friend Bathsheba Smith, wife of Apostle George A. Smith. "I should rejoice to be there," Sarah

wrote back the same day and "witness the the [sic] work progress, and likewise to enjoy the society of the saints of God."

The Pratts remained in Liverpool for two more years. Orson, anxious to see his other wives and children, left for Council Bluffs in the spring of 1850 but would not allow Sarah to accompany him. Irritated, she wrote on 4 April 1850 to Bathsheba Smith:

> Mr. Pratt left on the 9th of March for the Bluffs . . . he will return in June, or July, perhaps you may think this is a great trial for me, but I can assure it is no more of a trial, than if he were gone on other business, for I have long since made up my mind that it is no use to fret about those who do not fret about *me*, and I enjoy myself as much as I can considering my poor health, my health is not good. This climate does not agree with me. . . . I am blessed with having children, but could I raise them I should feel that I was more blessed, but the Lord has suffered four of my little ones to be taken in infancy, for what reason I cannot tell. He knows.

Sarah also confided to Bathsheba in this same letter that in Orson's absence, some Mormon missionaries had dredged up the controversy of her Nauvoo years:

> Some of the American Elders . . . are so richeous [sic] that they have come here, and instead of preaching the gospel as they were sent to do they have left nothing unsaid that they could say to make my character as black as they could. I suppose they were afraid the saints would respect me more than their own *wives*, such for instance as Neils Andrews . . . he had the partner of his quilt with him and I suppose he was afraid I would tell that she was not his first wife, but the Lord knows I have had better business to attend to than to be found traducing the character of my brother, or sister.

When Orson returned to England in July, the family immediately began preparations for the trip to America. The seas were rough during the Atlantic crossing, and, off the coast of Florida, fifteen-month-old Marintha Althera died. The small body was preserved, brought to shore, and buried in Jackson County, Missouri in the same grave with an "old lady by the name of Jane Wild" (Watson 1975, 5). The family continued on to Salt Lake Valley, and on 21 August 1851 on the north side of the Platte River twenty miles below Fort Laramie, Sarah gave birth to a healthy son, Harmel.[3]

Reaching Salt Lake City, Orson moved Sarah and her family to a lot on the northwest corner of the block immediately south of the temple block, "which had a good house and other improvements upon it" and had been originally settled by Parley P. Pratt.

Four months later, on 19 February 1852, forty-one-year-old Orson Pratt married twenty-two-year-old English convert Marian Ross, who had emigrated

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[3] Harmel was married to Mary Elizabeth Culin 18 November 1873 by his father and had one daughter, Ada Marinda. Chief clerk of the state prison under his brother Arthur, and clerk of the state board of corrections, "Mr. Pratt was an attorney by profession, was formerly United States Commissioner, and among his many accomplishments were his abilities as a musician and a chess player. He was a genial man of an even temperament, one who would manage to get along in the world, no matter what he ran up against." He died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-six (Obituary, *Deseret News*, 21 Dec. 1907).

from England with the Pratt family. On 29 August 1852, Orson delivered the first public address supporting polygamy. Two weeks later he was on his way to Washington, D.C., to publish a newspaper advocating plural marriage. Sarah, pregnant with her tenth child, Arthur, remained in Salt Lake City.

In an attempt to revitalize missionary efforts after polygamy became public knowledge, Church leaders sent Orson Pratt back to England in the summer of 1853. As if to emphasize Mormonism's new public polygamy posture, Orson there married twenty-one-year-old Sarah Louise Lewis. Sarah Pratt would not know of Orson's latest wife until his return in the spring of 1854. Orson was promptly dispatched on another mission. He and Brigham Young had not gotten along well since the trouble in Nauvoo. Orson chafed continually under Brigham Young's autocratic rule. His efforts to work a more democratic hierarchy were evident as early as 16 November 1847 when he stated, "I think the decision of 7 men as Superior to the Pres." Brigham replied, "I am the pres of the 12 — the head of the people — I am mouth — I will say as I please, do as I please — If I am right all lift up the right hand. Up — Kimball, Richards, Smith, Woodruff, Benson, Lyman, Phelps, & Bullock. B.Y. those who say Orson is right lift up the right hand. Orson held a hand up. Brigham That is 9 to 1" (Misc. meeting papers; Bergera 1980). Young often dealt with Orson's obstinancy by sending him to distant missions.

When Orson returned from his Eastern States mission in 1855, he lived for a time in Fillmore, Utah, where he served as a member of the territorial legislature and, at forty-four, married a sixteen-year-old Fillmore girl, Juliaet Phelps, on 14 December 1855.

In the spring of 1856, Young sent Orson to preside over the European mission. During the twenty-one months he was absent, Sarah's daughter Herma Ethna was born, and both Orson, Jr., and Celestia were married.[4] On the 24th of July 1857, Orson took another English wife, twenty-eight-year-old Eliza Crooks.

Back in Salt Lake City in early 1858, Pratt again locked horns with Young. Their disagreements remained unresolved for nearly two years. During this time, Sarah's family struggled against poverty. The two men finally cleared their differences in April 1860, and a few days later Young called Pratt in to "inquire into [his] pecuniary circumstances" and, finding him destitute, provided the family with supplies (Brigham Young Office Journal, 7 April 1860).

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[4] Orson, Sr., reported in the *Millennial Star* 18 (6 Dec. 1856): 784, "Married, in Great Salt Lake City . . . Mr. Orson Pratt, Junior, to Miss Susan Snow, daughter of Zerubabel Snow, formerly a United States Judge for that Territory. Ceremony by President Young . . . the 1st of October, 1856. The age of the bridegroom is about 19 years, that of the bride about 15. May the God of our ancestor Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, bless them, and their generations after them, for ever and ever." Orson, Jr., and Susan would have five children: Arthur Eugene, Ernest, Gertrude Lucille, Ida Josephine, and Herbert Oliver. Orson Pratt, Jr., died 6 December 1903 at the age of sixty-seven. Celestia married returned missionary Albert P. Tyler on 4 January 1858. They had three children, Marinda (Minnie), Florence, and Hermine, before separating about 1880. Tyler, born in New York in 1826, died in the "poor house" in Salt Lake City, 10 Oct. 1889, according to the "Death Record of Salt Lake City" (LDS Genealogical Archives). Celestia died 6 January 1905 at sixty-two.

Two-year-old Liola Menilla Pratt — Sarah's youngest child — died 21 September 1860. Two days later, President Young called Orson on a mission to the eastern United States to help poor converts emigrate to the West. He returned a year later.

Recognizing that President Abraham Lincoln's 19 April 1861 blockade of the South would result in a cotton shortage, Brigham Young visited Mormon settlements in the Virgin River Basin in May 1861 to assess the Church's fledgling cotton industry. During October Conference he called more than 300 men, on Apostle George A. Smith's recommendation, to move to Utah's "Dixie," the Virgin River Basin. Orson Pratt, along with Apostle Erastus Snow, was appointed to co-preside over the mission.

Sarah loved her Salt Lake home with its irrigation ditches, mature trees, and well-groomed gardens, but Orson sold the home to Brigham Young for $4,000. On 29 October Orson and Sarah, accompanied by Orson Pratt, Jr., their son-in-law, Albert P. Tyler, and their families left the Salt Lake Valley.

After the group reached Toquerville, northeast of St. George, a considerable number of the families, including the Pratts, elected to go upriver to the Rockville vicinity, where they hoped to escape the malaria of the lower Virgin. They were still camped in wagons and tents on Christmas Day 1861 when rain began to fall — rain that seldom stopped for more than a month. Food, clothing, bedding, and fuel were soaked. The Pratts, like most of the settlers, were disillusioned with the venture. Orson hinted as much in a letter to Brigham Young, who responded on 26 February 1862:

> You have now seen more or less of that region of our Territory, you have passed a winter there, and of course are able to form some estimate as to how your present mission pleased you, and of the prospects of your usefulness therein . . . should you conclude that you had rather return to this City, with your family and effects, you are hereby given liberty to do so. And should you so conclude, you are welcome to the property in this city I purchased of you at the time of your departure.

Orson, feeling guilty over his previous letter, refused the invitation. "I have no choice in this matter," he replied to Brigham on 11 March 1862, "other than to do your will, and the will of Him whose servants we are. Wherever the Spirit in you suggests that I can be the most useful, it is there I desire to be sent — it is there I can be the most happy, untill [sic] recalled or another field of labor is assigned me." The Pratts had moved to St. George on 1 March, but much to Sarah's disappointment, two more years would pass before she would again see Salt Lake City. Orson returned in early 1863 to escape difficulties with Erastus Snow and to spend time with his other wives and children (Bleak n.d. 175).

St. George was plagued by oppressive summer heat, flies, unreliable water supplies, floods, crop failure, and illness. Sarah had insisted on bringing their organ and her family helped launch theatrics, debates, and a local newspaper. Though by all appearances a good Mormon, according to her own account, Sarah had not believed in Mormonism since Nauvoo, and had been endeavoring after the family first arrived in Salt Lake to "rear my children so that they should never espouse the Mormon faith," while concealing "from my neigh-

bors and from the church authorities the fact that I was thus rearing them" (*New York Herald*, 18 May 1877).[5] The first fruits of heresy in Sarah Pratt's children budded in the spring of 1863 when Orson Pratt, Jr., her eldest, was twenty-five. Witty, well-educated, and philosophical like his father, young Orson was not only St. George's first postmaster and a city alderman but a high councilman and respected musician as well. During a 9 April 1863 trip to St. George, Brigham Young called young Pratt on a mission. Though he initially accepted the call, he changed his mind. "During your recent visit to St. George," he wrote to Brigham Young on 13 June,

> I informed you of the change that had taken place in my religious views, thinking that, in such a case, you would not insist on my undertaking the mission assigned me. You received me kindly and gave me what I have no doubt you considered good fatherly advice. I was much affected during the interview and hastily made a promise which, subsequent reflection convinces me it is not my duty to perform. . . . Should any thing hereafter occur to convince me that my present decision is unwise I shall be ready to revoke it.

Extraordinary missionary that he was, Orson Pratt, Sr., must have felt regret and concern over young Orson's decision. Refusal to serve a mission in the 1860s was tantamount to apostasy. As Heber C. Kimball of the First Presidency had warned in 1856: "When a man is appointed to take a mission, unless he has a just and honorable reason for not going, if he does not go he will be severed from the Church" (Journal History, 24 Feb. 1856).

Perhaps to atone for his son, Orson, Sr., volunteered for a mission (Bleak n.d., 175). Poor harvests in 1863 produced desperate food shortages, and though Orson did not know it at the time he left for Austria on 24 April 1864, leaving his family in St. George evidently pushed Sarah and her children into apostasy. In a rage, perhaps feeling abandoned in a land she hated, Sarah burned most of Orson's journals, letters, and papers in a backyard bonfire (Kimball, 1919). On 7 May 1864, young Orson resigned his position with the St. George High Council. Erastus Snow, an uncle of Orson, Jr.'s, wife Susan, whom young Orson called a "snake-in-the grass" (Bleak n.d., 175), did not want Orson to resign and "made some feeling remarks" but finally agreed that he "could not conscientiously, and in justice to the cause we are engaged in, refuse to Brother Pratt the liberty to withdraw from the Council as Brother

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[5] Of Sarah's six children who reached adulthood only Laron, who as a small child lost his hearing during a fever, embraced Mormonism. Endowed 30 March 1867 and married to Ethelwynne Clarissa Brown 27 June 1869 in the Salt Lake Endowment House, he had five children: Laron, Maude, Ethelwynne, Marinda, and Herma. A printer and typesetter at the *Deseret News* for forty-seven years, Laron was assistant superintendent of the first Mormon Deaf Mute Sunday School organized 10 January 1892 in the Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward. He often "sang" in sign language for Church members and for nine years traveled to Ogden each Sunday to teach deaf children the gospel.

In 1894, Laron spoke his first Church sermon. Though his speech was severely affected by his deafness, for ten minutes he "bore a strong testimony of the truth of the Gospel and pointed out to his attentive audience [Brighton Ward] the Divine providence in his behalf in placing him under what most people regarded as an affliction, but in which he realized blessing" (*Deseret Evening News*, 10 Sept. 1894). He died 21 August 1908 at the age of sixty-one.

Pratt's statements of his views, doubting as he does, the divinity of the calling of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the consequent building up of the Church" (Journal History, 8 May 1864).

Young Orson had his religious problems, Sarah's health was poor, and the community inventory of breadstuffs showed only 25¾ pounds per person (Larson 1961, 124). Sarah wrote to Brigham Young 25 July, requesting his

> permission and approbation to return to SL City. We have now been here three years nearly. I have tried to do do [sic] the very best I could, my family I know have done the same. Mr. Pratt feels that his duty is abroad among the nations of the earth. He has left us — several years may elapse before he returns — he is laboring for the church.
>
> I desire a common comfortable living with the church. I ask for nothing more. I feel that you are willing I should have this; for, I remember you once said so. I cannot longer live here without suffering more than I feel is my duty to suffer. I cannot see my family suffer without making an effort to relieve them. Orson [Jr.] has tried every means in his power to make a living but every thing fails. People are willing to send to school but cannot or will not pay. He has an offer of a very good situation if he will return to S.L. City. He can make a comfortable living for himself and perhaps assist me some. Albert Tyler and family are now distributors of both food and clothing. He has several hundred dollars due him for work, but cannot collect one cent. Himself and family are nearly all sick. He says he must do something or starve. Both Orson & Albert desire me to write to you upon the subject. We have all suffered much for the common necessaries of life the last few months. The Tithing Office afford[ed] little else but molasses this summer. There are other reasons why I wish to make the change; but I would rather tell them to you, than write them.

President Young quickly wrote back on 4 August: "Your son Orson and your son-in-law Albert Tyler, with your families, are hereby given permission, with my hearty appreciation, to move to this City, as soon as you may choose so to do. . . . I expect to be in St. George about the 12th of September, when if you are there, I can give you such instruction or advise [sic] as you may need."

On the afternoon of Sunday, 18 September, apparently responding to public charges, Orson was given the unusual opportunity to explain himself in a church meeting.

> Brethren and Sisters, in Salt Lake City I was made a High Councilor, although I was then an unbeliever, as now and continued in the position till I came down here.
>
> In regard to my faith, I wish to say that I have long since seen differently to this people and although I am not in the habit of saying anything in self justification, yet ever since I have been in this Church I have led a godly and upright life; at the same time, I resolved that I would accept nothing that my conscience would not receive. . . .
>
> I came out to the Valleys with my father and we were required to be baptized again, I complied, for all this time I was a believer in Mormonism.[6] But sometime afterwards, there was much said about the receiving a testimony that unless one had the testimony that Mormonism is true, there was something deficient, I asked myself the question, if I had it but was sensible I had not. . . .

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[6] Sarah, Orson, Jr., and Celestia were rebaptized by Orson, Sr., 22 July 1852 (Salt Lake Stake Record of Baptisms). Orson, Jr., was first endowed 1 March 1852 (Salt Lake Endowment House Records, No. 738, Book A, page 38).

> Well, I have come to the conclusion that Joseph Smith was not especially sent by the Lord to establish this work, and I cannot help it, for I could not believe otherwise, even if I knew that I was to suffer for it the next moment (Black n.d., 172–75).

That evening, the St. George High Council excommunicated Orson Pratt, Jr., for "unbelief." Sarah and her family immediately returned to Salt Lake City.

Orson, Jr., did not mention polygamy as a reason for his disaffection, but all of Sarah's children evidently despised the practice. Susan Snow Pratt wrote an essay on happiness in her 29 November 1871 journal which likely reflects Orson, Jr.'s feelings: "The indians would say that happiness was found in the hunting grounds with plenty of bows and arrows, and a squaw to carry them. A Mormon who is but little removed from the savage would say owning many wives and children, and holding supreme power over those wives even to the commanding of yards to be put in a dress, or the amount of salt to be put on potatoes."

Orson Pratt, Sr., remained in Europe for almost three years. He returned to the United States in the summer of 1867 but lingered in the East until fall explaining in a letter to Juliaet on 28 June that he feared Indian attacks. He had received several hundred dollars from English Saints, and with the $225 Salt Lake merchants H. B. Lawrence, Walker Brothers, and a Brother Mitchell had given him, he purchased dry goods that he hoped would retail for $1,000 in the valley. Wealthy Salt Lake merchant William S. Godbe also agreed to sell Orson sewing machines on credit for each wife. "You see," he summarized, "I am laying out plans for my family to sustain themselves as far as possible. This is right."

By the time Orson arrived home, his marriage with Sarah had disintegrated. He had not seen her since late 1862; and for too many years, she had coped with the deaths of her children and poverty alone. From 1839 to 1868 Orson had been away on Church assignments at least eleven years — 41 percent of the time. Home from England, fifty-seven-year-old Orson courted sixteen-year-old Margaret Graham, who would become his tenth wife on 28 December 1868. At fifty-one, Sarah could no longer bear children and bitterly resented his relationships with women younger than their daughter Celestia. In an 18 May 1877 interview with the *New York Herald*, she lashed out at Orson: "Here was my husband," she said, "gray headed, taking to his bed young girls in mockery of marriage. Of course there could be no joy for him in such an intercourse except the indulgence of his fanaticism and of something else, perhaps, which I hesitate to mention" (S. M. Pratt, 1877).

She could not have been fully aware of the workings of polygamy when she first went along with it. Few women — or men — were. Ground rules were loosely established but not strictly followed. The pressures to conform to the polygamous social order were not subtle. Sarah reluctantly went along with the system for almost a quarter of a century, as an unidentified son put it in the same interview, "from the earnest, conscientious desire to do what was right as a Mormon, and to please a husband whom she loved with all the strength of

her nature." But she was never truly converted to polygamy and by 1868 had had enough. She told the *New York Herald* reporter:

> I don't wish to wrongfully accuse my husband, although we have been hopelessly separated for ten years. I believed, when he decided to enter upon the practice of polygamy, that he did so not from any violence of individual passion, but from sheer fanaticism. He told me that he believed it was his duty to take other women besides myself to wife, and at first he said that this would make no difference in his affection for me, which would continue pure and single as it had ever been. But think of the horror of such an announcement. He took wife after wife until they numbered five, and for a long time they were kept away from me and I was spared from intercourse with them. By and by he told me that he intended to put these five women on an exact equality with me; that he could spend a week with one, a week with another, and so on, and that I should have the sixth week! Then patience forsook me. I told him plainly that I wouldn't endure it. I said, "If you take five weeks with your other women you can take the sixth with them also." Orson responded, "If you don't choose to live with me I don't know that I'm obliged to support you. You may have my permission to go to hell. Stick to it or to starvation."

But Orson had never been a good provider for Sarah; she had nearly starved for most of her marriage. The same unidentified son described Orson to the reporter as

> . . . one of the most talented men among the Mormon priests, [but] had been held by Brigham Young in a state of almost disgraceful bondage. He has been repeatedly banished as a missionary to various countries of Europe and the East, and was nearly always, as he is now, in a condition next door to penury. . . . Brigham appears to have been prejudiced against Orson Pratt ever since the troubles at Nauvoo. He avails himself of Pratt's talents, but keeps him a dependent at his feet (*New York Herald*, 18 May 1877).

On 12 March 1868 Sarah moved from the small home in the Seventeenth Ward into the more spacious home where she and Orson had lived before going to St. George (Journal History, 26 Nov. 1875). In a 28 May 1868 letter to wife Juliaet in Fillmore, Orson explained,

> Sarah has, by brother Young's kindness, been permitted to return to the old homestead, south of the tabernacle; she has the use of the house and half of the lot, without paying any rent. She has rented the other house in the 17th ward for $15 dollars per month; she also rents part of the house where she now lives to Orson [Jr.] at 15 dollars per month. Laron earns at the printing office about 25 dollars per week. All this enables that part of my family to live very comfortably.

Orson exaggerated their comfort. A 19 September 1869 note from Sarah to Brigham Young survives:

> I am out of wood, I have applied to the Bishop several times with no success. Orson [Jr.] has furnished one load but it is so expensive to buy he cannot get for himself and me too this winter, will it not be possible for some wood to be raised from the missionary fund. I have a stove for coal or wood, either will do. I need it immediately. Your Sister in the gospel.

Sarah's relationship with Brigham Young seemed reasonably amicable until the early 1870s. Though Young, in his 26 February 1862 letter, had offered to

return Pratt's city property, he changed his mind after Orson and Sarah separated. However, Sarah refused to move. After a lengthy court battle, the Mormon-controlled Probate Court on 28 November 1873 ruled that "Sarah M. Pratt is not the legal and rightful owner and occupant of the property therein in controversy, but that the said Brigham Young, Senior, is the rightful owner and occupant thereof and entitled to a deed in fee simple thereto." Sarah moved to a rental home in the 19th Ward but appealed her case to the Third District Court, which recognized "the presumptive right of Sarah M. Pratt to a title to the lot in controversy" (Journal History, 26 Nov. 1875).

Orson was displeased with the court's ruling. In a tersely worded letter to the editor of the *Deseret Evening News* on 1 December 1875, he wrote, "It is with extreme regret, and deep sorrow, that I witness the attempt of my wife Sarah to procure through the technicalities of the law the property which rightfully and justly belongs to another." Brigham Young did not like the Third District court ruling either, but when he appealed to the Utah Supreme Court, it upheld the ruling (*Deseret Evening News*, 8 July 1876).

In the interval between the Probate Court and the Third District Court hearings, on 4 October 1874, Sarah was excommunicated for "apostasy." Though the *Salt Lake Directory* of 1874 lists her as a "widow" living in 19th ward on "Cross [Apricot] north side between Central and Quince," she was excommunicated from the 14th Ward (Excommunication Record WR-02551R:44; courtesy Stephen F. Pratt).

The following day, her twenty-one-year-old son Arthur, a deputy U.S. marshall, was also excommunicated for "apostasy" (Jenson 1914, 92). In 1882, when asked by a reporter why he was not a Mormon, Arthur replied, "I will tell you why. I am the son of my father's first wife, and had a mother who taught me the evils of the system" (*Anti-Polygamy Standard*, 11 [Feb. 1882]: 81). Author Cornelia Paddock, a long-time friend of Sarah's, wrote in a 3 March 1882 letter to Thomas Gregg, "the wickedness which came to [Sarah's] knowledge in Nauvoo destroyed all her faith in Mormonism, and she brought up her children to detest the system." Arthur's anti-polygamy stand brought him notoriety during the federal government's 1880s campaign against the Mormon Church.[7]

Sarah Pratt also contributed to the anti-polygamy cause. In the elections of 3 August 1874, George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency and a representative of the Mormon-sponsored People's Party, overwhelmingly defeated Liberal candidate Robert Baskin as territorial representative to Congress. Governor George L. Woods, a Liberal sympathizer and foe of Mormonism,

[7] The most visible of Sarah's anti-polygamy children, Arthur Pratt married Agnes Ellen Caine on 25 December 1872 and had five children: Arthur, Jr., Mrs. Arthur Lennon, Chester, Harmel, and James. He was warden of the Utah Territorial Prison in 1888, when many Mormons were serving time for illegal cohabitation, Salt Lake City Chief of Police from 1894 to 1897, and warden of the Utah State Prison from 1904 to 1917. Noted for his progressive ideas on prison reform, he served as president of the American Prison Congress from 1916 to 1917. A superb chess player, Arthur and his brothers Orson and Harmel, and a friend defeated a reputed world-class player, Herr Zukertort. Arthur died in Salt Lake City, 20 March 1919, at sixty-six.

refused to issue an election certificate. When Wood's successor, moderate Samuel B. Axtell, issued the certificate to Cannon in early 1875, Baskin immediately protested, charging that Cannon was not an American citizen (he was born in England), was a polygamist, and regarded his obligation to the Mormon hierarchy as superior to his allegiance to national law. To support his charges, Baskin obtained the testimony of several prominent anti-polygamy Mormon women, including Heber C. Kimball's granddaughter, Bella Kimball, Emmeline Smith, and Sarah Pratt. In Sarah's deposition, which affirmed that Cannon had violated the 1862 Morrill Anti-bigamy Law, she announced that she was "formerly a member of the Mormon Church. . . . I have not been a believer in the Mormon doctrines for thirty years, and am now considered an apostate, I believe" (Journal History, 22 Jan. 1875).

Sarah's position during the Cannon hearings may also have been politically motivated. In 1870, Orson, Jr., unsuccessfully ran for Salt Lake City Alderman on the Liberal ticket, and Henry W. Lawrence, unsuccessful mayoral candidate on that ticket, would serve as a pall bearer at Sarah's funeral.

Interestingly, in her autumn years, despite her bitterness towards both her husband and the Church, Sarah sent Orson a peace offering. In the fall of 1878, he and Joseph F. Smith were preparing for a mission in the East. Sarah asked Orson to write. A letter dated 18 September 1878, from New York City, was probably the only written communication the couple exchanged in more than a decade:

> Dear Wife: As you requested me to write to you, I do so, addressing you, as formerly, under the affectionate title of *wife*. You once permitted me to use this title, with the utmost confidence. You once were one with me in the new and everlasting covenant. You once, professedly, believed in the sealing ordinances, according to the revelation on Marriage for eternity. You, at several times, did put the hands of others into my hand, and did give them to me as wives, immediately before the marriage ceremony was pronounced. Those women I took with all confidence, and with your consent. After several years had elapsed, I proposed to you, to commence living upon principles of greater equality in regard to my attentions: this proposition you positively rejected; and you further said, that if I introduced this equality, you would never live with me again, in time, nor in eternity. This was a hard and grevious trial to me: but believing it my proposition to be, not only right, but a duty, I firmly concluded to follow my convictions, though it should be at the sacrifice of life itself. I have done so, with all the faith and sincerity that I ever had in receiving any religious principle. You doubtless, looked upon the trial as one too great for you to endure, and separated yourself from me, as far as some of the conjugal duties of a wife were concerned. . . . Under the laws of man, you could, at any time have easily obtained a divorce from me, and could have been free to marry another; but you have not sought this, but have preferred to remain still my wife; and as such, I have felt it a duty to still render what little aid I could to you, consistent with circumstances. How long I shall live to contribute my mite to you, is unknown to me. If I should pass away before you, I trust that your children and grandchildren will do all they can for you.

