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DIALOGUE

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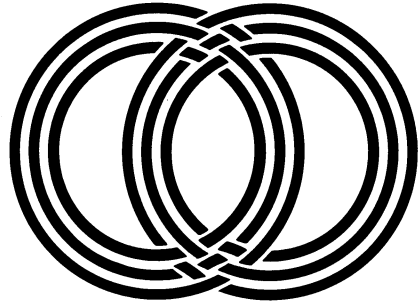
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DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with 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.

CONTENTS

LETTERS 4

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

LDS WOMEN AND PRIESTHOOD

- SCRIPTURAL PRECEDENTS FOR PRIESTHOOD *Melodie Moench Charles* 15
- THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP OF MORMON WOMEN AND PRIESTHOOD *Linda King Newell* 21
- AN EXPANDED DEFINITION OF PRIESTHOOD: SOME PRESENT AND FUTURE CONSEQUENCES *Meg Wheatley-Pesci* 33
- GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED PRAYER IN THE CLASSROOM *Robert Riggs* 43
- MORMON POLYANDRY IN NAUVOO *Richard S. Van Wagoner* 67
- WOMEN'S RESPONSE TO PLURAL MARRIAGE *Kahlile Mehr* 84
- MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS IN POLYGAMY *Jessie L. Embry and Martha S. Bradley* 99

NOTES AND COMMENTS

- EXILES FOR THE PRINCIPLE: LDS POLYGAMY IN CANADA *Jessie L. Embry* 108

FICTION

- THE BLACK DOOR *Patricia Hart* 117
- THE ONLY DIVINELY AUTHORIZED PLAN FOR FINANCIAL SUCCESS IN THIS LIFE OR THE NEXT *Neal C. Chandler* 130

POETRY

- ONE YEAR *Margaret Munk* 139
- LIGHTNING BARBS *Marden Clark* 150

PERSONAL VOICES

- SOUL-MAKING, OR IS THERE LIFE BEFORE DEATH? *U. Carlisle Hunsaker* 152
- REFLECTIONS ON THE RESTORATION *Lowell Bennion* 160

REVIEWS

- IN SILENCE SHE SPEAKS *Carolynne Cecil Berrett* 168
Not in Vain by *Susan Evans McCloud*
- FAITHFUL HISTORY *William D. Russell* 169
The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints
in Ohio, 1830–1838 by *Milton V. Backman, Jr.*
- FAST AND LOOSE FREEMASONRY *Kent Walgren* 172
Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Lodge
by *Mervin B. Hogan* and his The Involvement of Freemasonry
with Mormonism on the American Midwestern Frontier

ART CREDITS

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LETTERS

Broader than Brazil

Mark Grover (“Religious Accommodation in the Land of Racial Democracy: Mormon Priesthood and Black Brazilians,” Autumn 1984) has given us yet another new perspective on the seemingly unending ramifications of Mormonism’s late “Negro doctrine.” This particular perspective, however, has added significance in view of the apparent role played ultimately by the Brazilian Temple in the decision to terminate the priesthood ban. We definitely needed to know more about the Mormon racial experience in Brazil.

To some extent, however, I think the concentration on Brazilian sources has led to the impression that a number of problems relating to blacks in Brazil were unique. In fact, much of the experience in Brazil was only quantitatively different from that elsewhere, and the Church response in Brazil should probably be understood in this larger context.

Prior to and concomitant with its problems in Brazil, the Church wrestled with the question of racial identification in South Africa, the South Pacific, and the United States. As early as the turn of the century, Church leaders were grappling with problems relating to physically inapparent African ancestry, including at least one situation where a patriarchal blessing assigned someone of “Negro blood” to the “lineage of Ephraim” (Council Minutes, 11 March 1900). South African mission presidents early in the century studiously — but not altogether successfully — avoided tracting areas where those of ambiguous or uncertain ancestry were concentrated. Related concern was early voiced in First Presidency correspondence concerning Fiji,

Tonga, and Hawaii. As Grover has made clear, Church leaders — and especially J. Reuben Clark — indeed did worry over the priesthood question when missionary work was begun in Brazil. But in large measure, this was because the Church previously had been unable to avoid similar problems elsewhere.

Sure enough, there were problems in Brazil, and the Church tended to respond to these problems much as it had elsewhere. The question of the status of those of African ancestry who had “passed over” into whiteness was addressed and resolved at least theoretically and doctrinally at the turn of the century with a First Presidency decision that it mattered not “how remote” the African ancestry (Richards, c1906). And in a perverse sort of way, this view was not only in conformity with the American view of things but also was the only logical application of a restriction applicable to the *descendants* of Cain.

Unfortunately this policy did not solve all the practical problems — in Brazil or elsewhere. What was needed was something really conclusive. As early as 1947, a Central States Mission president confronting the problem wrote the First Presidency looking for just such an infallible key — a lab “test for colored blood” to which the First Presidency replied that they “assume there has been none yet discovered” (First Presidency to Brown). (But the idea appealed to Clark who, in fairness, was dismayed by the arbitrary judgments which had to govern actual church practice.) The Presidency advised the mission president that “people in the South have this problem to meet all the time in a practical way, and we assume that as a practical matter the people there

should be able to determine whether or not the [individual] in question has colored blood. Normally the dark skin and kinky hair would indicate but one thing. As you probably know,"— they continued, apropos Grover's Brazilian case study — "the races are badly mixed in Brazil, and no color line is drawn among the mass of the people. The result is, as the reports declare, that a great part of the population of Brazil is colored" (First Presidency to Brown).

With neither pedigree nor blood tests to resolve things, what was needed were at least a few good rules of thumb — as it were — such as the suggested dark skin and kinky hair. Brazilian missionaries have told me that in the late sixties everyone had his own surefire system for determining who had what was termed "the blood." Grover lists some of these in general terms, such as color of skin, eyes and hair, shape of nose or face, and texture of hair. Another popular system was to look for a line demarcating a light palm from a darker back side of the hand. Dark-to-dark meant an Indian; light-to-dark implied "the blood." So-called tell-tale clues became institutionalized by their symbolic use as "discreet" missionary signals that a potential or actual investigator was not a good candidate for further discussion — signals such as pressing in on the nose or running a finger along the "line" on the hand.

Unfortunately, however easy it was to rationalize this in Brazil, back in Fiji there were dark skinned, "kinky haired" members who were *not* considered of "Negro descent." The logical difficulties of the Church's policy was not lost on Mormon leaders, but remedial options were not much better. The whole notion of discrimination based on lineage or genealogy alone was reexamined by the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve more than once in the 1940s — specifically because this approach failed when it was needed most. Communities with many mixed marriages potentially involving uncertain — and possibly suspect — racial lineages were the least likely to have reliable

genealogical data. But for a variety of doctrinal reasons the traditional approach was in every instance reaffirmed, in the extreme leading to a ruling against "priesthood blessings" in a case involving "one thirty-second of negro blood" (Council Minutes, 12 Aug. 1947). (It's impossible to resist noting that at this same time 97 percent caffeine-free coffee was being adjudged sufficiently "pure" to be acceptable to the Word of Wisdom.)

With the lineage doctrine re- and reaffirmed, both South African and Brazilian problems were solved for a time by requiring potential converts to prove genealogically they were pure by tracing their ancestry out of the country. Americans, in general blissfully ignorant that a stray Fijian — for example — in a North or South American congregation would have seriously undermined their more traditional approach, continued to turn where possible to anthropological stereotypes to resolve both American and Brazilian cases. Pacific islanders could be handled by neither of these simple techniques — and ultimately the Fijians were simply reassigned back into the cursed lineage (this in 1953) after a three-decade reprieve from an earlier policy. This tidied things up a little. President Clark meanwhile pressed his search for a blood test.

One simple, if very limited, solution was to insure that such problems be avoided in advance. Great care thus was taken in 1947 to learn ahead of time if there were "groups of pure white blood in the rural sections of Cuba" before opening a mission there, and if such pure folk were "maintaining segregation from the Negroes" (Meeks to Nelson). Even this belated effort backfired, for not only were there no "pure" groups, but the sociologist consulted responded indignantly to the whole thrust of the question and eventually published the first real article on Mormon racism to appear in a national publication (Nelson to Meeks, Nelson to Smith; Nelson 1952).

Ultimately a less legalistic and perhaps more compassionate view among the

Church leadership somewhat diffused the issue. In 1954, as Grover noted, the genealogical burden of proof was removed in both South Africa and— theoretically— Brazil. The following year Fijians were rehabilitated back out of the cursed lineage once again. Within the next decade, the patriarchal-blessing circumvention had been used both intentionally and unintentionally in the United States as well as in Brazil. Similarly, the overriding inspired judgment of local priesthood leaders was invoked in exceptional cases in the South Pacific and the United States to the same end as it later was in Brazil.

Eventually as part of this general liberalization it was even decided in 1963 to open a mission in Nigeria (where, presumably, there would have been no ambiguity of lineage). This plan was killed by Nigerian indignation at the full range of Mormon racial teachings as published in John J. Stewart's book on *Mormonism and the Negro*. It is interesting therefore but again not unexpected to learn from Grover's fine research that language essentially identical to Stewart's was omitted from Joseph Fielding Smith's *Way to Perfection* when it was published in Portuguese for the Brazilians just a few months after the Nigerian problems.

What I wish to suggest with these brief comments is that what Grover has described for us was not an isolated, nor even necessarily a sentinel experience in Mormon racial history. Rather it is a superb illustration of the problems repeatedly faced by the Church in its efforts to administer a scientifically anachronistic nineteenth-century policy in an increasingly international twentieth-century Church.

Lester Bush
Gaithersburg, Maryland

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Measures of Subservience

Having recently finished *Neither White nor Black*, sold through DIALOGUE, I would like to comment about "The Fading of the Pharaohs' Curse: . . ." by Armand L. Mauss.

Extremely well written, this article was informative and interesting, yet in its last paragraph, it failed to reach the shore.

The author suggests that we must be cautious "in what we believe and teach" to avoid "digesting dubious doctrine." He then slips back to the safety of being an apologetic observer or an impartial umpire (which morally he cannot be). It appears he lacked the courage to invoke the moral responsibility we have, individually and collectively, to demand accountability of those who give direction.

We should be appalled that, individually and collectively, (with, I am sure, some maverick exceptions), we sat in shameful silence induced by fearful respect of authority, following the directives of culture-bound managers while this "dubious doctrine" evolved through Mauss's "scale of authenticity." How contemptible that accountability has increasingly been seen as a one-way street. I do not agree with Mauss that we should not feel shame. We participated in the practical canonization of a demeaning and dehumanizing "doctrine" because leaders did not question the policy and followers did not question them.

I see the passing of time creating de facto canonization in other matters because of this same pattern of authoritarianism and dependence:

— Women and the priesthood. How much support of this prohibition originates in the teachings of Christ and how much is the result of thousands of years of culturally induced patriarchal tradition? There is no question that this practice is long established. But is it well established? Its antiquity does not relieve us of our duty to question its appropriateness. We no longer put the adulteress to death by stoning or banish all menstruating women to the outer-city walls.

— Forbidding parents from witnessing the marriages of their children, simply because they do not conform to an arbitrary interpretation of “worthiness.”

— The absence of a detailed annual financial statement.

May I suggest that the passivity of some members in regards to membership work is that they feel uncomfortable with some of what they see within the Church? That is not to say they do not love the Church or appreciate their membership. Nor is it a negative reflection of their testimony of Christ or of the Restoration. I think it is urgent to come to grips with the imagined conflict between sustaining and questioning. In the minds of many Mormons, you must choose between these two practices. In fact, the first should not be requested until the second has been granted—and not only at the highest levels.

It seems to me that there is a greater emphasis placed on obedience to leaders than to the Christian principles upon which our salvation depends. Why else would a temple-recommend interviewer ask about supporting leaders but not about accepting Christ as our personal Savior? As a result, these questions may well measure subservience rather than Christian worthiness.

Roger H. Morrison
Aylmer, Quebec

Soviet “Apologist”

Often it is difficult to distinguish between real ignorance and naivete, especially when it comes to understanding science, technology, nuclear weapons, and military affairs. Kent Robson (Winter 1984) is a different case: he is a professor of philosophy and languages, and he takes annual tours to the Soviet Union. One expects more. But even a cursory reading shows he is out of his field—more, he is a Soviet apologist. There is much wrong with his article; I can only scratch the surface.

Robson recommends *Scientific American*, but its editors are devoted to anti-defense and political advocacy of unilateral disarmament, therefore, it is a far from reliable source (Letters, *Commentary*, May and Sept. 1984, p. 10).

“Nuclear winter” is a *tour de force* in scientific speculation which Robson takes as factual and proven. The National Research Council (“The Effects on the Atmosphere of a Major Nuclear Exchange,” Washington, D.C., 1984), and the Defense Department (“The Potential Effects of Nuclear War on the Climate,” *Congressional Record*, 28 March 1985, S3729–34) emphasize the uncertainties of the data in the hypothesis.

Robson uses Swedish World Health Organization predictions of 1.1 billion deaths in a nuclear exchange. If every person in the USSR, Europe and North America were killed outright, it would not total 1.1 billion; therefore, to arrive at this huge figure, the total world megatonnage is evenly distributed in “nuclear winter” over the most densely populated portions of earth, including those in the southern hemisphere—a ridiculous assumption. Robson states (p. 55) that 2.2 billion people could be killed in a 5,000-megaton exchange but then concludes that a nuclear “exchange has the capability of virtually destroying humankind” (pp. 55, 57). A National Academy of Sciences study of a hypothetical 10,000-megaton war specifically concluded that both the biosphere and humans

would survive (“Long-term Worldwide Effects of Multiple Nuclear-Weapons Detonation,” Washington, D.C., 1975).

The author equates tons of explosives expended with the numbers of civilians killed in two World Wars (p. 55). Robson’s education is spotty. Most civilian deaths had little to do with explosives. The British blockade of Germany, 1914–18, caused starvation of 800,000, mostly women and children, and genocide of other types was practiced by both sides (F.J.P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*, [New York: Devin-Adair, 1968]; Nikolai Tolstoy, *Stalin’s Secret War*, [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981]).

The author uses Finland as an example of the Soviet Union’s good neighbor policy, or “logic of deterrence,” in which “Finland has a policy of neutrality with their next-door neighbor.” How else could Finland act considering the aggressive bully next door, with a history of invasion and untold suffering among the people of that hapless nation? He could just as easily use Afghanistan or any of the dozens of other nations that the Soviet Union has taken over since 1917. This comparison insults the reader’s intelligence.

Robson states: “There is a strong tendency to believe that the [nuclear] issue is so big and complex that only scientists or government officials . . . could truly understand the arms race” (p. 57). Lumping scientists and officials together in this way is ludicrous, suggesting the author has no comprehension about science.

Immediately before this, the author demonstrates he does not know the difference between “weapons” and “weapon delivery systems” (p. 57). He is unaware that more than five nations now have a nuclear capability (p. 57).

The author states that the USSR has “a very small bomber force,” like the B-52 (p. 56). However, his own reference, *Soviet Military Power*, shows that in 1984 the USSR had 400 such aircraft which could reach the U.S. vs. 325 with this capability for the U.S. Our aircraft are mostly the

ancient B-52s, with a subsonic speed of 580 knots, compared to USSR aircraft, such as the Backfire and Blackjack, which attain speeds of 1,200 knots. The Backfire, with a range of 8900 km. can deliver 30 per cent of the huge Soviet megatonnage, making it a major second strike force—a significantly different conclusion than Robson’s.

He believes the B-52 is still usable (p. 56) but says nothing about the illegal production of the Soviet intercontinental Backfire bomber. He is wrong when he tells us that “radar guidance” or simple countermeasures give the B-52 stealth qualities; these help, but subtle changes in aircraft architecture—airframe and engines—produce reduced radar return. Indeed, the B-1B has one-tenth the radar cross-section of the B-52 (*Aerospace America*, Nov. 1984, p. 80).

A further lack of objectivity is his statement that the U.S. record of cheating in arms control is as bad as the USSR’s. Nothing could be further from the truth, as any competent researcher, using readily available sources, can easily verify. (See Presidential General Advisory Commission on Arms Control and Disarmament, *A Quarter Century of Soviet Compliance Practices Under Arms Control Commitments: 1958–1983* [Washington, D.C., 1984]; *Congressional Record*, 25 Feb. 1985, pp. S2070–89, 28 Feb., pp. S2363–70, and 8 May, pp. S5589–91).

The reader ought to be aware that Robson is strongly biased toward the Soviet Union; there is not a single pro-U.S. statement in his article. He leaves the impression that it is the United States, instead of the USSR, which is most likely to initiate a first strike. Historically, the U.S. has never attacked or started a war by surprise, whereas this is accepted Soviet military doctrine (H. S. and W. F. Scott, *The Soviet Art of War* [Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1982], pp. 49, 53, 196, 277). Furthermore, Edward Pipes (*Survival is Not Enough*, [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984]) reports an 1898 study by a group of Russian military specialists concluding that in the

thirty-eight wars which it had waged since 1700, Russia fought only two defense wars; the other thirty-six were offensive. The record for this century continues this trend: the Soviet Union was attacked only once — by Germany in World War II. In World War I the USSR attacked Germany. Soviet offensive wars include the attack on all Eastern European countries in World War II; four post-war military suppressions of uprisings in Eastern Europe, the invasion of Afghanistan, the direct involvement in Korea and Angola.

The USSR concern for security and fear of the U.S. which Robson mentions, based upon personal observations, can be best explained by Soviet General Alexei Yesoshev, who argued that Soviet leaders feared American "aggression" and cited the efforts to break the "monolithic unity" of Soviet society, the "subversive" campaign for human rights, the "slander" of the nationalistic policies of the CPSU, and the encouragement of "religious fanaticism" (Alex Alexiev, "What Arms Control Can't Do," *Register*, (Santa Ana, Calif., 13 Jan. 1985). These can hardly be placed in the category of "first strike."