Though Sarah had not sought divorce from Orson, by Mormon standards he could not easily divorce her. George Q. Cannon explained,

> For a man to seek a divorce is almost unheard of. The liberty upon this point rests with the woman, and as regards a Separation, if her position should become irksome,

> or distasteful to her, even and she should desire a Separation, not only is the man bound to respect the expressal of her wish to that effect, but he is bound to give her and her offspring a proportionate share of his whole property. They are no longer under his yoke; but while he and they live, they have a claim upon him from which he is never completely absolved" (Cannon 1879, 36).

Perhaps Sarah's preoccupation with death prompted her request for the letter: Orson was suffering from diabetes, and she had a rheumatic heart condition. Brigham Young had died the previous year, as had Sarah's closest sister, Orissa, Sarah's twenty-one-year-old daughter Herma, and Herma's infant son.[8] Whatever Sarah's intent, the letter did not pave the way for a reconciliation.

On 3 October, two months after he had returned from his eastern mission, Orson was again on his way to England. By the time he returned to Salt Lake City in September 1879, diabetes and work had greatly eroded his health. The once powerful orator spoke his last public sermon on 18 September 1881 and he died 3 October at age seventy in the home of his wife Marian Ross in Salt Lake City. Family members gathered for a final farewell; whether Sarah was there is not known nor is her response to Orson's death. She did sell the old Pratt home shortly after Orson's death, however, and thereafter lived with her children (Salt Lake Co. Property Records, Plat A, Block 76, Lot 5).

After her husband's death, Sarah became even more vocally anti-polygamous. In 1884, she told Jennie Anderson Froiseth, a nineteenth century feminist author:

> Polygamy is the direst curse with which a people or a nation could be afflicted. . . . It completely demoralizes good men, and makes bad men correspondingly worse. As for the women — well, God help them! First wives it renders desperate, or else heart-broken, mean-spirited creatures; and it almost unsexes some of the other women, but not all of them, for plural wives have their sorrows too. An elder once said to me, "Sister Sarah, you are a regular Satan." I answered him, "There are only two classes of Mormon women, devils and fools" (Froiseth 1884, 38–40).

To an unidentified interviewer in 1884 she related the "workings of Mormonism," which expanded on her Nauvoo difficulties. Joseph Smith approached her in Orson's absence, she said, and told her "she needed the company of some man, and he would stay with her when she wished it; that the sin was wholly in making it known herself to her husband or any one else." Sarah responded "most indignantly" to the proposal, telling him she loved Orson, and "upbraided him sharply for what he had suggested." She added that the Prophet threatened that "if she told of it he had it in his power to ruin her character" ("Workings," 1884).

To *Salt Lake Tribune* editor Wilhelm Wyl in 1886 she accused Joseph Smith of telling her in Nauvoo: "God does not care if we have a good time, if

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[8] Herma (Hermie) Ethna Pratt, who married William F. Belding on 18 February 1874, bore a stillborn child on 10 March 1875 and died on 26 December 1877 of puerperal fever after delivering another son. The baby, Arthur, died of whooping cough six months later. William F. Belding, Jr., their only surviving child, was listed as a beneficiary in the "Final Decree of Distribution" of Orson Pratt's 1890 will settlement.

only other people do not know it." She also added that he threatened her, "If any woman, like me, opposed his wishes, he used to say: 'Be silent, or I shall ruin your character' " (Wyl 1886, 62).

Sarah lived until Christmas Day 1888 when she died of heart failure at age seventy-one. T. Edgar Lyon reported on the basis of a letter from Laron and Ethelwynne Pratt that on her deathbed Sarah said, "If Mormonism is not true then there is no truth on earth" (Lyon 1932, 155). Her funeral, a short, Protestant eulogy conducted by the Reverend J. B. Thrall, was held three days later at her son Arthur's Salt Lake City home at 105 B Street. A long line of carriages escorted the body to the Pratt burial ground in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. In death, Sarah gained what she had been denied in life: no other wife rests beside Orson.

Perhaps history has dealt with Sarah M. Pratt unjustly. Had she lived in a monogamous world, she would likely have been less controversial. But polygamy made her a radical. Her disclosure of plural marriage in Nauvoo was brushed aside as the self-vindication of an unfaithful wife. Corroborative evidence now available, including testimony from other married women that Joseph Smith approached, tends to support Sarah's story. The decision of Church leaders to keep plural marriage hidden until 1852 posed a serious moral dilemma for the few who were aware of its practice. In Nauvoo, protecting the practice of plural marriage from public exposure, especially to hostile gentiles, was a greater virtue than telling the truth. By making public Joseph Smith's overtures and resisting what she considered to be collective infidelity, Sarah Pratt was judged a threat to the safety of the Church and considered to have committed apostasy.

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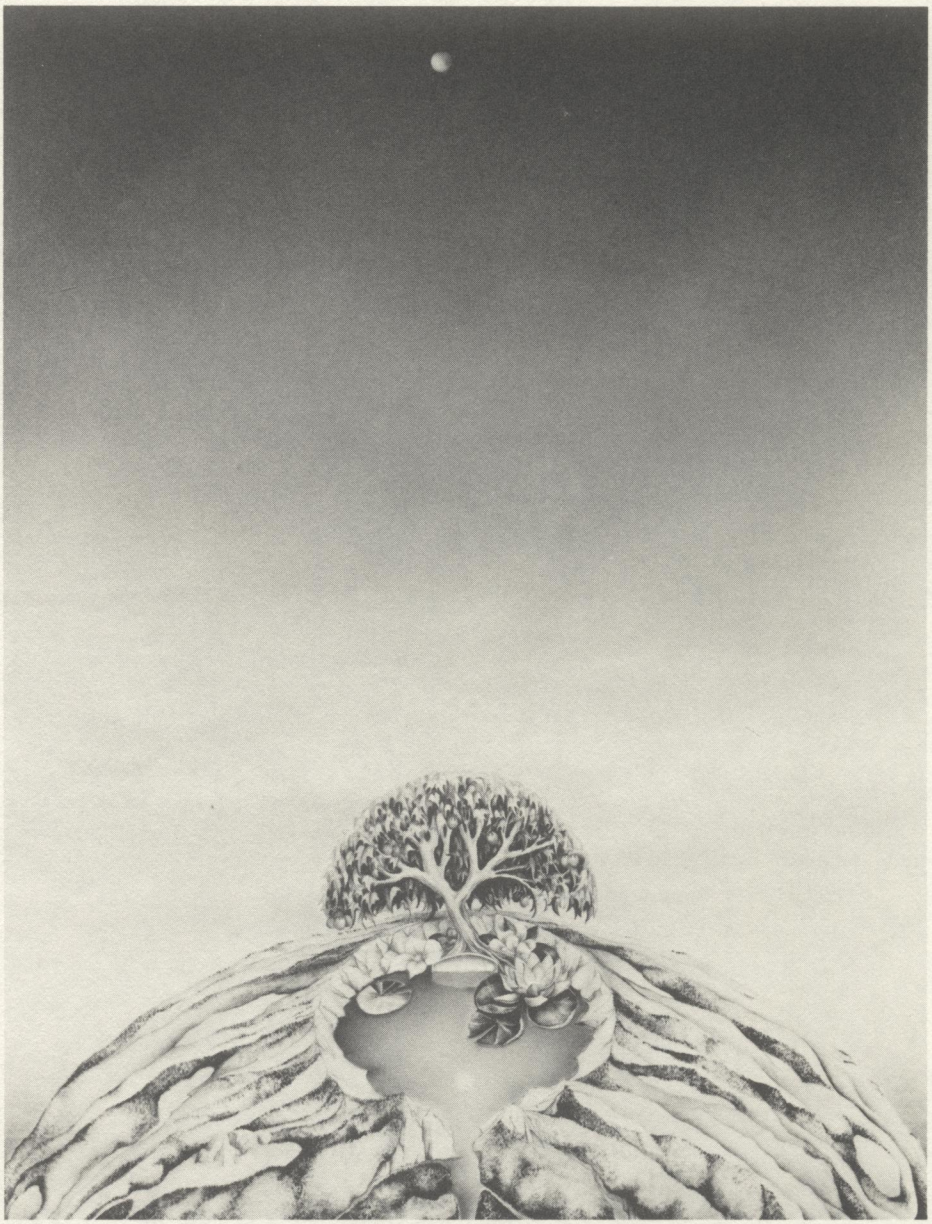

"Among the Mormons"

Kenneth E. Eble

A not altogether sober inquiry into how a secular humanist has managed to live for thirty years in relative peace in Zion.

I

THOREAU WROTE IN THE BEGINNING OF *Walden*, "I have lived some thirty years on this planet, and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors." I can roughly paraphrase Thoreau and say, "I have lived some thirty years among the Mormons and have yet to record the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice about how I have managed to do it."

To echo Thoreau further, I have traveled a good deal outside of Zion, and I have had to explain to those now distant neighbors my mode of life out West. To quote Thoreau exactly: "Some have asked what I got to eat; if I did not feel lonesome, if I was not afraid; and the like." These were Thoreau's questions, but I can answer them with equal propriety: "Yes, I have gotten enough to eat, often too much; yes, I did feel lonesome at times; no, I was not afraid, either of being abused or converted."

People on the outside also asked me different questions than were asked of Thoreau: "How many wives do you have," for example, and "What kind of place *is* Bountiful?" There are peculiarities about Utah, and a general remoteness that is probably also true of North Dakota, say, or Arkansas. Thus an Iowa native seeing a Mustang I once owned parked on a small-town street in Iowa, said, "You come all the way from YOU-tuh in that little thing?" But I

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am not here to blame Utah for being remote or to praise it for being Zion. I am here to explore my own habitat, to write my own lesson, to say something, in Thoreau's exact words again, "about your condition, especially your outward condition or circumstances in this world, in this town, what it is, whether it is necessary that it be as bad as it is, whether it cannot be improved as well as not."

Some few years after I first arrived in Utah — sometime after the last handcart and before the first Winnebago — a young sociologist came to join the university faculty. He left within the first month and wrote an account of his brief experience which appeared in both national and local newspapers. It was, as I remember it, a catalogue of grievances against the stifling effects of Utah's monolithic Mormon culture, and he got, shall I say, the hell out.

I had no such experience, perhaps because I nursed an old underpowered and overloaded truck over Parley's Summit and was too thankful for having arrived at all to complain about what I found when I got here. Then too, coming that way, before modern roadbuilding technology had removed the suspense and surprise, I experienced one of the most spectacular entrances into any city in the United States. Before the freeway, before Summit Park and Jeremy Ranch, way back then, a car traveler could relive the pioneers' experience by simply coming into Salt Lake down Parley's Canyon from the East. The road was stuck down in the bottom of an endlessly winding canyon, a driver forced to endure the children's wild surmises about hamburger stands never to come, to quiet a wife's anxieties about having passed the last motel, and to curb his own impatience with the creeps — probably Utah ones more used to oxcarts than automobiles — crawling down in front of him, finally to have it come to an end, and there, the entire Salt Lake valley spread out to view; at night, even then, a vast expanse of glittering lights; by day, a true and sudden arrival at a longed-for destination. I think the sociologist came from the West Coast, a mistake to have come from, a poor entrance to Salt Lake City, then and now.

Moreover, as his article pointed out, he chose or was guided to the wrong neighborhood, and maybe, being a sociologist, hadn't the faith to conceive of any better one. I don't remember exactly where he lived, briefly, but I suspect he was more closely among the Mormons than I. I remember the real estate man who acquainted me with the facts of real estate in Salt Lake. "It's sort of like the climate," he said. "The higher up you get, the better it is." And like a home owner's income, I might have said, for in time I came to appreciate Salt Lake's physical layout by which one could measure another man's net worth as easily by an altimeter as by a bank statement. "Also," he said, revealing a less beneficent aspect of the city's climate, "you won't get those people, the colored, moving in up here."

I was shocked to hear that word in 1955, as offensive as "darkies," and neither concealing the racism underlying it. But Salt Lake was no different then from many other parts of the country in this respect. Conditions have changed in Zion, as elsewhere, though it may be that Zion had further to go, needing both civil rights legislation and revelation to move toward racial jus-

tice. Just the other morning, I heard a local radio personality describe a city: "small-minded, provincial, parochial, and a little bit bigoted." I thought he was describing Salt Lake in the fifties, but the city was Sauk Center, Minnesota, as Sinclair Lewis described it in the twenties.

II

Here I will interrupt my narrative to make the first of a number of serious, albeit tentative, explorations of aspects of living in Zion. What of provincialism, often equated with prejudice, with which Salt Lake and Utah are still charged? And what of the cosmopolitanism which is becoming ever more evident as urban- and suburban-ization characterize life here?

Prejudice, I think, whether it is racial or sexist or religious, arises in part from a lack of exposure to a diversity of experience. A recent visitor from New York who had driven across the country remarked about how the cities "bleached out" as one drove west. Past Lincoln, Nebraska, he said, he saw no one but whites. Though he is not precisely correct, it is still true that Utah is different in this respect from either coast or the South and Southwest. The population does, at a glance, throw off a startling whiteness to those used to a more mixed population. And that lack of substantial numbers of, and substantially different, minorities may engender a kind of unreflective prejudice as unfortunate in its effects as more ill-intentioned kinds. It is not the entrenched kind which arises from long-held convictions about master and slave or even the explosive kind arising from a minority's threatening the economic well-being of a dominant group. It is rather the kind which pertains when a dominant population group has had little experience with any minority and does not want more. It reflects in subtle ways, like a hesitation to recognize the stature of a Martin Luther King, or an exaggerated respect for blacks who sing or preach or play basketball, or the slow recognition of a native American or Hispanic culture in Zion.

Many years ago, my colleague Bill Mulder delivered another Reynolds lecture in which he talked about European converts coming into Utah. The effects of that continuing migration are still evident and create a kind of European — north European — city where one might not expect to find such. The assimilation of different peoples of this kind is surely a plus for a land-locked, religiously founded community. But religion creates its own prejudices; a literalist, narrow reading of the Bible still stands in the way of acceptance of dark-skinned races. Moreover, Zion still shoulders the white man's burden, the felt necessity to save the heathen which carries that most common of religious prejudice: that there are those who need salvation and there are others destined to provide it. Held as firm convictions, such notions create a sense of superiority among the already saved; the price of equality for others is conversion. Brigham Young University, for example, does much for native Americans and Samoans and, of late, blacks who can pass and catch and run. Yet, I understand, those native Americans are Lamanites, who will become "pure and delightsome" only after conversion just as blacks emerged only recently from

the curse of Cain. Still, as more diversity comes into society, and particularly as it gets past racial barriers, I regard it as a good sign. I have come to accept virtue however it may arise, even from religion.

But there is another group which suffers prejudice here that largely rests in religious beliefs. I speak of women, whose full admission into any society is based on the fact that half of human intelligence, compassion, beauty — in short, the strength and potential of that society — is to be found there. I have had it explained that women, like converts, take on their status voluntarily, even joyfully, for the blessings allotted to them in this life and after are more than sufficient to satisfy all but militant feminists. The last time I appeared on this platform was on an all-male panel discussing Solzhenitsyn's Harvard speech. I chided my colleagues on that occasion for being unable to find one woman in all the Salt Lake Valley with enough intelligence or interest or presence or whatever to be a member of that panel. Or perhaps she could be found but had more pressing duties, the time for that discussion being between the supper and bedtime hours. Or perhaps those selecting the panel were still, albeit unconsciously, responding to Brigham Young's pronouncement defending the all-male priesthood: "Women have not the degree of light and knowledge that their husbands have, and they have not the power over their passions" (Warenski 1978, 37).

I am speaking out of gender here. I do not purport to know how women, gentile or Mormon, think, though I think they do. As an English professor, I have probably encountered more women than men in my classes. As regards these young women of Zion, I perceive them as being often intellectually ambitious but not adventuresome, certainly aware of the women's movement, but keeping it at a distance either because it didn't pertain to them or because it would be unwise socially to admit it did. And I must admit to some disappointment in encountering some of my best women students a few years after graduation seemingly burdened by child-bearing domesticity. In short, among some LDS young women I think there is some resistance to recognizing their condition or even that there *is* a condition or that that condition is other than what a benevolent masculine providence should design. Almost all Christian religions have denied church offices — the priesthood, to use a familiar term — to women, but few have given single women an inferior place in the celestial kingdom. And few, I think, have expended as much official rhetoric extolling the glories of womanhood as defined by a religious belief.

Women in Zion, then, face specific and overt prejudice, call it benign or ordained, as you will. "Women, especially," Marilyn Warenski writes, "have feared the burden of their own freedom" (1978, 277). Such an attitude adds to the provinciality still associated with Utah by outsiders. Frances Farley's campaign generated much enthusiasm locally and nationally but I wonder how it was regarded in LDS wards. Christine Durham sets a high standard of professional achievement for women everywhere, but outsiders identify women from Utah more by Sonia Johnson or Marilyn Warenski or Marie Osmond or Sharlene Wells. Mark Twain in *Roughing It* in 1872, took pity on what he saw as "these poor, ungainly, and pathetically 'homely' creatures." He would

be surprised how beautiful they have become in a hundred years. Still, he might leave Salt Lake City now as he did then, "a good deal confused as to what state of things existed there — and sometimes even questioning in my own mind whether a state of things existed there at all or not" (1962, 97, 111).

Zion's provincialism is what I am trying to describe here, as it supports prejudice and minimizes human diversity. The opposing of prejudice seems to me a high responsibility for anyone committed to the ideals of democracy, and democracy itself depends not only on the consent of the governed but on bringing more of the governed into active participation in shaping the society.

Salt Lake City's growth along the Wasatch Front has made it vastly more cosmopolitan than when I first became acquainted with it in 1945, ten years before I took up residence here. Still, what has kept me in Zion is in part its resistance to urbanization. One of my colleagues moved his family here from Los Angeles in the mid-sixties. His children were amazed to find that Salt Lake City had actual boundaries; you could reach the edge of the city. I do not think I would be happy in a city I could not walk around. I remember in the sixties listening to a fellow passenger, during a taxi-cab ride from the airport, ask the driver, "Where's the action?" There wasn't much action, I thought, and took some satisfaction in the driver's difficulty in telling him where it might be. There is probably more action now, though American cities the size of Salt Lake have increasingly buttoned up early in the last twenty years. Though the city is increasingly being swallowed up by its suburbs, the downtown, unlike that core in many cities, has maintained its vitality. Houses will probably not crawl over the Wasatch Range to the east nor fill in the flats to the west and will only inch up and curve around to the north. For those of us who have lived here a long time, Sandy and Murray and West Jordan still seem to be separate small communities even though they are in fact a continuous urban sprawl reaching almost to the Point of the Mountain.

In the most recent of Rand McNally's list of most desirable places to live, Salt Lake City has slipped from 44th to 125th. (The compilers must have heard of or suffered through our temperature inversions of the last two years.) I do not take much stock in such listings, but the values endorsed by the compilers clearly are those of big, big cities. Only two of the ten "best" areas are medium-sized cities whose populations barely qualify them for the list. While I like Salt Lake's small-town atmosphere — where else would you find a "Stars Avenue," named after a now-defunct basketball franchise? — I also like the amenities only big aggregations of population can sustain. It is no small achievement for a city to have, as Salt Lake had when I came, a symphony, a ballet, a choir, and a zoo and, within a few years, a new library and a planetarium and, after that, a new convention center, a symphony hall, an art center, and a skating rink just like Rockefeller Center's. Not to mention more Christmas lights than Solomon in all his glory could have conceived.

I think it is probably anthropologically or sociologically sound to point out that geographic isolation is a benefit as well as a deprivation. Like those cities long ago which were indeed centers of culture arising out of uncultured, even uncivilized, countrysides, Salt Lake has had to create its own culture. Its pres-

ence as a center of a thinly populated but vast area has provided the marketing and distributing activities that can support a diverse artistic culture. That a Maurice Abravanel and Willam Christensen and the late Alvin Gittins, to name three prominent figures in the arts, should spend the greater part of their creative lifetimes here reflects favorably both ways. They graced the community and were in turn venerated by that community. And yet, as Maurice Abravanel has recently reminded us, the arts in Utah must still struggle to maintain themselves, in part because of the provincialism that marks the community.

I am not trying to draw up a balance sheet here. As regards Salt Lake City right now, I fear it is becoming a big city, with all the plusses and minusses thereto appertaining. It will never be a New York, San Francisco, or Los Angeles. But neither is it an Indianapolis or Toledo or Columbus, Ohio. Of cities I know fairly well it is more like Saint Paul, Minnesota, where the great Catholic cathedral declares its past even as Temple Square declares Salt Lake's. The river provides a setting for Saint Paul somewhat as the mountains more spectacularly do for Salt Lake City. In both downtowns, steel-and-glass high-rise office buildings and condominiums set the present tone. Both cities are eminently livable cities, with good airports to take those who can afford it to larger cities where, presumably, the action is.

III

But now, let me return to my arrival in Zion and say something of its personal fit. As it turned out, I found a house in a mixed neighborhood, and a surprisingly international one at that. On one side, at one time was an English couple, converts to the church, and the wife's grandmother and her large English female collie. The husband and I didn't talk doctrine. Mostly in summer we'd survey the burned spots in my lawn and he'd say, "Well, y'know, 'tisn't my dog." He was succeeded by a Hungarian housepainter, a decorator of great skill, and a refugee who walked out of Hungary across the border just ahead of the Russian occupation of 1956. On the other side of him, a Greek family has lived for many years. Across the street was the assistant chief of police, whose name I'll mention, E. J. Steinfeldt, because he was a good man, who, during his lifetime, was a faithful participant in such university activities as these. His wife, a native of Germany, added to the international flavor of our neighborhood. A university professor moved in across the street some years after I did, a Catholic, I think, for his family seemed to get dressed up and go some place earlier on Sundays even than the Mormons.

At any rate, I think it makes a difference where a person lives in Salt Lake, particularly where one first lives and encounters the peculiar culture at first hand. I should add, my neighborhood was not wholly removed from that culture. Just across the driveway for most of my early residence was a good Mormon family — well, not purely good, for the wife did sometimes sneak coffee-drinking in the mornings after her more orthodox husband had gone to work. They raised a large family, bringing them up in the paths of righteousness, if

not always certain how many were on which paths. At their maximum fruitfulness, there were eight children, the largest family that the Bureau of Reclamation, for which he worked, had ever transported en masse overseas. I heard him summoning his children to supper one evening: "David, Bruce, Jimmy, or whatever your names are," he called.

We were busy raising our own smaller family in these first years, and I came to prize Salt Lake for the commonest of reasons: it was a good place to raise a family. And here, let me pause again to consider another inescapable aspect of living in Zion: the sanctification of the family which Saints may find easier to endure than outsiders. For a young family such as mine, there was little to qualify Salt Lake's blessings. Good schools were close at hand. Vice was kept pretty much at bay. Wholesome influences abounded, as did all manner of outdoor recreational opportunities for children to maim themselves in healthful ways. Perhaps the only complaint I had was that the Boy Scouts seemed to be but a branch of the local ward. (The Girl Scouts had been captured by the Presbyterians in my section of the city.)

I cannot speak of the effects of the intense devotion to family on young people within the Church. I suspect it offers both comfort and security as well as strife and frustration. I am moved by the story told me by a Mormon student of how he and a friend regularly take their respective grandfathers out for an evening. I was to about the same degree dismayed that one of the grandparents refused to go to the movie *Gandhi* because he regarded Gandhi as such a dangerous rascal. I suspect that not every family home evening is just as it is depicted on TV, but in general I sympathize with the local culture's valiant attempts to civilize the young.

As my children grew older, I became aware that Church activities increasingly separated them from Mormon classmates, even though for a winter or two my son's LDS friends enlisted him as a member of the ward basketball team. All observers note the intensely social nature of the Mormon church; the mere presence of activities leaves the Mormon child or adolescent that much less room for other kinds of socializing. For the outsiders, these church activities become barriers to natural friendships. By high school, there is a distinct separation, seldom without prejudice on both sides, that may make many gentile parents wonder about the wisdom of raising their children in Zion. I do not doubt that something of the same effects could be found in cities dominated by other religious majorities or in urban neighborhoods with a dominant single ethnic group. But in this country probably no separation of this kind affects the social life, job opportunities, and marriage prospects of the young as greatly as here.

Thus, there is great pressure on young people, both Mormon and gentile, to leave Zion, though for different reasons. Such rejection of the home town is probably universal and existed when the first teenager complained that there was nothing to do in the cave. If there is anything different about it in Utah, it may be that breaking away is strongly qualified. For young men particularly, going on a mission is the first point of departure and a temporary one from which many return ready to settle down in Zion. This tendency, if there is

such, of young Mormons to return to Zion is a counter force to the diversifying of the culture by an influx of population from the outside which has been a characteristic of the region for many years. In my work as a teacher it is a plus to have students returning from missions who know something of foreign culture, who can read and speak a foreign language. But I am bothered somewhat by the rapid dissipating of what I regard as the beneficial aspects of experience in the larger world. At times I encounter a kind of smugness among returnees that takes the form of having explored the wider world and found it wanting as compared with Zion.

As to those young people who remain in Zion but who are not members of the LDS Church, pressures of a different kind may cause them to want to leave. Early marriages among the LDS friends they may have had increase the sense of separation for those who remain single. For those inclined to marry, religious differences may complicate or diminish marriage prospects. Similarly, job opportunities and advancement in careers may be restricted where so much depends on family and religious ties.

So, I think your Zion and mine must ponder these realities. A recent survey of professionals newly arrived in the state indicates that these matters do not weigh very heavily during their first years here. Half of more than 200 professionals, most within the thirty to forty-four age bracket, said they found Utah a better place to live than their last state. Most of the outsider's images of Utah were positive though the single "major negative in the Utah image was LDS social and religious pressure" (Johnson 1985). This response may become more negative as their families grow older and call into question the general assumption that Utah is "a good place to raise children."

IV

Family life has much to do with politics in Utah. Nothing can destroy a politician's reputation more quickly than violating the image of family rectitude. Family issues are political issues in Utah, and few campaign brochures carry as much information about family and familial activities. It is not precisely true that a non-Mormon cannot win a public office, but it happens infrequently. In my time in the state, I can think of only one non-Mormon holding a high political office. In 1983, according to Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (1984, 82), the state legislature was 90 percent Mormon.

Though it varies from time to time and according to issues involved, politics enters into both church and family life. The mass meetings, for example, have an air of grass-roots democracy about them, but the roots are entwined in the wards. It may be better to have friends and neighbors gather in a front parlor than in a smoke-filled room; but for the outsider, the realities of power are somewhat the same. I must admit that for most of my political life I have ended up voting for the losing candidate, and I would probably have fared little better in a different locality.

The image of Utah, for the rest of the country, has long been one of political conservatism. But I think it fair to say that during my time here it has as

much followed national trends of conservatism/liberalism as it has led them. The culture's emphasis on family corresponds with such issues of the New Right as abortion, pornography, and school prayer, but leaders of the New Right are not Utahns, whatever support they get from our current senators and representatives.

In my own assessment, Utah has been and continues to be remarkable in stimulating civic responsibility that sometimes goes beyond pillage and profit. Even Utah's notorious maverick politicians seem to be motivated by notions — however peculiar — of civic responsibility as they saw it. And I count it my good fortune to have lived under such public servants as Calvin Rampton, Scott Matheson, and Ted Moss and to feel that they represented *me* as much as they did their closer cultural constituency.

I should add a word about the fact that all my life here has been affected by being a member of the university community. It has shielded me, I think, from some of the realities of social and family and political life which I might have experienced were I not a member of that community. Since my travels take me to many other colleges and universities, I am frequently asked what life is like at the University of Utah. Such remarks made by my former colleagues at Columbia University seemed to faintly imply that there must be something wrong with a fellow who stayed out there. I was made to feel like the bad sheep of a British Empire family sent to an outpost in the islands, never to be called back to the home office. My offhand reply, which became a studied one later, was, "Rocks. I like rocks, and Utah has plenty of rocks." In fact, I do like rocks. I can hardly think of anything more satisfying than sitting on a granite boulder as big as a house in Little Cottonwood Canyon and reflecting that it was there before I came and would be there long after. More, rocks don't complain; they just sit there, giving you and themselves no trouble.

Sometimes this question about my life at the university leads to my being asked how much the Church dominated or affected or interfered in university affairs. Frequently the university is confused with BYU and I have had to straighten out some of the uninformed about both geography and theology. To my mind, the university is much like other state universities, maybe permitting more freedom of speech and more freedom from interference than some. I prize the University of Utah and other American public universities because they are democratic institutions albeit engaged in what some faculty covet as privileged and aristocratic activities.

Perhaps I have adjusted to political life in Utah because I am committed to democracy in which one accepts majority decisions yet feels free to speak and act for minority positions. In this respect I may be freer than my LDS friends who chafe against conservative positions of both Church leaders and political brethren (as yet few sistren). As J. D. Williams responded when asked what liberal Mormons most wanted, "Freedom, freedom, freedom" (Gottlieb and Wiley 1984, 253–54). No wonder liberal Mormons are often staunch allies in working toward racial equality. They may recognize their own condition in Martin Luther King's "Free at last. Free at last. Great God Almighty, free at last!"

V

When I first came to Utah, and to some degree ever since, I had certain habits and inclinations which made me welcome in many Mormon gatherings, invited polite inquiries into where my soul might be headed, and even occasioned my being mistaken for one of them. I have wondered if I carried some aura of at least earthly sanctification about me, for I have attracted the attention of the spiritually inclined even as I have offered some resistance to doctrine. But the more obvious signs of my rectitude were that I did not smoke, swore only on great provocation, and drank things mixed with water in tall glasses which could hardly be distinguished from 7-Up. Though I think some suspicious Saints occasionally sniffed the glass, most took those signs of rectitude as indices of possible grace.

A social history might be written about liquor in Utah. Certainly a small section would be devoted to Governor Rampton's spelling out a hundred and some questions that would have to be resolved to arrive at mini-bottle legislation. It would include, I believe, some pondering of the line between opening a bottle and drinking its contents, of the degree to which sin flourishes before or after 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and how much virtue can be protected by hiding liquor behind magazine racks. I do not engage in these speculations today, though they occupied much of the conversation of outlanders when I first came and may, for all I know, occupy as much time now.

But beyond that, almost the sole score I saw building up against the Mormons in my first fifteen years here, was that of having to spend so much time talking about them. Perhaps it takes that long to exhaust the possibilities, or perhaps I go out less, or perhaps all the quaint Mormon customs have disappeared, melded, by now, into the general culture.

In case some of you have not walked the same path as I, I will pass on some of the topics of interest, beyond smoking and drinking, that came up among the outsiders. Ice cream, for example. To some degree, ice cream parlors served Mormons as the neighborhood tavern did the Irish. I would see them staggering out of Snelgrove's on a Friday night and make my own prayers for their safe advent to a cholesterol-free heaven. The ice cream social is a familiar part of my midwest past, but I think it was raised to a higher power in Salt Lake. Passing the ice cream, passing the fudge sauce, passing the strawberries, passing the chopped nuts, passing the marshmallow topping, passing the maraschino cherries, passing the whipped cream, as Walt Whitman might have said, I, a lover of ice cream, and a proclaimer of hot fudge sundaes to the world, seemed to see excess.

Perhaps, as some speculators said ice cream was a substitute for other sins, that of drinking certainly, and probably of sex. Sex is peculiar in Salt Lake City. Obviously, much activity goes on simply measured by the birth rate and the average age of marriage. But at the same time, there seems to be both a fear of the body and a flaunting of it that can be disturbing. Perhaps it is the healthy good looks of both Mormon men and women that create the problem. Physical beauty may be the animating force for much preaching against fornication and much public indignation about what one's neighbors may be watch-

ing or doing. Then, too, there are so many children, all products of the sexual act, however sanctified that act is in marriage, and all bent on finding out about or doing the act themselves. So it has always been and so it must always be, if the species would survive. And yes, I have spent many hours trying to read my own gospels while wondering just what my son or daughter was doing with a stranger of the opposite sex downstairs. It made me thankful for the opening of the refrigerator door, thankful for ice cream.

In comparison with other cities I've been in, Salt Lake City is relatively pure, and its citizens agitate no more to make it more pure than in many cities of similar size. The city ordinance, which took effect 27 February 1985 requires that "sexually explicit material that is harmful to minors must be kept in sealed wrappers. In cases where a publication's cover is considered harmful, it must be hidden by opaque material." That is not a current ordinance of Salt Lake City but of Minneapolis, Minnesota. Big cities on either coast have long ago given themselves over almost wholly to sin, so I will not speak of what can be found there.

What I find peculiar, and at times vexing, is the mixed signals that elders give children in the local culture. If I had to pick something really obscene I think it would be female drill teams, the obscenity inversely (or perversely) proportional to the age of the participant. I have yet to see a fully clothed drill team of any age, indoor or out, and I postulate that a good many proper Mormon matrons sit up late fashioning costumes out of very little whole cloth. I am, I should say, not prudish about these matters, belonging neither to the Keep Cable TV Clean or Get the Trash out of Textbooks committees. But, somehow, bumps and grinds seem ill-suited to seven-year-old girls, not to mention the awful snappings of the neck that only an ambitious chiropracter could view without wincing. I am not condemning these things, only citing an example of a split between dwelling on the awfulness of sins of the flesh and promoting activities that are sexual, albeit healthy and cute, and answer to the universal need of parents to display their children's talents in bizarre ways. Maybe my petulance goes back to my own youth when I was somehow conned into playing the sousaphone, chiefly, I suspect, so adults could say, "How can a little kid like you carry such a big horn?"

But enough of sex. Other customs and habits of the local culture interest me as much. It is not just the dark ZCMI suits that the missionaries wear; it is a certain formal bearing and certain formal expressions that identify a Latter-day Saint. It is an earnestness that goes, I think, with all religions. Once, in a market town on the edge of the great plains in Colombia, South America, I lost my way walking from the city's center to my motel. I had gone well past where the motel should have been, night was descending, and I was on a road that seemed to lead nowhere. Few houses, few people. Out of the gloaming, I saw a man approaching. He was carrying a book; and his dress, his bearing, his seriousness made me know that the book was a Bible. He was a man, I knew, useful to saving my soul, if that were at issue, but helpless in giving me directions toward an earthly destination. He was kind, solicitous, and earnest; and against that awful earnestness, what few words of Spanish I knew vanished

utterly. I backed away, smiling and saying, "Si, Si," as if I understood all the earnest help he was trying to give me. Later, I came upon a tavern where a group of adolescents made such good-natured sport of a lost gringo who couldn't even say "mañana," that I found enough Spanish words to get me back to my motel. My point is that to the outsider, too much civility of dress and manner may be inhibiting.

Speeches, for example, bring out an extra layer of ceremony in Utah. I had never come upon the layer-cake introduction before I arrived here, though it doubtless exists outside the valley. Brother A will introduce Brother B who will make a few remarks about Brother C before introducing Brother D who will actually introduce the speaker. Mormon speeches often contain an unusually large number of stock phrases. Speakers commonly "share with an audience," and "thank my lovely wife" and "wonderful family," and dwell on "thrilling and gratifying experiences" which were "truly" or "thoroughly" enjoyed. Many of these utterances are of a serious nature. Saints bear "grave responsibilities" and must "earnestly seek" or "seek earnestly," giving "serious and prayerful consideration" to "worthy goals" and "stirring challenges." A "prayerful humility" is the right stance for a speaker to take, for speech-making comes not by design but by being a receptive vessel for inspired words. The habit of attaching such words as "special" and "wonderful" and "inspiring" to fairly ordinary experiences may have caused Richard L. Evans to devote one of his "Spoken Words" to the dangers of "Glorifying the Mediocre." A "tendency toward moderate exaggeration," he cautioned, can lead to the "prodigal use of extravagant words. . . . If everything is great, if everything is colossal, if everything is unprecedented, or indispensable . . . language soon takes on the dullness that comes with oversharpening" (1945, 5–6). J. Golden Kimball is unique among Mormon rhetoricians as much for bluntness and freshness of speech as for taming his stock of cuss words to "hell" and "damn" and "for hell's sake."

Invariably, a high tolerance for cant accompanies a reliance on routine formalities of speech. Grace is gained, but candor is lost. Even the heretic will not be burned for his utterances. More likely he will be surfeited with platitudes. So, I have had few spirited arguments with Mormons, and I have experienced some distress at the view that argument seems to be something that should not take place in public. Even private disagreements are met with a kind of smug but unexpressed certainty that the right view will prevail.

I have mentioned earlier the possible struggle for freedom which may be what liberals must make against any conservative authoritarian culture. I suppose the most frequent question I am asked about academic life at the University of Utah is how much freedom is permitted there. I don't think I would have stayed here had I not been able to answer honestly, at all points in my career, "A great deal." Indeed, as an outsider, I may have enjoyed more freedom, for I did not have to think about what improprieties I was committing as did many of my friends who were products of the local culture.

At the precise point of defending academic freedom, the university has a better record than many state universities of my acquaintance. Early in my

career I wrote a book (1962) critical of higher education which received some national attention. A reporter from *Time* called and asked, first off, "Have you been fired yet?" It struck me as an absurd question; and I told him so, partly because the most offensive statement I could remember having written was "College presidents become positive boobies when they contemplate the glories of their athletic programs," and I had not named any specific university president (1962, 74).

Still, the record is not entirely clear. Not long after that in what might be called "the case of the Boy Scouts and the fat ugly nude," the university president appeared before the faculty and almost tearfully explained that he had not ordered the head of the Art Department to remove the painting of an unexotic but unclothed ugly fat woman from the Union display panels. Nevertheless, the painting disappeared along with the panels the building's architect had designed in order that art might have a public rather than private audience. They have not been restored since, though anyone can see paintings, even nudes, if they but go to the appropriate places for such display.

It is a heightened sense of appropriateness that often exercises a power of censorship in Zion, and to some degree that sense limits vigorous expression of many kinds. I have mentioned a drawing back from controversy as a mark of the local culture. It is only fair to add that a habit of not speaking out may develop from the heavy weight that "authority" carries. I think it might even be argued that students here are very good at looking things up but not so good at thinking about them. I think, too, an acceptance of authority may sanction pedantry in scholarship rather than imaginative exploring, though pedantry in academia has no favorite home. Local scholars may be more comfortable in disciplines outside the humanities and social sciences, and local artists more inclined to music and dance than to art and letters.

Books still give trouble. The great volume of literature emanating from the church, like such literature elsewhere, inclines to homilies and moral suasion. Despite this abundance of good reading, some citizens still worry about what will fall into the hands of children. A bill, defeated in the Utah senate in the last legislature, would have made parents subject to prosecution for letting their children be exposed to harmful materials, including books judged to be pornographic. Within the past month, a voluntary, after-school-hours Junior Great Books program came under attack in Davis County. "Most of the stories," an analyst of the program wrote, "seemed to me to present little if any message of positive moral value. On the other hand, several of the stories present a definite negative impact in relation to the moral values as I perceive them to be in our community." The compromise reached in the controversy — to permit the Great Books program to be retained but to develop an alternative reading enrichment program — is the familiar pattern of yielding to community pressure but avoiding outright censorship.

Lip service to freedom of expression may temper censorship; but, mingled with politeness, it can sometimes lead to hypocrisy and sophistry. During the period of student unrest, I was on a panel about the good and bad effects of student protests at the convention of the American Council on Education. I

took the side that collegiate institutions were probably more benefited by student nonconformity than harmed by it. I argued that some American colleges needed more student radicals rather than fewer. Afterward, the then-president of Brigham Young came to the podium, gave me a brotherly handshake, and told me how much he appreciated the wisdom of my words. A later president pronounced that during his presidency dress and grooming standards would be enforced for all BYU students. Visitors to campus, he said, would be expected to conform to local standards but they would not be expected to shave off their beards or—and here he seemed proud to have found an exact legalistic formulation — "exercise other restraints that would cause more than a temporary inconvenience."

This may have been delivered with humor. I was listening to the speech on the radio so could not tell. I cannot speak of humor that goes on within the inner circle. I expect to some degree it is ethnic, and at times both racist and sexist. Within mixed groups, Mormon humor is probably cautious, as utterance in general is cautious since politeness makes it so. I think, however, Mormons like to have a good time and may have more good times of a familiar nineteenth-century sort than many other Americans, particularly academic Americans as I know them. That is, people relate to one another in Mormon culture. A male can hardly get away from calls to do something fun, like square dancing or playing charades or private theatricals or singing in groups. I am thankful I have been spared much of that, though it accounts for some of the loneliness I acknowledged having experienced.

Still, for some, letting themselves go, even in what I would call innocent pleasures comes a little hard. I was once party to getting a good Mormon youth to go to a movie on Sunday night. I can remember the movie, *American Graffiti*, and the place, far removed from Zion, but most of all how much the young man enjoyed it, probably the more for the sense of wrongdoing that accompanied it. I do not know what his future is, but last I heard he was both successful in a business way and still a pillar of the Church.

On another occasion, a number of us went to Hole-in-the-Rock in southeastern Utah. Hole-in-the-Rock is only thirty miles from a surfaced road, but the last part of the trip is so tortuous that few people go there. We split up the trip into two days, encountering no one on the way; and when we got there, two of us, a graduate student who had done a good bit of field work in Utah history and I, clambered down the cleft in the rock by which the early pioneers reached the Colorado. Five hundred feet or so from the rim, we found ourselves on the shores of Lake Powell, in an utterly clear and sheltered bay, surrounded by nothing but red rock and blue sky. I sat down, took off my boots, and said I was going to take a swim. My companion looked at me with some alarm and said, "But, where, where, where's your bathing suit?" I didn't bother to explain; stripped naked, I plunged into the water to hide my body from his possibly offended gaze. He watched for a short time, then took off his boots, his pants and shirt, his socks, and finally his garments, and plunged in. For the next half hour he swam contentedly, like some white and unshriven porpoise, and I have never felt better about endangering a mortal soul's chances in the hereafter.

VI

By this somewhat indirect route, I find myself moving toward the last topic in this talk: a brief consideration of theology. My acquaintance with Mormon theology is no more than acquaintance, much of it gained from students' responses over the years to my teaching of the history of ideas. University faculty who teach in the humanities vary widely in what they say about the local culture's pressures. Some feel a compulsion to challenge students' religious beliefs just as they challenge other beliefs. Others feel uneasy when talking about such subjects as evolution, for example. Some get in conflicts with students or develop a hostility toward the perceived narrowness of local views. I have taught these subjects almost as long as anyone on the faculty and have, I think, taught them honestly without incurring great student displeasure, parental objections, or calls from the president's office. In part, I think this is because of a politeness and formality I have mentioned, perhaps a deferring to authority, even such as might be shown to a university professor of a nonconformist view. But I would be unfair to generations of students if I did not pay my respects to an openness I associate with youth, the bending of mind and feelings to learning, which exists in abundance among my students, whatever their persuasions.

What resistances I face have been anecdotal. One boy, for example, asked me, during the week or so my class spends on Darwin, if I believed in evolution. I was making a suitable scholarly reply when he interrupted me and said, fiercely, "I believe in it. My seminary teacher says it isn't true, but I believe in it." If that is a notable instance of an independence of mind exerting itself, another anecdote is as telling about the hold of religious fundamentalism. This came from a student during a different year, who came up after the class was over and said he had found it somewhat interesting but was glad that he would be getting back to studying the "truth."

What I know about Mormon truth is what I mainly read in the papers, that is, in the *Ensign*, and letters in the *Tribune* and *Deseret News*, and DIALOGUE: THE JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT. Reflections on many of the topics I have been discussing surface there, the most curious being a report of a "Committee on Celestial Demographics" in DIALOGUE. What am I, a mere outsider, to make of a heavily footnoted study concluding that a possible surplus of 1.7 billion men over the number of women will pertain in Heaven? "There is little doubt," the article states, "that doing temple work will be the major task facing those alive during the millennium, especially for men." Moreover, "Jews, Nephites, and Christians will constitute a small minority of the heavenly host" (Committee 1984, 86).

Perhaps I have gotten along reasonably well in *this* world because my worries do not extend that far beyond. "One world at a time," as Thoreau during his last illness said to a minister concerned for his standing in eternity. Moreover, I have not been bent on converting anyone, and that seems to announce that no one need be bent on converting me. I think some missionaries came to my door in Salt Lake — fewer in number than the Jehovah's Witnesses — but only one caused me pain. He was not a native Utahn at all but a boyhood friend from my own Iowa home town who had grown up in a stern

Methodist family and had converted to Mormonism in mid-life. I had not seen him for twenty-five years when he showed up one summer on his way from San Francisco and engaged me in conversation as I was mowing the lawn. As we renewed our acquaintance, something else seemed to be foremost on his mind. With some insistence he edged me into my house and began plumbing my interest in recent archaeological discoveries in Mexico. Before I could say Joseph Smith I found myself on the other end of a missionary pitch. I did not throw him off the porch, but I did not offer him lemonade. Since I appeared to be of no other interest to him than a target for conversion, we parted unamiably, he disappointed in my blindness, I puzzled about why religious zeal should so overcome social grace.

Such zeal exists among all religions, and I have encountered no more of it here than I might have elsewhere. If anything bothers me about the LDS theology, it is maybe its too-close familiarity with God. I feel at times shut out, not as someone worshipping a pagan creed, but as one who doesn't carry the right credit cards. But all people have the right to seek their own path to heaven and to conceive of whatever heaven they will. I am not much drawn to certain aspects of Christianity which, despite some recurrent questioning in the letters column of the paper, is surely the larger sect to which Mormonism belongs. Somehow a religion born out of a bloody sacrifice and fastening a cosmic guilt on mankind may be less than attractive on sunny days. I do not much dwell on the guilt of being born, but I can admire the brutal logic of Calvin which denied humans any agency in affecting their salvation. Such a view was too inhuman for humans, and every Christian sect after Calvin softened in one way or another the doctrine of original sin that condemned the most of mankind to a deserved Hell. Most religions went on finding ways for believers to get into a real or imagined Heaven. No wonder insurance companies flourish in formerly Puritan New England and here in Zion. If I were given the choice of worshiping something, I think it would be the sun, though even that, too, occasioned human sacrifices.

There is much sun in Zion, and it is a good place for a generally optimistic religion to flourish. I think that may be part of the attraction Zion has for me, and which, at times, may leave me too comfortable with my own comfort. Within my reading, it is William Dean Howells, who was not a Mormon, who best expressed the American middle class's struggles between comfort and conscience. Writing to Henry James in 1888, he said, "I should hardly like to trust pen and ink with all the audacity of my social ideas; but after fifty years of optimistic content with 'civilization' and its ability to come out all right in the end, I now abhor it, and feel that it is coming out all wrong in the end, unless it bases itself anew on a real equality. Meantime, I wear a fur-lined overcoat, and live in all the luxury my money can buy" (Howells 1:417). I must stir myself in Zion to care about how my neighbors are getting on or to seek them out beyond my armchair's ease. A cloud of well-being can settle in here like a January inversion. I have need at times for a more searing sun to expose me to more of the world's dis-ease, a more biting cold to goad me past good will.

It is in the spirit of optimism, however, that I will conclude by saying a word for secular humanism, not such an awful belief as some religious fundamentalists would have us believe. For it is not such a bad thing to be human, and as for being secular I would judge that even in this community the most of people are secular, that is, in the world and going about its affairs, for most of their waking hours. Secular humanism, I know, is viewed by many conservatives as a vague but ominous threat to traditional religious values. A philosophy or point of view that has no church or identifiable clergy is loosely linked with atheism; the atheists, as everyone knows, are bad folks. Such reasoning sets aside the fact that humanism has a long respectable tie with Christianity. It also pays little attention to the possibility that *secular* in secular humanism may be just an adjective persuader, tacked on for effect, like *godless* Communism and *liberal* Democrat, or for that matter, *right-wing* Republican, and *orthodox* religionist. It is the religiously inclined, above all, who might accept a commonplace notion within Christianity that we are all a-theists until and unless God has implanted that sense of his presence in us. A secular humanist, having less certainty about God, may develop more faith in human kind. Human beings must have faith, whether in God or each other or both, for neither the goodness of men and women nor the presence of God steadily manifests itself in incontrovertible ways.

If there is any lesson to be drawn from this excursion — and I am anything if not a pedagogue — it is the lesson which this country, more than any other right now, both encourages our learning and allows room for us to practice. That is the lesson of accommodating to one's fellow humans, and not altogether grudgingly or suspiciously or condescendingly or smugly. It is that accommodation which makes community, and it is for a sense of community that I prize my residence in what in some ways is, an alien land. After thirty years, I am not sure I quite approve of the Mormons, but that does not condition my respect for them nor my ability to live in harmony and satisfaction among them. I cannot honestly say that thirty years ago I intended to stay here. I have ascertained that there is, even here, a length of land to bury me in, though I would rather be placed in a high tree, my bones to bleach in the sun, my spirit to rise with the morning's warming currents of air. When I think about these things at all, I find myself sometimes saying, "Me? Among the Mormons? My hell!"

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Out of the Crucible: The Testimony of a Liberal

Richard J. Cummings

As I look back over the years at my own perspective on the Mormon experience, I find that the most compelling doctrines of Mormonism can all be subsumed under the heading of "eternalism," that felicitous formulation by B. H. Roberts which describes a theological direction most fully expressed in Joseph Smith's King Follett Discourse. It was there that the Prophet asserted that "the intelligence of spirits had no beginning neither will it have an end. . . . Intelligence is eternal and exists upon a self-existent principle. It is a spirit from age to age and there is no creation about it" (1969, 6:311). The basic precept — that the conscious, willing, feeling center of our being is an uncreated, eternal and autonomous entity — is to be found nowhere else in the philosophies, ideologies, or religions of the world. One is forced to conclude that Joseph Smith either invented it out of whole cloth, or that it was revealed to him from a higher source. I find the second explanation to be the more credible.