The U.S. now has 8,000 fewer weapons and a megatonnage 60 percent smaller than in the 1960s. Although the U.S. has abided by its treaties, including the unratified SALT II, the Soviets increased their ICBM forces to a numerical advantage of 4 to 1 — 6 to 1 considering accuracy and megatonnage advantage. They have been working on an ABM defense since 1967; and in January 1985, we learned they will deploy a full-scale, nationwide ABM system in ten years — in clear violation of the treaty with us (*Congressional Record*, 8 May 1985, pp. S5589-91). In 1982, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, then Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, reported that ballistic missile defenses were "not only desirable, but inevitable" (Maj. Gen. Richard Larkin, Address, Third National Intelligence Symposium, Naples, Fla., 27 Feb. 1984). In short, the Soviets use arms

negotiations to prevent the U.S. from building a ballistic missile defense.

The Defense Intelligence Agency reported (*Soviet Military Space Doctrine*, Dec. 1984; AP 5 Dec. 1984) that the USSR intention in space is two-fold: to acquire military superiority in outer space for both offensive and defense purposes and to fight a war in space and in support of ground operations. The propaganda war being waged by them and their apologists is that their outer space activities are purely "peaceful." Therefore, any U.S. attempt to protect themselves in space should be stopped. This is Robson's approach.

He does not support the *potential* means of protecting American lives from a Soviet first strike. The U.S. lacks an ABM system. The USSR has a widespread civil defense system (we don't) and strong air defense systems protecting their cities (we don't). A. M. Din, writing in the respected British publication *International Defense Review*, No. 1, 1985, p. 34, concluded that "to eliminate the threat of large-scale nuclear destruction, it is necessary to develop 'defensive' defense, which takes into account legitimate national security interests but does not represent a massive offensive capability." President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) goal was explicit: "To render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete."

The final example is nuclear freeze. Alex Alexiev, with the National Security Division of the Rand Corporation, pointed out that arms control treaties, starting in 1922, are dismal failures and that there is little evidence that arms control significantly circumscribes the arms race ("What Arms Control . . ."). The Soviets have never permitted "live and let live." Herman Kahn in *Thinking About the Unthinkable in the 1980s* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985) considers the nuclear freeze a "nonissue" and provides many reasons for this conclusion (pp. 26, 208).

Robson's solution for defusing the nuclear dilemma is for the U.S. to sign agree-

ments and for Americans to study the Soviets so we can gain a "better estimation of their intentions and be more accurate and responsible" (p. 60). I submit that travel tours to the USSR in no way provide an understanding of the Kremlin and that Robson deludes himself if he believes that his "man on the street" contacts result in any real understanding of the Soviet power structure and its intentions.

Richard D. Terry
San Clemente, California

Blaise-Nonsense

One has to wonder to whom Pierre Blaise (Winter 1984) has been listening when he makes his, by his own admission, "largely impressionistic" evaluations of Mormon attitudes toward war and peace. He concludes that Latter-day Saints have a "mind set" that "embraces a set of war-like attitudes that favor military solutions" but which is "nonchalant toward peace." Utter nonsense!

How does he reason that way? One can almost sympathize with the frustration he must feel while suffering from the paranoia of the radical left. In this case, the symptom is a suspicious, almost solitary view that unscrupulous anti-intellectual, pro-business, conservative politicians have somehow managed to seduce most Mormons — and almost everyone else for that matter — into opting for a pro-war mentality. But give him credit. He does point out that the LDS Church has a strated "theology" for peace. All can agree to that!

Blaise then goes on to produce a political tract that chastizes at length the behavior of the United States in foreign affairs, among other things. He recites a long list of "sins" committed in the interest of U.S. imperialism. The charges are familiar enough. For years they have been heard from the lips of people like Jane Fonda, Fidel Castro, and Andrei Gromyko.

U.S. foreign policy has had, over the years, its failures. The Vietnam War, for instance, was a disaster. But there have

been successes too. Even Blaise mentions the "equitable" and "ethical" success of the Marshall Plan and the Japanese peace treaty.

In a free society, honest people continue to debate the issues. It is likely that the individual Latter-day Saint is more astute and better-informed on the issues than Blaise is free to admit. It follows that there is no "Mormon attitude" toward war and peace, but rather a diversity of opinion on which policies should be pursued in the national interest.

To give equal space, DIALOGUE might want to solicit an essay from Cleon Skousen on the same subject.

Kenneth Taylor
Burbank, California

True Defenders of the Faith

Quinn's essay (Spring 1985) is disturbing, fascinating and provocative. It raises to an even higher pitch the differences between the expressions of those we are asked to sustain (not only as prophets, seers and revelators but as experts in every field of human endeavor) and the truth.

It puts a great burden on the believer when there are discrepancies between what they have been taught as truth by acknowledged ecclesiastical leaders and the common ordinary garden variety of truth discovered by our own senses. The choice between the two kinds of truth will obviously create discomfort, if not distrust. When a testator's credibility is diminished by the discrepancies between his recital of events and those things that we know of our own experience, the message of the testator is clouded. I am sure that is why Elder S. Dilworth Young told the Saints in my Oakland-Berkeley Stake conference, 16 Aug. 1969, that they have the burden of proving the truth of what they heard, regardless of its source. *Time Magazine* is not my favorite authority for fact. Neither is *The Ensign*. Neither is DIALOGUE for that matter, but I feel I have a better grasp on both fact and faith by reading all three.

Those who would have had me believe that the Adam-God matter was the result of a sloppy reporter have little credibility compared to the facts documented by some of your earlier contributors that the concept was the subject of intense and profound exploration by many of the brethren over a period of years. That loss of credibility makes me uncomfortable because I want to believe; it is much more comfortable. But it is much easier to believe if I do not always have to run everything I hear through the hard tests of doubt.

It has been and still is popular to challenge the historian. I regret this, for it seems to me that historians do a great service. For example, Mormon-baiters can't have much fun anymore over the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Juanita Brooks, by her reporting, took all the fire out of that matter. Those who denied or would hide those events weakened only their own credibility but gave comfort to those who wanted to fault the work and the workers.

Good historians — and intellectuals in the service of the faith — cannot be identified before the fact, but they are the true defenders of the faith and of the faithful. As long as the custodians of the records allow free access to the facts, most of the harm will be in the minds of those who have sought to manipulate the facts.

Quinn has barely scratched the surface in identifying the effects of the deceit of those who were in high places, both in 1890 and in 1904. I regret that I cannot now read some writers nor listen to some speakers without wanting to verify and prove. And how can I separate my lack of respect in those matters from my attitude about what they say of the present?

I do believe. I do not need every jot and tittle proved. But there is an estrangement. I want to be trusting and I cannot. I think I am the worse for it and resentful of those who caused it, though I love them for their good works, for their good words, and for their devotion to His work.

Thank you for your work and your efforts and those of your contributors which

allow us to examine ourselves and our place. I am convinced that while the results may make some uncomfortable, it is, long term and short, a necessary part of our growth and development.

William L. Knecht
Oakland, California

Doctrine by Consensus?

I'm intrigued by Richard Pearson Smith's letter (Autumn 1984) which states that, since Elder McConkie taught his views on evolution for some thirty years, he probably had "ample opportunity to find out if any of the General Authorities disagree with him." Smith finds it "hard to believe that [McConkie] would contradict the views of any of them in the *Ensign*."

Whether Elder McConkie went about the Church Administration Building seeking consensus is unknown, but there is ample evidence that several living and deceased General Authorities disagreed with him on various issues. Also, in spite of individual opinions, the First Presidency has left the matter of evolution open.

Further, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., as a counselor in the First Presidency, reminded us that opinions have value so long as we remember this: "When any man, except the President of the Church, undertakes to proclaim one unsettled doctrine, as among two or more doctrines in dispute, as the settled doctrine of the Church, we may know that he is not 'moved upon by the Holy Ghost,' unless he is acting under the direction and by the authority of the President." ("When are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?", J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 7 July 1954, to Seminary and Institute teachers assembled at BYU; *Church News*, 31 July 1954, p. 2.)

This differs considerably from Smith's apparent view that doctrinal questions can be put to rest through *Ensign* articles written by individual members of the Quorum of the Twelve, with the presumption of agreement by other authorities. Even if

such agreement were likely, President Clark tells us clearly that a consensus of General Authorities does not speak for the President of the Church. And as recently as 1976, President Kimball left the matter of evolution open (*Ensign*, March 1976, 72).

Interestingly, President Clark spoke that summer just nine days after Elder McConkie's father-in-law, Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, had addressed the same group on his own anti-evolution views (Speech, 28 June 1954, *Church News*, 24 July 1954).

Ron Woods
Provo, Utah

Greater Realities?

Michael Quinn's opus on post-Manifesto polygamy (Spring 1985) was a prodigious effort by a bright mind! But although many contradictions, ambiguities, and misstatements by leaders are cited, Quinn may ignore greater realities.

Mechanically and technically the piece is excellent. So far as understanding historical process and comprehending possible celestial *modus operandi*, I am reminded of a Hollywood "western town," a mock-up, a one-dimensional facade.

Quinn emphasizes his own perspective throughout: A revelation has President Woodruff "painted in a corner." "Splits" appear in the First Presidency. Leaders' messages are "muddy." Woodruff suffers in his "cruel dilemma." Millions view the post-Manifesto era with "inescapable melancholy." Prophets were guilty of things that don't strictly "conform to our definition of veracity." This language emphasizes Quinn's thrust and ignores the realities that sometimes require violation of inferior laws. Adam and Eve broke a law to fulfill a law. God told Abraham to lie to Pharaoh. Nephi killed a helpless man and tricked Zoram to get the plates. Abraham was commanded to kill his choice son as a frightening test. Jacob and Rebecca lied to Isaac for the promised birthright. The rabbis called Jesus a lawbreaker when his

disciples garnered food in the fields on the Sabbath.

In some cases prophets are empowered to alter former rulings and conditions. President Kimball wrestled with the ban on blacks holding the priesthood. God answered his faith and the needs of the situation with a new revelation. Moses, on Mount Sinai, persuaded God to rescind his vow to slay the Israelites.

Socio-religious patterns and institutions have not remained uniform. Paul and Peter argued over gentile converts and circumcision. In the nineteenth century, men were allowed high positions who did not observe the Word of Wisdom. The United Order was tried at different times, in different ways, and in different places. At one time the Church had its own army. The ancient Church not only allowed slavery but Paul encouraged the slaves to be good ones. Who has the capability to determine just what was in the hearts and minds of modern Church leaders in those tumultuous and confusing times? If they were God's servants in 1880, I can accept them as such in 1890 or 1904.

As to post-Manifesto offspring and descendents, the quality of the lives of those I knew speaks for itself without reference to their parents' marriages. One descendent, a schoolmate, was a campus leader. She and her family now have twelve university degrees. Another descendent was president of one of America's five largest universities. One was a leading California businessman, a widely respected millionaire. Another was a widely published author who sold at least one successful screen play. Another was a national champion who went to the Olympics. The only Mormon four-star general was raised in a post-Manifesto household. His divorced mother married a polygamist and the boy took his foster father's name.

Quinn cites questionable marriages performed in foreign countries and on the high seas, also some marriages that clearly violated temporal law. But to what extent God condemned, favored, or tolerated all

these marriages, I don't think Quinn will really know until he gets to interrogate Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman, and John Henry Smith. Or until they interrogate him.

Adrian Cannon
West Valley City, Utah

Quinn Responds

I find myself in the curious position of agreeing with nearly everything in Adrian Cannon's letter, apparently intended by him as a criticism of my point of view. In my article on page 19 I quoted Joseph Smith concerning the supremacy of God's command over any of man's ethical assumptions. I had not wanted to do special pleading in the article and felt that the emphasis in the introduction would supply the sufficient context for what happened between 1890 and 1904.

Adrian Cannon has not been the only one who raised the kind of objection voiced in the first part of his letter. Therefore,

I can say that my great regret about the article is that I did not more clearly or emphatically affirm the context in which plural marriage after the Manifesto must be understood.

What the prophets did concerning plural marriage after 1890 was good, in my view, because they responded to the requirements of God's revelation. What the prophets said concerning plural marriage after the Manifesto that conflicted with what they were doing was God's truth. Man's truth and ethics must break upon the rock of God's truth and ethics, if there is a conflict between them. But what was said and done by authority concerning plural marriage from 1890 to 1904 did not diminish the discomfort or the confusion that many Church leaders and members experienced.

My article tried to emphasize both the theological and human dimensions, and my concluding comments were directed to those who might only see the latter.

D. Michael Quinn
Salt Lake City

EVANS BIOGRAPHY AWARD

December 31 is the deadline for submitting manuscripts in competition for the David Woolley Evans and Beatrice Cannon Evans Biography Award. This \$10,000 prize is awarded annually to the book or books judged to be the best biography about a person who lived in the Utah region or had a significant impact upon it. Candidate manuscripts should be sent to Dr. Ted J. Warner, History Department, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

First recipient of the prize was Leonard J. Arrington for *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1984). This year's prize went to the authors of two books: Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery for *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe, 1804-1879* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1985) and Richard L. Bushman for *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).



LDS Women and Priesthood

Scriptural Precedents for Priesthood

Melodie Moench Charles

I

I have heard many LDS women approach the issue of women and the priesthood by protesting that they do not want to hold the priesthood because they have no interest in passing the sacrament or performing some other ecclesiastical duty. I will venture a guess that many men who have the priesthood do not particularly want to hold it either, and that some of them also have no interest in passing the sacrament. But the reluctance of some men would hardly be a good reason to prevent all men from holding the priesthood. Rather than asking, "Do I want to hold the priesthood?" women and men should approach the issue by asking, "Does denying the priesthood to women reflect God's eternal will?" Let me approach this question by looking at priesthood in LDS scriptures including those it accepts with the larger Judeo-Christian community, the Old and New Testaments.

The scriptures never explicitly state that women may be permitted to hold priesthood or are prohibited from doing so. Instead, they recount who holds or should hold priesthood at a particular time, and what those priesthood holders do or should do. Therefore, a student of LDS scriptures finds inferences, precedents, and ambiguous information that needs to be interpreted about women holding the priesthood but no direct answer to the question (Hansen 1981; Hutchinson 1981).

Let me first give some information on how each scriptural community defined priesthood, then summarize who held the priesthood in those communities. Next I will look at that information asking the questions: Does that scriptural practice or teaching reflect God's will for his people at all times, and consequently, does or should the LDS Church consider it normative and bind-

MELODIE MOENCH CHARLES, who holds an M.A. in Old Testament Studies from Harvard Divinity School and is the mother of three, is nursery leader in her Aurora Hills (Colorado) ward. Her paper and the two that follow were a panel on LDS women and priesthood sponsored by DIALOGUE at the Sunstone Symposium, August 1984, Salt Lake City.

ing today? Do we, should we, follow what the scriptures say about who can hold the priesthood?

II

Some general observations about priesthood are in order. Please realize that what I say about priesthood in each book of scripture is a simplification and a generalization, telescoping together information from different time periods. While priesthood may be eternal, it is not unchanging (Heb. 7:12). In every book of scripture, the priesthood develops and evolves. Neither the personnel nor their functions remain the same throughout any single LDS scripture.

For example, the notion of who can perform ritual sacrifice evolves within each scripture. Early in the Old Testament, the privilege is broad: all kinds of males do it with no connection made to priesthood. The privilege gradually narrows until finally only priests who can claim Aaronic descent are allowed. In *Moses and Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price*, the biblical patriarchs sacrifice, while Joseph Smith quotes Moroni that at some time the sons of Levi will again offer an offering in righteousness (Moses 5:5, 20; 6:3; Abr. 2:17–18; JS–H 1:69). In the Book of Mormon, the people obey the law of Moses, including sacrificing animals (Mosiah 2:3), until Christ announces in person that he has fulfilled the law of Moses. Therefore, rather than offering animal sacrifice to God, the people should offer him a broken heart and a contrite spirit (3 Ne. 9:17–22). In the New Testament, sacrifice evolves from being the prerogative of the priests at the Jerusalem temple, to being the prerogative of Christ, who sacrifices himself, and does it only once. Furthermore, Jewish sacrifices cease after the temple is destroyed. The Doctrine and Covenants is written in a time when animal sacrifice is not practiced, but it promises that in the future, such sacrifice will again be offered by the sons of Levi (13:1; 128:24).

The activities explicitly connected to priesthood in scripture include performing rituals, preaching, teaching, and governing the Church. I found no examples of priesthood being invoked when someone manifests spiritual gifts or performs miracles such as healing the sick or raising the dead. Instead these individuals often invoke the power of God or Christ, or claim that the power of God, Christ, or faith makes their action possible.

III

What is priesthood in the Old Testament? In Exodus 19:6 God covenants with the Israelites that if they will obey him they will be a kingdom of priests, a holy nation, i.e., a people set apart from all other people. Priesthood then, is a quality or a condition of holiness, sacredness, and purity, of being more removed from the profane than others are. This concept is reflected in the New Testament and modern Christian idea of a priesthood of all believers (see 1 Pet. 2:5, 9, and Rev. 1:6).

The demands of ritual purity are so strict that no nation can be pure always, so the priests, obeying the strict law, represent the people. This purity qualifies

the priests to perform specialized functions wherein contact with God occurs (Cody 1969, 119). Cody also argues that priesthood can be seen as a function or craft rather than a condition. For example, whether a Levite is a priest depends upon whether he is functioning as one (Cody 1969, 59). Because the priests are purer than other people, they have superior power to communicate with the supernatural, and therefore, they mediate between the divine and humans (ID 3:877).

Who holds this priesthood? Male descendants of Levi hold it, according to Exodus 32:25–29, because they are more zealous than other Israelites in obeying God. Later, Zadokites, whose Israelite origin is questionable, hold priesthood positions more important than those held by Levites. Later still, people who claim to be Levites descended from Aaron perform the most important functions (Cody 1969, 89, 134, 146). Because the priest had to be as whole and as perfect as possible, those who perform the primary function of offering sacrifice cannot be lame, hunchbacked, or dwarfed, nor can they have defective sight, mutilated faces, a limb too long, an injured foot or hand, an itching disease, or crushed testicles (RSV Lev. 21:16–21).

What is priesthood in the Book of Mormon? It is an eternally existent cosmic entity. As Alma explains, “This high priesthood [is] after the order of his Son, which order was from the foundation of the world; or in other words, without beginning of days or end of years, being prepared from eternity to all eternity” (Alma 13:7). Joseph Smith’s description of priesthood as “an everlasting principle” (HC 3:386) fits priesthood in all three exclusively Mormon scriptures. As in the Old Testament, those who hold this priesthood are expected to be exceptionally holy and pure. However, purity in the Book of Mormon is more ethically focused than in the Old Testament, where it is ritually, physically focused. The primary purpose of priesthood is to help people accept Christ as their savior and live in accordance with his teachings.

Who holds this priesthood? The Book of Mormon shows no concern for lineage as a criterion for holding the priesthood. Numbers help determine priesthood bearers when Alma ordains one priest for every fifty people he has baptized (Mosiah 18:18). The men who hold the priesthood are “just,” fore-ordained by God because they exercised exceedingly great faith, did good works, chose good, repented, and were righteous before him (Mosiah 23:17; Alma 13:3). Immediately after Jesus appears, the twelve Nephite disciples chosen by Jesus seem to be the only priesthood holders.

What is priesthood in the Pearl of Great Price? As in the Book of Mormon, it is an eternally existent cosmic entity. It is also a vehicle for God’s power. Some people are “rightful heirs” to it and some people “are cursed as pertaining to it” (Moses 6:7; Abr. 1:2–4, 18, 20–24, 26–27). Who holds this priesthood? Noah (Moses 8:19), Abraham, and “the fathers,” that is, the biblical patriarchs (Abr. 1:2–4, 18, 31). Who is denied it? The descendants of Cain, and the children of Canaan, who are described as being black (Moses 7:8, 22)

and the descendants of Ham (Abr. 1:20, 22–24, 26–27), presumably all the same people.

What is the priesthood in the New Testament? Most references to priesthood are references to the Jewish priesthood. The great exception is Hebrews, which explains that the priesthood which Christ himself possesses is infinitely superior to, and therefore fulfills and does away with, Jewish priesthood. For most of the New Testament period, there is apparently no Christian priesthood which mortals hold. Although the Gospels show Jesus appointing Peter to be the foundation of his church, commissioning apostles, and assigning seventy people to spread his teachings, they do not connect any of these functions to priesthood. Nor are any of these positions portrayed as being part of a functioning hierarchy during Jesus's lifetime.

As far as we can tell from the texts, New Testament titles, such as apostle, bishop, pastor, evangelist, teacher, elder, and deacon initially describe only functions — roles of service — not priesthood offices (see Mesle 1984, Hutchinson 1981, ID 3:889–90). Paul thinks of his apostleship not as power, authority, or rank, but as a responsibility assigned to him directly from Christ and God to serve humanity by converting them to Christ (Rom. 1:4–5; 1 Cor. 9:15–18; 1 Cor. 2:17, 4:1; Gal. 1:15–17). Toward the end of the New Testament period, some of these functions have evolved into offices which are part of an official church hierarchy (1 and 2 Tim. and Titus). Later, though not in the New Testament, these functions are identified as priesthood offices.

Who holds the priesthood? The Jews, but after Christ's resurrection their priesthood is no longer valid and has been fulfilled. Christ himself possesses priesthood. But the roles of Christian service which evolve into priesthood offices seem to be open to anyone. Lineage is apparently no barrier. Sex is apparently no barrier. Paul twice “applies the Greek word meaning ‘deacon’ to women. To be sure, there is no absolute certainty that in his use of this word he would imply that deaconesses would be ordained and perform functions in the Church reserved to the order of deacons in later times. But there is no reason to believe that the male deacons mentioned in Acts and elsewhere would either” (Meyer 1974, 60). Meyer also notes that the Church Fathers' writings attest to deaconesses in the very early history of the Church who take care of sick women, serve as intermediaries between the bishop and the female members of his flock, and assist in women's baptisms. “As is well known, in the early Church those to be baptized entered the pools or stream naked.” When infant baptism becomes the norm, the need for women to baptize women disappears (1974, 63–64, 74). The text of Romans 16:7 is ambiguous, but the evidence favors Junia's being both a woman and an apostle (Hutchinson 1981, 65–66; Jerome 330; Brooten 1977, 141–42). The English translations of these texts often obscure their application to women.

What is priesthood in the Doctrine and Covenants? An eternally existent cosmic entity which is a vehicle for God's power (84:17, 20; 112:30–31; 121:36; 128:11, 21; 132:7, 19, 44, 45, 59, 64).

Who holds it? Male members of the Church. Some hold it or have special assignments in it “by right,” e.g., the sons of Levi, sons of Aaron, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and Zion (which is referred to as she) (D&C 13; 68:15–21; 86:8–11; 113:8; 124:91). Official Declaration 2 explicitly allows “all worthy male members of the Church . . . without regard for race or color” to hold it.

IV

Has the Church followed the patterns set forth in these scriptures? Does the LDS Church follow the Old Testament pattern and ordain only Levites? Zadokites? Sons of Aaron? Men without physical blemishes?

Does it follow the Book of Mormon pattern and confer priesthood only on men foreordained by God? Men of exceptional righteousness? Those directly appointed by Christ?

Does it follow the Pearl of Great Price pattern and prohibit descendants of Ham, Canaan, or Cain (black people) from holding the priesthood?

Does it follow the New Testament pattern and restrict the priesthood to Christ? Does it let anyone serve who has the desire or who feels called?

Does it follow the Doctrine and Covenants pattern and allow all worthy males to hold the priesthood?

Pursuing this further, does it follow the Doctrine and Covenants pattern and expect priests, who in today’s practice are sixteen years old, to “preach, teach, expound, exhort,” and exhort each member “to pray vocally and in secret and attend to all family duties”? Does it follow the pattern of expecting teachers, who in today’s practice are fourteen years old, “to watch over the church always, and be with and strengthen them; And see that there is no iniquity in the church, neither hardness with each other, neither lying, backbiting, nor evil speaking; And see that the church meets together often, and also see that all members do their duty” (20:46–47, 53–59)? Does it follow the advice in 1 Timothy and expect deacons, who in today’s practice are twelve years old, to be “husbands of one wife” who rule “their children and their own houses well” (3:12)? What scriptural pattern does it follow in allowing nineteen-year-olds to have the title “elder”?

V

In summary, then, what do the scriptures say about women holding the priesthood? Nothing directly. While each scripture except for the New Testament seems to assume that priesthood holders are male, none explicitly claims that priesthood holders have to be only and forever male, nor does any scripture describe any necessary connection between priesthood-holding and maleness.

If the Church — any church — held itself rigidly to scriptural patterns and precedents, nothing could ever be done for the first time (McCabe 1977, 11). Continuous revelation to meet changing needs would be meaningless. Black Mormon males would not now exercise the priesthood, since the Pearl of Great Price strongly suggests that they have no right to hold it. The can-

onized revelation President Kimball received in 1978 is a good example of the Church's rejecting a scriptural precedent as not reflecting God's eternal will. By accepting this revelation, the Church created new scripture which superseded old.

In 1978 the question arose in the Church of whether women ought to be able to pray in sacrament meeting. According to President Kimball's statement in the Regional Representatives meeting on 29 September, to find an answer to that question, the brethren consulted the scriptures. Since they found no scriptural reason to prohibit women's praying in sacrament meetings, the existing policy was changed. Women have, since then, been allowed to pray in any meeting they attend (*Deseret News*, 29 Sept. 1978; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 30 Sept. 1978).

Thus, the LDS Church has rejected scripturally-based precedents about the priesthood and has allowed a practice because scriptures do not forbid it. Perhaps the time has come for the Church to evaluate the scriptural precedents on the issue of allowing women to hold the priesthood and determine which might reflect God's eternal will and which might not.

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The Historical Relationship of Mormon Women and Priesthood

Linda King Newell

When the topic of women holding the priesthood in the LDS Church comes up, it is often met with bad jokes (“I hold the priesthood every night when he comes home from work,” or “Maybe women will hold the priesthood when men become mothers”), and a not-so-subtle display of fear among both men (“What are women trying to do, usurp the male role in the home and church?”) and women (“I wouldn’t want all that responsibility — would you?”). Usually these church members are convinced that their views are shared by all faithful members, including “the Brethren,” and are consistent with our Church’s history. While an examination of that history leaves unanswered the question of women’s ordination to the priesthood, the historical overview of LDS women’s relationship to priesthood suggests a more expansive view than many members now hold.

Although I have found no case where women have claimed ordination to the priesthood, there are accounts of women being “ordained” to specific callings and of women who exercised powers and spiritual gifts now assigned only to male priesthood holders. These practices and the endorsement of them by such Church leaders as Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Heber J. Grant, and others, have left many unanswered questions.

When Joseph Smith organized the Relief Society on 17 March 1842 (see Minutes), he gave the women an autonomy currently unknown in that organization. He instructed the sisters to elect their own president who would then select her counselors. Then he “would ordain them to preside over the society . . . just as the Presidency preside over the church.”

Elizabeth Ann Whitney moved that Emma Smith be made president. Sophia Packard seconded it. Emma chose Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Sarah M. Cleveland as counselors. Joseph then “read the Revelation to Emma Smith, from the . . . Doctrine and Covenants; and stated that she was ordain’d at the time the revelation was given [in July 1830], to expound the scriptures to all; and to teach the female part of the community.” He continued by saying that she was designated an “Elect Lady” because she was “elected to preside.”

John Taylor then “laid his hands on the head of Mrs. Cleveland and ordain’d her to be a Counsellor to . . . Emma Smith.” He followed the same procedure in “ordaining” Elizabeth Whitney. Susa Young Gates later emphasized that these women were “not only set apart, but ordained.” At the third meeting, 30 March 1842, Joseph addressed the women and told them “that the Society should move according to the ancient Priesthood . . . he was going to make of this Society a kingdom of priests as in Enoch’s day — as in Paul’s day.” On 17 May Newel K. Whitney accompanied Joseph Smith and told the

LINDA KING NEWELL lives in Salt Lake City, Utah, and is co-editor of *DIALOGUE*. She and *Valeen Tippetts Avery* are authors of *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

women: "In the beginning, God created man, male and female, and bestow'd upon man certain blessings peculiar to a man of God, of which woman partook, so that without the female all things cannot be restor'd to the earth — it takes all to restore the Priesthood." Although Whitney had recently been initiated into the endowment and his remarks most certainly reflect his awareness of women's forthcoming role in that ordinance, his words also reflect an anticipation that many held in that era: women's role within the Church was to include priesthood powers — at least in some form. On 28 April 1842 Joseph Smith told the women: "I now turn the key to you in the name of God and this Society shall rejoice and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time." It is important to remember that "keys" were commonly associated with "priesthood" and that Joseph turned the key *to* women rather than in their behalf as the standard *History of the Church* would report (HC 4:607).

The change can be traced to George A. Smith who, in 1854, was assigned to complete Joseph Smith's history. In working on the manuscript from 1 April 1840 to 1 March 1842 — including the Relief Society minutes in question — he revised and corrected the already compiled history, using "reports of sermons of Joseph Smith and others from minutes or sketches taken at the time in long hand." He mentioned using Eliza R. Snow's writings as well and said he had taken "the greatest care . . . to convey the ideas in the prophet's style as near as possible; and in no case has the sentiment been varied that I know of" (Jessee, 1973, 458). He did not, however, comment on this particular passage from the minutes or explain his reasons for changing "I turn the key to you" to "I now turn the key in your behalf." George A. Smith's interpretation has stood in Church publications from that time to the present.

By the time the Relief Society was organized, women had already exercised such spiritual gifts as speaking in tongues and blessing the sick.¹ These practices made a natural entrance into the Relief Society. After the close of the fourth meeting, 19 April 1842, Emma Smith, Sarah Cleveland, and Elizabeth Whitney administered to a Sister Durfee. The following week, she testified that she had "been healed and thought the sisters had more faith than the brethren." After that meeting, Sarah and Elizabeth blessed another Relief Society member, Abigail Leonard, "for the restoration of health."

In the next meeting, Joseph Smith specifically addressed the propriety of women giving blessings: "If God gave his sanction by healing . . . there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on the sick than in wetting the face with water." There were women ordained to heal the sick and it was their privilege to do so. "If the sisters should have faith to heal the sick," he said, "let all hold their tongues" (28 April 1842).

¹ For examples of women participating in healing in Kirtland, see Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Sweet Council and Seas of Tribulation: The Religious Life of the Women in Kirtland," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 151–62. See also Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," forthcoming in a volume edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. Part of that essay was published in "A Gift Given, A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick Among Mormon Women." *Sunstone* 6 (Sept./Oct. 1981): 16–26, from which some material has been adapted for this essay.

After the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844, the Relief Society did not meet. The following spring, however, several women must have approached Brigham Young about resuming regular meetings, for in a meeting of the Seventies he declared that women “never can hold the Priesthood apart from their husbands. When I want Sisters or the Wives of the members of the church to get up Relief Society I will summon them to my aid but until that time let them stay at home & if you see females huddling together . . . and if they say Joseph started it tell them its a damned lie for I know he never encouraged it” (Seventies Record, 9 March 1845).

These minutes leave some questions. Certainly Brigham was not saying that Joseph did not organize the Relief Society. That was an established fact. What, then, did he mean when he said that Joseph did not start “it”? Perhaps the clue lies in the first line, Women “never can hold the Priesthood apart from their husbands.” Confusion over the relationship of the Relief Society to priesthood authority would deepen, but vital links had already been established between the Relief Society and the exercise of spiritual gifts, priesthood, and the temple.

“Blessing meetings” that had been a feature of both Kirtland and Nauvoo spiritual life continued. In them, the Saints often combined the laying on of hands for health blessings, tongues, and prophecy. Eliza R. Snow’s diary contains numerous references to these occasions. For example, on 1 January 1847, she wrote of receiving a blessing “thro’ our belov’d mother Chase and sis[ter] Clarissa [Decker] by the gift of tongues,” adding: “To describe the scene . . . would be beyond my power.” (Snow, 1 Jan. 1847). This group of women would teach the next several generations of Mormon women about spiritual gifts.

Another practice grew out of the ordinances the Saints had received in the Nauvoo Temple. Washing and anointing the sick became a common practice among Church members, particularly women. It was customary for the person administering a blessing to anoint with oil the part of the body in need of healing — for example, a sore shoulder or perhaps a crushed leg. For instance, in 1849 Eliza Jane Merrick, an English convert, reported healing her sister: “I anointed her chest with the oil you consecrated, and also gave her some inwardly . . . She continued very ill all the evening: her breath very short, and the fever very high. I again anointed her chest in the name of the Lord, and asked his blessing; he was graciously pleased to hear me, and in the course of twenty-four hours, she was as well as if nothing had been the matter.” (Merrick 1849, 205) One can easily see the inappropriateness of men anointing women in such cases.

There were, however, those who questioned the propriety of such practices by women and the two strands of confidence and doubt began to intertwine. Mary Ellen Able Kimball’s journal records a visit on 2 March 1857 to wash and anoint a sick woman who immediately felt better. But after returning home,

I thought of the instructions I had received from time to time that the priesthood was not bestowed upon women. I accordingly asked Mr. Kimball [her husband, Heber C.]

if woman had a right to wash and anoint the sick for the recovery of their health or is it mockery in them to do so. He replied inasmuch as they are obedient to their husbands they have a right to administer in that way in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ but not by authority of the priesthood invested in them for that authority is not given to woman.

Mary Ellen concluded with the kind of argument that would calm women's apprehensions for the next four decades: "He also said they might administer by the authority given to their husbands in as much as they were one with their husband" (March 1857).

On other occasions, the concept of women holding the priesthood in connection with their husbands was reinforced when husbands and wives joined together in blessing their children. Wilford Woodruff's namesake son, just ordained a priest, was about to begin his duties. The future Church president summoned his family on 3 February 1854. "His father and mother [Phoebe Carter Woodruff] laid hands upon him and blessed him and dedicated him unto the Lord" (Woodruff 4:244). On 8 September 1875, George Goddard recorded a similar incident about his sixteen-year-old son, Brigham H. On his birthday, "his Mother and Myself, put our hands upon his head and pronounced a parents blessing upon him."

While these applications of faith were loving and natural, the question of women's having priesthood authority remained unsettled. Zina Huntington, a plural wife first of Joseph Smith and later Brigham Young, received a patriarchal blessing from John Smith, Joseph's uncle, in 1850, which stated: "the Priesthood in fullness is & Shall be Conferd upon you" (Smith 11:6).² Sarah Granger Kimball, whose idea it was to organize the women of Nauvoo, had used the priesthood structure as a pattern for the Relief Society in her ward, complete with deaconesses and teachers (S. Kimball 1868). However, John Taylor, who had originally ordained those first officers in March 1842, explained that "some of the sisters have thought that these sisters mentioned were, in this ordination, ordained to the priesthood . . . [but] it is not the calling of these sisters to hold the Priesthood, only in connection with their husbands, they being one with their husbands (JD 21:367-68). This 1880 statement stood as the official interpretation.

On 23 December 1881, the anniversary of Joseph Smith's birthday, Zina Huntington Young records in her diary that she washed and anointed one woman "for her health, and administered to another for her hearing," then reminisced about the days in Nauvoo. "I have practiced much with My Sister Presendia Kimball while in Nauvoo & ever since before Joseph Smith's death. He blest Sister's to bless the sick." Then on 3 September 1890, she noted that Bishop Newel K. Whitney had "blest the Sisters in having faith to administer to there own families in humble faith not saying by the Authority of the Holy Priesthood but in the name of Jesus Christ." She thus made a direct distinction between the women's blessings and priesthood blessings. Six months earlier

² Statements such as this are sometimes dismissed as references to the church's highest ordinance, the "second anointing" or "fulness of the priesthood," but that ordinance does in fact confer priesthood power on women. See Buerger 1983.

she had visited her sick son and administered to him (Young, Journal, 5 March 1890).

But statements about healing by women and priesthood functions had been creating confusion among some Church members for several years. In 1878, Angus Cannon, president of the Salt Lake Stake, had announced, "The sisters have a right to anoint the sick, and pray the Father to heal them, and to exercise that faith that will prevail with God; but women must be careful how they use the authority of the priesthood in administering to the sick." Two years later on 8 August 1880 an address by John Taylor on "The Order and Duties of the Priesthood" reaffirmed that women "hold the Priesthood, only in connection with their husbands, they being one with their husbands" (JD 21:368).