The other key doctrines of Mormonism that I have found most engaging — and most distinctive — are closely related to the belief in our eternal identity, and they include: (1) the belief in our status as a potential deity — "As God now is, man may become" in Lorenzo Snow's familiar paraphrase, and (2) the principle of eternal marriage. As Sterling McMurrin has astutely pointed out, the Mormon belief system is the antithesis of traditional Judeo-Christian theologies, and it "needs and deserves a new appreciation of the strength of those very heresies in the concepts of man and God that must inevitably make of it an offense to the traditional faith" (1965, 112). Mormonism upholds an anthropocentric view that, from a traditional vantage point, is heretical in the extreme, but which for me has always had the ring of truth. Two key statements epitomize this heretical, human-centered religion: first, that it is the

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glory of God and therefore his veritable *raison d'être* "to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man" (Moses 1:39), and, secondly, that "men are that they might have joy" (2 Ne. 2:25). You have to stop and think for a moment how sharply this contrasts with the traditional notion that the greatest aspiration of human beings is to glorify God, even though God has no need to be glorified.

Before clarifying the bearing of these central doctrines upon the pillars of my faith, I would like to retrace the intellectual and spirtiual dilemmas as well as emotional crises which have influenced the form of my innermost convictions.

The first crisis was my father's unexpected death when I was nearly thirteen. It occurred when my family was living in southern California, shortly after my mother and baby brother had left for a visit to Salt Lake City. My father prepared breakfast for my nine-year-old brother and me and sent us to school. We returned home in the afternoon expecting to find him there — he was a self-employed photographer. We played for awhile around the house and became increasingly concerned as dinnertime came and went with no word from him. I finally prepared a makeshift meal, and soon it was well after bedtime. Still no sign of Dad. My younger brother went to bed, but I became more and more agitated and spent the night in a round of half-uttered prayers, desperate but unavailing forays into the Book of Mormon for guidance and for spiritual consolation, and occasionally, fitful lapses into nightmarish slumber. The next morning, a neighbor took us to the local police station to make a missing person report, and we went to school. About 11:00 A.M., school officials informed me that my father had been located. He had climbed into a tree to take a color photograph, then slipped and fell, broke his back in three places, and lay there paralyzed until someone found him the next morning.

He lived another week in intensive care in the hospital, and I had some valuable visits with him during that time. He was a devout Latter-day Saint who did his own thinking, and I strongly identified with him. I was utterly traumatized by that event. I have never completely recovered from that loss. As a result, during much of my adolescent and young adult life, I sought — and found — substitute fathers, always in a Mormon context, and always in the person of someone whose standing in the Church and whose grasp of its doctrines commanded my respect.

The first of these surrogate fathers was my Uncle Frank — B. F. Cummings III — who was my father's oldest brother. He was for many years the head of the Department of Foreign Languages at BYU where he also taught ethics and religion. He turned out to be both a father figure and a role model — more so than either of us expected at the time — and his well thought-out and deeply held convictions about the Church and Mormon theology profoundly influenced my own.

After my father's death, we returned to Salt Lake City where I entered the University of Utah under an early admissions program three and one-half years later at sixteen. I was enrolled in the pre-med program at the time, majoring in biology. I was required to take courses from a brilliant but contro-

versial professor, Stephen Durrant, whose specialty was vertebrate zoology but whose passion was the theory of evolution. He seriously undermined my untested faith by demonstrating that evolution was not just a theory but a law and that it utterly precluded any form of supernatural creation. One of my closest friends was the grandson of Elder John A. Widtsoe, who soon became another important father figure for me. In a few brief but sympathetic discussions, Elder Widtsoe succeeded in dispelling all my doubts and fears by pointing out that the claims of religion and science are not either/or issues, but that the two can ultimately be reconciled. I learned from him a profound truth — that there is a safe middle ground, and I still firmly believe this to be the case despite the vigorous assertions of a few iron rodders to the contrary.

The next crisis came in the summer of 1947 when I was twenty and within four months of leaving on my mission, when I chanced upon Fawn Brodie's recently published bombshell, *No Man Knows My History.* Her unrelenting emphasis on the all-too-human side of Joseph Smith's character led me to my next major spiritual dilemma: was Joseph Smith a true prophet of God, or simply a clever and ingratiating charlatan? If the latter, I could hardly justify my decision to accept a mission call. I wrestled mightily with that one, concluding finally that Mrs. Brodie had not really succeeded in dismissing Joseph Smith despite her thesis that his supernatural claims were unfounded. Indeed she was so fascinated with his undeniable charisma that she was forced in the end to exalt him into a kind of super-hero — an individual whose personal qualities bordered on the miraculous (1946, 404). As it turned out, I adopted a pragmatic view, convincing myself that my practical experience of Mormonism had been personally very valuable and that I owed it to the French to at least tell them of the gospel so that they could make an informed decision about its worth.

The competitive zeal of missionary life provided a marvelous corrective to the doubts and misgivings that Darwin and Brodie had stirred up. The cultural and linguistic dimensions of the experience completely reoriented my career objectives from medicine to the academic world. This shift was also strongly influenced by yet another father figure — my mission president James L. Barker, who for many years had been head of the Department of Languages at the University of Utah and whose leadership was both intellectual and spiritual.

The next crisis occurred in 1968 when my Uncle Frank submitted the manuscript of a book on the ethical implications of Mormon theology — his life work, in a sense — to Deseret Book Company, only to have it summarily rejected by the Church reading committee. It was pointed out that while the work did not contain false doctrine or inaccuracies, it was couched in original terms which "might offend the Brethren." He published the book at his own expense and died a few months later, greatly disheartened by the entire experience. I had long been impatient with the combined arrogance and mediocrity that had become the hallmark of much of the bureaucracy of the Church, but this callous treatment in the name of a higher authority at the hands of people I found intellectually and spiritually inferior to Uncle Frank was utterly dismay-

ing. What it did was to bring home to me once and for all how much the Church had come to be dominated by an overgrown and overweening middle management. It confirmed my growing distrust of the institutional aspects of Mormonism — the impersonal, structural apparatus that seemed more and more to eclipse the highly personal, spiritual insights and experiences that had given rise to the Church.

The last of the crises which contributed — however negatively — to the pillars of my faith, occurred in 1977 with the break-up of my first marriage and my accompanying bout with severe depression. With seven years of hindsight and a marvelously successful second marriage, it is now clear that the divorce was a necessary and valuable experience in personal growth and self-understanding — but it was a veritable wipe-out at the time. Its major impact on my faith was its contradiction of my basic belief in the validity of temple marriage. Despite my reservations about the institutional shortcomings of the Church, I was firmly convinced that a marriage solemnized in the temple had real staying power. Although this one lasted for twenty-three years, it clearly did not have the permanence I had ascribed to it. There were perfectly valid reasons why the marriage foundered — conflicts in values, incompatibilities, and the like. But in the process, another of my cherished beliefs had to be rethought.

That rethinking had to be delayed. I overreacted to the disillusionment and bitterness engendered by my divorce. I wrote off Mormonism as a bad investment and decided it would be best for the Church and me to go our separate ways. It did not take very long, however, for me to realize two things. First, I could not lightly dismiss a religion which had become so much a part of me. And, second, I had unwittingly lapsed back into the simplistic all-or-nothing kind of thinking that Elder Widtsoe had helped me to rise above. I was tacitly agreeing with the advocates of monolithic Mormonism who insist that one must accept the Church in its entirety or reject it out of hand. In this connection, I would like to acknowledge three remarkable Mormon women who, possibly without realizing it, enabled me to keep my Mormon roots alive by inviting me to continue to rethink my Mormon background and share the results with others. The first was Maureen Ursenbach Beecher who got me so involved in the newly founded Association for Mormon Letters that I somehow ended up as president of that organization, delivering the 1979 presidential address at BYU on "The Mormon Identity Crisis," as a direct expression of my own crisis at the time. The other two women both attended that luncheon: Mary Bradford and Peggy Fletcher each approached me after the address to ask if they could have it for their respective periodicals. I gave it to Peggy who brought it out in the next issue of *Sunstone* but promised Mary that my next publishable effort would be hers. A paper on Mormon literalism which I read at the 1981 Sunstone Symposium appeared in a subsequent issue of DIALOGUE. The process led to another paper on Mormon fanaticism which I read at last year's Symposium and which appeared in a recent issue of DIALOGUE.

One of the questions posed to help me identify the pillars of my faith was: "Besides the accident of birth, what makes you a Mormon?" I do not believe in accidents of birth. I am convinced we had a great deal to do with where and when we are born — in fact, that is good Mormon doctrine. So, I firmly believe that I chose to be born into a Mormon setting and, accordingly, that there is a way in which I am, always have been, and always will be Mormon — but I must point out that I am Mormon by my own definition — not as an institutional stereotype. The process of refining and personalizing my belief system has been one of progressive internalization. As I have already suggested, I started out equating my religious identity with all the external trappings of Mormonism — attending meetings, obeying authority, giving two-and-one-half minute talks, performing ordinances, reading the standard works, and so forth. But the more I have reflected on the matter, the more I have come to agree with two key statements made by the Savior in the Gospels of Luke and John, namely, that "my kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36) and "the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:21).

Ironically, when I compare my present Mormon identity with the one I had as a child, as a missionary, and as a young Mormon husband and father, I looked much more the part then than I do now. I was active and fit the stereotype then. Now I have only tangential involvement with the Church, and yet I am much more in touch with how Mormon my core beliefs and values really are. I am also painfully aware that any attempt to express my beliefs in definitive form is doomed to failure, because all convictions, however firmly held, are bound to evolve.

One way of putting this is to say that, by conventional standards, I have a 15 percent testimony. Another way of putting it is to say that I started out with a 100 percent soft testimony — that is, a full set of approved but unexamined beliefs. I now have a hard core of limited but tested beliefs. What are those "hard core" beliefs? What remains after all the dross has been burned away in the crucible of doubt and experience?

1. Our identity is synonymous with our intelligence — our unique uncreated essential self that has always been conscious and free to choose and always will be. For me this leads to a merging of existentialism and Mormonism, and the result is a kind of open-ended, metaphysical existentialism. The basic assumption of existentialism, that within the confines of our temporal existence we are what we consciously and freely choose to become, is no longer confined to the brief segment of our lives that extends from birth to death, but open-endedly encompasses the full scope of our eternal nature.
2. There is ultimately no qualitative difference between our essential self and the essence of God. The human and the divine exist on an ontological continuum, and yet we each have our being separately and distinctly from one another.
3. Each of us must recapitulate Joseph Smith's experience in the Sacred Grove in our own way and in the same open-minded, inquisitive spirit

and with the same willingness of risk that he did. This is the highly personal, inner path which I am convinced is the only one that leads to a testimony worth having — and it may not look like a testimony to others by the time we achieve it.

4. Each of us must work out his or her own salvation. This working-out may occur in an institutional context, or it may not. The danger of relying too heavily on the institution is that we will learn by rote what we should have learned by heart. The danger of relying too heavily on our own insights is that we may lose our way altogether.
5. We must love our fellow human beings and respect the individuality of each. Joseph Smith placed as much value on the inviolability of the individual self as he ever did on the authority of the Church. This means that we must respect a person's beliefs whether or not we share them (and we *never* fully share the beliefs of another), and truly love that person because of, or in spite of, his or her belief system, as the case may be. I, like Mary Bradford, consider Lowell Bennion to be a model of this principle.

This last point leads me to my conclusion — a brief discussion of the dilemma in which my particular brand of Mormonism puts me. Even though I consider my belief system to be based on the most fundamental tenets of the LDS faith, that system excludes so much of what mainstream members consider to be central to their faith and which they espouse literally and totally, that I fear my divergence of belief will scandalize them. Consequently, if I wish to associate freely with Church members, I have the choice of probably offending them with my true position or of offending my own sense of integrity by hypocritically keeping my real views to myself. Obviously I have opted for the first choice today in a setting where I feel myself to be in the company of a number of kindred spirits. But what of the good fellowship of a Gospel Doctrine class or a priesthood meeting? I find irrelevant so much of what goes on in those settings, that I cannot, in good conscience, attend them with any degree of frequency without experiencing one or the other of the aforementioned offenses, even though I don't in the slightest begrudge my fellow members their religious priorities.

I am proud of my pioneer heritage. I instinctively defend the Church against its detractors when they speak out of ignorance or malice. I feel a strong sense of cultural and social kinship with my fellow Mormons. As I have emerged from my crucible, however, I find that in view of what can only be a controversially exclusionary testimony, a certain discretionary distance is the better part of religious valor.

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Service under Stress: Two Years as a Relief Society President

Margaret Rampton Munk

3 September 1984

TODAY MY YOUNGEST CHILD went to school all day for the first time. Every mother approaches this milestone with both anticipation and dread. I reached this point once before, six years ago, before the adoption of our third baby swept me suddenly back to square one. If it was a setback, it was the happiest one imaginable. Now, however, poised between treatment for a serious illness and hope for a plunge into a new phase of life, I would like to use the gift of uninterrupted time, a scarce commodity for fourteen years, for some written reflections.

I spent two of those years as Relief Society president in our ward in the Washington, D.C. Stake, from June 1976 to July 1978. I had never contemplated having this experience, certainly not while in my thirties with such small children. We had lived in the ward only nine months, and I had never served in a Relief Society presidency. I had never been president of anything except a group of college girls who wore purple dresses on Wednesdays. As an adult, I had never really lived in a typical ward, having gone from student wards to seven years in the mission fields of Asia. I did not fit my own image of a Relief Society president at all. My first thought was, "But I don't even bake bread!"

I was taken by surprise. I didn't know what to expect. Two years later, I was still surprised.

Every ward is unique; consequently the challenges of one Relief Society president are different from those of another. Several factors made our ward different; each has challenged me and other ward leaders, including my husband, who now serves as bishop of the same ward.

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Any large city attracts people from their original homes and extended families — many for professional or educational reasons, some because they are trying to "find themselves" in a new and more varied environment, and still others because they want simply to escape. Church members are scattered over a large area. Washington also attracts many visitors — tourists, people dealing with the federal government, patients in the city's three large government and military hospitals, all located within our ward boundaries.

Such a location causes a great deal of coming and going and constantly shifting ward membership. Reorganization is endless, and it is often difficult just to know who is here, not to mention making ward members feel welcome and meeting their personal needs. Loneliness is a problem for some, especially those who are living alone or who have recently left home. In spite of our efforts to provide activities and opportunities for Church members to meet socially, some still feel isolated and alone. Members in large cities are more likely to turn to the Church for help in times of illness or trouble than to distant families and neighbors. Transportation needs to be provided for women who do not drive and are either incapacitated or lack confidence to use public transportation. Hospital patients, even though not members of our ward, need visitors and concerned friends, and their families often need transportation, housing, and encouragement. Other visitors sometimes call upon local Church members for housing, transportation, sight-seeing guidance, babysitting, and other services.

Young, single people entering the city without definite goals or attempting to escape from problems often find themselves emotionally lost and discover that their problems have somehow moved with them. They change apartments often, have frequent crises in their personal relationships, get into financial straits, and sometimes become physically and mentally ill. They tend to seek out father and mother substitutes among the older members of the ward and request frequent counseling and practical help.

Since the years of my tenure, our stake has created both a singles ward and a Spanish-speaking branch, drawing those members away from our ward into specialized congregations. I have mixed feelings about this. While administratively sensible, such moves deprive members of the diversity of acquaintance which the Church can offer in an urban area. I remember the young single women who were then part of our ward as a source of both some of the sweetest friendships and some of the most painful problems I had as Relief Society president.

A rarer distinction of our ward is the location within its boundaries of a temple, until recently the only one east of the Mississippi. The Washington Temple has been maligned architecturally by some (and perhaps there is a certain resemblance to a Disneyland castle); but for the people who live and work in its shadow and watch the seasons and the various lights of day and night set off its whiteness on a wooded Maryland hillside, it is a source of inspiration. Speakers in our ward often refer to the temple as a blessing, and they are right. Ward leaders know that it is also a source of challenges.

Besides attracting many visitors and generating a good deal of missionary work, the temple needs temple workers. During my years of Relief Society

service, the ward experienced a tremendous growth in membership as the Church purchased or rented large numbers of apartments within our boundaries to house these men and women. When I first became Relief Society president, there were three visiting teachers for all of the temple workers living in our ward. By the time of my release two years later, there were thirty. This time preceded the consolidated Sunday meeting schedule, and extra sessions of Relief Society were held on Sundays for the growing number of women who could not attend on a weekday morning. Because of their employment, most of the temple workers, of course, attended Sunday morning Relief Society. When I began, our Sunday session was so small that we had been meeting jointly with another ward. Two years later, meeting alone, our Sunday group included almost a hundred women and overflowed into the hall.

These were distinctive women. As I faced them on Sunday morning, I would try not to think about how many former ward and stake Relief Society presidents, stake and general board members were looking back at me. Most were older than my mother; but without exception I felt only love, support, and cooperation from them, never criticism or condescension. Many of them taught me what beauty is at seventy — the reflection of a lifetime, still continuing, of worthwhile service and activity.

Most of the temple workers lived near one another, and they watched over each other in a self-sufficient community. They presented few extra problems for me. Still, their age alone predicted that some would become ill, and some would be hospitalized. During my two years, twenty-one women in our ward were hospitalized for reasons other than childbirth, and five from other places were hospitalized here for substantial periods of time. Nine other women had husbands or children in the hospital. Hospital visiting was difficult for me because visiting hours were always in the afternoon and early evening when my children, who were not permitted in the hospitals, were at home and my husband was not. Still, I wanted to visit these women personally, I sensed that most of them wanted or expected a visit, and I usually managed. Some of my most rewarding experiences were with seriously ill women.

The temple workers also shared the feeling of being uprooted, of missing friends and familiar people left behind, of living among people who did not know or appreciate their talents and experiences. They had practical difficulties getting around and attending to daily needs in a large new city. As their numbers grew, I sometimes had the feeling that they forgot the ward had other members with needs and problems calling for the attention of the leaders, or they supposed that they alone were outsiders in a ward which in fact included very few long-time residents. All ward leaders were constantly searching for ways to help new members feel welcome and appreciated. But it seemed imposible to satisfy everyone. I soon realized that I did not have the time to pay personal visits to all the sisters who came to work in the temple. Those I knew best were ones with serious illnesses or other special problems and those whom I asked to help me as visiting teachers or in other ways.

A few of the temple workers made a real effort to be involved with the activities and the families of our ward, and some became beloved surrogate

grandparents to children whose own extended families were far away. These, however, were in the minority. Most of the temple workers channeled their time and energy into their demanding temple work. Yet the time came when they virtually filled our chapel, and families, arriving with children in tow, had trouble finding seats. Soon after my term as Relief Society president ended, our stake presidency created a ward for temple workers, regardless of their place of residence.

A few of the temple workers were young and single women, and I soon learned that this could also signal trouble. The temple is a lovely place, an ideal to many young Mormons — but most of them do not want to spend all their time there. I found that at least some of these very young employees were there, perhaps unconsciously, because they had failed to cope with the outside world. They were sweet girls, but without a firm sense of direction. They were waiting to marry, hoping (sometimes on the basis of promises in blessings) that working in the temple would be a means to that end. In the meantime, they were extremely insecure and susceptible to suggestions from anyone they considered to have spiritual authority — the bishop, a fellow temple worker, a counselor at Church Social Services, a boyfriend holding the priesthood — or, to my surprise — me. In some cases, these girls had deep emotional troubles. Becoming involved in their personal problems was both the most interesting and the most emotionally draining part of my work. I was startled to realize that some of them regarded me as a sort of female bishop who should be inspired to tell them how to solve their problems. I became close to several and wanted very much to help them. It was hard to admit to myself and to them that I could listen, sympathize, and perhaps help them to see things in a different perspective, but I could not make their decisions or live their lives for them. Good counsel from a local LDS psychiatrist helped me, but even experience did not make the situations easier.

Aside from these special problems, my two years were full of things familiar to any Relief Society president anywhere, though unexpected or only dimly foreseen when I began.

I shopped for and delivered groceries to needy families, itemized each purchase, and submitted the bills to the ward clerk. I became the object of good-natured ribbing for coming in for my monthly paycheck. I learned that Relief Society nurseries are notorious sources of potential friction, and I studied diplomacy helping my education counselor pacify mothers who wanted their babies' diapers changed and mothers who did not, mothers whose children were allergic to the morning's snack, mothers who wanted their children to have milk or juice during the morning and nursery volunteers who had to clean up the milk or juice, volunteers who were angry with the Primary for getting into the Relief Society toy box, mothers and volunteers who disagreed about how to handle a child who hit, bit, or cried continually, women who did not want to help in the nursery, and mothers who were willing to take their turn but were not happy about the way things were done.

I solicited contributions to the Nauvoo Women's Monument fund but avoided telling my sisters how they should feel about the Equal Rights Amendment. (Subsequent use of LDS women for political purposes in neighboring Virginia made me extremely grateful that the ERA had won early approval from the Maryland legislature.) I called and interviewed visiting teachers, which was time-consuming but the very best means of getting to know the women. I worked with the bishop to keep Relief Society staff positions filled, oriented new board members, and tried to encourage these women when I was fully sharing their insecurities.

I reported our doings to the editor of the ward newspaper and arranged for displays in the trophy case. I attended meetings, organized meetings, presided over meetings, and held meetings to plan meetings. I dealt with last-minute crises before meetings, crises which often began with a phone call at 8:00 on a Tuesday morning. Our Relief Society produced four major ward socials during the two years and three others for women only; we catered food for six wedding receptions.

I visited sick women, new mothers, newcomers, families with financial and personal problems, and people whose help I needed. I visited homes, hospitals, and a nursing home where one of our members lived. I rented and delivered three wheelchairs and one commode. I stood helplessly by as a rescue squad arrived at the apartment of a woman who had suffered a stroke, and my husband made what was for him the ultimate sacrifice by allowing the children and me to care for her little white dog for three days. I received calls for advice on husbands who had not come home when expected and babies with severe diaper rash.

I recruited volunteers for a great variety of activities — temple assignments, compassionate service, food and help for socials, dinners for visiting Church dignitaries, and ward fund-raising projects, including experimental studies at the National Institutes of Health for which Church members often volunteered as subjects. I became an exchange and referral center for housing, used furniture and clothing, employment, telephone information, transportation, baby-sitting, house sitting, and care of the elderly. I wrote well-deserved thank-you notes to the many people who helped me, and ordered and distributed Relief Society manuals in Spanish and English. One cold December night, I delivered six large turkeys to the six women who would be roasting them for the ward Christmas dinner.

Several times our home became headquarters for newcomers, the temporarily homeless, and passers-through. These ranged from a woman whose husband had been seriously injured in an automobile accident in Germany and sent to Walter Reed hospital to a poor little soul who claimed to have been left stranded at a Washington airport by a boyfriend who had promised to marry her. (The first woman rented an apartment and stayed to become an active member of our ward during her husband's long recuperation. The second, after regaling me with more and more fantastic stories of her life and making many long-distance telephone calls from our kitchen, finally boarded

a bus for California. Her story turned out to be a fabrication, and our last news of her was a postcard from somewhere in Oklahoma.)

I met and talked with counselors at LDS Social Services about our mutual efforts to help women with serious emotional problems. I kept an ear open to the needs of some twenty new mothers during one year and helped when two ward members died. I sang in the stake Relief Society chorus and organized Christmas carolers and small singing groups for socials. I attended baptisms of new converts and tried to ease them into a new way of life and a new circle of friends. I coordinated schedules with the Relief Society of the ward which shared our building.

I made announcements concerning coming events, bulk food orders, craft fairs, classes, tickets, lost and found items. I helped two new Relief Society secretaries struggling to take attendance discreetly in sacrament meeting, where there were always new and unfamiliar faces, and in four separate weekly sessions of Relief Society — Tuesday morning, Sunday morning, Young Adults, and Spanish speakers.

This catalogue is extremely full of "I's," and that is not as it should be. I have tried to show the great variety of things with which a Relief Society president may become involved, but I do not mean to suggest that I did all these things single-handedly. I used to sit in the chapel during sacrament meeting, looking from one woman to the next, realizing that I felt a great gratitude to almost every one for help willingly given. I am not an administrator by inclination; I would rather do twice as much work myself than ask someone else for help. This calling was good for me because I could not possibly do everything myself. I found that most people were very willing to help; but it was still painful to ask, and the most beautiful words in the world became, "I'd be glad to." It is a tribute to the women of our ward that I heard those words far more often than "I'm afraid I can't."

I had devoted counselors whom I came to love, even though we did not start out as a naturally compatible group. Their interests and abilities lay in areas such as homemaking activities where my own were weak. We had excellent teachers, an experienced and beloved secretary, a dedicated visiting teacher supervisor, and many women who gave time, talent, and service.

I offer this long list only to understand better why this calling so dominated my life for two years. At times when I felt overwhelmed, I was advised to delegate responsibility. I tried, but I learned that delegation both reduced my load and added something back to it. Each time I asked someone to help, it also became my duty to follow through — to explain responsibilities, show interest, and lend necessary support.

If anyone asked me, "What were the hardest things about your job?", I would answer without hesitation, "The telephone and Sundays." Perhaps this is because these two aspects most affected my family, and I worried and felt guilty over having to divide my time and attention among so many people in addition to them.