A circular letter from the First Presidency that October spelled out that women "should not be ordained to any office in the Priesthood; but they may be appointed as Helps, and Assistants, and Presidents, among their own sex" and that anointing and blessing the sick were not official functions of the Relief Society since any faithful Church member might perform the actions. Women could administer to the sick "in their respective families." This acknowledgment raised another question: What about administering to those outside the family circle? They gave no answer, although the practice of calling for the elders or for the sisters had certainly been established. Another question was whether women needed to be set apart to bless the sick. In 1884, Eliza R. Snow asserted: "Any and all sisters who honor their holy endowments, not only have the right, but should feel it a duty, whenever called upon to administer to our sisters in these ordinances, which God has graciously committed to His daughters as well as to His sons" (Snow, 1884).

Two differing points of view were now in print. Eliza Snow and the First Presidency agreed that the Relief Society had no monopoly on the ordinance of administration by and for women. The First Presidency, however, implied that the ordinance should now be limited to the woman's family without specifying any requirement but faithfulness. Eliza Snow, on the other hand, had said nothing of limiting administrations to the family — indeed, the implication is clear that anyone in need of a blessing should receive it — but said that only women who had been endowed might officiate.

When precisely the same act was performed and very nearly the same words were used among women in the temple, among women outside the temple, and among men administering to women, the distinction — in the average mind — became shadowy indeed.

Despite the growing ambiguity as the nineteenth century closed, the leading sisters had successfully maintained their right to exercise the gift of blessing and had been supported by the Church hierarchy. The twentieth century would see a definite shift.

Louisa "Lula" Greene Richards, former editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, wrote a somewhat terse letter to President Lorenzo Snow on 9 April 1901 concerning an article she had read in the *Deseret News*. It had stated: "Priest, Teacher or Deacon may administer to the sick, and so may a member, male or female, but neither of them can seal the anointing and blessing, because the

authority to do that is vested in the Priesthood after the order of Melchizedek.” Lula wrote:

If the information given in the answer is absolutely correct, then myself and thousands of other members of the Church have been misinstructed and are laboring under a very serious mistake, which certainly should be authoritatively corrected. Sister Eliza R. Snow Smith [her correspondent’s sister], from the Prophet Joseph Smith, her husband, taught the sisters in her day, that a very important part of the sacred ordinance of administrations to the sick was the sealing of the anointing and blessings, and should never be omitted. And we follow the pattern she gave us continually. We do not seal in the authority of the Priesthood, but in the name of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

There is no record of Lorenzo Snow’s reply.

Over the next few years, an emerging definition of priesthood authority and an increased emphasis on its importance would remove spiritual responsibilities from women and link those rights with priesthood alone. The statements authorizing the continuance of women’s blessings only signaled their dependence on that permission. Sometime during the first decade of the new century, the Relief Society circulated a letter called simply “Answers to Questions.” Undated, it ended with the notation: “Approved by the First Presidency of the Church.” It may have been a response to an unsigned 1903 *Young Woman’s Journal* lesson that claimed “Only the higher or Melchisedek Priesthood has the right to lay on hands for the healing of the sick, or to direct the administration, . . . though to pray for the sick is the right that necessarily belongs to every member of the Church” (“Gifts” 1903, 384). This may be the earliest published claim that only the Melchizedek Priesthood had authority to heal. The Relief Society’s approved letter, however, clearly indicated that any endowed woman had authority to perform such services and that these blessings were not confined to her family. The letter also cautioned the women to avoid resemblances in language to the temple forms, and although the blessings should be sealed, the sisters did not need a priesthood holder to do it.

But the early generation that had taught that women held the priesthood in connection with their husbands was passing. In 1907 the *Improvement Era* published the query: “Does a wife hold the priesthood with her husband? and may she lay hands on the sick with him, with authority?” Speaking for a new generation, President Joseph F. Smith answered:

A wife does not hold the priesthood in connection with her husband, but she enjoys the benefits thereof with him; and if she is requested to lay hands on the sick with him, or with any other officer holding the Melchizedek priesthood, she may do so with perfect propriety. It is no uncommon thing for a man and wife unitedly to administer to their children, and the husband being mouth, he may properly say out of courtesy, “By authority of the holy priesthood in us vested” (Smith 1907, 308).

During the opening years of the twentieth century, a clearer definition of priesthood emerged, bringing with it a redefinition of the role of women. In 1901 B. H. Roberts, a member of the third presiding quorum, the Seventies, lamented how “common” the priesthood seemed to be held and insisted that “respect for the Priesthood” went far beyond respecting the General Authori-

ties to include “all those who hold the Priesthood . . . presidents of stakes; . . . Bishops . . . the Priests, who teach the Gospel at the firesides of the people . . . and the humblest that holds that power” (CR Oct. 1901, 58). Thus, the priesthood was defined not only as a power from God but also as the man upon whom it was conferred. Statements like this dovetailed with the practice of referring to all ordained male members as “the priesthood.”

By 1913, it is evident that the priesthood — meaning, by this time, the authoritative structure of the Church — had authority also over those gifts that had once been the right of every member of the household of faith.

The Relief Society General Board minutes for 7 October 1913 record a growing concern of President Emmeline B. Wells: “In the early days in Nauvoo women administered to the sick and many were healed through their administration, and while some of the brethren do not approve of this, it is to be hoped the blessing will not be taken from us” (4:124). This seems to be the earliest acknowledgment that the Church hierarchy disapproved of the practice.

In response to President Joseph F. Smith’s statement that the auxiliaries “are not independent of the priesthood of the Son of God,” the Relief Society explained in its February 1914 *Bulletin*, that all systems have their law. The Church has “the law of God” and defines priesthood as

the power to administer in the ordinances of the Gospel . . . Those who preside over the auxiliary organizations receive their authority from the presiding Priesthood. Women do not hold the Priesthood. This fact must be faced calmly by mothers and explained clearly to young women, for the spirit that is now abroad in the world makes for women’s demand for every place and office enjoyed by men, and a few more that men can’t enter. Women in this Church must not forget that they have rights which men do not possess.

The writer does not specify these rights but assures women that even the superior woman will marry “the right one,” identifiable because “he will be just one or more degrees superior in intelligence and power to the superior woman.” In any case if he holds the priesthood, “women everywhere . . . should render that reverence and obedience that belongs of right of the Priesthood which he holds.” (pp. 1–3)

An October 1914 letter to bishops and stake presidents from President Joseph F. Smith and his counselors established an official policy on “washing and anointing our sisters preparatory to their confinement.” After affirming that sisters may wash, anoint, seal anointings, and bless a woman prior to giving birth, the letter states: “It should, however, always be remembered that the command of the Lord is to call in the elders to administer to the sick, and when they can be called in, they should be asked to anoint the sick or seal the anointing.”

By 1921 the statements concerning women and their relationship to the priesthood had become increasingly narrow. In April Conference, Ruder Clawson of the Quorum of the Twelve told the church members: “The Priesthood is not received, or held, or exercised in any degree, by the women of the Church; but nevertheless, the women of the Church enjoy the blessings of the

Priesthood through their husbands” (CR April 1921, 24–25). Later in the same conference, Charles W. Penrose of the First Presidency referred to Elder Clawson’s remarks and added his own commentary:

There seems to be a revival of the idea among some of our sisters that they hold the priesthood. . . . When a woman is sealed to a man holding the Priesthood, she becomes one with him . . . She receives blessings in association with him. . . . Sisters have said to me sometimes, “But, I hold the Priesthood with my husband.” “Well,” I asked, “what office do you hold in the Priesthood?” Then they could not say much more. The sisters are not ordained to any office in the Priesthood and there is authority in the Church which they cannot exercise: it does not belong to them; they cannot do that properly any more than they can change themselves into a man. Now, sisters, do not take the idea that I wish to convey that you have no blessings or authority or power belonging to the Priesthood. When you are sealed to a man of God who holds it and who, by overcoming, inherits the fulness of the glory of God, you will share that with him if you are fit for it, and I guess you will be (CR April 1921, 108).

This more detailed explanation did not clarify a great deal. Even if a woman were “one” with her priesthood-holding husband, she still could not *do* anything as a result of that union. Furthermore, President Penrose conveyed the impression that priesthood does not exist apart from priesthood offices. He then reported women asking him “if they did not have the right to administer to the sick” and he, quoting Jesus’ promise to his apostles of the signs that will follow the believers, conceded that there might be

occasions when perhaps it would be wise for a woman to lay her hands upon a child, or upon one another sometimes, and there have been appointments made for our sisters, some good women, to anoint and bless others of their sex who expect to go through times of great personal trial, travail and ‘labor;’ so that is all right, so far as it goes. But when women go around and declare that they have been set apart to administer to the sick and take the place that is given to the elders of the Church by revelation as declared through James of old, and through the Prophet Joseph in modern times, that is an assumption of authority and contrary to scripture, which is that when people are sick they shall call for the elders of the Church and they shall pray over them and officially lay hands on them (CR April 1921, 198).

Even though President Penrose here cited the authority of Joseph Smith and even though Joseph Smith had certainly taught the propriety and authority of elders to heal the sick, the Prophet had cited that same scripture in the 12 April 1842 Relief Society meeting but, ironically, had made a far different commentary: “These signs . . . should follow all that believe whether male or female.”

Another clarification of women’s position came in 1922 when the First Presidency, then consisting of Heber J. Grant, Charles W. Penrose, and Anthony W. Ivins issued a circular letter defining the purposes of each auxiliary. The Relief Society was first: “Women, not being heirs to the priesthood except as they enjoy and participate in the blessings through their husbands, are not identified with the priesthood quorums” (Clark 4:314–15). The pattern of removing women from the realm of anything associated with the role of male priesthood had now been established, clarified, and validated.

The strength of that pattern can be seen through a letter from Martha A. Hickman of Logan who in 1935 wrote to the Relief Society general president, Louise Yates Robison, asking if it were “orthodox and sanctioned” for the women to perform washings and anointings of women about to give birth. “We have officiated in this capacity some ten years, have enjoyed our calling, and been appreciated. However, since . . . questions [about “orthodoxy”] have arisen we do not feel quite at ease. We would like to be in harmony, as well as being able to inform correctly those seeking information.” (Hickman 1935)

Sister Robison answered the query through Martha Hickman’s stake Relief Society president in Logan.

In reference to the question raised [by Martha Hickman], may we say that this beautiful ordinance has always been with the Relief Society, and it is our earnest hope that we may continue to have that privilege, and up to the present time the Presidents of the Church have always allowed it to us. There are some places, however, where a definite stand against it has been taken by the Priesthood Authorities, and where such is the case we cannot do anything but accept their will in the matter. However, where the sisters are permitted to do this for expectant mothers we wish it done very quietly. . . . It is something that should be treated very carefully, and as we have suggested, with no show or discussion of it. (Robison and Lund 1935)

Clearly, blessings not performed by male priesthood holders were now suspect.

The next year Joseph Fielding Smith, soon to become president of the Quorum of the Twelve, wrote to Belle S. Spafford, new Relief Society general president, and her counselors, Marianne C. Sharp and Gertrude R. Garff: “While the authorities of the Church have ruled that it is permissible, under certain conditions and with the approval of the priesthood, for sisters to wash and anoint other sisters, yet they feel that it is far better for us to follow the plan the Lord has given us and send for the Elders of the Church to come and administer to the sick and afflicted” (Clark 4:314). It would certainly be difficult for a sister to say that she did *not* wish to follow “the plan the Lord has given us” by asking for administration from her sisters rather than from the elders.

The letter from Joseph Fielding Smith officially ended women’s blessings where they had not already stopped. Although some modern cases of women blessing have recently come to light,³ there is no further evidence of blessings being given in conjunction with the Relief Society. During the next three decades other pronouncements by Church leaders further stressed the male role

³ Since the publication of part of this essay in 1981 (n. 1), about ten women have told me of their experiences in exercising spiritual gifts. Two women, in separate instances, each blessed and healed a child in her care. Neither of these women had ever discussed the blessing with anyone before for fear it would be considered “inappropriate.” Another woman gathered her sister’s frail, cancer-ridden body in her arms and blessed her with one pain-free day. Several women together blessed a close friend just prior to her hysterectomy. One daughter told of a blessing administered to her by her mother for the relief of intense menstrual cramps. Others asked that their experience not be mentioned — again fearing that what had been personal and sacred to them would be misunderstood and viewed as inappropriate by others. Of course, the same kinds of blessings, when performed by priesthood holders, are commonly told in public Church meetings as faith-promoting experiences and are accepted by members of the Church in that spirit.

of the priesthood. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., a member of the First Presidency, defined the priesthood in 1940 as “the authority of God bestowed upon men to represent Him in certain relationships between and among men and between men and God.” But in the remainder of his talk President Clark referred to himself and other male members as “the Priesthood” rather than men with priesthood authority, power, or callings (CR April 1940, 152–54).

In 1956 when Apostle Marion G. Romney spoke of spiritual gifts in general conference, he made no mention of women: “Righteous men, bearing the holy priesthood of the living God and endowed with the gift of the Holy Ghost, who are magnifying their callings . . . are the only men upon the earth with the right to receive and exercise the gifts of the spirit” (CR April 1956, 72).

Apostle John A. Widtsoe’s influential revision of his *Priesthood and Church Government* discusses the powers of priesthood. The chapter on spiritual gifts examines each in turn after an introduction announcing that “spiritual gifts are properly enjoyed by the Saints of God under the direction of ‘such as God shall appoint and ordain over the Church’ — that is, the Priesthood and its officers” (Widtsoe 1954, 38–39). The discussion of revelation, discernment, healing, translation, and power over evil makes no acknowledgment that these gifts may exist outside the priesthood-ordained group.

About women, Elder Widtsoe wrote the oft-quoted passage: “The man who arrogantly feels that he is better than his wife because he holds the Priesthood has failed utterly to comprehend the meaning and purpose of Priesthood.” Why? Because “the Lord loves His daughters quite as well as His sons” and “men can never rise superior to the women who bear and nurture them,” and “woman has her gift of equal magnitude—motherhood” (Widtsoe 1954, 89–90).

From the 1950s to the early 1980s, equal citizenship for women in the kingdom seems to have been replaced with the glorification of motherhood, thus ignoring both the single or childless woman and also ignoring fatherhood as the equivalent of motherhood. Limiting the definition of priesthood to chiefly ecclesiastical and administrative functions tends to limit the roles of both sexes. Anything traditionally considered “male” in the Church has come to be attached exclusively to the priesthood, and this emphasis stresses — even magnifies — the differences between the sexes rather than concentrating on expanding the roles of both.

While it can be argued that the mother’s functions of pregnancy, birth, and nursing are balanced by the father’s giving a name and blessing, baptizing, confirming, and ordaining his children, these acts do not remove from the father the responsibility of day-to-day nurturing. And even though the father is often permitted in the delivery room to witness the birth of his children and be a part of the birth process and bonding, the mother is still not invited into the blessing circles. If women do, indeed, hold the priesthood with their husbands, their presence should be welcomed, particularly since non-priesthood-holding fathers are sometimes allowed in the blessing circle. All this aside, the responsibilities of fathering are being increasingly stressed by Church

leaders, moving us toward a more inclusive priesthood model: brotherhood-sisterhood, motherhood-fatherhood, all functioning in the larger realm of shared priesthood.

The motherhood-priesthood “equivalence” also ignores the fact that women from the beginnings of Church history did not sacrifice their important role as mothers while participating fully in the spiritual gifts of the gospel. Nor is there evidence to suggest that women’s spiritual activities or their independence within the Relief Society organization in any way diminished men’s priesthood powers or their exercise of them.

Although many works designed to explain the “exalted place” of Mormon women have recently appeared, they have generally been historically shallow.⁴ However, as recently as January 1981, James E. Faust of the Quorum of the Twelve told a group of Mormon psychotherapists: “The priesthood is not just male- or husband-centered, but reaches its potential only in the eternal relationship of the husband and the wife sharing and administering these great blessings to the family (Faust 1981, 5). And the 1980–81 Melchizedek Priesthood study guide quotes President Joseph Fielding Smith: “There is nothing in the teachings of the gospel which declares that men are superior to women Women do not hold the priesthood, but if they are faithful and true, they will become priestesses and queens in the kingdom of God, and that implies that they will be given authority” (McConkie 3:178).

Although the pendulum has swung far from Joseph Smith’s prophetic vision of women as queens and priestesses, holders of keys of blessings and spiritual gifts, the statements of Elder Faust and President Smith may signal a theologic reevaluation of the woman’s role. A rediscovery of the history of Mormon women’s spiritual gifts has also awakened interest in the idea of mothers and fathers jointly anointing and blessing their own children; of husbands receiving, like Wilford Woodruff, blessings *from* their wives (CR Oct. 1910, 20; Oct. 1919, 31); of mothers standing in the circle when their babies are blessed; of women blessing each other or their children (a mother’s blessing) in times of special need; of women as well as men jointly exercising spiritual gifts on behalf of each other. A broader, more inclusive understanding of priesthood could strengthen marital and family ties and once again allow unmarried women to share more fully in the gifts of the spirit which were once common in the household of faith. This could mean a reexamination of the LDS policy of ordaining women to priesthood offices or it could simply mean making changes in the *General Handbook of Instruction* which would reverse the tide that has stripped women of these opportunities through over a hundred years of policy development.

⁴ The most ambitious, Oscar W. McConkie, *She Shall Be Called Woman* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), asserts that the eternal nature of women is different in essence from that of men, that women’s primary role in life (and chief contribution to the Church) is motherhood, that women have “great[er] sensitivity to spiritual truths” and that righteous husbands are “the saviour of the wives.” Withal, he acknowledges the equal responsibility of fathers in rearing children and states “many of the brethren, who are otherwise disciplined Christians, exercise unrighteous dominion over women” (pp. 117, 4, 124).

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An Expanded Definition of Priesthood? Some Present and Future Consequences

Meg Wheatley-Pesci

Although as Mormons we are fond of saying that we are in the world but not of it, the boundaries we establish between ourselves and worldly influences become very thin when we consider our lives as members of the Church organization. In its current form as a large, complex, hierarchical organization, the Church exposes each of us to the same organizational dynamics that affect members of any similarly structured organization. These organizational dynamics exert powerful influences on our behaviors— influences which can be as compelling, and certainly less intended, than spiritual forces.

In seeking to predict what might occur in the Church if priesthood were extended to women, it is helpful to focus attention on some of these organizational dynamics. Admittedly, there is a certain incongruity in analyzing such a quintessentially spiritual capacity as priesthood in the temporal terms of sociology and organizational behavior. But the fact that we must look at organizational dynamics before we can begin to understand the issues that would be raised by expanding priesthood to include women is an apt commentary on the complex and sometimes confused role that priesthood authority has come to play in the modern Church. As access to the administrative ranks of the Church— even to such ward callings as clerk and executive secretary— has become more and more contingent on holding the Melchizedek Priesthood, priesthood has become both a spiritual power and a bureaucratic phenomenon.

In thinking how an expanded definition of priesthood would affect members of the Church, I have been intrigued by two questions:

1. What are some of the unintended consequences we experience presently because women do not hold priesthood?
2. If priesthood were extended to women, would the nature of priesthood change?

Although there are several ways of approaching these questions, one useful frame of analysis comes from the work of those in organizational studies who observe the impact of structure on behavior.¹ *Structure*, as I will use it here,

MEG WHEATLEY-PESCI is a management consultant with Goodmeasure, Inc., author, and director of the program in Human Resource Management and a faculty member at Cambridge College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her work focuses on the role of organizational structure in managing diversity in the workplace. She, her husband, and seven children are members of the Georgetown, Massachusetts Ward, where she is Relief Society Mother Education leader.

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¹ Looking at the interrelationship between structure and work behavior is such a prevailing current in organizational studies that it is difficult to assign it to just a few specific theorists. Certainly the present focus on job redesign and worker productivity, and Japanese models of organizing work, are based on theories about the interrelation between job design and worker behavior. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, in *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New

describes not only the representation of the organization through its formal policies and organizational charts, but also other factors which informally control and influence members. These factors include norms like dress codes, values like “the customer is always right,” and culture manifest as “the way we do things here.” What is it in the design and day-to-day functioning of an organization or a task unit that affects people’s attitudes about both the task and themselves? What kinds of behaviors are induced by what kinds of structures?

The central thesis underlying this type of analysis is that structure communicates, or, as Marshal McLuhan (1964) demonstrated several years ago, the medium is the message. What people learn about themselves and their value to the organization is not what the organization *says* to them or about them, but what they *experience* while they are members of that organization. What they experience is structure:

— How are roles organized? (Are job descriptions rigid? Are people encouraged to take on activities beyond their roles?)

— Who gains access to what roles? (If you’re black, don’t count on anything above assistant manager?)

— What gets rewarded? (Strict interpretations of company policy? Creativity? Second-guessing the boss?)

— What does the organization chart look like? (How many layers of middle managers are there? Do many people report to the top?)

— How are decisions made? (Consensus? Fiat? In private deals?)

— How is the physical space laid out? (Which functions are near senior management? Who gets put in the annex?)

Messages communicated by structure are far more powerful than any statements issued by a corporate communications office or an employee relations function. People can’t be told that participation is a value in their organization, and believe it, if it takes four layers of middle managers to approve and act on their decisions. People can hear that everyone’s contribution is of equal value, but they won’t believe it, when only certain contributions are recognized in public forums or are rewarded with other, more desirable assignments.

People are quick to sense when the espoused philosophy is out of synch with the structure — with what they are actually experiencing. In our own organizational lives, we all, at one time or another, have experienced this kind of schizophrenia. Certainly it exists in many areas within the Church, with discrepancies between our theology and our Church organizational experiences. Enough examples of this uncreative tension exist for several articles, but this tension can also lend understanding to the issues created by women’s exclusion from priesthood. We need to ask what the present structure of priesthood communicates to both women and men about their abilities and potential.

York: Basic Books, 1977) effectively synthesized the ideological roots of this approach and proposed her own seminal theory, which I use throughout this paper. For a condensed version of her work, see “The Job Makes the Person,” *Psychology Today*, May 1976. Other major thinkers would include James Thompson (1967) and J. Richard Hackman and J. Lloyd Suttle (1977).

Structure not only talks to people, it also helps shape them. People's behavior in organizations is a direct response to their experience in that organization. We constantly change, either for good or ill, as our organizational circumstances change. We are not static individuals, fixed in a repertoire of behaviors at age twenty-one, or thirty, or fifty. As adults, we continue to develop, respond, and change; and it is our *organizational* lives that are probably the most effective predictors of whether we will be energetic, ambitious, motivated individuals or lazy, recalcitrant benchwarmers.

Research support for the notion that jobs play a significant, even pivotal role in shaping adult behaviors, has been an important and evolving idea in the field of management theory in recent years. It has given support to the image of a fluid, dynamic relationship between the person and his/her organization. It has also helped clarify that when people's behavior becomes problematic, it is important to assess their organizational situation before ascribing their negative behaviors to such personal factors as socialization, gender, or race (Rigor and Galligan 1980).

Using this structural perspective to analyze the current situation of women in the Church leads us to some important insights. As the Church is presently structured, it is only through priesthood that one can attain major administrative roles; it is only with priesthood that one is entitled to make any final decisions. Although theologically we feel secure in stating that God created men and women equal, structurally we communicate inequality. Women are often cited as the backbone of the Church and extolled for the many hours of service they contribute. Yet the range of contributions open to them is quite limited compared to that of men, simply because of the priesthood requirement. No matter what role they serve in, women are further circumscribed by organizational rules which require that all decisions be approved by priesthood authority. They are even more constrained by organizational policies (or perhaps just norms) which limit their choices for lessons and group activities for Relief Society and Mutual. One need only compare the elder's quorum lesson manual with the Relief Society lesson manual to observe the far more structured and didactic approach taken towards women. This is evident both in the language of the manuals and the teachers' outlines provided for lessons. It would be interesting to assess differences in instructions given to men and women through lesson manuals as well as any differences in language and tone.

As an experienced observer of women in management in all types of organizations, both large and small, for the past twelve years, I have seldom seen women with more titular power and less real power than in the present women's auxiliaries.² The higher a woman rises in the Church organization, the less power she obtains, so that organizationally, the presidents of the women's auxiliaries are among the most powerless women in the Church. They oversee large organizations devoted to women's activities yet cannot make any decisions regarding those women. Women at the ward level hold them ac-

² For an excellent analysis of how this loss of power occurred, particularly the role played by the Correlation movement within the Church in the 1960s, see Marie Cornwall (1983).

countable for the programs and products issued by their organizations. But in fact, they have little or no control over final content or budget, and limited autonomy in defining the scope of their leadership activities. The perceptions held by members that they are accountable can only add further burdens to already difficult leadership positions.

Since Correlation, women auxiliary presidents or committees they appoint provide only suggestions for lesson content. Working within strict guidelines prepared by the correlated curriculum plan, their suggestions must be reviewed by both an editing department and by correlation review. Women sit on these committees, but men chair them. The lessons themselves are written by committees in the Curriculum Department composed of both men and women who have a Church calling for that assignment. However, men chair the committees—even when the committee is preparing material for Relief Society and Young Women lessons—and they are supervised by employees of the Curriculum Department who are men. Finished lessons are submitted to the auxiliary presidents and their boards. Although the lessons may represent substantial changes from those originally suggested, the auxiliary presidents have little control over the final form of their major product (Cornwall 1983). Although male auxiliaries experience the same loss of control over materials, the effect on them is mitigated somewhat because in other areas of Church activity, they still have opportunities to be decision makers. Women have no access to any decision-making positions, so their disfranchisement, even in an area where men suffer similarly, is more destructive. Perhaps the visible cooperation between the three women's presidents, begun during the summer of 1984 with regular meetings and the housing of all three in the Relief Society Building, signals a new cooperative relationship that can effect other administrative changes as well.

From a structural perspective, the messages that this structure communicates to women are, at best, problematic. Without authority to make independent decisions, even over matters of concern only to them, without access to the major decision-making forums of the Church, with fewer role choices available, and with far fewer opportunities for contributing within the Church hierarchy, women's experience in the Church is substantially different from that of men.

There are, of course, many women in the Church who do not explicitly experience the Church in the terms of personal powerlessness that I have described. Undoubtedly there are good numbers of women who feel they have more than enough opportunities already. But busyness is not the issue. What is key is the value publicly assigned to the task, the status and recognition it commands. Although we're told that all callings are of equal value, certainly this is true only in the sight of God. Among ourselves, we attribute greater value or personal worthiness to one calling over another. Again we need to ask, what messages are being communicated to women because of such differences in the opportunities available to them in the Church? And we must wonder whether an organization which believes in the perfectibility of its members, and teaches that we are all equal in the sight of God should feel content

with a structure that communicates such disparate messages to men and women.

We need to be concerned about these disparities of opportunity. Research has shown that such inequalities can have dramatic consequences on the behaviors of individual members. Opportunity in organizations is defined as the chance to grow and develop, to be acknowledged for skills one possesses, to feel encouraged and rewarded to pursue new skills, to feel honored for one's contributions. Opportunity has been shown to influence many of the behaviors that are most central to the healthful operation of an organization, behaviors that provide energy to the system and that inspire people to contribute. At least five major categories of behavior are affected by opportunity (Kanter 1977, Ch. 6; Wheatley 1981):

1. The first set of behaviors that opportunity influences centers around self-esteem. No matter how secure we might seem to be in valuing ourselves, each of us is susceptible to the reflected image of self we gain from others. Those who receive positive messages about their abilities through comments and rewards come to value themselves more highly. Those who feel locked into repetitious tasks or who feel invisible to others, gradually lose the self-esteem they once possessed. It is not uncommon to hear experienced and talented people voice genuine doubts about their abilities in the face of continual rejections. In the business world, men in their mid-forties who have been bypassed for promotion often become highly self-critical, losing confidence in skills they once felt proud to display. Frequently, what has changed for them is not their skillfulness, but the messages sent to them by their organization.

2. As a close corollary to self-esteem, opportunity also impacts on one's aspirations. If the organization seems to be reinforcing and rewarding, one develops aspirations to match those messages. Several years ago, Hannah Holborn Gray became Provost of Yale University. At the time, a reporter asked her if she were interested in becoming a university president. She denied any such aspirations. When, a few years later, it was announced that she was to become the first woman president of a major private university — the University of Chicago — the reporter reappeared. "What made the difference?" he asked. "I don't know," she replied. "Being asked, I guess."

We saw the reverse of this positive phenomenon when affirmative action laws first came into being. Many managers, in their search for women to promote into managerial ranks, focused on talented secretaries. To their surprise, these women frequently met their offers of training and promotion with rebuffs. The situation was frustrating for the managers and uncomfortable for the secretaries, but it was also predictable. People who have been stuck in one organizational slot have, in response to that stuckness, curtailed any aspirations they might have held initially. In the absence of such aspirations, they fail to envision themselves in any other position. When a new position is offered to them, they respond negatively because there is no internal vision of themselves that matches this new opportunity. People who consistently experience little or no opportunity gradually suppress any larger vision of themselves and, in the end, present themselves to others as tentative, self-doubting, and content to stay where they are.

3. Opportunity also affects the extent to which members remain committed to their organization. Those who experience personal growth and recognition tend to feed their positive experiences back to the organization. They become motivated to do more, to spend extra hours working, to look for additional ways to contribute. But for those who have experienced negative feedback or no feedback, the response is the opposite. Gradually, they withdraw from a setting which cannot or does not provide them with positive experiences or with new occasions for growth. Their withdrawal may be complete; they simply drop out of the organization entirely. Or it may be less obvious; they continue to do what is asked but at minimally acceptable levels. Or they may transfer their energy to another arena, some other organization or activity, where the response is more positive. We all need positive reinforcement, and people seek it where they can find it — if not in one setting, then in another.

4. People low in opportunity often get labeled by others as gossipers. Such a phenomenon again results from blocked opportunity. If the task is not rewarding, or if the organization is not supportive of our skills, we tend to turn to our peers for comfort and recognition. But the recognition to be obtained from friends may have less to do with how well we perform the task than with how skilled we are in some other area of particular interest to them. They may value us for our sports knowledge, our recipes, or our gardening tips. In the time we spend working together, more energy may go into this kind of information exchange than into the task itself. This diversion of energy from task to gossip or chatter is symptomatic of an opportunity problem. People who experience high opportunity respond to recognition of their importance and value by becoming exceedingly focused on the task; they waste little time in exchanges that are not related to completing their work.

5. The last major cluster of behaviors that opportunity affects has to do with problem-solving. People high in opportunity tend to be proactive in addressing needs and problems. If they perceive a potential problem, they act on their own initiative to solve it before it becomes a major issue. But for the stuck, organizational problems reflect their personal discontent. Instead of acting to resolve issues, they tend to sit passively by and grumble. If someone suggests a solution, they are the first to criticize it. Since their own experience of the organization has been predominantly negative, they may derive some satisfaction from seeing the organization in trouble.

Even from this brief description of how opportunity affects behavior, a compelling case can be made for the need to examine opportunity issues in the Church. Our current organizational structure, where the priesthood prerequisite prevents women from contributing in many arenas, creates the potential for many negative behaviors in women which do neither them nor the Church any good. Where Mormon women have become hesitant and self-doubting, where they have withdrawn their enthusiasm and commitment, where they have become complaining or nonparticipative — any and all of these instances are indications that an opportunity problem exists. Such problems represent a loss of energy to the Church. More importantly, for individual women, such problems represent lost chances for growth and spiritual develop-

ment. There is a special irony that any Mormon would experience a sense of blocked opportunity, for theologically, with the doctrine that human beings are potential gods and goddesses, we are the church of maximum opportunity. This doctrine of potential godhood illustrates the wonderful effects of high opportunity, for think what this concept does for our sense of self, our aspirations, and our commitment to pursue worthiness.

Hopefully, this analysis sheds some new light on the problems experienced within the Church because of the present structure of priesthood. Looking into the future, what then might happen if priesthood were expanded to include women? Although it is interesting to speculate on how wards would function with a new array of priesthood holders, a more basic question worthy of speculation is how women's inclusion could affect the very nature of priesthood. My question is not how women would behave in exercising priestly responsibilities, but rather whether functions of priesthood would change once women were included. Again using an organizational lens, we can draw analogies from women in other settings to get some sense of what might occur within the Church organization.

One of the clear lessons to be gleaned from observing the movement of large numbers of women into roles formerly restricted to men is that women do make a difference. As more and more women move into any particular job or profession, there is a discernible *decrease* in the status of that job. This "tilt phenomenon" can be noted in the history of several roles, but a few examples will illustrate the effect.

Up until the early 1950's, bank tellering was a male dominated profession. It was treated as an entry-level position, a precursor to upward mobility within the bank. Since that era, more and more women have taken on that work, so that now women comprise nearly 90 percent of all bank tellers (Conference Board 1978, 14). The job no longer represents the beginning of a management career in banking; instead it has become a dead-end position for most of its occupants. For those aspiring to bank management careers, other entry points have been created.

Women have dominated the field of education as teachers throughout most of our history. In the early 1960s, in response to the challenge to best the Russians in space and technology, emphasis was placed on upgrading our schools. A major strategy was to lure more men into the teaching profession, as one means of improving the quality and status of public education.

Even in jobs that require long years of training, such as law and medicine, this same tilt is observable. During the late 1800s, women were represented in the field of medicine. As medicine became more specialized and more revered, women were relegated to the supportive role of nurse. However, in the past few years, both law and medicine have opened access for women, so much so that women's participation in schools of medicine and law varies from one to two-thirds of any graduating class. This dramatic influx of women, however, is occurring at a time of increased public scrutiny and pressure on both professions. There are demands to demystify law, to make its language more accessible to lay persons and its costs more competitive; there are increasing

pressures to cut medical costs and to return to a more personal and holistic approach to health care. Both professions are in the midst of profound changes that will ultimately effect both their practice and their status (Bok 1983). I feel safe in predicting that, in the next several years, both professions will experience a loss in status and salary levels and that it is no coincidence that large numbers of women will be part of these professions as this downward trend continues. Although the pressures for change in these professions are numerous, no one influence will have as great an effect on diminishing their status as the fact that perhaps as many as 50 percent of their practitioners will be women.

This tilt phenomenon leads to some interesting speculations about the possible effects of opening priesthood to women. Women's inclusion into priesthood could result in at least two very different scenarios. In the first, a two-tier system of priestly roles would develop, with a status ranking far more delineated than now exists between high priests and other Melchizedek priesthood offices. Discrimination between men and women priesthood holders would follow these status boundaries. At the first level, men and women would both function as elders, performing personal ordinances of family blessing, baptizing, confirming, anointing the sick, and sealing the anointing. The second level of priesthood, that of high priest, would be for men only and would still be the sole route to important administrative roles such as bishoprics and stake presidencies.

In a second scenario, priesthood and administrative functions would be separated from one another. Priesthood would be seen as a function of personal spirituality to be used to bless, anoint, baptize, confirm, heal, and administer other sacred ordinances. It would be separate from a leader's calling or administrative ability. Access to purely administrative roles would be based on other criteria; women might participate in these roles, although it is doubtful that they would occupy such positions in any significant numbers. If extending priesthood to women resulted in these effects, it might be the fastest means of sorting out true priestly functions from the administrative encumbrances that continue to grow and surround it. In other words, it might be the quickest and most effective means for eradicating unrighteous dominion.

This is not to suggest that women would exercise priesthood with more humility or virtue than men — only that Church members would expect less of priesthood or imbue it with less secularly based symbols of status if women were priests. In fact, opening priesthood to include all worthy adult members of the Church might provide us with a simple means of *restoring* priesthood to its rightful place, the administration of sacred rather than secular functions.

This analysis leads us, then, into something of a paradox. In the present Church structure, where so much is contingent upon priesthood, women suffer from a lack of opportunity. This can result in negative or diverted energy, in a loss of commitment to the Church, and in a loss of personal and even spiritual growth for large numbers of women. However, if priesthood were expanded to include women, priesthood might diminish in status, the criteria for admission to administrative office might simply change, and women might still be

excluded from increased opportunities to contribute to the Church. Obviously, even if granting women priesthood were to occur, other organizational dilemmas would not be solved.