When I was called to my position, the bishop assured me that I was to put my family first. I tried hard to do this, but I found it more easily said than done. My husband was very supportive and soon realized, if he had not before, that I had a full-time job. Busy with a demanding profession of his own, he helped me in many ways, washing more dishes in those two years than in all the thirty-six that preceded them. I felt the children could not be expected to be so understanding or flexible. Perhaps at first I overcompensated by involving them too often in my activities. I was deeply hurt by one or two remarks indicating that women in our ward were not accustomed to a Relief Society president with small children in tow. (My predecessor had had grown and teenaged children and had served for six years.) I was bewildered by this seeming intolerance from other women; after all, motherhood was supposed to be our most important calling. But this problem soon faded, perhaps because I had been overly sensitive and the problem had been more perceived than real.

The children shared some valuable experiences with me. My daughter's love of little children and natural sympathy for afflicted people made her a good companion for home visits to new mothers, elderly women, and injured people. Both children still remember the three of us guiding my son's young Primary teacher to a doctor's office after she had temporarily blinded herself with a sunlamp. They also remember a Christmas Eve visit to a little cancer patient in Walter Reed Hospital who had lost his hair but who later came to church in a bushy brown wig and went home to Colorado with good prospects for recovery.

Actually, my children's attitude was very good. Usually I was able to give them the time and attention they needed because I was determined to do it, and I felt that there were compensations in the awareness my work gave them. I was glad to have them know that people beyond our family circle needed our help and our concern. Sometimes they could be involved directly in extending that help. Nevertheless, my little boy spent a good deal of time playing alone while I responded to phone calls. I sympathized fully when their response to my release was, "Yay! Now you won't have to be on the telephone so much!"

I had never spent much time on the telephone, and we had lived quite happily for five years in the Philippines without one. Now, although I seldom got a bishop's middle-of-the-night calls, I found that the box on the kitchen wall could be a tyrant. Calls often began before 8:00 in the morning and continued until 11:00 at night, many the inevitable fruit of delegated responsibility. I remember only one day in the two years when there were no Relief Society-related phone calls. Perhaps something was wrong with our phone that day.

In addition to in-coming calls, I always had a substantial list of calls to make, and many had to be put off until evening because so many women were at the temple or otherwise away from home. My husband arrived home from work at seven at the earliest. The time after dinner, although it was often interrupted by the telephone, was important time with the children. I would often return to the kitchen after 9:30 at night to face the dinner dishes and

more phone calls before hoping to snatch a weary hour with my husband and something to read before going to bed.

Sometimes I was philosophical about the telephone, but at other times I became really paranoid. I soon found that to preserve my own balance and my family life, I had to adopt a principle I later heard articulated in a play: "A telephone doesn't have a constitutional right to be answered." Sometimes personal and family needs took precedence and I simply let it ring. So far as I know, there were never any dire consequences. My children wondered if that was quite honest, but I preferred that to their concluding that whoever was calling was more important to me than they were.

The best calls were like the ones from my Guatemalan education counselor in Sunday Relief Society: "Here is our need or problem. Here is what I plan to do about it. Is it all right with you?" The worst began, "I'm sorry to call you on Monday night, but —" or, "I just thought you ought to know that —" or, "I think that *somebody* ought to —."

It was also hard to know how to handle the calls from a few lonely women who just wanted to talk. I knew their need was as real and valid as sickness or financial trouble. Yet I had only three hours a day when both my children were in school, and I always had more to do in those hours than was possible. When one of these women called, I had to either settle down for twenty or thirty minutes of listening or call back in the afternoon at the expense of time with the children.

And Sundays! I have heard many busy Church members concede that Sunday is a day of rest for them only in the sense that they exchange their weekday labors for ecclesiastical ones. For me, Sundays of those two years were characterized by an intensification of the same kind of labor which dominated the other six days of the week.

I began a typical Sunday by joining in the last half hour of the Priesthood Executive Committee meeting to discuss welfare matters and share other needs of women with the bishopric or priesthood quorums. This essential meeting began early in the morning. I am a night person, but I would not have minded getting up early and going to church by myself. Unfortunately, the whole family needed to be up, dressed, fed, and at the church by that hour. The second year, the early meeting began at 7:30, and I had to arouse the children in the winter dark an hour earlier than on school days. My husband's priesthood meeting began at 8:00 and we have one car, so leaving the children with him would have been no solution. Friends offered to care for the children until Sunday School, but the early rising would still be necessary, and they preferred to come with us. They were six and four years old when I began, and I felt both guilt and concern about their behavior during the two hours at church every Sunday morning before there was any activity meant for them.

Sunday session and Young Adult Relief Society met from 8:00 to 9:00, and I always attended one of them, even though I had excellent counselors to conduct and plan those sessions. If I had not been there, I would have had little acquaintance with over half the women in the ward. Usually we had no nursery during Sunday Relief Society because I was the only woman there with

young children. My daughter was too old for a toys-and-baby-sitter nursery anyway, so she was left mainly to her own devices during Relief Society. Our son, who is less restless and better able to entertain himself quietly, preferred an additional adult meeting with us to a baby sitter, so he became probably the youngest high priest in the history of the Church, sitting under the piano in the chapel while his daddy played the hymns. Both children also did some wandering in and out of Relief Society meetings, and most people were kind enough not to be too judgmental about a certain amount of running and paper airplanes in unoccupied areas of the building.

Sunday Relief Society was followed immediately by Sunday School, then by testimony meeting if it was Fast Sunday. If not, we went home for lunch, then returned for Sacrament meeting. Before, after, and often during each of these meetings, I was besieged by people needing to talk. A Relief Society president does not have an office, so these conversations took place in crowded foyers and hallways, in little nooks not occupied by classes, in the Relief Society room or the chapel after meetings, often with the children pulling at me for attention. We were always among the last to leave the building.

I always went to church armed with the latest in a series of little notebooks in which I tried to list things I needed to do. Three categories were outlined for a Sunday: "Bishop" (things to be taken up with him or with the Priesthood Executive Committee); "Announcements" (to be made in Relief Society); and "See and Do" (people I needed and hoped to contact sometime during the day). I was seldom able to complete the list. On one Sunday in September of the first year, for example, I had scheduled myself to talk to the bishop about a sister who had had a heart attack and was in the hospital; one whose son in Utah hoped we could bring her back into Church activity; one who had injured herself at work, needed surgery, and was without income while she could not work; one who had just had her eighth baby; and one who was elderly and quite eccentric but had needleworked a nice-looking picture of the temple which she wanted to display in the meetinghouse. I also needed to ask the priesthood quorums for help in setting up tables for our approaching fall social and to remind the bishop that I had not yet been released from teaching a Sunday School class. There were announcements to make in Relief Society about the woman in the hospital, the social, and the seating of families with small children in the chapel so they could leave quietly when expedient. I was to have a visiting teaching meeting with one sister whose family situation made a home visit difficult. I needed to let the church custodian know what equipment to set up for the social. In addition, there were eleven people on the "See and Do" list — women whom I wanted to meet and welcome to the ward, or to whom I needed to speak about visiting teaching assignments, the coming social, Relief Society lessons they would be teaching, the nursery, and personal problems.

Just as I always brought a list with me on Sunday, I always took one home. It would include things I had not been able to do that day, as well as other matters for the coming week. Following this same Sunday, for instance, I needed to talk to the ward executive secretary about a system for keeping track

of new temple workers; to ask my education counselor to find out which of our teachers had not taken the Teacher Development Course; to meet and help arrange for the fellowshipping of two young families, recent move-ins not yet involved; to arrange some help for a young woman, recently baptized, who worked on Sundays and had no family in the area; to try to make contact with a divorcee who had once been active but who no longer welcomed home teachers; and to contact a nineteen-year-old single girl baptized two weeks earlier and pregnant with her second child.

I almost always went home on Sunday evening exhausted and overwhelmed. It was difficult to absorb the spirit of a meeting instead of looking for the people I must see afterwards and planning my attack. Our Sunday dinners became what could be set on the table in the shortest time possible. (I tried to have a special dinner on another night of the week instead.) I learned to force myself not to think about Relief Society business on Sunday night unless it was urgent. On Monday morning, I could make my new list, set priorities for the week ahead, and call for help. Things would look more manageable then.

At times the job *was* manageable, although I had to learn, with my bishop's good advice, that I could not possibly do all that I might like. The second year, in general, was easier than the first, as I gained confidence, experience, and knowledge of whom to call upon for help. But there was never a let-up for long, and several times I felt that something in me would give under the strain. My husband, who is used to seeing me take on too much, let me cry and rage, and then encouraged me to buck up and finish the job. I did, but in looking back through my little notebooks, I can easily understand why the pressure sometimes exceeded my tolerance point.

There is something about December. The Christmas season brings both a surge of social activity and increased depression and anxiety for people with problems. During both Decembers of my term as president, I was sure that nothing would happen at our house on Christmas morning because I was too busy with other demands. My children were beginning to be skeptical about Santa Claus, but my faith in him was confirmed when, somehow, Christmas tree, stockings, and presents did materialize after all.

The first December we had just completed organizing and staffing our Relief Society; we held a luncheon and meeting for the thirty-five officers and teachers, a fall dinner social for the ward, and a wedding reception for a young Korean girl whose Asian concept of the proper amount of food for her wedding guests far exceeded her family's resources. Now we were engaged in organizing an elaborate turkey dinner for the ward Christmas social. I was deeply involved with a lonely elderly woman who was struggling with depression while recuperating from a heart attack; with the pregnant nineteen-year-old, and with a woman for whom I had arranged housing with a lovely Guatemalan family in the ward and who now appeared seriously mentally disturbed. The mother of the Korean bride was ill, and her daughter-in-law, who lived with her, was about to have a baby and needed baby clothes and a bed. A woman who had been injured at work needed transportation to church, and her faith-

ful visiting teacher was away. The food chairman for the Christmas dinner had left town to attend the birth of a grandchild. Christmas gifts needed to be delivered to needy and elderly members of the ward. My telephone never seemed to stop ringing. A Relief Society group was going Christmas caroling, and I had agreed to play a piano duet with my husband at a Christmas program and to accompany a friend who would be singing in church on Christmas Day. I was also to give a talk in ward conference in January.

At this point, my family — parents, sister and brother, and their spouses and children — arrived for a long anticipated visit. My family's feelings toward the Church range from enthusiasm through ambivalence to antipathy, and I was trying hard to relax and not let the hubbub around me be too obvious. On the first day of their visit, I took a little niece and nephew to Relief Society along with my son while their parents went sightseeing. That evening, just as we were sitting down after dinner to make plans to visit a museum the next day, the telephone rang again. A young mother of five had hit her head while ice skating and was going to have to stay in bed for an unknown length of time. The next day I was telephoning from the museum, trying to find people to do the injured mother's laundry and care for her children. I visited her in the afternoon, found she had no help for the evening, and prepared supper for her family before returning home at 5:30 to start my own dinner for twelve. I would rather forget that evening. Though everything I was involved with was either good or unavoidable, it was obviously too much all at once.

Several impressions and concerns stand out from my experience of those two years.

I am a reasonably social person, and I enjoy and appreciate my friends; but I also need and enjoy a considerable amount of solitude. One of the greatest values of my Relief Society job was that I developed relationships with many fine people whom I would otherwise have known only slightly. But I often thought of a story about Senator Edward Kennedy who, surrounded by a crush of people at a political rally, would sometimes mutter to an aide, "T.M.B.S.!"— too many blue suits. It was his signal that he needed to escape and be alone for a while. I knew that feeling very well. I was determined to do all I could for the women in the ward and not to let my family suffer. Most of the time I think I succeeded, but I paid a price. Being overly organized and self-controlled put a real strain on me, and I had to sacrifice almost all of my time to write, read, or pursue other solitary interests. Most of my little notebooks have poems in them, scribbled among all the Relief Society notes at odd moments. I often stayed up too late reading because I felt starved without it. It was difficult to satisfy the needs of people who were lonely or had too little to do when I myself felt almost desperate at times for less activity, less social contact, more time to myself.

I did learn, as time went on, that everyone would benefit if I were occasionally a little more selfish with my time. My visiting teacher, a good friend and neighbor, gave me a valuable gift by driving my children to Primary each week. Sometimes there were pressing matters which could best be handled

while the children were away, and sometimes I simply took the phone off the hook and went to bed for a while. But I was able to write a story or two and catch my breath occasionally before plunging in again.

In the last of the little notebooks, I have copied a quotation from Anne Morrow Lindbergh: "When I see an island, I think of our constant urge back to nature. You can have an island on land, too. Each man has his island, a quiet place away from the hubbub. To some it is the Isle of Happiness, a practically inaccessible vision. This is a repeated theme in literature and reality."

I was able to sacrifice my time more willingly at some times than others. I am not inspired by grocery shopping, but during a six-month period when I was doing it regularly for another family as well as my own, I found I did not resent it. I was very fond of the young mother of the other family, sympathetic to her situation, and aware that she had had to set aside a good deal of pride to accept this needed help. It was important to me to help her feel comfortable by minimizing any inconvenience to me. Her attitude made it a genuine pleasure to help her. On the other hand, I grew tense and resentful when I had to spend large amounts of time and energy planning social activities or arbitrating petty quarrels at the expense of more important things.

I discovered reserves and sources of strength upon which I could call. Our family was healthy throughout two winters of record cold. The children were ill only once, with chicken pox, and I did not expect the Lord to spare us that after we had just housed a family of infected little cousins. In looking back, a sort of "loaves and fishes" miracle must have occurred in my behalf, giving me more time than there was in a day and more capacity than normal to do things.

But my weaknesses also became more obvious. I was disappointed when I was not able to speak with necessary frankness for fear of being thought unkind or unhelpful, when I overreacted to criticism, when I showed my weariness and impatience at the end of a busy day to the children or to someone who had innocently made the phone ring once too often, when I let myself get too busy to exercise and pray thoughtfully, and when I reacted to a new problem in the ward with tension and dread as well as sympathy. I was relieved to hear our bishop, released just after I was following seven years of service, say that he now found it good to hear of problems with concern but without feeling direct, personal responsibility.

Working closely with priesthood leaders and learning about the operation of a ward was an education by itself. To see a group of men who are also fathers and full-time breadwinners willingly assume responsibility for the temporal, social, and spiritual welfare of some 500 people is remarkable, and not to be found, so far as I know, outside the LDS Church. I began to understand the responsibilities which a bishop and his counselors carry and gained an enduring respect for the men who take them on. Working with the leaders of our ward was almost entirely a positive experience. I had known our bishop for many years as a former Congressman from Utah, a friend, and erstwhile political opponent (successful) of my father. He took a fatherly interest in me and was extremely kind and encouraging. Several times the thought of the

large load he had been carrying for six years prevented me from adding to it by telling him I wasn't sure I could continue.

Only occasionally did I feel disadvantaged operating in the priesthood-dominated councils of the ward or sense a bit of kindly condescension, but I did become more keenly aware of the limited role women play in Church policy making. Except for the hour-long monthly ward correlation meetings, which all auxiliary presidents attended, I was the only woman present at the ward executive meetings, and I was invited to those only to discuss welfare matters. At the time, this was an interesting new experience, but in retrospect I wonder why over 50 percent of the Church membership should be so under-represented. I saw situations where needs could have been better met if more women had been actively involved in planning and decision-making. I also felt sometimes that a woman's (and a man's) own desires and interests should be considered before ward callings were made, and that the secrecy surrounding those callings and releases was probably unnecessary. I did not become a crusader for the priesthood for women. I had more than enough to do already. But I came to feel that women could and should participate more directly and in greater numbers in making plans and decisions which have such a great effect upon their lives and their families.

I regret I was not able to find time for closer involvement with inactive ward members. I understand now, as I did then, that my own ambivalence toward inactivity as well as lack of time contributed to this situation. Several members of my immediate family are estranged from the Church. Some of them receive home teachers, attend church occasionally, and have a cordial relationship with Church leaders. Others want to be left entirely alone. These are people I love and, I think, understand. I do not share their feelings, but I respect them and know that preaching and prodding would be the very least helpful and effective thing I could do. On the other hand, I have heard many inspiring stories and expressions of gratitude for the home or visiting teacher whose persistent interest and friendliness has led an inactive member back to a way of life which he or she is grateful to have found again. I did have, and maintain, a good relationship with one inactive member as her visiting teacher. I made some cautious contacts with some of the women in our ward who had declined in the past to have visiting teachers or any involvement with the Church, but to say that I was not aggressive would be an understatement.

It was also difficult to make time for neighbors, friends outside the Church, and even friends in other wards, though we had many house guests and managed some social life of our own. I'm sure I was not the first to notice a certain incompatibility between the Church's growing emphasis on "friendshipping" and missionary work and the burgeoning number of meetings and activities which consume our time.

It was easy to explain to other Mormons what I was doing with my time. The words "Relief Society president" communicated immediately and quite accurately. But to most non-Mormon friends and acquaintances, the job meant nothing at all. Many of my neighbors are working mothers whose children are in school. My husband works in an office of professional people, most

of whom also have professional spouses. As I met these people and was asked inevitably, "Do you work?", there was always a deep breath and a pause on my part. I could not bear to say "no," as I had never worked harder in my life. I could say, "I stay at home with my children," but that would hardly have given an accurate picture. Also, many times my friends knew that my children were in school part of the day, and that I had a graduate degree and had been a teacher. What was I doing now? Usually I would explain that I was heavily engaged in volunteer church work, and leave it at that. If there was opportunity for more than a brief conversation and the other person seemed interested, I would try to explain what I was really doing. Most people expressed only polite interest, but one woman, the youngest in a Catholic family of fifteen, endeared herself by exclaiming, "I think that's marvelous. I understand exactly how it must be. It sounds just like my family!"

One friend of my husband's, upon hearing from him a rather realistic account of my current activities, asked, "Why does she do it?" That made me think. Why was I doing it? Because I had been called by the Lord to do it? Did I really believe that? Because my bishop, my husband, or my Church community expected me to do it? Because it was an honor to be thought capable, and I expected it of myself?

All of these were factors. But what really made it worthwhile?

When the bishop first called me to this position, I felt physically shocked — cold-shower shocked. After I began to collect my thoughts again, I felt I did not know what the job would involve and I certainly was not very experienced, but I knew I would enjoy working with other women. That intuition proved correct. The women themselves were the main reason why I did it and why I am glad now that I did. My intense involvement with many women made me aware of many aspects of their lives and personalities — not only their problems, but their hopes, fears, sacrifices, strengths and weaknesses, and the many kind things they did, unasked and unsung, for each other.

There are many with whom I shared significant experiences. Two young mothers from Latin America struggled, with their husbands, to hold their families together through persistent unemployment; three young women suffered from mental illnesses serious enough to require hospitalization; a convert kept her faith strong in spite of serious family problems, financial struggles, and the weaknesses of Church members she had admired. A mother of three small children willingly shared her time and concern for others in spite of her family's constant financial insecurity; a mother discovered that her second little son was suffering from the same degenerative disease which had taken the life of her first child, and might also affect her third little son and the baby she was carrying; a single lady with no children of her own took an intense interest in all the children of the ward and gave invaluable help to our nursery and to young mothers with many children and busy husbands.

I knew several women who, with much love, tact, and personal sacrifice maintained a delicate balance between their own Church service and the needs and wishes of nonmember husbands. A young wife helped her husband find his way from excommunication at his own request back to Church activity,

a temple marriage, and an application to adopt a long-awaited baby. I will always admire our former Relief Society president, still a very busy lady, who began visiting a long-inactive woman who had struggled with alcoholism and loneliness, became her friend, and brought her often to church. A beautiful woman in her sixties, the survivor of an automobile accident which had taken the life of her husband and half-blinded her, deeply moved all of us with her Relief Society lessons. Several women faithfully visited and carried on one-way conversations with a mother of three who lay unresponsive for several months in a hospital bed after surgery for a brain tumor and finally spoke to her husband on Christmas Eve. A lovely temple worker wrote music and poetry, loved children and had none, and underwent surgery for cancer with grace and strength. A white-haired Englishwoman's beautiful speaking voice added poetry to many of our lessons. Good-natured young women struggled valiantly with overweight, financial problems, conflicts with roommates, and the elusiveness of marriage. A young woman taught and loved my son, worked hard to keep our Young Adult programs afloat, and later faced the realization that her husband's conversion to the Church had been less genuine than her own.

Widowed and divorced women raised teenaged children alone and experienced heartaches that the presence of a caring father might have prevented. An elderly Swedish lady often went to church and concerts with us and engaged in running conversations with unseen people, but loved music, plays, and dances, had made a violin, and succeeded in going to the temple as well as on a Young Adult overnight camp-out. A recent convert recruited Relief Society refreshments for a reception following her third marriage. The reception, as it turned out, was held in a room behind the bar at a local VFW hall, and the liquid refreshment had obviously not been furnished by the Relief Society, but the new husband later joined the Church. There was a young woman who fought for her life in Bethesda Naval Hospital after having been attacked and repeatedly run over with a car outside a military base in Cuba; a Guatemalan mother, a recent immigrant with a temporary visa, who was raising a superb family of young adults and teenagers in a small apartment; and the wealthy and prominent couple who lovingly accepted this woman's daughter as their daughter-in-law. I will not forget one young convert, a twenty-year-old unmarried mother of a loveable mulatto baby boy. It was from her, appropriately, that I first heard the news that the priesthood was to be extended to black members. It was also from her that I learned how very, very hard it is to compensate for years of emotional deprivation.

All of these years became part of my life. Many others earned my deepest appreciation by working closely with me. I miss the close involvement with such people now. All of them were important to me. But two women merit particular attention.

In the first of my little notebooks, I wrote after a conversation with the bishop: "Cleeretta Smiley. Let sisters know she will be working toward full integration into ward activities. Contact her."

Cleeretta Smiley is a striking, vibrant black woman, a former teacher of home economics in a Washington high school who inspired many young black girls to pursue careers in fashion design and became administrator of home economics programs for the District of Columbia public schools. When I met her, Cleeretta had been a member of the Church for about two years and was coming into our ward from the original Washington Ward, which was being dissolved. She was one of the two black members in a ward which now has over thirty. Our bishop was to be her home teacher and was very anxious that the women accept her fully. I met Sister Smiley, was attracted to her enthusiasm for life, and decided to make myself her visiting teacher. So began a personal association which I have thoroughly enjoyed and which, fortunately, was not terminated by my release.

My visits with Cleeretta were always uplifting, even though her circumstances were hardly ideal. During those years, she was divorced and experienced the normal problems of raising teenaged children; but her conversations were always full of her current plans and activities, her love for her work and her students, and her appreciation for the new insights continually coming to her through an understanding of the gospel. She was full of missionary enthusiasm and was particularly anxious, as she put it, to "improve the complexion of our congregation."

A year after I met Cleeretta, our Sunday Relief Society needed a new teacher to give lessons on home management and economy. This was Cleeretta's bailiwick, the bishop was enthusiastic about the idea, and a recent change in our ward schedule had made it possible for her to attend Relief Society for the first time. She accepted the call with her usual enthusiasm and was an excellent teacher. Just as delightful to me was the attitude of the other women. Most of our Sunday Relief Society members were older women; many of them were temple workers from the southern states. Yet I never heard or saw one of them show anything but acceptance and support of Cleeretta. During her first lesson or two, the class's eagerness to help her succeed was almost tangible. I do not believe this would have been entirely the case fifteen years earlier in the more "liberal" ward in a northern city where we were then living.

Things had changed, and I believe that change made possible the announcement of 9 June 1978, which most of us had despaired of ever hearing in our lifetime. I also believe people like Cleeretta Smiley helped make that change possible.

When I heard and had absorbed the news that the priesthood was to be extended to "all worthy male members," I telephoned Cleeretta. We laughed and cried together. Almost exactly two years after the first note I wrote: "Find out for Cleeretta: Can she wear a blouse and skirt in the temple? Can she make her own clothing?" At the end of July, I went with Cleeretta to the temple, as did several of the temple workers who had been her students that year. She was thoroughly happy. I was happy, too, but not in the excited way I expected. Instead, it seemed the most natural thing in the world for us to be there together, and I could only think as I looked at her, "Now, what was all the fuss about?"

In 1981, three years after my release, Cleeretta Smiley began two years of excellent service as education counselor in our ward Relief Society presidency.

The other unforgettable experience began with a phone call informing me that Alice Macaulay had been hospitalized with a heart attack. I had been Relief Society president for only three months, but I knew Sister Macaulay was a widow from New Jersey who had been working at the temple but living across the Potomac River in Virginia until just before her illness. She had moved into an apartment in our ward, but there were no other temple workers near her.

I went to the hospital, met Sister Macaulay, and learned that she lived alone. She and her husband had converted to the Church, and her three sons, who lived in neighboring states, were not members. A few days later, Sister Macaulay called to tell me that she had come home. There was no one there to help her. "I told the doctor I was sure someone could help me," she said. "I believe the Lord will take care of me." My throat tightened. The Lord and who else? I thought.

I did not handle Sister Macaulay's situation very well at first. I was inexperienced and genuinely frightened. Here was a woman who had been seriously ill, whose doctor probably would not have released her without her assurance that someone would be with her. Apparently it was up to me to provide that someone. I talked with the bishop and with several women in our ward who were nurses or physician's assistants. All offered some help, but no one could provide it full time. I asked Sister Macaulay if any of her family were planning to come. No, she said, they had their jobs, their families.

Her living quarters suggested that she could afford to hire a nurse, but she insisted it was not necessary — just someone to help out a little. For several days, women in the ward who lived near stopped in to help and even spent the night, but all had jobs or families of their own, and this amount of help could not be asked of anyone very long.