Is it such a lose-lose game? For me, the dilemma does not create a sense of hopelessness for improving women's role in the Church. Instead, it points to the importance of beginning now to separate priesthood functions from administrative activity. Before priesthood can be expanded — if it ever is — a tremendous amount can be done to improve women's position within the Church and to clarify the priestly role. We need first to develop greater clarity about what priesthood is and where its power is appropriate, to sort out spirit-centered needs from bureaucratic exigencies. Having done this analysis, it would be easier to find ways to increase the range of contributions open to nonpriesthood holders. If we were clearer about what priesthood is, it might also feel less fearsome to think about including women.

What I am suggesting is a series of incremental steps focused on expanding opportunities for inclusion and decision-making to women. Such incremental changes would free up tremendous amounts of energy in those women who currently feel blocked or stuck. It is surprising to witness how quickly people's behavior becomes energetic and positive when their opportunities are increased even slightly. The process of creating opportunity has to be on-going, but effects are immediate and dramatic even with small positive changes.

But we cannot develop significantly different incremental changes without first reevaluating priesthood. All activities and roles need to be reviewed and criteria established for their performance. Where priesthood power is not essential to effective performance, we need to open those roles to women. Such a reevaluation will be difficult, given the primacy that priesthood has achieved in the Church during the past several decades; but without it, we are locked into a situation that impedes the full use of women's contribution and gradually corrodes the visions they hold for themselves.

Opportunities for growth and recognition can be created if we:

- increase women's chances for meaningful participation;
- give more recognition for what is already being accomplished;
- increase women's control over their own activities.

Within the Church, changes in four key areas would create increased opportunity for women and girls:

1. Improve women's access to decision-making forums.

— Examine meetings from which women presently are excluded. If women were to contribute, would it help the decision-making process? If so, open such meetings to women's auxiliary heads or other relevant women leaders at the ward, stake and general levels of the Church.

— Within the corporate offices of the Church, employ more women in a greater variety of positions.

— Develop and emphasize leadership training skills for women so that they can more effectively participate in meetings.

2. Increase access to ward callings and duties. Several ward callings and offices have evolved into priesthood callings. Such callings should be reevaluated.

ated to determine if priesthood is a necessary prerequisite. Where it is not, women should serve in those offices equally with men.

3. Improve women's influence over their own organizations.

— Create more recognition and communication between women's auxiliary presidents and Church women by having them travel more widely.

— Revise and streamline the decision-making process. Eliminate layers of decision-makers now required to approve curriculum, programs, etc.

— Support the newly instituted regular meetings among three women's auxiliary presidencies.

— Provide management training for women's auxiliary presidencies in such areas as communications, delegation, planning, running effective meetings, creative problem-solving.

— Institute salaries for all General Board members.

— Improve Relief Society lessons by emphasizing teacher development, developing themes rather than lessons, and creating flexibility of choice for what lessons are appropriate for each ward.

— Expand or restore a definition of compassionate service that includes larger, more long-term projects such as hospices, home care for the elderly, etc.

4. Develop greater visibility for women's activities.

— Give equal space in ward newsletters to women-related activities.

— Give equal recognition to girl's youth activities.

— In sacrament meetings, have equal numbers of men and women speakers, and men and women prayer givers. End informal practice of men being the closing speaker. Have women speak on scriptural issues.

— In General Conference, have more women visible and participating, and speaking on scriptural issues.

— Develop support for more women's conferences that include attention to a range of issues, including leadership training.

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Government-Sponsored Prayer in the Classroom

Robert E. Riggs



during its 1984 session the United States Senate fell eleven votes short of the two-thirds majority required to endorse a constitutional amendment allowing government-sponsored prayers in public schools (S. J. Res. 1983). This was the strongest support yet accorded to one of numerous such attempts to amend the Constitution since the Supreme Court first banned a state-composed school prayer in 1962. Religious proponents have vowed to continue the fight for the amendment (Cornell 1984), and politicians are unlikely to drop the subject with polls showing 80 percent public approval of prayer in the schools (Gallup 1982, 1983). Prayer amendments have been reintroduced in the 1985 session of Congress. At the state and local level, many school districts continue to permit school-organized prayer, regardless of its constitutionality and, in some instances, in disregard of minority objections. The school prayer issue varies in intensity from time to time and from one locality to another, but, somehow, it will not go away.

School prayer has intrinsic importance for many people, but the persisting vitality of the issue springs from much broader concerns. It is rooted in pervasive frustration with a wide range of social evils that seem attributable, at least in part, to the growing secularization of American society. The challenge of traditional religious values is real enough, as are accompanying signs of social disintegration. Drug abuse, crime, alcoholism, commercialized obscenity, illegitimacy, broken marriages, fraud and corruption in business and government, heavy dependence upon government welfare — the evidence is all around us. Although causes may be complex and cures elusive, no one with a strong religious commitment is likely to doubt that things would be better if people moved closer to God. Hence the strong appeal of school prayer as both a symbol of the needed spiritual renaissance and an apparent practical step in that direction.

Mormons have not been immune to these influences. Available evidence indicates that vocal prayer in the public school classroom — generally con-

ROBERT E. RIGGS, professor of law at Brigham Young University, teaches Constitutional law.

ducted on the initiative of the teacher rather than as a matter of school district policy — is common in Utah (Provo *Herald* 1983). The Utah State Superintendent of Public Instruction, at the prodding of the American Civil Liberties Union, circulated a letter to all Utah school district superintendents in the fall of 1983 urging its discontinuance (Burningham 1983). This in turn provoked a memorandum to school superintendents from the state attorney general, insisting that the state superintendent had gone too far in proscribing prayers at graduation ceremonies and banning school facilities for any student religious activities (Wilkinson 1984). On the national level, Utah Senator Orrin G. Hatch has sponsored a constitutional amendment to authorize school-sponsored silent prayer and meditation (S.J. Res. 1984).

The issues raised by this controversy are complex and by no means one-sided in their moral, constitutional, or policy implications. I share some of the ultimate objectives of proponents of school prayer and have little doubt that the world would be better if people moved closer to God. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the school prayer movement is misconceived. Government-sponsored prayer in the classroom is unlikely either to promote spirituality or to ameliorate contemporary social problems.

This essay will examine school prayer as a constitutional problem, then confront policy issues more directly by considering what is lost or gained by promoting school-sponsored prayer. In evaluating these arguments, the reader should be aware of one thing that is *not* at issue: the right of individual school children to pray wherever they wish in any way that does not disrupt classroom order or invoke affirmative government support. No court has suggested that such individual worship and supplication are unlawful. The issue, rather, is government sponsorship of religious observance.

SCHOOL PRAYER AND CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION

Court Interpretations of the Establishment Clause

The constitutional basis for limiting government-sponsored prayer is found in the First Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1789 as part of the Bill of Rights. The amendment does not use the expression "separation of church and state." It simply states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Commentators usually designate the two parts of this statement as the "establishment clause" and the "free exercise" clause although, grammatically, the entire First Amendment contains only a single clause. The mention of Congress is significant because the amendment, indeed the whole Bill of Rights, was originally intended to limit the national government, not states. The statement was carefully worded to bar not only any congressional attempt to establish a national church but also any congressional interference with government-supported churches which still existed in several of the states.¹

¹ Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and South Carolina all gave legal preference to one religion over another, generally including support from tax revenues (Kruse 1962).

The First Amendment and other Bill of Rights guarantees have since become applicable to the states by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment due process clause as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted to protect the rights of recently freed slaves by making them citizens and shielding them against repressive and discriminatory state legislation. The sweep of its language was much broader than that, however, forbidding states to “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law” or to “deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” Since the 1920s, the Supreme Court has progressively interpreted “due process” to include nearly all of the rights set forth in the Bill of Rights, thus prohibiting their infringement by states as well as the national government. The establishment clause was not specifically incorporated into the Fourteenth Amendment until the 1940s, when *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, (310 U.S. 296, 1940) (a free-exercise case) and *Everson v. Board of Education* (330 U.S. 1, 1947) confirmed that the establishment clause also applied to the states. Critics have charged that the post-Civil War amendments were never intended to affect the establishment clause, and it is true that the evidence is far from conclusive (Cord 1982, 85–101). However, its application to the states is now firmly established in Supreme Court jurisprudence and is unlikely to be dislodged by anything short of formal constitutional amendment. In addition, nearly all states have similar prohibitions in their own constitutions. The Utah Constitution, Article I, Sec. 4, uses identical constitutional language: “The State shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

Under present law, neither a state nor the federal government may enact legislation “respecting an establishment of religion.” What that means is not totally clear. The relevant judicial decisions are all a product of the past four decades. In *Everson v. Board of Education* (330 U.S. 1, 1947)² the Court for the first time applied the establishment clause to action by a state and upheld a New Jersey law authorizing local school boards to pay bus fares for children attending parochial (as well as public) schools. Although no constitutional violation was found, the Court gave an expansive interpretation of establish-

² Legal cases are cited in the text as *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (310 U.S. 296, 1940). This refers to *Cantwell v. Connecticut* published in *United States Reports*, 310, beginning on p. 296. This series is arranged in all law libraries by year of publication, in this case 1940. S.Ct. instead of U.S. refers to *Supreme Court Reporter*. (Both series report U.S. Supreme Court decisions, but U.S. is the “official” report.) F 2nd refers to *Federal Reporter*, Second Series. This set of volumes reports decisions of United States Courts of Appeals for all eleven judicial circuits. Federal District Court decisions appear in *Federal Supplement* (F.Supp.). State court decisions like 102 Wis. 177, 44 N.W. 967 (1890) means volume 102 and page 177 of *Wisconsin Reports*, which would also be reported in its regional summary, volume 44, page 967 of *North Western Reporter*, published in 1890. There are seven judicial regions in the United States for these reporting purposes, each with its geographically designated volumes: *Atlantic Reporter* (A.), *North Eastern Reporter* (N.E.), *North Western Reporter* (N.W.), *Pacific Reporter* (P), *South Eastern Reporter* (S.E.), *Southern Reporter* (So.), and *South Western Reporter* (S.W.). Each is now into its second series, so that current cases would appear in volumes designated A.2d, N.E.2d, etc.

ment that would spell trouble for future state and local government efforts to aid religious causes:

The “establishment of religion” clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and *vice versa*. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect “a wall of separation between church and state.” (1947, 15–16)

As the law subsequently developed,³ the establishment clause was found to bar released time for religious instruction in public school classrooms during school hours, but not to prohibit released time for off-campus religious instruction. The Court has approved Sunday closing laws, tax exemptions for church property, prayer by a paid chaplain in a state legislature, and display of a city-sponsored Nativity scene at Christmas time along with other Christmas symbols. On the other hand, the court has invalidated laws permitting the classroom recitation of state-composed prayers, requiring verses from the Bible to be read at the opening of each public school day, requiring a copy of the Ten Commandments to be posted on public classroom walls, forbidding the teaching of humankind’s evolution from lower animals, and allowing church-governing bodies to veto applications for liquor licenses within 500 feet of a church.

Parochial school financial aid cases have been particularly troublesome — in fact, almost incomprehensible — as the Court has struggled to find a constitutionally permissible accommodation of government and religion. In one such case, Justice Byron White frankly admitted that establishment clause cases had sacrificed “clarity and predictability for flexibility” (*Committee for Public Education v. Regan*, 444 U.S. 662, 1980). Thus, the Court has upheld laws⁴ providing for payment of bus fares and loan of textbooks to students attending

³ *McCullum v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948); *Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952); *McGowan v. Maryland*, 366 U.S. 420 (1961); *Walz v. Tax Commission*, 397 U.S. 664 (1970); *Marsh v. Chambers*, 103 S.Ct. 3330 (1983); *Lynch v. Donnelly*, 104 S.Ct. 1355 (1984); *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421 (1962); *Abington School District v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203 (1963); *Stone v. Graham*, 449 U.S. 39 (1980); *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97 (1968); *Larkin v. Grendel’s Den, Inc.*, 454 U.S. 116 (1982).

⁴ *Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947); *Board of Education v. Allen*, 392 U.S. 236 (1968); *Wolman v. Walter*, 433 U.S. 299 (1977); *Committee for Public Education v. Regan*, 444 U.S. 646 (1980); *Mueller v. Allen*, 103 S.Ct. 3062 (1983); *Tilton v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 672 (1971); *Hunt v. McNair*, 413 U.S. 734 (1973); *Roemer v. Maryland Public Works Board*, 426 U.S. 736 (1980); *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971); *Levitt v. Committee for Public Education*, 413 U.S. 472 (1973); *Committee for Public Education v. Nyquist*, 413 U.S. 756 (1973); *Sloan v. Lemon*, 413 U.S. 825 (1973); *Meek v. Pittenger*, 421 U.S. 349 (1975).



parochial schools; speech and hearing diagnostic services delivered in nonpublic schools, and therapeutic, guidance, and remedial services rendered off the premises of the nonpublic schools; cash reimbursements to parochial schools for administering and grading standardized tests (but not parochial teacher-prepared tests); and tax deductions for tuition, text books, and transportation expenses incurred by parents in sending their children to (public or private) elementary and secondary schools. For church-related colleges, the Court has approved federal construction grants to finance facilities used for “secular purposes only,” state issuance of revenue bonds for similar purposes, and state grants-in-aid for a variety of nonreligious educational activities. On the other hand, the Court has disallowed state supplementation of parochial school teacher salaries; reimbursement for the costs of tests mandated by the state but prepared by parochial school personnel; partial tuition reimbursement and parental tax deductions for private school expenses, and direct grants to private schools for maintenance and repair of facilities; and state funding for private school auxiliary services (counseling, testing, remedial speech and hearing therapy), instructional materials (magazines, photographs, maps, charts, recordings, films), and instructional equipment (projectors, records, lab equipment). In thus sorting the sheep from the goats, the Court has tried to distinguish between aid to education, which is legitimate, and aid that might advance religion, which is forbidden. Since secular and religious education tend to be mingled in parochial schools, such line-drawing is bound to be an uncertain process. Any aid at all arguably advances both religion and the cause of secular education. The school-aid decisions epitomize the judicial morass which establishment clause jurisprudence has become.

In dealing with establishment clause cases the Court has developed a three-part test of constitutionality. To pass muster the challenged law must survive each part of the test. As crystalized in a 1971 case, *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, the test demands: “First, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion; finally, the statute must not foster ‘an excessive government entanglement with religion’ ” (403 US 612–13). Members of the Court have periodically voiced dissatisfaction with the test, as have students of constitutional law. But with only occasional exceptions, the *Lemon* test has been used in establishment-clause analyses for more than a decade.

Quite recently, the Court propounded a new and stricter establishment clause test for laws granting a denominational preference, as contrasted with laws affording benefit to religion in general. Laws preferring a particular religion or religions can survive only if “justified by a compelling governmental interest” and “closely fitted to further that interest.” In the 1982 case, *Larson v. Valente* (456 U.S. 246–47), the Court found a Minnesota charitable contributions regulation to be just such a preference because it exempted churches receiving more than 50 percent of their contributions from members. The Supreme Court has not yet applied this rule to any other case. It is not likely to have frequent application because governments generally avoid giving express sectarian preferences. Some members of the Court did not think that

even the Minnesota law fit that description. Conceivably the new rule would apply if a state or school board prescribed a prayer taken from the liturgy of a particular denomination. Such a governmental action would, however, be unconstitutional under either test.

The School Prayer Cases

The present prayer controversy stems from the 1962 Supreme Court decision in *Engel v. Vitale* (370 U.S. 421, 1962) which banned classroom recitation of a twenty-two-word prayer composed by the New York State Board of Regents for optional use in the schools of the state. The prayer was doctrinally innocuous, with no special literary grace. It read: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." The prayer had been composed in 1951, and not more than 10 percent of the school districts of the state ever adopted it as part of their morning exercises. *Christian Century* magazine predicted in 1952 that the prayer would "deteriorate quickly into an empty formality with little, if any, spiritual significance" ("Prayers" 1952, 35; Buzard 1982).

Engel v. Vitale arose in Union Free District No. 9 in New Hyde Park, a New York City suburb that had adopted the regents' prayer. The Engels were among five sets of parents who objected to the prayer and eventually became plaintiffs in the case, with legal representation supplied by the American Civil Liberties Union. Vitale was the school board president. Of the five families that objected, two were Jewish, one Unitarian, one a member of the Ethical Culture Society, and one of no religious faith. The lawsuit was not popular locally, nor was it successful in the New York state courts which were concerned only that no student be compelled to participate. In the United States Supreme Court, however, a different view prevailed: the school district's early morning recitation of the regents' prayer was declared a clear violation of the establishment clause. The Court was emphatic that "it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the government" (370 U.S. 425).

Less than a year later in 1963, the Court had occasion to rule on two Bible reading cases. One of the lawsuits was brought by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Schempp, Unitarian parents of a child in Philadelphia's Abington School District; the second case arose in Baltimore at the instigation of atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair. Deciding both in a single opinion, the Court held that regular reading of verses from the Bible as a classroom exercise, like recitation of the regents' prayer, was a violation of the Constitution (374 U.S. 203).

The Supreme Court did not issue another opinion on school prayer for twenty-two years. In one intervening decision rendered in 1982, the Court struck down a state law authorizing voluntary vocal prayer by students, but the decision shed little new light because it was without benefit of oral argument, written briefs on the merits, or even a written opinion of the Court (*Karen B. v. Treen*, 102 S. Ct. 1267). On related matters the Court held that Kentucky

could not require the posting of the Ten Commandments on the wall of each public school classroom, but that Nebraska might constitutionally employ a chaplain to open each legislative day with prayer (*Stone v. Graham*, 449 U.S. 39, 1980; *Marsh v. Chambers*, 103 S. Ct. 3330, 1983).

In 1985 the Supreme Court spoke once again on school prayer, this time in response to an Alabama law prescribing a one-minute period of silence in public schools "for meditation or voluntary prayer." The law was found to violate the first prong of the *Lemon* test because it had no secular purpose (*Wallace v. Jaffree*, 105 S. Ct. 2479, 1985).⁵ Three justices dissented, however, and two others who voted with the majority indicated that moment-of-silence statutes in other states might be constitutional if they did not mention prayer or convey an endorsement of prayer as the preferred alternative.

If the Supreme Court has said little on the subject since 1963, the lower courts have said a great deal, not all of it consistent.⁶ Vocal prayer as part of a regular classroom exercise has at least twice been held to violate the Establishment Clause. A student-initiated prayer at the beginning of a high school assembly in Chandler, Arizona, recently failed the *Lemon* test, and a federal court in Texas found an establishment violation in the singing of a school song at athletic events and pep rallies because the words of the song constituted a supplication to Deity. Opinion on prescribed moments of silent prayer and meditation in the classroom is divided, although the trend is running strongly

⁵ *Jaffree v. Board of School Comm'rs of Mobile County*, 554 F. Supp. (Federal Supplement) 1104 (S.D. Ala. 1983), stay granted 103 S.Ct. 842 (1983), reviewed *sub nom.* [under the name] *Jaffree v. Wallace*, 705 F.2d 1526 (11th Cir. 1983), rehearing denied, 713 F.2d 614 (11th Cir. 1983), certiorari granted, 104 S.Ct. 1704 (1984).

⁶ *Jaffree v. Wallace*, 705 F.2d 1526 (11th Cir. 1983), rehearing denied, 713 F.2d 614 (11th Cir. 1983); *Karen B. v. Treen*, 653 F.2d 897 (5th Cir. 1981). The federal district court in *Jaffree* found the state law upholding vocal prayer constitutional, *Jaffree v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County*, 554 F. Supp. 1104 (U.S. District Court, Southern District Alabama 1983), but was reversed on appeal. The same was true of *Karen B. v. Treen*. *Collins v. Chandler Unified School District*, 644 F.2d 759 (9th Cir. 1981), involved vocal prayer in a high school assembly. *Doe v. Aldine Independent School District*, 563 F. Supp. 883, 884 (S.D. Tex. 1982) forbade the singing of "Dear God, please bless our school and all it stands for. Help keep us free from sin, honest and true, courage and faith to make our school the victor. In Jesus' name we pray, Amen." *Gaines v. Anderson*, 421 F. Supp. 337 (D.C. Mass 1976) upheld the silent prayer practice. See also, Opinion of the Justices, 113 N.H. 297, 307, A.2d 558 (1973). More recent decisions ruling against silent prayer are *Jaffree v. Wallace*, 705 F.2d 1526 (11th Cir. 1983), overruling a district court decision upholding the state law; *May v. Cooperman*, 572 F.Supp. 1561 (U.S. District Court, New Jersey 1983); *Duffy v. Las Cruces Public Schools*, 557 F.Supp. 1013 (U.S. District Court, New Mexico 1983); *Beck v. McElrath*, 548 F.Supp. 1161 (U.S. District Court, Middle District Tennessee 1982). *Bennett v. Livermore Unified School District*, No. H-91312-6 (Cal. Super. Ct., Alameda County, 9 June 1983), granted a preliminary injunction prohibiting prayer at a high school graduation, but other courts have found no violation. See *Grossberg v. Deusebio*, 380 F. Supp. 285 (U.S. District Court, Eastern District Virginia 1974); *Wood v. Mt. Lebanon Township School District*, 342 F.Supp. 1293 (U.S. District Court, Western District Pennsylvania 1974); *Wiest v. Mt. Lebanon School District*, 320 A.2d 362 (Pa. 1974). *Stein v. Oshinsky*, 348 F.2d 999 (2d Cir.), certiorari denied, 382 U.S. 957 (1965), outlawed school-sponsored prayer at lunch. The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, in *DeSpain v. DeKalb County Community School District*, 384 F.2d 836 (7th Cir. 1967), found a constitutional violation in the compulsory recitation of the following verse before a kindergarten morning snack: "We thank you for the flowers so sweet; We thank you for the food we eat; We thank you for the birds that sing; We thank you for everything."

against its constitutionality. Lower court opinion is likewise divided on the constitutionality of prayer at high school graduation ceremonies and use of school facilities for student religious activities conducted on private initiative without school sponsorship. School-sponsored recitation of grace before school lunch has been held a violation in the one case dealing directly with the issue. Lower courts thus have dealt with a wide range of prayer-related issues, creating rules of law for their respective geographical areas until the U.S. Supreme Court chooses to speak.⁷

APPROACHES TO THE SCHOOL PRAYER PROBLEM

Many people believe that more school prayer is desirable, and one obvious way to get it is to amend the Constitution. During its 1984 session the U.S. Senate considered a number of different amendments. Senate Joint Resolution 73, which finally came to a vote, with the vigorous support of President Reagan, read: "Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any State to participate in prayer" (S.J. Res. 73). The proposed amendment received majority support on a vote of fifty-six to forty-four but failed for lack of the necessary two-thirds majority.

Other proposed amendments dealing with silent prayer, equal access to school facilities, and prayer in public buildings were considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee but did not come to a vote. If any of these amendments were to be adopted, state-sponsored prayer would undoubtedly become more common in the schools of the country. Lawsuits would not necessarily be eliminated, however, since the courts would still be entitled to interpret the new amendments.

A second approach is through legislation by Congress rather than amendment, comparatively a much easier process than formal constitutional amendment. The disadvantage is that the legislation would be subject to establishment clause limitations currently imposed by the courts. A statute would nevertheless add something important to the equation. If constitutional it would provide a uniform rule throughout the country; and if a lower federal court found it unconstitutional, the U.S. Supreme Court would almost certainly review it. During its 1984 session Congress took this approach by requiring public secondary schools receiving federal funds to permit student religious groups to meet on school premises during noninstructional time, on an equal basis with other non-curriculum-related student groups (Public Law 98-377).

⁷ Comment, "The Supreme Court, the First Amendment, and Religion in the Public Schools," *Columbia Law Review*, 63 (Jan. 1963): 73-97. Examples of court decisions are *People ex rel. Ring v. Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 92 N.E. 251 (1910); *Herold Parish Board of School Directors*, 136 La. 1034, 68 So. 116 (1915); *State ex rel. Freeman v. Scheve*, 65 Neb. 853, 91 N.W. 846 (1902), *affirmed on rehearing*, 65 Neb. 876, 93 N.W. 169 (1903); *State ex rel. Finger v. Weedman*, 55 S.D. 343, 226 N.W. 348 (1929); *State ex rel. Dearle v. Frazier*, 102 Wash. 369, 173 P. 35 (1918); *State ex rel. Weiss v. District Bd.*, 76 Wis. 177, 44 N.W. 967 (1890). See Boles 1965, 108-32; Harrison 1962, 386-89.

A variant of the legislative approach is Senator Jesse Helms's 1983 proposal to eliminate federal court jurisdiction in school prayer cases (S. 784, 98th Cong., 1st Sess.). Article III gives Congress discretion to create lower federal courts and makes the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court subject to "such Exceptions, and . . . such Regulations as the Congress shall make." Authorities are divided whether Article III permits withdrawing a whole subject area from judicial review; and the Supreme Court could, of course, determine the constitutionality of such legislation. Two previous challenges to congressional limitations upon the Court's appellate jurisdiction arose from Civil War reconstruction problems. The Court ruled once in favor of the legislation (*Ex Parte McCordle*, 7 Wall. 506, 1869), and once against (*United States v. Klein*, 13 Wall. 128, 1872).

A third approach, one apparently used widely throughout the United States, is to ignore Supreme Court decisions and have school prayer anyway. While this procedure can hardly be recommended as a matter of policy, the law is ambiguous. The Supreme Court has not ruled on whether an individual teacher may initiate prayer in the classroom, and the Court's 1982 ruling against state-authorized voluntary prayer was reached by a summary procedure which lacks the precedential weight of a fully considered opinion. Probably the outcome would be the same with a fully briefed and argued case, whether the prayer was initiated by the state, the school district, or the teacher. Still, the uncertainty of the law dilutes the taint of illegality that might otherwise attach to outright defiance of the law by public employees.

SCHOOL PRAYER AND LATTER-DAY SAINTS

President Kimball once observed that some political issues are "of such a nature that the Church should take an official position concerning them" (1982, 407). The Equal Rights Amendment and liquor by the drink in Utah come to mind as examples. On most political questions, however, the Church avoids institutional involvement out of the concern expressed by President Kimball "that the result would be to divert the Church from its basic mission of teaching the restored gospel of the Lord to the world." School prayer apparently falls in this second category. I was unable to find any statement of official Church policy on the subject, and a telephone call to the Church Public Communications Department, 25 September 1984, elicited the affirmation that the First Presidency has taken no position in the current school prayer controversy.

Church leaders have spoken to the subject on a few occasions, usually, however, in opposition to the school prayer decisions. In an address to Relief Society conference, October 1962, President David O. McKay declared that the U.S. Supreme Court [in *Engel v. Vitale*] had severed "the connecting cord between the public schools of the United States and the source of divine intelligence, the Creator himself" (1962, 878). Although his disapproval of the decision was obvious, his major emphasis was the responsibility of parents to train their children in the ways of truth as a shield against secular environ-

mental forces rather than attempting to reverse the Supreme Court decision. "The real tragedy in America," he said, "is not that we have permitted the Bible to slip out of our public schools, but that we have so openly neglected to teach it in either the home or the church" (1962, 879).

When the Supreme Court banned compulsory Bible reading the following June in the *Schempp* case, President McKay again expressed his disapproval:

For a hundred years boys and girls born in America, and they who later obtained citizenship in this great country, have felt that they are "endowed by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights; that among these are: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that these *rights are endowed by our Creator*.

Recent rulings of the Supreme Court would have all reference to a Creator eliminated from our public schools and public offices.

It is a sad day when the Supreme Court of the United States would discourage all reference in our schools to the influence of the phrase "divine providence" as used by our founders of the Declaration of Independence.

Evidently the Supreme Court misinterprets the true meaning of the First Amendment, and are now leading a Christian nation down the road to atheism. ("President McKay," 1963)

This statement, released to the *Church News* immediately following the announcement of the decision, contained no further explanatory comment.

President McKay's remarks reflect obvious unhappiness with the school prayer and Bible-reading decisions but were not an attempt to restore government-prescribed prayer to public schools. Neither statement suggested political action, and two articles in *The Improvement Era* presented another side to the subject.

In the first, published in the September 1962 issue of the *Era*, G. Homer Durham, then president of Arizona State University, noted that "the country and the people generally seemed to judge the Supreme Court and its decision before either reading the opinion or getting the facts." He agreed with Justice Black's comment that "'it is no part of the business of government to compose *official* prayers for any group of Americans to recite,'" but suggested that future developments which threatened the right of groups and individuals to exercise their religion freely would arouse "deeper concerns" (1962, 622).

The second article appeared in the December 1963 issue of the *Era*, some six months after President McKay's second statement. It was written by Dallin H. Oaks, then a law professor at the University of Chicago. While explicitly refusing to "debate the wisdom" of the school prayer and the Bible-reading cases, he termed them a reasonable derivation from accepted doctrines of church-state separation embodied in the First Amendment to the Constitution. The Court, as he emphasized, was not being hostile to prayer or religion but only to state-required and state-authored prayer, and to government sponsorship of religion (1963: 1048-50, 1134-36).

Church periodical indexes revealed no subsequent statement on the subject by President McKay, but a 1967 issue of the *Era* presented the views of Latter-day Saint members of Congress on the question, "How do you feel about the Supreme Court decisions on school prayer?" Of the five who responded, four spoke with approval and one was critical ("Era Asks," 1967, 24-29). One

further reference to school prayer in a Church publication was Elder Ezra Taft Benson's address to the October 1970 General Conference, which referred to the Supreme Court's "tragic prayer decision" and quoted President McKay's earlier critical comments on it (1970, 49).

A brief allusion to school prayer by President Kimball was also found. It appeared in a public address to a meeting in San Diego, 2 December 1978, held in connection with Brigham Young University's participation in the first Holiday Bowl football game. As reported in *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, he said,

It is a real travesty today when we hear the voices of the Godless, and the anti-Christ who would deny us the right of public expression of our worship of the Master. First they moved against the long-established institution of prayer in our public schools. They would remove any vestige of Christianity or worship of the Savior of mankind in our public gatherings; they would remove the long-established tradition of prayer in our Congress, remove the "In God We Trust" insignia from our nation's emblems and seals and from our national coins. (1982, 411-12)

This passage was a small excerpt from a talk entitled, "Putting Christ Back into Christmas" and, like the earlier pronouncements by President McKay, seemed more a warning of evil forces in society than a call to political action. The *Church News*, 30 December 1978, p. 5, reported President Kimball's talk but did not mention school prayer.

Taken as a whole, do these statements by Church leaders constitute a Mormon position on school prayer? In a broad sense, they probably suggest that Church members should be concerned about influences in our society and schools that threaten religious values. They also suggest that prayer can have a legitimate place in public schools. But they do not suggest what that place may be or what should be done about it. Church authorities have never addressed the relative merits of vocal prayer or silent prayer in school classrooms, prayer by individuals or groups, voluntary prayer or prayer mandated by government, or the efficacy of reciting prayers composed by the state, the school board, the teacher or the individual student. They have not urged any particular course of legal or political action, nor have they in any significant way participated in the public debate on specific issues raised by school prayer. This, presumably, reflects a Church policy of leaving members to make such judgments for themselves, consistent with gospel principles and individual appraisal of the facts. Reasonable people, including reasonable Latter-day Saints, may arrive at different positions on school prayer, but that in itself seems consistent with the statements that Church leaders have made — and perhaps of equal significance — have not made.

SCHOOL PRAYER: AN APPRAISAL

The desirability of more school prayer may well depend on what we are talking about. Different issues are raised by the different types of proposals that have been before Congress — state-sponsored vocal prayer, state-sponsored silent prayer and meditation, and equal rights of student religious groups to use school facilities. A sensible analysis requires that each be treated separately.

State-Sponsored Vocal Prayer

Vocal prayer as a regular religious observance in public school classrooms is the alternative supported by President Reagan and preferred by most of the groups urging adoption of a school-prayer amendment to the Constitution. History is an important part of their argument. In the President's words, the amendment is intended to "restore the simple freedom of our citizens to offer prayer in our public schools and institutions." In a similar vein, Edward C. Schmults, U.S. Deputy Attorney General, told a Senate committee that the amendment would "restore prayer to a place in public life consistent with the the Nation's heritage and . . . accurately reflect the historical background of the Establishment Clause" (Department of Justice, 3–5). He also thought the amendment necessary to avoid conveying to students "the misguided message that religion is not of high importance in our society," to vindicate the free exercise rights of those who wish to have prayer, and to allow "decisions of essentially local concern to be made by states and localities rather than the federal judiciary."

In earlier Senate hearings, Rabbi Seymour Siegel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America argued that schools should teach prayer, just as they teach any other useful subject. If schools teach driver education, sex education, physical education, and family education, they "should also be concerned with the skill so indispensable to human growth — the art and power of prayer" (Senate 1982, 68). Others expressed concern that school prayer is needed as an antidote to "secular humanism" in the public schools (Senate 1982, 72).

Many people in these same hearings expressed convictions that state-sponsored school prayer can promote constructive moral and social values and instill a love of God in school children (Senate 1982, 103, 157–58). Nearly all supporters of school prayer insist that no dissenter's rights would be infringed since no one would be required to participate, and objecting students could be excused from the prayer exercise (Department of Justice 1983, 5).

Primary support for the prayer amendment has come from fundamentalist Protestant groups, and from conservative political organizations such as the Moral Majority (Rev. Jerry Falwell), the Conservative Caucus (Howard Phillips), and the Eagle Forum (Phyllis Schlafly). Most mainline Protestant churches, most Jewish groups, the major national organizations of school teachers and administrators, and the American Civil Liberties Union and various other liberal groups are opposed. The sides are by no means cleanly divided along conservative-liberal lines, however (Thompson 1983, 679–82). Some religious leaders of impeccably conservative credentials have expressed strong reservations about officially endorsed school prayer (Buzzard 1982, 130).

There is obviously more to the issue than a clear-cut struggle between good and evil, or between religion and the forces of anti-religion. Perhaps the opposition of atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair can be explained by President Reagan's broad-brush reference to those who would "expel God from our children's class rooms" (*Weekly Compilation* 1982, 1178). But certainly it cannot account for the many thoughtful, deeply religious people who oppose

government-sponsored prayer in the schools. When the issue is scrutinized closely the case for school prayer becomes far from self-evident.

The historical argument for prayer in the schools is perhaps easiest to support. Yet even here, the record is mixed both as to historical practice and the intent of the Constitution's framers. Prior to the 1962 Supreme Court decision banning the Regents' Prayer, vocal prayer or Bible reading in public schools was widely but by no means universally practiced. Twenty-two states had statutes or judicial decisions officially sanctioning school prayer, but several state courts had outlawed school prayer by construing establishment clauses in state constitutions. According to a 1962 survey fewer than half the school systems in the country conducted regular Bible readings, and only about one-third required prayers to begin the school day (Laubach 1969, 32-33).

Public school religious exercises may have been satisfactory in many communities, at least to the majority, but the historical experience has not all been happy. In 1866 the Massachusetts Supreme Court approved the expulsion of a girl who refused to bow her head during school devotional exercises; Iowa witnessed a similar event in 1884, and Kansas in 1904.⁸ Probably the most tragic conflict over public school religious exercises occurred in Massachusetts in 1843-44 when months of controversy over use of the Catholic version of the Bible by Catholic students in public schools erupted in rioting and violence, leaving two Catholic churches burned, several homes destroyed, and a number of persons dead (Pfeffer 1967, 436-44). More recently, Samuel Shaffer, a columnist for the *Washington Post* has recalled student taunts and occasional fist fights resulting from the refusal of Catholic students in his District of Columbia public school to recite certain portions of the Lord's Prayer, King James version (S.J.C. 1983, 293).

The framers' intent is even more ambiguous. The intent of the first Congress which drew up the Bill of Rights was to limit federal powers, not those of the states; but in that respect their intent has been superseded by that of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment which now makes the religion clauses applicable to the states. Beyond that, it is impossible to ascertain specific intent about prayer in public schools, if only because there was no system of public education at the time. Education, as the framers knew it, was almost exclusively private.