As Sister Macaulay's physical condition stabilized, help began to taper off. Faced with long days and nights of recuperation alone in her apartment, she became depressed and telephoned me and others at all hours asking for someone to be with her, complaining that no one cared about her. Soon two of the women who had been helping agreed to take turns going to Sister Macaulay's apartment every evening, as long as necessary. One had a full time job, the other was a college student, and they knew they were making a commitment that might continue for weeks or months.

These two went faithfully every evening for about three months, and I visited at least once a week. Sister Macaulay's regular visiting teacher helped often during the day. Several of us took turns driving her to her doctor's office. Sister Macaulay was both appreciative and demanding, and I still received occasional irate calls from temple workers not in our ward whom she had telephoned during a low period to say that no one cared about her.

Feeling that I had reached the end of my resources one evening, I telephoned Sister Macaulay's oldest son in New Jersey. That phone call explained

many things. We had all been amazed that her children had shown so little interest in her predicament and had wondered if they had disapproved of her joining the Church and working in the temple. I told Mr. Macaulay about his mother's depression, what her needs seemed to be, and what our limitations were. His immediate response was, "Then she'll have to go to a nursing home." Sister Macaulay was proud and intelligent, and even in her illness it was obvious that she was used to looking attractive, having some luxuries, and being deferred to. I thought she would probably rather die than be placed in a nursing home. I told her son that I did not think her physical limitations were great enough to require that. She just seemed lonely. "Look," he replied, "I told Granny that if she went down there by herself and got sick, that would be her problem. If she's making a nuisance of herself, we'll put her in a nursing home."

I told him she was not making a nuisance of herself, said good night, and hung up. This woman's heart was aching with something much harder to bear than coronary pain. We would do the best we could, realizing from now on that it was not really we by whom she felt neglected.

Sister Macaulay slowly improved. She came to our home on Thanksgiving, stayed overnight and helped our daughter read a whole book by herself for the first time. A brother and a niece came from South America and spent some time with her. One son finally drove to Washington and took her home for a short visit. She grew stronger, began to go out, then to drive, and finally resumed part-time work at the temple. She was cordial when she came to church. I sensed, however, that in some way Sister Macaulay had alienated many of the other temple workers. Not many of these usually helpful women had offered help during her illness, and they did not associate much with her now. Perhaps her isolation from the others in more expensive quarters indicated a tendency to withhold herself from others and gave an impression of condescension. I wondered if similar problems affected her family relationships.

After a year of less contact, Sister Macaulay's home teacher called to tell me that she was in the hospital again. Mentally I began gearing up for problems, but this time was different. She returned home quickly and insisted that she could manage without help. One of the women who had helped her so much before began visiting again and kept me informed.

One night she reported that Sister Macaulay seemed very ill — she had not even put in her dentures for the home teacher's visit. I smiled but agreed that this was significant. The next morning I telephoned and she asked if I would go with her to the hospital. I left right away but saw an ambulance leaving her apartment house just as I drove up. I followed, and after some time in the hospital emergency waiting room, was allowed to see her. She was attached to many tubes and looked very ill, but she knew me.

"This is the third time," she whispered. "I guess it's the last."

"That's only if you're drowning," I teased.

Four of us were allowed to visit her in the hospital's progressive care unit — the faithful friend and neighbor, the home teacher and his wife, and I. For about two weeks we visited her often, and she always recognized us and scolded

us if we had missed a visit. One weekend, her three sons came. We were told later that she had released at them all the bitterness their neglect had built inside her. Her mind seemed clear about everything else, but she would not acknowledge that they had ever been there. The night they left, she had another heart attack. For the first time, I acknowledged that Sister Macaulay might not get better.

On a June morning a few days later, I sat by her bed and held her hand. "When will I be going home?" she whispered. "Soon, I think," I said softly, realizing that I was not thinking of the Grosvenor Apartments.

The news which came to me that evening from the faithful friend and the home teacher did not surprise me. They had been with her at the end.

The next morning, I held her hand again, but it was cold and heavy. There were three of us — my predecessor, who had always told me she would help if this task became necessary, the home teacher's wife, who was responsible for clothing at the temple, and I. Sister Macaulay was not there, even though I hope she was looking on with approval as we dressed her body in her temple clothing. I had wondered whether I would ever have this experience and how I would react. My actual feelings were very different from those I had anticipated. I felt curiosity but no dread. I felt that I wanted to do this last thing for her, and I would have been disappointed if her family had not agreed.

I am very grateful for that experience. Perhaps many believing people have wondered, as I had, whether their faith in eternal life would withstand the test of the reality of death. When we entered that bare room and I looked for the first time at the still body and waxen face on the table, the thought came with great force — "How could anyone suppose that this is all there is?" She was not there, not the friend we had known. And she was surely happier now. We completed our work quietly, without tears. That evening, we veiled her face and said goodbye.

Sister Smiley and Sister Macaulay, then, both gave me the gift of new faith — faith in the reality of revelation in response to righteousness and faith in the reality of the immortality of the soul.

Sister Macaulay's death was also the end of a chapter for me. A month later, I was released. There were no speeches, no trumpets, no tremblings of the earth. There was a brief show of hands in a perfunctory "vote of thanks"; a few people stopped to say a word to me after the meeting, and it was over. I remembered my younger brother's words when I had first been sustained: "They call it the Relief Society because it's such a relief when it's over." It was a relief, and it felt right. We left on a family vacation, and it was fine to be able to enjoy completely these dear people who had seen it through with me, free of list-making and stock-taking. It was good to know that friendships made would not be lost as the mantle passed to someone else. There would be many good memories, many good stories to tell, and many to keep to myself. Now it was time to get on to something else. I got the children off to school and took out the typewriter.

The United Order of Joseph Smith's Times

Kent W. Huff

SECTION 82 OF THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS, dated 26 April 1832, guided the formation of a united order in the Joseph Smith era. Until recently, code names were shown for the nine participants: Ahashdah (Newel K. Whitney), Pelagoram (Sidney Rigdon), Gazelam (Joseph Smith), Olihah (Oliver Cowdery), and Mahemson (Martin Harris). The remaining names, Alam, Mahalaleel, Horah, and Shalemanasseh, have recently been identified as Edward Partridge, Sidney Gilbert, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps (Whittaker 1983). The 1981 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants eliminated the secret names from Section 82, substituting the real names where known. Code names were similarly deleted from sections 78, 92, 96, and 104 dealing with the United Order. How did code names come into being in the first place? Why were they used?

The answers to these questions change dramatically some of the traditional meanings associated with such gospel terms as the United Order and the law of consecration. The United Order of Joseph Smith's time has been described by some as an intended church-wide experiment in Christian communal living which, because of various human shortcomings, was unsuccessful (JD 2:97, 298; 13:96; 17:59; Allen 1936, 17–19; McConkie 1966, 813; Arrington, May, and Fox 1976, 7). A cursory reading of parts of the Doctrine and Covenants might also support that view. However, a closer reading, supplemented by *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, indicates

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rather that these economic revelations were given to specific people for specific purposes and that generalizing may misinterpret them.

As the Saints began to gather and become organized, a small group of men were chosen for their business and spiritual qualifications and given specific assignments to begin the United Order. Contrary to the traditional idea of failure, the United Order of Joseph Smith's time performed its mission brilliantly. This group was chosen even before the Twelve Apostles were called on 14 February 1835 (HC 2:180–200), and long before the Twelve assumed any significant administrative functions. It combined the functions of today's Corporation of the President, the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric in conducting the business affairs of the Church. As the Quorum of the Twelve became mature and stable, it assumed with the First Presidency all the duties of the United Order. The original ad hoc administrative body no longer existed separate from those two quorums. The creation of units in Utah from 1854 to 1877, which were also called united orders, has caused confusion (JD 2:97, 298 [1854]; 13:95 [1869]; 17:56, 59, 74, 154 [1874]). The united orders from different eras had different purposes, structures, and membership. They also had no historical continuity.

The United Order of Joseph Smith's day was organized essentially as a general partnership, with a branch in Kirtland and one in Missouri. By law all the partners of a business partnership are fully liable for the business agreements made by any one of the partners. In that sense, all the partners hold all business and personal assets in common and put all business gains into one account before each person's share of the total is calculated. The properties or monies that are held in common are available for the use of the individual partners (D&C 82:11–20; 104:67–77).

The original United Order was a combination of Church leaders in Kirtland (Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Newel K. Whitney, and Martin Harris), and those who had recently been sent to Missouri — W. W. Phelps, Bishop Edward Partridge, Algernon Sidney Gilbert, and John Whitmer (HC 2:434). Bishop Partridge's two counselors, John Corrill and Isaac Morley, apparently acted as agents of the firm (HC 2:436). Two other men — Frederick G. Williams and John Johnson — were added later as full members by specific revelations (D&C 92, 96).

Certain assignments of Church leaders, including their calling to the United Order, were not made public. A letter dated 25 June 1833 from Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in Kirtland to various brethren in Missouri illustrates a number of relationships:

> Let Brother Edward Partridge choose as counselors . . . , Brother Parley P. Pratt and Brother Titus Billings . . . . Zombre [John Johnson] has been received as a member of the firm, by commandment, and has just come to Kirtland to live; as soon as we get a power of attorney signed agreeably to law, for Alam [Edward Partridge] we will forward it to him, and will immediately expect one from that part of the firm (HC 1:363).

Here Bishop Partridge is addressed in one paragraph by his name for public ecclesiastical topics and in another by his secret name for United Order busi-

ness. The passage concerning John Johnson equates the "order" mentioned in D&C 96:8 with the "firm" used to conduct various items of central Church business. The power of attorney mentioned is an instrument closely associated with the law of agency and partnership and implies a small and closely knit group, not a general or public institution.

From the original group of eleven partners, subgroups were formed as specific transactions or functions needed to be carried out (HC 2:433–34). These subgroups were kept insulated from each other (HC 2:287, 324, 335–6, 475). In today's world where liability-limiting corporations can be formed almost at will, the myriad of general partner/silent partner arrangements of Joseph Smith's Order would likely be recast into a system of subsidiary corporations under the control of a parent corporation. However, that was not practical in Joseph Smith's day, since a separate act of state legislature was needed for any new corporation and men in the legislature were often hostile to LDS interests. The United Order partnership system was a legal and creative solution to meet the needs of the time. If two or three men operated one store under a normal business name, and two or three other men operated another store under a different business name, and a third group operated a printing establishment under a third name, no one would suspect that all were really part of the same group (HC 1:270, 365; 2:273, 482–83).

This separation and secrecy had an important and legitimate business purpose. It allowed the United Order brethren to control their business credit, risks, and liabilities. If a creditor of one Mormon enterprise realized that he could claim payment from several other enterprises which were all parts of the same organization, that creditor could severely disrupt the gathering and settlement of the Saints. As it was, the creditors contracted with a limited set of men and looked only to them for repayment.

The brethren contracted some large debts in their business dealings with the trade and finance institutions of their time (D&C 82:22; 104:78–81; HC 1:365; 2:44–49, 492; Hill 1977, 26, 36). These large lines of credit were necessary to sustain extensive purchases of land in Kirtland and Missouri, and later, Far West and Nauvoo (HC 2:468, 496, 521; 3:63–64; 4:7–8). Church control of this land made the "gathering" a practical possibility since Saints could move to those areas with assurance that they could purchase land at a reasonable price and begin to improve it (HC 2:478–80). The same process worked with supplies. Church-controlled firms made wholesale purchases of goods and resold them to the Saints, providing a reliable source of supplies and precluding price-gouging by outside traders (HC 1:365; 2:288).

It was, of course, necessary for some early migration plans to be secret (D&C 28:9; 42:35). If anyone, Church member or not, knew where and when the Church was planning to move, they could purchase land at the destination from the government and then resell it at a large profit to the Saints. For example, Ezra Thayre probably had something like this in mind when he gave funds to the Church to purchase lands but wished to take title and control the disposition of the lands purchased with his money (D&C 56:8–10). Doctrine and Covenants 85 is also directed to those who wished to cir-

cumvent the Church land development plans with plans of their own (HC 1:298). The Church-controlled United Order entity instead made those first land purchases and prevented damaging price escalations.

Thus the existence and mission of the United Order was of necessity known to very few. The world only saw the United Order that the Church leaders (and the Lord) wished them to see. That may explain why the secret names have remained so long a mystery.

As conditions changed and the Church's migrating population moved further west, two separate general partnerships became appropriate (D&C 104). After the initial thrust into Missouri, communication between the east and west branches probably was too slow to allow most decisions to still be made in Kirtland. Men on the spot had to be given that authority. The single firm became two firms, and each probably added extra personnel as agents, such as Willard Richards in Kirtland (HC 2:492). They continued to deal with each other and lend money back and forth, but the eastern branch relinquished control of the western branch's operating decisions. Finally, some time after 1838, the functions of the United Order were absorbed by the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric (D&C 119, 120).

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Depression in Mormon Women

Harry P. Bluhm, David C. Spendlove, and Dee Wayne West

DEPRESSION IS A COMMON PROBLEM in Western societies; various studies have reported that between 3.2 and 9.3 percent of the population suffers from clinical depression. Women seem to be at least two times more likely to suffer from depression than men. Among the factors related to depression in women are allocation to a homemaker's role at the expense of a career outside the home, little perceived support from husbands, large families, young children in the home, lack of education, and low income.[1] Many Latter-day Saint women in the United States share at least some of these characteristics, and at least two reports have cited Mormon women as being especially susceptible to depression because of perceived pressure to be perfect, expectations of large families at the expense of other interests, and a traditional male-dominated homemaker's role in the face of a changing social system (Burgoyne and Burgoyne 1977; Degn 1979; Johnson 1979; Warenski 1978, 98). To date, most of the evidence has come from anecdotes by therapists who have treated depressed Mormon women.

To clarify this issue, we designed a study to estimate the prevalence of depression among married Mormon women in Utah. We also designed the study to help determine if the factors affecting LDS women were similar to factors found in other depressed female populations. We used a random-digit phone dialing procedure in the Salt Lake City metropolitan area to identify both LDS and non-LDS women who were married, Caucasian, English-speaking, and whose children were all fourteen or younger.

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[1] For the view of homemakers at high risk, see Brown and Harris (1978); Stewart and Salt (1981); Gove and Geerken (1977); and Gove (1972). For an opposing view, see Newberry, Weissman, and Meyers (1979), and Aneshensel, Frerichs, and Clark (1981).

We conducted the interviews by telephone for several reasons: reduced cost, monitoring by a third person for problems that might arise, and elimination of the influence of glances and facial expressions. Also, the response rates are higher than in face-to-face interviews and all households in the area with telephones (96 percent) had an equal chance of inclusion in the study. The interviewers asked questions relating to depression using the Beck Depression Inventory. This inventory consists of twenty-one items and includes, for example:

I cry all the time.
I feel I am a complete failure as a person.
I blame myself for everything that happens.
I am too tired to do anything.
I have to push myself very hard to do anything.
I have no appetite at all any more.

Of the 213 women who met our criteria, 179 completed the interviews. The 143 LDS and 36 non-LDS married women in the sample were similar in mean age and level of education but different in mean number of years lived in Utah, mean number of children, percentage employed, and median income level (see Table 1).

An analysis of the religious variables revealed that the typical married Mormon woman interviewed was married to a Mormon spouse (90.9 percent), attended the Mormon temple at least several times a year (55.2 percent), attended church meetings at least twice a month (74.8 percent), prayed almost every week (83.0 percent), and was intrinsically motivated (69.9 percent). Comparative data showed that the typical non-Mormon woman interviewed was extrinsically motivated (55.6 percent), was married to a non-Mormon spouse (80.6 percent), attended weekly church meetings once a month or less (61.2 percent), and prayed almost every week or more (66.7 percent).

LDS and non-LDS women responded similarly to most questions regarding non-religious variables: most had few stressful life events (78.3 percent LDS to 69.4 percent non-LDS), obtained adequate spouse support (86.0 per-

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR MARRIED LDS AND NON-LDS WOMEN

Variables	LDS (N=143)	Non LDS (N=36)
Mean age	29.5 years	30.7 years
Mean number of years lived in Utah	21.8 years	12.2 years
Mean number of children	2.8	2.1
% Employed	24.5%	50.0%
% High school or less education	56.6%	58.3%
Median income	$20,157	$23,333

TABLE 2

VARIABLES SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED TO DEPRESSION IN MARRIED LDS WOMEN

Variable	High and Low	%	Adjusted Risk Ratio*
Education	No B.S. Degree	28.0	4.4
	B.S. Degree	4.0	
Caring from Spouse	Little	60.0	2.8
	A Lot	17.9	
Health	Poor, Fair	47.6	2.1
	Good, Excellent	19.7	
Income	under $16,000	37.8	1.7
	over $16,000	17.3	

* The risk ratios, adjusted for education, caring from spouse, health and income, reflect our best estimate of the independent effect each variable has on depression. For example, married LDS women without a bachelor's degree were 4.4 times more likely to be depressed as married LDS women with bachelor's degrees.

cent to 80.6 percent), and had good to excellent health (85.3 percent to 88.9 percent). The two groups felt differently, however, about work satisfaction. Only 36.1 percent of the non-LDS women felt satisfied working only in the home, whereas 61.1 percent of the LDS women expressed satisfaction with homemaking exclusive of outside employment.

According to the inventory, 23.8 percent of the married LDS women and 22.2 percent of the non-LDS married women were classified as depressed, a difference that was not statistically significant. We analyzed the risk factors for depression only for the LDS women as there were too few non-LDS women cases in the survey to allow this refinement. Four variables were significantly related to depression after making control adjustments: education, caring from spouse, health, and income. Variables which we found did not increase LDS women's risk of depression were employment outside the home, age, stressful life events, number of children, and marriage to a non-LDS spouse. Interestingly, religious variables such as frequency of Church or temple attendance and frequency of prayer also did not affect depression rates.

The major finding of this study was that at least in Salt Lake City, married LDS women appear to be essentially at the same risk for depression symptoms as are non-LDS married women. This seems to confirm the clinical judgment of certain therapists who have contended that despite their apparent "risk factors" Mormon women do not get depressed more than other women. Parallel results are evident in comparable studies of depression among other religious groups. Therapists working with a depressed Mormon mother might well consider these risk factors for depression. Understanding them might also help bishops better determine which young mothers might be in more emotional need than others. As Barbara Smith, former president of the LDS Relief Society, has said. "It is important to understand the woman's situation, her

health, her mental frame of mind, the responsibilities she has with her children, and the financial problems she might be having so as not to put more stress upon her than she is able to handle" (Degn 1979, 26).

Programs need to be developed to help these women realize they are not alone in feeling depressed and to learn about symptoms and how to get help. All available resources, including reference and self-help books,[2] the services of the LDS Social Service Agency, and counseling with a qualified therapist should be used to help a depressed mother obtain and maintain balance in her life.

Very few people live without experiencing depressive symptoms at some point in their lives. One reason depression in Utah has been attributed to religious values and norms is merely because religion becomes a factor in all aspects of life when religious involvement is heavy. It would seem wiser not to use this convenient scapegoat or, on the other hand, give total credit for one's emotional well-being to a religious institution (or any other single factor). Giving either undue blame or undue credit to the Church for the quality of one's life will not help in the difficult task of understanding and solving emotional problems.

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[2] Some of these resources include: Afton Day. *Don't Trip on Your Clouds of Glory: A Woman's Guide to Self Realization* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982); Gary G. Taylor, *The Art of Effective Living* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); and his *The Personal Power Formula: A Practical Guide to Self Discipline and Personal Growth* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982); R. Lanier Britsch, and Terrance D. Olson, eds., *Counseling, a Guide to Helping Others* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983); *Welfare Services Handbook*; Libby R. Hirsh, "Being Well Balanced: A Key to Mental Health" in *Blueprint for Living: Perspectives for Latter-day Saint Women,* vol. 2, Maren M. Mouritsen, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 82–105.

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Miguel Aju

Margaret B. Young

DUST-WHITENED SANDALS KICKED DIRT into Miguel Aju's mouth as he lay by the side of the road. He spat it out and groped for his bottle. Clutching it to him, he closed his eyes and drifted.

He saw Tomas — gentle, serious, tender, but with an unweathered face and eyes that seemed too eager to have lived long. Tomas: wise and educated, able to read. He had attended two years of school. Often, after the work was done, he read to Miguel or, before the work began, read alone under a tree by misty dawnlight. Often he sat quietly with a closed book on his lap. Thinking. To Miguel it seemed his brother had always been a thinking man.

When Tomas married Rosa, Miguel stood by him. Rosa's eyes were both clear. (It would be many years before the disease would take her right eye, blacken its lid, and put warts in place of eyelashes.) She was pretty, radiant.

As a wedding gift, Miguel carved a violin from the wood of a gum tree. Tomas plucked the strings and chanted notes with a sometimes resonant, sometimes strained voice. He sang the song of their brotherhood. Miguel could not think of Tomas without hearing the music of the violin.

The notes faded, and Miguel moved through the years from childhood to manhood, and finally to his own wife, when she was young. He spoke her name and saw her. Her bronze cheeks glowed, her teeth were white and strong, her eyes sparkled. Her hand moved to cover her eyes, and she lowered her head as she walked towards him wearing white bridal shoes and socks. A veil covered her face and made her look misty and elusive. He blinked as he had blinked then (but then it had been from nervousness) and found the dirt road again.

He felt his tears but made no effort to keep them from trickling down his face. He closed his eyes quickly and his wife was there again, this time bulging at the belly.

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The moon was full. She was restless next to him, her breaths uneven and strained. She turned and sighed, then groaned. Her forehead was wet and cold, and when he touched it with trembling hands, she breathed, "Ya."

It was too soon for the baby to come.

He was sweating as he put on his trousers. His lungs burned as he ran for the aged midwife, who was solemn and foreboding when she answered his frantic knock and recognized him. She said nothing, only looked at the circle moon.

He understood. Neither spoke as they hurried back to Miguel's hut.

He waited outside as the groans of his wife became louder and deeper. A scream cut through the night like an arrow. Miguel jumped to his feet. He heard a moan and weak sobbing. The midwife was speaking but he could not understand her words. She began singing a low and reverent dirge. When the sobbing ebbed, the door opened. The midwife walked towards him. "*Ca'i,*" she murmured. "There were two babies." She looked up at the cloud-webbed pearl in the sky. "The moon," she whispered.

"My wife?" His voice quivered.

"Asleep." The old woman drew her shawl over her silver hair and walked away.

He would buy a coffin in the morning, one large enough for both babies.

He entered the room which held the dead and the sleeping. The evidence of life which had swollen his wife's stomach was wrapped in a blanket. Trembling, he unfolded the cover and looked at his children: a son and a daughter. Wet, shiny, lifeless. He wrapped the tiny bodies again and lay next to his wife.

The next day, the weight of the little coffin pressed on his shoulders like too many pieces of *leña.* The Indian men removed their hats and nodded to Miguel as the funeral procession passed them. His wife, supported by her mother, moaned and chanted while the gates to the tombs were opened.

That was the first day he had tasted liquor.

He turned and tears trickled across his nose. He knew that he was crying audibly now, but he did not care. A bare foot on his stomach jarred him. "Quiet, old man. You're dreaming."

Miguel forced his eyes up to see a man standing above him. "Let it be so," he murmured and closed his eyes. The tears began again. "Let it be so." The brown foot dug suddenly, brutally into his belly. Sand sprayed into his face and mouth, sticking to his wet cheeks and lips. He choked and spit and reached for the bottle beside him. It was nearly empty. He gulped the last bit, then closed his eyes, and waited.

The corn was just appearing in dots of green over the field as his wife appeared. She put her hands on her stomach, and he knew she was with child again. She blossomed with the corn. But this time the moon made a cradle for the child. The baby boy came right, and his birth cries summoned Miguel's first real prayer.

To whom he prayed, he was not sure. Perhaps to the god who was celebrated in processions of bloody statues, perhaps to the god to whom great towers were built anciently, perhaps to his own god. Perhaps they were all one. But long, formal sentences of thanks came to him, and he knelt as he spoke them.

Estevan, his son, was born. Praise God.

The little hands, like delicate, brown seashells, curved around Miguel's thumb and held tight. The half-open eyes fought for focus. The tiny, pink mouth moved in tentative sucking. A son.

Within three months of the birth, Estevan was laughing and squealing delight. "He will be a happy boy," said Miguel, "a great man."

And he grew well. He became strong and quiet, like Tomas. His legs became slender and muscular after he was weaned. When he was just four years old, he could haul a small, tumplined load of *leña* from the forest to the village. So Miguel took him wherever he went: to the forest, to the market, to the city.

The daughter Miguel's wife bore him two years later was a joy also. She would serve her husband well when she was grown.

But Estevan was Miguel's hope.

The boy's muscles stretched and strained and hardened as his load of wood grew heavier. The two of them, father and son, smiled, sweating, as they climbed the hill from the forest after chopping wood.

How good it felt to enter their gate, thrust the loads to the ground with great jerks of their backs, and walk unburdened into their kitchen hut! Estevan imitated his father's motions exactly.

And there, in the firelight, was Miguel's wife, her skin glowing, her plaited black hair shining in the orange glow, her night-dilated eyes fixed on the flame as she blew on it. She slapped the *masa* from one hand to the other and placed the tortillas on the ceramic plate which rested over the fire. Their daughter patted out tiny tortillas like her mother. When one stuck to her finger, she ate it with delight and they all laughed at her.

Estevan laughed hardest, then grew quiet and serious, like Tomas, as he ate. Miguel's wife poured coffee and turned tortillas on the *comal.* She spoke. Miguel heard not so much the words as the rhythm of the Cakchiquel sounds. And he ate the thick tortillas, soothed by the music of her voice.

How beautiful she was.

Had been.

He opened his eyes. He could see much from the road.

To the south was the forest, its trees taunting machetes with laughing leaves and waving strings of moss. Birds nested in those green towers, flying above the reach of the gum trees and the cones of the pines. Crowing and chirping, they dared the wind and beat it, teased the rain and hid from it, challenged the predators and escaped them with a flutter of wings, and hovered, laughing, over man, whose muscles were tired from too many days of wrestling the wind and fighting the rain and avoiding the killers and thieves.

To the east was the village of San José. All that was necessary was there: the green cornfields alongside each smoking hut, the corn *masa* inside, the women, and the men. Each hut breathed the life of the people.

To the west was the land of the sun, hidden by jagged, blue-cliffed mountains. The sun would descend behind the mountains soon tonight, and with his fiery majesty say, "You may watch where I go, but you may not enter my land."

To the north was the church. Just a small building. Only a metal signpost identified it as *La Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Dias.*

The church. The missionaries. (How shyly his wife had greeted Elder Carson and Elder Stevens. How tall and pale they were.)

Miguel stared up the road. The church had been rebuilt after the destructions. It appeared unchanged, as many of the houses and stores surrounding it appeared unchanged. Only those who knew could tell the brick was new. Oh yes, the church was still there. With his people, the Indians, with visions of sacred lands, with promises of freedom beyond the birds', as it had been before.

He closed his eyes.

Elder Carson was the taller of the two missionaries. He smiled more than Elder Stevens and spoke *gringo* Spanish slowly and with great concentration. They showed Miguel bright and colorful pictures and told him good stories.

"Will you read the Book of Mormon?" Elder Carson asked.

Miguel looked down. "I cannot read." He felt Elder Stevens's nervous eyes on him, met his stare, and tried to laugh. "My brother Tomas can read," he apologized and looked at Elder Stevens. "But I never went to school."

"Could your brother read it to you?" asked Elder Carson.

"Yes."

Elder Stevens relaxed a little.

"Will you pray?" Elder Carson asked.

"I don't know how —" he began, but Elder Carson told him the words to say, and Miguel prayed.

"My brother, Tomas, can read the book to me," he repeated as Elder Stevens shook his hand. "Tomas, my brother."

"*Mi hermano,*" he said aloud, and practiced again the sound of his brother's name. He had said the words clearly then, and the missionaries had understood him. He had not been drunk, then.

The wife and children of Tomas joined Miguel and his family to listen to the scripture stories. Tomas put on thick glasses and read the Spanish slowly, translating it afterwards into Cakchiquel.

Miguel remembered best the night Tomas read about Jesus.

The two families and the *gringos* first sang Spanish hymns the missionaries had taught them. *En el Pueblo de Zion* and *Santos Venid.* Then Tomas played his violin, plucking the strings, chanting the song, straining for the high notes, whispering the low ones.

After Tomas began his music, Elder Carson took a marvelous machine from his bag: a shiny, black box upon which two transparent wheels spun.

Miguel watched the wheels. Elder Carson held a stick-like piece of the machine close to Tomas's mouth as the song came, high notes dropping to low, low notes leaping to high, loud, soft, full, thin notes. When the music ended, Elder Carson turned a knob and the two wheels spun more rapidly. He turned another knob and — magic! The music of Tomas began again, but Tomas was not singing it. It had been captured in the machine!

They all listened in awe. When the music faded, exactly as it had faded on Tomas's lips moments before, they laughed. Elder Carson played the music once more. Then he put his machine with Tomas's music back into his bag. Tomas put the violin on a shelf and put on his glasses. He read by the light of two candles.

Miguel's daughter was at her mother's breast. Estevan's head rested on Miguel's lap. Tomas's children leaned their tired heads against their mother's shoulders.

Tomas read the words: "*He aqui, yo soy Jesu Cristo,*" and the beauty of Jesus, who had never been more than a bloody statue or a threatening, unseen force that could turn bread to flesh and wine to blood, began to touch Miguel. He remembered the prayer he had spoken on the day Estevan was born. All the gods he had heard of merged into God Jesus.

God Jesus had wept and had ached and had loved. God Jesus had blessed the babies.

Miguel looked down at Estevan and touched the boy's head. Soft, black hair, warm brows. Beloved son.

God Jesus was all the yearnings Miguel had no words for, all the feelings that sometimes made the earth so glorious and his wife so beautiful. God Jesus was all the peace that Tomas embodied in those childhood, misty mornings. When Tomas read the scriptures, Miguel felt all of this within himself. Jesus God.

Miguel's eyes were wet.

When Tomas finished the chapters and closed the book, there was silence. No wind to move the leaves, no words to disturb the reverence. One could have heard the gentle flutter of a bird's wings. Outside the hut's open door, stars stretched their patterns across the black sky.

"They were your fathers," Elder Carson whispered, "your fathers who saw Jesus and touched his wounds. This is the land where he came."

Miguel touched the earth.

Elder Stevens's head was bowed. He said nothing, did not even look up.

Both families agreed to be baptized. The following day, Tomas, Rosa, their son Humberto, and Miguel and his wife dressed in white and went with the missionaries to the river.

Miguel's wife looked angelic stepping into the little waves. The sunlit water sparkled over her as Elder Carson immersed her. She came up smiling, weeping, her tears mixing with the river water on her cheeks. Miguel helped her onto the bank, looked into her eyes, squeezed her fingers in his. Then he stepped into the river himself.

It was cold around his knees, hips, chest, as he descended. Elder Carson prayed and lowered him into the water. The first thing he saw when he emerged was his wife, like a vision, and Estevan beside her, grinning.

It was he, Miguel, who took Estevan into the river a year later and baptized him. "*Habiendo sido comisionado por Jesucristo, yo te bautizo en el nombre de. . . .*" It was he who spoke the confirmation blessing on him, and hugged him afterwards, pulled him to his chest, whispering, "My son, my son."

Estevan.

Miguel's eyes opened quickly.

The mix of market sounds and greetings jumbled his thoughts. He strained to understand the words. He could not. He stared at the sun, right into the forbidden face. When he shut his eyes, the darkness was burnt red and scarred by a picture of that center light, which grew brighter and whiter as he tightened his eyelids. He crossed his arms over his face and let himself drift in the murmur of market sounds.

Tomas was dying even when he was baptized, though they did not know it then. Only a month after his baptism, he collapsed in the fields and was carried inside the hut, still, pale, moaning. The villagers said he was being punished for joining the devil's church. Miguel did not understand his brother's disease. The missoinaries did not understand it either, but came often to see him, bless him, pray over him. They were with him when he was ready to die.

A bed had been moved into the tiny hut. There Tomas lay, unmoving. Rosa knelt on the mat below the bed, her arms stoically folded. (The sickness had started on her eye already. It was swollen shut.)

Tomas asked for another blessing. The missionaries placed their hands on his head. Elder Stevens anointed him with oil. Elder Carson spoke the blessing: "You will live one or two more days, as the Lord desires."

Then Elder Stevens whispered hoarsely, "Brother Tomas, my mother is where you are going. Will you tell her please that I love her and I'm fine?" The young missionary wept outright.

Tomas nodded.

Elder Carson took the magic machine from his black case then and turned the knob. The music of Tomas came once more. The notes jumped from one to the next, the chanted notes, the twang of the violin strings, the song of Tomas Aju.

The dying man's smile quivered. Tears slid from his eyes. Miguel sobbed with the women and Estevan as he listened to his brother's music. The song was as it had been. It stopped again as it had stopped before. Elder Carson clicked the machine off.

"*Hermano,*" Elder Stevens said, "do you wish to bear your testimony?"

Tomas nodded.

Miguel lifted him to a sitting position and held him as he spoke.

"I know this church is true," sighed Tomas Aju. "Oh, my beloved ones, my brother and his family, my wife and my children. . . ." The Cakchiquel sounds were hoarse and faint. His words faded as his breaths ran out. He swallowed, breathed again, and continued with diminishing strength. "Stay loyal to the truth. I know I will go directly into the presence of Jesus. Come to me clean and pure." He moaned, "Ay, Jesus!" and Miguel lowered him back to his bed.

He died the next day.

There were the pine needles strewn over the floor, the black cloth, the coffin, the lifeless face, the stiff, still body. And there was Estevan, staring at death.

"This is how dead men are?" asked the boy. "Do all dead men look like this?"

Miguel nodded, and Estevan began to cry softly, and then to wail. Miguel held him and watched his own tears spill onto his son's head. Estevan shook with sobs, shook and shook, and Miguel could not stop his shaking. "Shhh," he said. "Shhh. Be brave. Be a man. Let me wipe your tears. Everyone dies." Estevan still shook. But his cries quieted to whimpers.

"His spirit is alive," said Miguel fervently. "Do you remember he promised us he would live? With Jesus! He promised we would live with Jesus. And do you remember that Elder Carson has Tomas's music in that black box? His spirit, Estevan, will never die."

The boy nodded and inhaled a braked breath.

"Stop shaking," Miguel said. "Stop shaking."

And his words had power. Estevan let his shoulders fall and his back relax, and stopped shaking.

The funeral was small. The missionaries brought corn to the widow of Tomas and some to Miguel also, after the rituals of death.

"*Hermano*," came a voice.

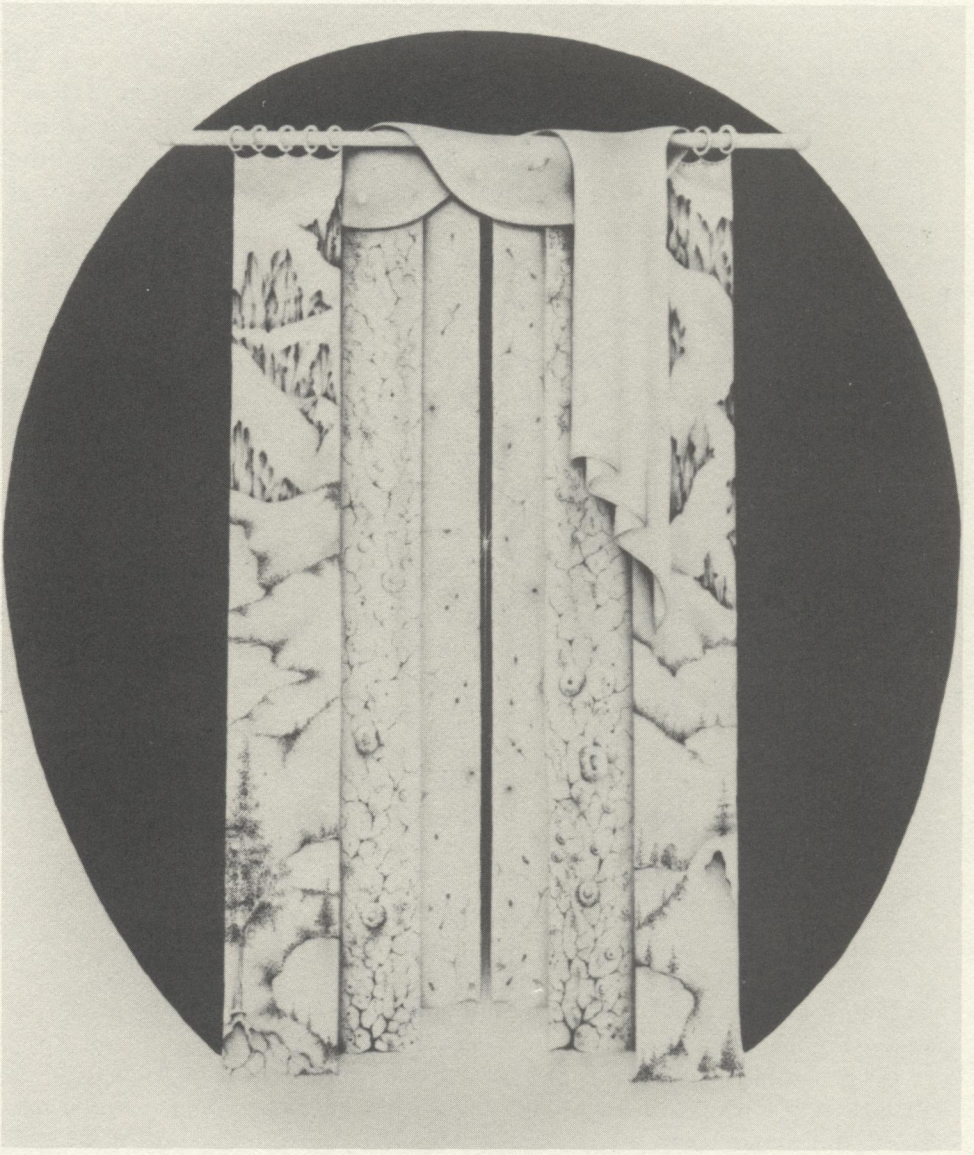
Miguel spat into the road and pushed himself into a sitting position. Smiling, Manuel Poro approached. He wrapped his arms around Miguel in drunken greeting and asked if he had more liquor.

Miguel took the empty bottle and turned it upside down. A single drop fell from the bottle's mouth. Manuel took the bottle, loudly kissed its rim and hugged Miguel again. "To be drunk is to be free," Manuel said.

Quietly, seriously, involuntarily, Miguel replied, "like the birds." His words were not directed at Manuel. They were not directed at anyone.

Manuel took Miguel's head firmly in his hands and leaned towards him. "We fly together," he whispered. "And we will die together, no? With a bottle between us! To fly from our graves." He kissed Miguel's cheek.

Miguel shuddered and stood. His legs were numb. He knew his steps were not straight. But he could walk away from Manuel. He staggered to his hut, where his daughter, suddenly grown and beautiful, greeted him. "*Hola*," she said, smiling. But he saw sadness in her eyes. She was her mother again.



He ate the tortillas she prepared for him, though he was not hungry.

He looked at Estevan's machete, covered with unfamiliar dust, in the corner of the room.

How strong Estevan had become! How powerful a man!

Miguel lay across the floor and closed his eyes again.

Estevan never doubted the family's new belief. Though he was chased by threatening gangs and told he would go to the devil, Estevan believed. He was a good son. When Miguel repeated the story of Jesus coming to their fathers from the sky (as bright as the sun he descended, like a glowing bird, to the earth, and wept and blessed the children), Estevan listened wide-eyed and never questioned.

Miguel could hear his laugh, bouncing free, full, and innocent. He could imagine the boy playing a game with his friends. He could see him talking to playful, pretty Julia Acabal Chun, the girl he was to marry. He could see Estevan touch the girl's fingertips and Julia lower her head just as his own wife had done before their marriage.

When Estevan was almost a man, he decided to become a missionary before becoming a husband. He told his father of the decision after supper one night, and Miguel, holding a thick candle, took him to the bed hut. "You were born here," said Miguel.

"I know."

"I prayed when you were born."

"Yes. Prayer has always been part of our family."

"No, it has not. Not always. But you brought it. Perhaps the angels who guided you here stood by me and put prayer in my mouth. Perhaps they led the missionaries to us because you were so loved by God, and so needed by your people. You are —" He could not speak. He put the candle on the ground and embraced his son. "My pride, my hope," he whispered. "And now you will be the pride and hope of our people. God is with you."

Estevan clung to him. "I love you, Papa," he said.

"My prayers will go with you, Estevan."

Estevan would work in Tecpan for a time, to earn some money for his mission. He would perhaps even visit a temple. And then he would be called.

Before leaving for Tecpan, Estevan spoke at the church, now grown to twenty-five members. Julia was there, too.

Striped sunlight came through the barred windows and lit Estevan from behind. It seemed to shine through his eyes as he spoke about chastity and family and about being a missionary. Miguel sat straight-backed in his seat and watched his boy.

Nothing about Estevan was really different from his childhood appearance, yet he was not a child. The same easy delight shone in his eyes; the same seriousness and playfulness which had always taken turns on his face now showed as he spoke. He was not different, only refined and grown. Handsome. Humble. Wise. Strong.

"I know the Church is true," said Estevan. "I wish to thank my father and mother for giving me a good name and the true gospel. I am proud to be an Indian — a Lamanite — and a Mormon. To my father . . ." Estevan's eyes filled. Gesturing mockingly to the tears, he managed, in a very low voice, "Papa, I love you, honor you, wish to be like you."

The next Thursday, the Aju family walked down the cobblestone street to the bus which would take Estevan to Tecpan. It would be the boy's first time away from home.

Miguel carried Estevan's clothes in a red wool bag. His wife carried a dish of *chuchitos* for him to eat on the bus. Estevan carried his scriptures, a gift from a missionary couple, embossed in gold with his name. Julia walked beside him.

An Indian woman selling mangos called from across the street, "Kiss him now; you may never see him again." She grinned, showing pink, toothless gums. "He'll find a rich *Latina* wherever he's going and marry her."

They all laughed. Estevan called back to her, "I'm going to Tecpan. There aren't any pretty *Latinas* there."

Estevan embraced his father, mother, sister, and Julia at the bus. They all cried. Then Estevan boarded the bus. He looked at them through a window, all his joy and energy focused into a brilliant smile. They waved. The bus rumbled off and Estevan was gone.

Estevan. Estevan newly born. Estevan carrying *leña*. Estevan in church. Estevan with Julia. Estevan on the bus. Estevan shaking, shaking, shaking.

The quake hit at midnight. Jolted, Miguel reached for his wife and together they ran from the hut, pulling their daughter. The earth thundered and quaked and they were thrown to the ground. Their house collapsed into broken sticks and pieces of adobe. The storage bin, too, with their supply of corn, fell to the ground. Dust blotted out the stars. More rumbling from within the earth, and the Ajus lay stunned in the dust and darkness as the ground moved. Thunder. Then silence. The survivors waited mutely, prostrate, expecting another roar of movement. A few more houses in the distance fell to the ground with hollow sounds. The village had been leveled.

The next day the streets were lined with mourners and crowded with hurried funeral processions. The sepulchers had fallen and the new dead were buried in mass graves with the broken bones of the old dead.

A new missionary came to Miguel's broken house three days later.

"You are Estevan Aju's father?" he asked.

"Yes."

"I've come from Tecpan."

"You have news of Estevan — is he all right?"

The missionary looked down, shook his head. "Dead," he said.

"*Muerto*?" repeated Miguel, thinking at once that the missionary did not know what the word meant. The *gringos* spoke terrible Spanish sometimes. "*Muerto*?"

He nodded and looked at Miguel with red-rimmed eyes. *Gringo* eyes, the color the sky had been last week, before the dust had filled it.

"*Muerto*?" Repeated Miguel, whispering the word now. Could the missionary really know what that word meant? He put his hands on his heart, pressing them to his chest and then clenching them together, clenching them into two, overlapped fists. "*Muerto*?" he repeated.

The missionary said the word again, then reached into his satchel and took out Estevan's scriptures. They were streaked with gray now, but Estevan's name was still shiny gold. Miguel took the books. They were heavy. In fluent Spanish, the missionary said that Estevan had died instantly in the quake and had been buried with the other dead in the faraway town to which that terrible bus had carried him.

The scriptures were almost too heavy to hold.

The missionary said he had loved Estevan. Then he cried. Miguel's wife and daughter came from the *pila*, and the missionary began to tell them. Miguel nodded and walked away to the forest, skirting the rocks that had been thrown onto the path.

Some of the trees had fallen. Most still stretched into the sky. The birds laughed and disappeared into the haze. Miguel knew that they were flying above it, in the blue, in the sun.

He sat on the slope where the forest began and threw rocks at the birds. But the rocks hit only dirty air, then skidded down the hill.

He returned to his family after night came. His wife was sitting by the fire, an unsheltered shadow. He put Estevan's scriptures next to the flame, and slowly his wife brought her arms around his neck and drew her quivering face to his throat. Her sorrow hummed in her throat, trapped. Her tears fell to his chest. He let his arms come around her back, and they held each other in the firelight, shaking again.

A small memorial service was held for Estevan a month after the quake. Miguel watched Estevan's *novia* throughout the meeting. He saw how slender she was. Still a bud. And Estevan would give her no seed for her blossoming.

Miguel rebuilt his hut, knowing how easily winds could destroy it, rains could erode it, or the whims of the earth could level it. He knew the futility of it all, but he knew too that the hut, the dust-ruined fields beside it, and the forest of firewood below it were his life.

The night after the funeral Miguel had the dream. It was not the nightmare of Estevan's death which he had half-expected, but a dream of flying: flying with Estevan over the forest, flying with his firstborn twins to the crescent moon and drinking milk out of its pointed tip, flying with Tomas, flying with his wife, and flying by himself over all the world, over all people who were suddenly small and helpless. And when he awoke, it was his life that was the nightmare.

Lying on his mat, he saw his wife's gray hairs. There were not many, but they shimmered in the filtered moonlight. He felt his face. Wrinkles were carved deep into his flesh. His wife opened her eyes and touched his head. Tears slid across his cheeks and into his ears. He arose and went outside again, walked the streets, glaring at the cemetery, the broken houses, the piles of rocks around him. He stared down the road towards the collapsed walls and the bent

metal sign which identified *La Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Dias.*

He had been betrayed.

He remembered then the days of being drunk. He remembered the heat running through his whole body — the fire in his nose and mouth and eyes, the numbness, the chills, the freedom.

Weeping, he walked the streets up and down and up and down, then returned home.

The next night, the dream of flying came to him again. Again, he walked the streets, and again the next night, and the night after. His wife asked him what he was thinking, why he couldn't sleep. He could not talk to her.

It was months later that he saw Manuel Poro staggering out of the reconstructed cantina. Miguel began to walk past him, but the *borracho* grabbed him by the shoulders, held up his bottle of liquor, and laughed.

"Drink is wicked," Miguel muttered. "You are a bad man. My religion —"

But the drunkard cut him off. "Freedom is my religion! To be drunk is to be free!" He laughed again. "I will share with you," he said. "We will be friends. Brothers, no? Here. Take some." He offered his bottle. "We will be free together."

Miguel broke into a sweat. He was not thinking of anything, not of his son or of revenge. All at once he was weak and helpless and unprepared. He wanted the liquor. Frightened, he tried to turn away. Manuel held him tighter. "I meant it. Take it." The drunk man wiped his face with his dirty sleeve. "I know who you are," he said. "Take it. Friend. *Hermano*!"

Miguel's mouth watered. He stared at the liquor, feeling a power hold him and fix his eyes on the clear liquid in the bottle. He swallowed hard.

"Take it," Manuel urged. "A man must be free."

He moved his hand hesitatingly towards the bottle, and Manuel pushed it to him. His fingers curved around its neck, then in one quick motion he raised it to his lips and let it burn down his throat.

When he staggered into his hut several hours later, his eyes red, his face and clothes dirty and sweaty, he fell to the ground and cried, "Forgive me!" His wife said nothing, only blew on the fire. She tossed the *masa* from hand to hand as her husband sat trembling on the floor.

On a Sunday he drank again. When he returned home, his bitterness exaggerated by the liquor, his wife was at the fire. She did not even look up at him.

In an unfamiliar rage, he grabbed her by her braid and threw her across the dirt floor. She stared at him with stunned terror. He lunged for her and began slapping her. She held her hands, clenched, in front of her face. With one swing of his arm, he hurled her to the corner. Crazed, he searched the room, found Estevan's gold-embossed scriptures and threw them into the fire. The Miguel Aju stormed outside, raised his arms to the sky, and howled.

A week later, he saw Maria outside the cantina, her unbound hair falling to her hips, her *huipil* loose around her breasts. He told her how he had to be free. She smiled and they went off together, laughing.

Miguel was sitting lethargically on the floor of her hut several months later when someone knocked at the gate. Maria lifted the lock.

"He is not here," Maria said.

"Where else would he be?" The voice was his daughter's. "He is not in the other place."

"Perhaps in the forest."

"Who can hold wood and whiskey at the same time?" said his daughter.

Miguel stiffened.

"His wife is dying," the voice continued softly, "and I have no money for food or for the coffin. I must speak with him." She raised her voice. "Papa — Papa, are you here?"

He kept still.

"I told you he wasn't here," Maria scolded the girl.

"If you're here, Papa," the girl shouted in uncertain defiance, "we need you. She will die soon. Her stomach is bleeding inside. The old woman told her it will be soon. She is almost dead now. She will die by the next moon. What nightmares will you have then — Papa? Please, Papa!"

The last plea came from far off. He heard the gate slam and the echoes of his daughter's rapid steps.

Maria returned to his side, smiling.

But there was no sleep for Miguel that night. He arose hours later and took four *quetzales* from Maria's purse. It was not enough to pay for a coffin, but it would buy herbs to ease his wife's pain. Then she would not haunt him.

Quietly, he walked to the adobe hut which he had built himself only months ago. He opened the gate as though he were a thief and slowly approached the door. It opened, and his daughter stood in its frame, waiting.

His wife was inside, lying on her mat. She looked up at him. There was no life in her gaze. She opened her mouth as if to speak, but said nothing. He held his lips straight, placed the money beside her, and walked away.

His stomach ached and his throat burned. He went to the cantina and drank until his could feel nothing. Manuel Poro told him a few days later that his wife had died. Miguel took a bottle of whiskey to a hill overlooking the cemetery, watched the funeral procession, and drank while they buried her.

Soon after, his daughter began bringing tortillas or *chuchitos* to Maria's house. Once or twice, she brought sweet-bread. Miguel could always hear her conversations with Maria

"Please give him this."

"Fine," Maria would answer, "but he is not here."

The gate would close. The girl would never ask to see him.

One day, he overheard Maria ask the girl why she continued to bring food. "He is a drunken fool," his mistress whispered, not low enough to miss his ears.

The girl answered quietly, "It was my mother's last wish."

Miguel shut his eyes hard.

The next time his daughter came, he answered the knock. The girl greeted him with downcast eyes. "I am staying with Rosa, Tomas's widow," she said. "Rosa wants you to come and stay with us. She prepares the food I bring. She

says you are Tomas's brother and you can be her husband. Will you come?"

"I will come with you," he said, "but we will go to our own house, and you must care for me each day as your mother did. Even on Sundays. You must not go to church."

Her voice was low when she answered, "I will do as you say."

"Papa," his daughter was saying, "are you in pain?"

Miguel opened his eyes and saw her, so much like her mother, standing over him. He had been crying again. "I am not ill," he sighed.

She had been to the river and had washed his trousers to a spotless white. He did not know how long he had been on the floor and in the past, but it was dusk now. His daughter patted out tortillas and put them above the fire where the beans cooked. He ate with her and told her she was like her mother.

A knock came at the gate.

"Papa, I think it is the Mormon missionaries," the girl said. "I saw them today at the marketplace. They wanted to speak to you tonight, but I did not invite them. Shall I tell them to leave, Papa?"

Miguel shook his head without looking at his daughter. "Tell them to come in."

She went to the door and returned with the Americans.

"*Hermano,*" they greeted him.

Miguel did not rise or look up at them. He murmured, "No more."

"We have come to visit. We miss you in church. And we miss your daughter."

Miguel turned his face up to them. They were so much like the first two Mormon missionaries he had seen.

He beckoned them down to his level. "Come here." They sat. He placed his dark hands on their white ones.

"I cannot," he began. "I am no more an *hermano.*" Slowly and with conviction he said, "A man must be free." Then his voice broke and he pulled his head to the ground and cupped his face in his hands. He shook with sobs. Tears ran through his fingers. He wept for a long time. Then he raised his head and wiped his face with a handkerchief one of the elders offered him. His voice was jerky and hoarse. "I know the church is true. I know it. But my spirit is weak. Whisky is my whore." He pushed words past the sobs in his throat. "I love my daughter. I want her to be like the angels. Pure and clean, and to go to Jesus when she dies. Take her to church with you. I am no good for her. I fear sometime I will beat her." His chin quivered. He tightened it and closed his eyes. He was silent for a few seconds. "Brothers, I am lost," he whispered as new tears followed the streaks on his face. "I am lost, brothers. I am lost." He sobbed once more, without control.

"Let us pray for you," one of the elders said gently and touched Miguel's trembling shoulder. Miguel nodded.

The three of them knelt then, and the tall, white missionaries prayed for him. They begged forgiveness and mercy for him. They pleaded that he could be able to withstand the temptation of liquor. When they finished the long prayer in Jesus' name, Miguel said, "Amen."

"*Hermano*," one elder said, "We want to spend the night with you, to give you strength so that you don't go to the cantina."

Miguel got two mats from outside and set them on the floor. The elders slept there beside him that night, and the next. They did not leave Miguel Aju until the following Sunday.

When they asked him to go to church with them, he shook his head, "I am still full of shame. I cannot face the members. I will go with you next week, when I am a better man."

"Will you be all right?"

"Yes. I can resist."

Miguel sat in the darkness of the adobe after the elders and his daughter had left. " I want to be a good man," he whispered. He stood and walked into the sunlight. "I want to be a man like Tomas. Estevan Aju is my son. I want to be a good man!" He walked out the gate and towards the forest, imagining green on green and Heaven and Jesus.

Then, from afar, he saw Manuel Poro waving furiously with both hands, shouting, "*Hermano*!"

The emptiness hit him. The taste and smell careened through his brain.

"A good man," he repeated, desperately trying to fill the emptiness with visions of peace. "*Hermano*," he whispered to himself.

The pictures of his life crushed down on him. "Tomas!" he spoke, but he could taste the liquor even as the name filled his mouth.

His steps were those of a starving man with the scent of food in his nostrils. They took him, breathless, into the cantina. He was panting, "a good man," as he sat down and stared at the filled bottles.

"I want . . ."

An arm circled his shoulders. An unsteady voice whispered close to his ear, "Welcome, *hermano*. I was waiting for you."

Miguel turned cold when the drunkard breathed on him. His hands shook.

"To be . . ."

He pointed to a bottle.

"To freedom!" the drunk one said.

The two hit their bottles together. Miguel clutched his stomach with one hand, the bottle with the other. "A man is what he is," he said, and gulped his liquor.

He drank for the rest of the morning. He drank until he fell to the floor, a few swallows of liquor oozing from his mouth. The owner of the cantina put him outside, on the edge of the street.

When Miguel began to gain consciousness, he heard birds. He could feel them close by him, beating their wings, watching him.

Buzzards.

He opened his eyes to noon light. He saw a boy with a load of *leña* tumplined to his forehead.

Estevan. His son Estevan.

With all his strength, he willed himself to stand and called his son. But the boy backed away.

Miguel was sweating. His whole body was wet.

"Estevan!" he whispered. "Come to me, son!"

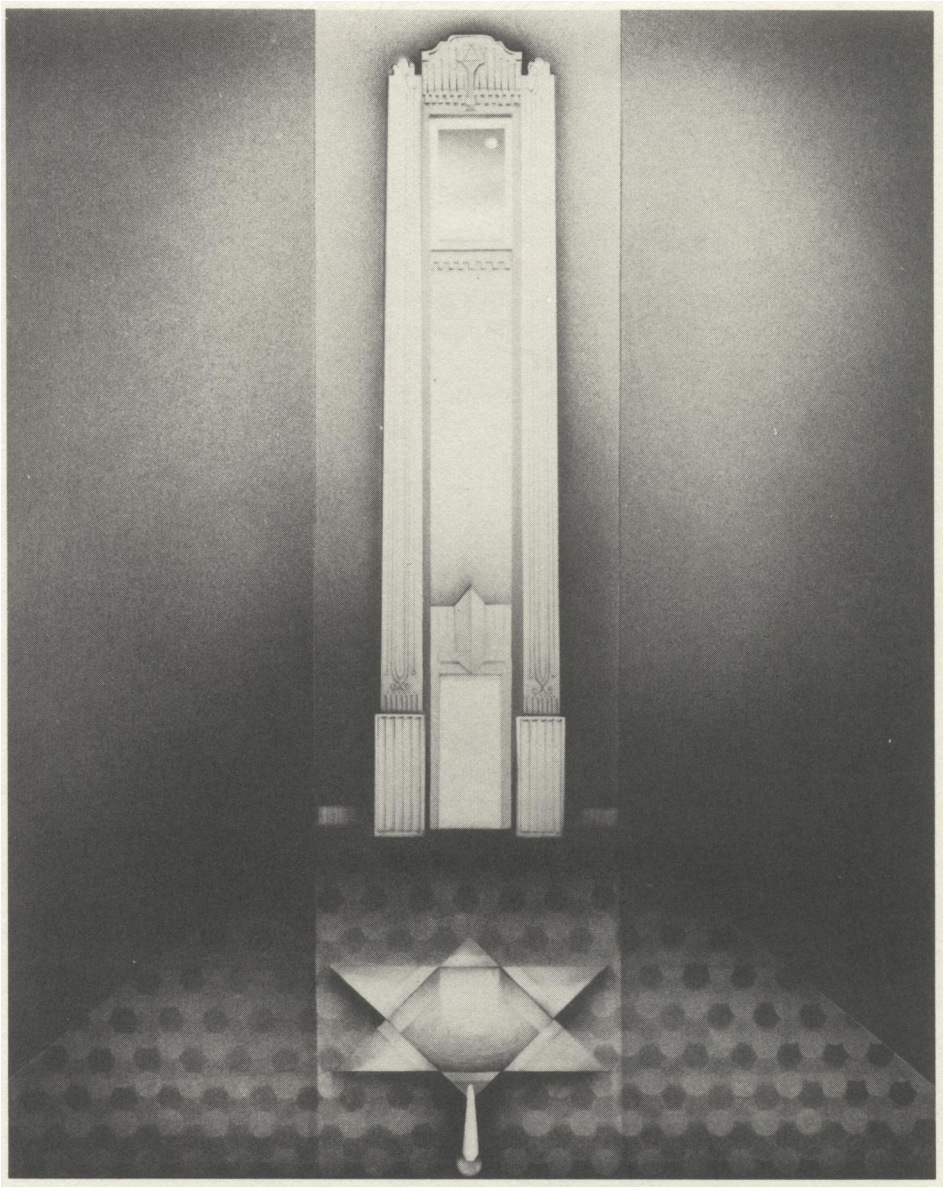
The boy cocked his head and squinted.

"Come!"

The boy did not move.

"Come!"

Miguel took a step towards the boy, raised his arms like mighty wings, and fell forward with a stunned look on his face.



For the Bishop's Wife

Kathy Evans

I

Some of us stood together
on your star-gray lawn,
sang you Christmas carols
in the warm California air.
You stood under the porchlight;
your arms, illuminated,
around the yellowing infant,
kept your son from blowing away.
Our voices thinned behind the hedges
and down the street.
You tucked his feet into the drawstring gown
and said, "Thank you for coming here
in this darkness to sing."

II

These flowers on the table do not know a child is dead.
I take the stern stems of lilacs and anemones
and stab them through the narrow neck.
The pedals fall open, brilliantly indifferent.
The leaves are slick, the water clear.
Tomorrow the sky will be the color of blue smoke.
I will bring you this vase in the daylight.
Your eyes will thank me.
I will walk away, remembering the wooden carols
last December and your quiet arms.

KATHY EVANS is married and has four children. She has been published in DIALOGUE *before. Her poems have also appeared in* The California Quarterly, Imagine, Mother-Poet, *and other quarterlies. She teaches through California Poets in the Schools.*

In loco parentis — Alive and Well in Provo

Brigham Young University: A House of Faith by Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 513 pp. $19.95.

Reviewed by Anthony W. Morgan, associate professor of Educational Administration and vice president of the University of Utah.

David Riesman, in his landmark study of American higher education entitled *The Academic Revolution* (1969), was fascinated by BYU and insightfully observes: "Despite academic upgrading, Brigham Young has not lost its sectarian character nor even been troubled by the kinds of public soul-searching that go on in the milieu tied to the National Council of Churches and in intellectual Catholic circles. Potential conflicts between religious and secular beliefs seem to have been handled largely by compartmentalization and avoidance of public debate" (p. 331). Bergera and Priddis attempt to bring some of these conflicts to public debate or at least public light through their historical research.

The book is not a typical institutional history — the "family biography" replete with sentimentality and a parade of "great men" (presidents) and expansion (buildings) despite its first chapter on presidents and the sixth and seventh chapters on student activities and athletics. The book concentrates on issues where faith or authority have conflicted with norms of free inquiry and expression. The authors' expressed purpose is to explore these conflicts by investigating selected themes in the institution's past rather than to construct a comprehensive institutional history.

The reader is introduced to the origins and development of BYU through biographical vignettes of its eight presidents. In the second chapter, the authors introduce a series of issues, ranging from the curriculum to compulsory tithing, to illustrate the underlying tensions of balancing religion and academics. The next six chapters then deal in greater depth with this balancing dilemma in the following areas: standards and the honor code; organic evolution; partisan politics; student government, social clubs and newspapers; intercollegiate athletics; and arts, entertainment and literature. While incidents are drawn from various periods of BYU's history to illustrate the difficulty of maintaining an equilibrium, the events of the more recent past predominate. The final chapter, entitled "Academics and Intellectual Pursuits," reviews evaluations of BYU's academic standing and attempts to assess the place given intellectualism in the Church's university.

The book is fascinating precisely because of what Riesman termed the absence of public debate over these issues in the case of BYU. The absence has created a vacuum attracting interest in writings which detail instances and issues heretofore substantiated largely by rumor.

One could ask whether the selection of issues was based on the "level of controversy" engendered or on some concept of the importance of the issue to a Mormon philosophy of education. Those who find in the book an unbalanced view of the

totality of the BYU experience will probably claim the former. The reader should certainly place the BYU experience, as reflected in this book, in the context of similar conflicts at other religious colleges. Here the authors are remiss in not giving readers a context for the resolution of ecclesiastical and authoritarian issues at BYU compared to Notre Dame or Baylor, for example.

The chapters are also somewhat uneven in their capturing of the dilemmas of faith and intellect as well as in their quality of writing. The "Organic Evolution Controversy" chapter is superb in framing, developing, and documenting the issues. Other chapters, such as those on student life, athletics, and academics do not fare as well.

Source material and documentation in the book are fascinating, mysterious, and frustrating. The authors have somehow managed to gain access to an amazing range of heretofore closed sources such as President Wilkinson's diary and memos from presidents to the Board of Trustees and individual general authorities of the Church. Documents noted as "copy in the authors' possession" will, I am sure, raise interest and questions among researchers and concern among administrators for security of documents. The frustrating part of their documentation stems primarily from the "endnote" system used in publication where footnotes are generally given by paragraph rather than individual citations in the text. Under this system, it is sometimes difficult to attribute a particular point made to a specific source.

Many of the policies, activities, and personalities described in the book are reminiscent of the era of ante-bellum colleges, concerned more with student behavior than academics, and seem anachronistic when viewed from the perspective of modern secular universities. President Wilkinson's policies and attitudes, as reflected in his diary and correspondence, were amazingly paternalistic and authoritarian for the times, and what is more incredible, apparently tolerated by the majority of students, faculty and trustees. One wonders, after reading of the role conflicts experienced by various BYU presidents, how anyone could last very long in this presidency. In fact one wonders why anyone would want the job!

The authors' "student perspective" is evident throughout the book in the selection of topics and discussion of issues. Indeed, the book has much more to say about student-administration politics than it does about faculty politics or the university as a whole. The authors lament, for example, that students were not given the right of naming the student center — a prerogative jealously guarded by governing boards everywhere. The high proportion of student newspaper citations may also lend greater credence to the reliability of that source than is advisable. In their treatment of the Vietnam years, the authors portray student sentiments and activities but little is said of faculty perceptions.

"In loco parentis," the legal doctrine that the institution acts in the place of parents, is portrayed throughout the book as being an overriding concern of Church authorities and parents — a characteristic of most denominational colleges. In an era of increasing secularization of private colleges, BYU clearly remains, and is likely to remain, thoroughly denominational and for that reason very attractive to parents who find solace in a strong, pervasive, and safe "in loco parentis" environment.

Does the book succeed in what it sets out to do, i.e., outlining the struggles of blending academics and faith? Yes, I believe it does, due largely to its addressing forthrightly "sensitive" issues and its citation of significant new documentation. I would highly recommend the book to those interested in the history and development of BYU as an institution and those with a general interest in Mormon attitudes and practices toward education and intellectual activity. The book does not go as far as I would like in its explication of a Mormon philosophy of education. The final chapter starts down this path but then disintegrates

into a potpourri of seeming afterthoughts. I would like to see the authors write a follow-up article synthesizing their views on the overarching philosophical questions raised in the book: What is the Mormon philosophy of education? Is BYU, as portrayed by the authors, an accurate embodiment of Mormon educational attitudes and philosophy? Are those attitudes and philosophy evolving? And should they?

BRIEF NOTICES

Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City by Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 360 pp.

NOT SINCE *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* by Edward W. Tullidge, published in 1886, has a serious history of Utah's capital city appeared. While many areas of Utah history have received extensive study in recent years, Salt Lake City has been mainly bypassed.

BYU history professors Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen have attempted to remedy this situation with their new book *Mormons & Gentiles*, part of a series in Western urban history.

Chronologically, they trace the growth and development of the city, treating not only political, but also social, commercial, and cultural history. Based on city council minutes, newspaper accounts, oral histories, etc., the authors often shed light on unfamiliar aspects of the city's history. Particularly interesting are the chapters on the twentieth-century city.

The text is not annotated but each chapter contains a useful bibliography.

Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons edited with an introduction by Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), xvii, 412 pp., $12.95.

SUPPORTING SAINTS adds another needed volume of information on the lives of early Utah Mormons. The volume has two purposes: (1) to show the diverse lives of early Utah pioneers and (2) to show that persons who were not always in the limelight made important contributions. Authors and subjects were chosen to give a broad view of nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint experience.

Chapters include information on Rachel R. Grant, mother of Heber J. Grant; William Howells, the first LDS missionary to France; Andrew Jenson, LDS historian; Martha Cragun Cox, a schoolteacher; Truman O. Angell, architect of the Salt Lake Temple; Richard Ballantyne, who served a mission to India from 1849–1856; John Lyon, territorial librarian for sixteen years and a poet; Lucy Hannah White Flake, polygamous wife and early colonizer on the Arizona frontier; Elijah F. Sheets, who served as bishop for forty-eight years of the Salt Lake Eighth Ward; Edward Hunter, early Presiding Bishop of the LDS Church; Emmeline B. Wells, editor of the *Woman's Exponent* and early suffragist; Jacob Spori, an early missionary to Switzerland and educator; and Angus M. Cannon, who served as Salt Lake Stake president for twenty-eight years.

The Book of Mormon: A Guide to Christian Living by Lowell L. Bennion (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), vii, 130 pp., $8.95.

BENNION, RETIRED DIRECTOR of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, feels that "the Book of Mormon is not a textbook in any science, not even a historical account or a theological treatise, but a religious record of three migrations to the Western Hemisphere." He stresses that the Book of Mormon should be read for what it teaches about life.

This book emphasizes that rather than delving into mysteries — many of which will not be answered in this life — one should live basic, Christian principles. Discussed are such subjects as responding to suffering, serving others, withstanding temptation, obtaining joy, humility, and repentance.

The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives edited by Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 246 pp., $16.95.

THE OCCULT IN AMERICA contains ten chapters which examine a wide range of subjects including witchcraft in seventeenth-century Andover, occult religion among eighteenth-century black slaves, nineteenth-century spiritualism, feminist perspectives on the occult, and "ultra-terrestrial" UFO theories.

The book includes a chapter entitled "The Occult Connection? Mormonism, Christian Science, and Spiritualism" by R. Laurence Moore. According to the author, "The aim of this essay is to provide an estimate of the appeal of occultism in nineteenth-century America by examining the permeation of magical and esoteric ideas into three religions that were launched during the nineteenth century: Mormonism, Christian Science, and spiritualism."

Circle of Fire by Herbert Harker (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1985), 229 pp., $9.95.

AWARDED THE Association for Mormon Letters 1985 prize for fiction, this novel paints a loving but unsparing portrait of the people in a little Canadian community called Lone Rock during the 1930s. There is something of an *Our Town* feeling to the fascination of ordinary lives touched by and remembering a great event. In this case, it is the fire that burned down Dan McHugh's house (and presumably his wife) coupled with Wally Doone's heroic efforts to plunge into the structure, and his subsequent institutionalization when he insists on writing a letter to God and demanding an answer.

But the fire is more than literal. Yarn Taylor, who has made a career of shiftlessness, finds himself so touched by the innocent grace of his new-born daughter that he finds himself promising restitution — and meaning it — during the meeting where she is named and blessed. Woodrow Williams, possibly the man most genuinely seeking spirituality, finds himself shooting Dan's dog. Gentle Jake Ellis, who has always lived his life on the fringes, gives up a dream of joining the Church when a brief moment of shared passion with an Indian woman touches his life. This book is for everyone who has inherited any feeling for small-town life.

Today, Tomorrow & Four Weeks from Tuesday, by Carol Lynn Pearson (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1983), 117 pp., $5.95.

IN THIS IRRESISTIBLE coming-of-age story, Carrie flees to a kibbutz in Israel, partly because she has always wanted to and partly because Ted "is a Utah insurance salesman and I don't want to buy. I don't want to be signed, sealed, and delivered to anybody. . . . Marriage locks doors. Utah locks doors. I can breathe better out here. And I want to do something — heroic."

So she learns Hebrew, plucks chickens, fights a fire, picks oranges, thinks a lot about her Great-great-grandmother Sarah's handcart, comforts Hadassah when a girlfriend is killed in an accident with a grenade, reaches out in love to an impoverished Palestinian woman, and discovers when Jim approaches her that she doesn't want sex — even with love — without marriage and when Joseph offers her both love and marriage that her roots are too firmly embedded in Utah to consider transplanting to Israel. Meanwhile, stodgy Ted is writing poetry and reading *The Secret Life of Plants*.

So what can she do when Ted shows up on her twenty-first birthday with twenty-

one red roses and spreads out a picnic of pita sandwiches and 7-Up in a field of sunflowers?

Latter-day Science Fiction 2 edited by Benjamin Urrutia (Ludlow, MA: Parables, 1985), 188 pp.

THIS IS THE SECOND COMPILATION by Urrutia for the LDS science fiction fan. The book includes an introduction by Hugh Nibley entitled "Science Fiction and the Gospel" in which he states that "the history of science itself is the foundation of Science Fiction" and that "Science Fiction uniformly describes life in worlds in which 'science' is king — meaning the scientist. In this kind of world is fulfilled the dream of the sophist, in which there is no room for any but one kind of thinking. This is the one world of John Dewey, which he carried to its logical conclusion."

The compilation contains approximately thirty short stories and several poems. It includes: "Joseph Smith's Dialogue with the Devil," "Stoaway" by Merle H. Graffam, "Heinlein and the Latter-day Saints," "More Extraterrestrials" by Peter C. Nadig, "The Children of Michael" by Scott S. Smith, "A Beautiful Day in the Neighborhood" by Jack Weyland, "The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin" by Rudyard Kipling and "LDSF in Retrospect" by Scott S. Smith.

Leverage Point by Gerand N. Lund with Roger Hendrix (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 288 pp., $9.95.

THIS FAST-MOVING STORY takes Marc Jeppson, a rather bored professor of Arabic who is coping with life as the widowed father of two delightful little boys, and plunges him up to his neck in the high-tech, fast-moving, and morally ambiguous world of Alex Barclay, arms merchant, who expounds a persuasive power theory he calls leverage.

Though Marc is LDS, the closest the novel comes to dealing with a Mormon setting is a Cub Scout pinewood derby. Instead Marc shuttles between California, Colombia, Washington, and the Middle East, providing smooth entry to Arab princes. Drug deals, kidnappings, sophisticated snooping devices, the FBI, the Israeli secret service, and a few hit men enliven his trail.

He also has a few choices of his own. When an engineered heart attack forces the reins of Alex's empire into his hands, he has to decide whether to hold the deal together or blow the whistle on a would-be murderer. He also has to choose between being a success on Alex's terms or being a success as a father. And oh yes, he also has to choose between Jackie, Alex's high-powered secretary, and lovely Valerie, the young woman who cares for his sons.

Despite the improbability that Alex would have literally no organization beyond his secretary (that is, someone more eligible than Marc, an employee of a few weeks, to turn to), this book has a lot of exciting plusses going for it. The perfect escapism for your next vacation weekend.

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Compiled by Susan B. Taber

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AN INVITATION TO OUR READERS

DIALOGUE begins publishing its twentieth volume with the spring 1987 issue. No longer an adolescent periodical, DIALOGUE marks the accession to adulthood by inviting readers to reflect upon and interpreting that past. Whether you've been a subscriber for the whole twenty years or for the past twenty months, what part has DIALOGUE played in your life? How has it made things easier? Harder? What do you see as DIALOGUE's future? Whether you have slaved away on the staff or been the only subscriber in your city, what memories do you cherish most?

Submissions may be a paragraph, a page, or an essay long — typed and double-spaced. They should reach us no later than 1 December 1986. We plan to publish selections throughout the entire year of 1987.

ART CREDITS

This issue features art by Carleen Jimenez, photographed by Jess Allen. Jimenez was born and educated in Salt Lake City, and began to paint after she moved to the San Francisco area. She co-produces "Our Art," a weekly half-hour program, and "Reading," a daily program, both for KRCL Radio in Salt Lake City.

She has had solo shows at the Salt Lake Art Center; the Kimball Art Center; the Berkeley Art Center; the San Jose Museum of Art, the DeSaisset Museum at the University of Santa Clara, California; the Yellowstone Art Center in Billings, Montana; and the Vorpal Art Gallery in San Francisco. Group shows include appearances in the Los Angeles Municipal Art Center, University of California at Santa Barbara, Northern California Arts Council, the Association of University Women (University of Utah), and the Utah Annuals since 1981.

Cover: (front) "Pump/The Virgin and the Dynamo," 14″ x 18″, watercolor, 1985; *(back)* "Furnace for Growing a Single Crystal by Sublimation/The Alchemist's Garden," 7″ x 11″, watercolor, 1985. Both are from *Icon and Architecture: Re-Viewing Images of the Industrial Age.*

p. 12: "Room for Doubt," 10″ x 15″, watercolor, 1976, from *Giving Birth.*

p. 37: "Sonsday," 11″ x 14″, ink, 1975, from *The Days of the Week.*

p. 38: "Weddingsday," 11″ x 14″, ink and photo collage, 1975, from *The Days of the Week.*

p. 61: "Saturnsday," 11″ x 14″, ink, 1975, from *The Days of the Week.*

p. 100: "State of Expectation," 11″ x 14″, watercolor, 1979, from *Maps of Consciousness.*

p. 123: "She is Born," 15″ x 15″, ink, 1980, from *A Lunar Calendar.*

p. 163: "Threshold," 7″ x 11″, lithograph, 1981, from *Black Hole.*

p. 171: "The Man Inside Waiting for the Moon to Rise," 11″ x 14″, watercolor, 1982, from *The Alchemical Process.*