Evidence of contemporaneous prayer is of course abundant. The Philadelphia convention of 1787 did not have public prayer during its sessions, despite Benjamin Franklin's well-known plea; but this was, as one delegate explained, because the convention had no money to pay a chaplain (Tansill 1927, 295-96). The first Congress hired a chaplain, as had the Continental Congresses before it. That same Congress also called upon President Washington to proclaim a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, and he complied (Gales 1:914-15; Cord 1982, 27-29, 241, 49-82).

⁸ *Spiller v. Inhabitants of Woburn*, 94 Mass. (12 Allen) 127 (1866); *Moore v. Monroe*, 64 Iowa 367, 20 N.W. 475 (1884); *Billard v. Board of Education*, 69 Kan. 53, 76 P. 422 (1904).

From this evidence one might extrapolate that the framers surely would have permitted state-sponsored prayer in public schools if there had been public schools. But such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. The modern Supreme Court has found prayer permissible in legislative gatherings and has not banned Thanksgiving proclamations. Even if the framers had approved public school prayer in 1789, there is no reason to assume they would approve it in the educational environment of today's pluralistic society. As one commentator has remarked, "We may well be truer to the intent of the framers if we look not to their specific intent based on their immediate circumstances but to whether, in the light of changed circumstances, a challenged practice tends to promote the type of interdependence of religion and state that the first amendment was designed to prevent" (Stone 1983, 883). And the fact remains that no specific intent to permit state-conducted religious exercises in public schools can be found in the historical record.

This brief discussion of history and framers' intent reveals that enforced devotions in public school have resulted in something less than unalloyed sweetness and light. The principal arguments against school prayer, however, are not constitutional or historical but rather moral, religious, and political. They can be subsumed under two propositions. First, it is bad public policy for schools to coerce religious observance. Second, state-sponsored, routinized school prayer is more likely to demean and trivialize religion than to promote genuine religious experience.

Even proponents of school prayer agree that no one should be coerced to participate in a religious observance. The Reagan-backed amendment specifically provides that "no person shall be required by the United States or by any State to participate in prayer." But the matter is not that simple. Legal rules with government-enforced penalties are only one form of coercion. Social pressure is another, and in some instances, it can be severe. Should a child submit to a state-imposed ritual to which he or his parents object, or should he leave the classroom and risk the stigma often applied to those who are different? In the words of one state court, "The exclusion of a pupil from [religious] exercises in which the rest of the school joins, separates him from his fellows, puts him in a class by himself, deprives him of his equality with the other pupils, subjects him to a religious stigma and places him at a disadvantage in the school" (*People ex rel. Ring v. Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 351, 92 N.E. 256, 1910). Writer Richard Cohen states the problem more in the vernacular: "There is simply nothing voluntary about it. When you're eight years old and everyone around bows their head, you bow your head. When everyone is mumbling words, you mumble words. . . . And you do this not because you want to, but because you do not want to make a spectacle of yourself" (Buzzard 1982, 86).

The situation is not hypothetical. In the 1963 case striking down the Pennsylvania Bible reading statute,

Edward Schempp, the children's father, testified that after careful consideration he had decided that he should not have Roger or Donna excused from attendance at these morning ceremonies. . . . He said that he thought his children would be

“labeled as ‘odd balls’” before their teachers and classmates every school day; that children, like Roger’s and Donna’s classmates, were liable “to lump all particular religious difference[s] or religious objections [together] as ‘atheism’” and that today the word “atheism” is often connected with “atheistic communism,” and has “very bad” connotations, such as “un-American” or “anti-Red,” with overtones of possible immorality. Mr. Schempp pointed out that due to the events of the morning exercises following in rapid succession, the Bible reading, the Lord’s Prayer, the Flag Salute, and the announcements, excusing his children from the Bible reading would mean that probably they would miss hearing the announcements so important to children. He testified also that if Roger and Donna were excused from Bible reading they would have to stand in the hall outside their “homeroom” and that this carried with it the imputation of punishment for bad conduct. (*Abington School District v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 208 n. 3, 1963)

In a society where everyone shares a single religious faith, such social pressure might not be a problem. But few communities are now that homogeneous. And absence of complaints about school prayer in a given district does not necessarily mean there is no problem. It may mean only that parents or children who are offended prefer to suffer in silence rather than do something that will invite criticism or focus public attention on their differences. Often the majority who support the religious observance are not even sensitive to the practices that offend. More than one non-LDS parent in predominantly Latter-day Saint communities has been dismayed to see his or her child fold arms while praying, a practice learned in school from LDS teachers and students but not a ritual universally followed by other Christian denominations.

Perhaps the minority should not be so thin-skinned. Constitutional guarantees of religious liberty have never been thought to remove the believer’s need for moral courage when faced with opposition or ridicule from those holding different beliefs. If stigma attaches to difference, this may simply be “part of the price of being a religious nonconformist . . . which all nonconformists have to bear” (Cushman 1955, 495). Such arguments are not without merit, but they are not convincing applied to school prayer. Religious minorities have difficulty enough without government adding to their problems by increasing the price paid for being nonconformist, especially when those who pay the price are children.

But what of the rights of the majority? Should the objection of one or a few persons prevent all the rest from having school prayer if they wish it? Majorities as well as minorities have First Amendment rights, including the right to free exercise of religion. The real question, of course, is what “free exercise” does and should guarantee. As generally understood, the free exercise clause protects absolutely the right to *believe* whatever one wishes. Beyond that it prevents government from laying unreasonable burdens on religious *conduct*.⁹ It does not, however, give the individual or any group the right to

⁹ *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 164 (1878), the first major free exercise decision, held that Congress might not regulate belief but was “free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order.” Thus religious duty was no defense against a charge of bigamy, as applied to Mormon polygamous marriages. The Federal District Court, Utah, on 9 May 1984 reaffirmed that the religion clauses did not prevent the city of Murray, Utah, from firing a policeman because of his practice of polygamy. *Potter*

have the machinery of government marshalled in support of their religious exercise. Failure to devote a portion of the class hour to a devotional exercise can scarcely constitute an unreasonable burden on religious liberty.

Different issues are raised by the person who wishes to offer prayer in school entirely on his or her own initiative. *Silent* prayer is nowhere banned and of course should not be. But *vocal* prayer could be restricted. The free exercise clause would not protect vocal prayer that disturbs patrons in a public library, that interferes with the courtroom examination of witnesses, or that drowns out a speaker in a public meeting. Vocal prayer disruptive of classroom activities would fall in the same category. Such incidental restriction on the exercise of religion is outweighed by the government interest in preserving order in libraries, courtrooms, public meetings, and schools.

Viewing the question of state-sponsored prayer in public schools in terms of "majority" and "minority" rights points out another undesirable social consequence: it subjects states and school districts to political divisions along religious lines. In some districts, a small objecting minority may be ignored without serious political repercussions. But in a heterogeneous school district, decisions about school prayer or devotionals could well evoke serious political strife. Such religious divisions are sure to arouse hard feelings within the district and make substantive educational issues more difficult to resolve.

If school prayer is bad public policy, it can also be bad for religion. The point has been made forcefully and eloquently by thoughtful persons of faith who see state sponsorship as a blight, not a boon, to religion.

Lynn R. Buzzard, a Protestant theologian and lawyer who is presently executive director of the Christian Legal Society (a national organization of Christian lawyers), has identified some of the crucial reasons why school prayer may be bad for religion:

Official, school-organized prayer times will almost certainly fall short of a biblical vision of prayer as confession, petition, intercession, praise, and thanksgiving. Such whistlestop prayers are poor lessons for students about what prayer means. Prayer is too sacred to be secularized or used as a political tool. . . .

We also run the risk that school-organized prayers will be "used" by teachers or other government entities in ways that interfere with their spiritual character. Roger Williams was right when he insisted that there is a wall placed between the church and the state to keep the wilderness of the state from invading and destroying the garden of the church. . . .

Pluralism is . . . common among students. More critically, perhaps pluralism is common among many teachers and administrative personnel who would show little sympathy for and perhaps even hostility to prayer. We do not need thoroughgoing secularists running prayer times in our schools. . . .

From either a religious or political viewpoint, there is little to be gained by imposing such prayer times when significant minorities find them threatening. The gains are small compared with the alienation and divisiveness that may result. (1982, 130-32)

v. Murray City, 585 F. Supp. 1126 (D.C. Utah, 1984). The case is currently on appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals, 10th Circuit. In recent years, the Supreme Court has held that religious conduct, as well as belief, is protected by the First Amendment and may be restricted only on a showing that the regulation "is essential to accomplish an overriding governmental interest" *U.S. v. Lee*, 455 U.S. 257 (1982).

Consider also this comment by Nathan Dershowitz, Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress:

Our opposition . . . is based fundamentally on a deep commitment to religious values and to the principle that such values must be espoused freely as an act of individual conscience. To people of all faiths, the purpose of prayer is spiritual communion with God. The home, church, and synagogue are the proper, time-honored places which provide the appropriate setting for a communion with God. There, religious yearning and the needs of the soul can find satisfaction. Mechanical recitation of prayers in public schools, particularly prayers composed by public officials with a view toward popular acceptance, degrades these true religious experiences. (S.J.C. 1982, 169–70)

Speaking to the same issue in 1963, Dallin H. Oaks (1963, 1135) gave a more even-handed appraisal but did not see school prayer as essential to achieving any of the principal objectives usually attributed to it.

The first objective — inculcating belief in God — is primarily the province of the home and the church, and many religious people believe that it is not a proper objective of a compulsory public school system. The second objective — promoting morality — can be accomplished by the public schools in a variety of ways, of which a brief, compulsory, state-authored public prayer may be the least effective.

It is the third objective — the combatting of secularism in the curriculum — that has seemed to loom largest in the thoughts of the millions who have protested the school-prayer cases. Yet if the influences of secularism do permeate teachings in our public schools — and there is evidence that they do — a one-minute state-prescribed religious ceremony at the beginning of the school day would certainly be insufficient to offset their influence.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the concerns expressed by Buzzard, Dershowitz, and Oaks about the quality of school prayer are not altogether ill-founded. Virginia Inman, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, recalls with little fondness her childhood experience with daily school devotional exercises: “For the most part, our devotional lessons were bland, unmemorable homilies that actually trivialized prayer more than they promoted it. Most students considered the daily devotional something of a joke, a sentiment of which I was acutely conscious the many times I was responsible for the lesson myself” (1982, 20).

A letter to the *Christian Science Monitor* from Miriam Stoyer Thomas, a Maine schoolteacher, describes even less edifying encounters with school prayer:

The people who advocate the Lord’s Prayer in public schools should be there just once and hear it. 20,000 times in my life I have heard the following: 1,200 to 2,000 noisy teenagers shuffle in and get seated. Some unknown, five flights down in the school office, mumbles as fast as possible: And the menu today is sloppy Joes and m-m-m (unintelligible) apples. And the football game tonight m-m-m- Our Father who art in Heaven . . . blankety, blankety, Hallowed be thy name. . . . Make ups will be Thursday in the gym . . . forgive us our debts. . . . Ice cream for sale. Get your tickets. Amen.”

Now if Sen. Jesse Helms or some other legislator thinks THAT adds to good Christian or Buddhist or Hindu living, let him explain. (29 April 1979, 22)

One of my colleagues at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, in terms less dramatic and overdrawn, has expressed his own disappointment with the prayer experience of his young daughter in an elementary classroom of the Alpine School District. By default and unwillingness to disappoint the teacher when no one else would volunteer, she virtually became the class chaplain for the school year. A prayer style that had once been a warm outpouring of thanks and thoughtful supplication for needed blessings had become, by the end of the year, a routinized and repetitious flow of words with little grace or feeling. This experience obviously was not unique in Utah Valley. The *Provo Herald*, 28 July 1983, p. 32, reports an interview with a Provo teacher who, as a student teacher in a class that prayed vocally, heard “the same children and the same words” each morning. “It was a meaningless repetition with only a small core of the children ever volunteering to pray.” Such anecdotes do not establish that school-organized prayer always demeans prayer and stifles spiritual growth, but they show that it certainly can.

Silent Prayer and Meditation

Relevant Supreme Court precedents hold that governmental support of religion, even in the absence of denominational preference, must have a secular purpose and effect and avoid excessive government entanglement with religion. The principal case upholding a moment of silence was decided in 1976 by a federal district court in Massachusetts. There the judge concluded that a “quiet moment at the beginning of the day” might serve a legitimate educational purpose as a means of transition from playground tumult to classroom study. The primary effect was held not to be religious because it also accommodated “students who prefer to reflect upon secular matters.” On the facts presented, the district court concluded that silent prayer did not require the student to confront “the cruel dilemma of either participating in a repugnant religious exercise or requesting to be excused,” with possible accompanying “scorn or reproach of his classmates” (*Gaines v. Anderson*, 421 F. Supp. 342–43, 45, D. Mass. 1976).

More recent lower court decisions have been unwilling to find a secular purpose and effect. It is inherently incongruous, perhaps even disingenuous, for supporters of silent prayer and meditation to represent their intent as secular rather than religious. A 1983 federal court decision in New Jersey found the state legislature’s assertion of a secular purpose (to provide a transition between nonschool activities and school work) palpably unbelievable. The judge observed sharply, “Unless one examines the statute in a total vacuum, this conclusion [that the law has a neutral secular purpose] is without rational basis” (*May v. Cooperman*, 572 F. Supp. 1561, D.N.J. 1983). He also ruled that the effect was to advance some religions and inhibit others, to stigmatize objecting minorities and to promote political controversy along religious lines.

Policy objections may be somewhat weaker when addressed to silent prayer as compared with vocal prayer, because silence has less potential for denominational preference. Even so, the federal judge in *May v. Cooperman* concluded that silent prayer provided equal prayer opportunity only to those whose

prayers could “be performed in the prescribed posture [standing or sitting],” while students whose prayers require action and/or sound are precluded from engaging in prayer during the minute of silence.” The problem exists because

the forms of prayer may differ widely. . . . In the traditional American culture silence, bowing one’s head and clasping one’s hands is associated with prayer. . . . Historically, however, Catholics kneeled and Jews raised their hands. Members of the Islamic faith may kneel on prayer rugs, face east and call out loud upon Allah. For Quakers silence itself is prayer. For others prayer must be vocal. With the increasing cultural and religious diversity in the United States, with traditional western religions being supplemented by adherents of and converts to eastern religions, diversity in the forms of prayer has proliferated. (pp. 1569, 1571–72)

The facts of the New Jersey case revealed that numerous people did indeed object to the practice on religious grounds and were concerned about the social reproach their children might face if they asked to be excused from the exercise. Since fewer people in a typical community are likely to object to silent prayer, the magnitude of the practical problem diminishes; but the principle seems essentially the same. The school is sponsoring a religious exercise, and dissenters must risk social ostracism to avoid participation.

Furthermore, a moment of silent prayer and meditation is unlikely to be as satisfying as vocal prayer to those who hope for moral development. Dick Dingman, legislative director of the Moral Majority, made the point crystal clear in presenting his objections to the Hatch silent-prayer amendment: “We haven’t fought all these years for the right to remain silent” (Thompson 1983, 680).

At the same time, the moment of silence is still fraught with possibilities for trivializing and demeaning the reverential concept it is supposed to promote. The New Jersey school board in *May v. Cooperman* had specified a two-minute meditation period, but “by tacit agreement the period of silence was reduced in practice to 30–45 seconds” (p. 1566). Provo schoolteacher Marjorie Bradshaw tried a moment of silent prayer in her classroom but abandoned it after a few months because, as the *Provo Herald* reported, “their lack of reverence and respect for one another made the quiet time useless” (28 July 1983, p. 32). When the speculative religious value of a moment of silence is balanced against the risks of community divisiveness, offense to individual children and parents, and demeaning of religion itself, a constitutional amendment permitting governments to impose it on their children seems wholly unwarranted and undesirable.

Equal Access to School Facilities

Denying student religious groups the use of school facilities on an equal basis with other noncurricular student groups poses an issue not implicated by state-sponsored school prayer. Granting equal access to religious groups might in some sense be *state support* of religion, but failure to do so is clearly discriminatory. As a policy matter, there is no good reason for discrimination against religious groups. Religious activity is as valuable as other kinds of student activity. It is entitled to equal protection under the First Amendment.

The policy objections to school-organized prayer have no application to voluntary, privately initiated religious activity. No one is coerced by the state. No one is made part of a captive audience for a religious exercise. No one is placed by the state in a position where social pressures may conflict with the dictates of conscience. Here the prayer is truly voluntary, and worship may be meaningful because it is voluntary.

In the 1981 case of *Widmar v. Vincent* (454 U.S. 263, 1981), the Supreme Court ruled that state colleges must grant equal access to student religious groups if other student groups are also permitted to use college facilities. The decision was based on free speech rather than religious exercise grounds. The college did not have to open its facilities to any noncurricular student organizations. But once it did, the Court said, exclusion of religious speech was impermissible, content-based abridgement of First Amendment speech guarantees.

One federal district court has applied the *Widmar* rationale to public high schools, but all three Federal Courts of Appeal to consider the issue have said that access for religious groups violates the establishment clause. In two of the cases the court believed that high school students, unlike more mature college students, would perceive the grant of permission as affirmative support for religion.¹⁰ In the other, the court found that granting permission in fact advanced religion, since other groups made little use of the facilities.¹¹

Although the lower-court trend is running against the application of *Widmar* to public secondary schools, this situation still presents no current cause for constitutional amendment. Lower-court decisions are no unfailing guide to what the Supreme Court will do, and the Supreme Court has agreed to review one of the lower court cases during its 1985–86 term.¹² When the Supreme Court renders its decision, the *Widmar* doctrine of equal access might well prevail as applied to public high schools.

CONCLUSION

The secularization of American society, the breakdown of traditional values, and widespread evidence of social disintegration are legitimate cause for concern. So also is the condition of American education, whether viewed as an academic enterprise or as an institution for the transmission of important societal values. But problems so vast and complex are rarely susceptible to

¹⁰ *Bender v. Williamsport Area School District*, 563 F.Supp. 697 (M.D.Pa. 1983). The district court was reversed on appeal to the Third Circuit, however. *Bender v. Williamsport Area School Dist.*, 741 F.2d 538 (3d Cir. 1984). See also *Brandon v. Board of Education of the Guilderland Central School Dist.*, 635 F.2d 971 (2d Cir. 1980), *certiorari denied* 454 U.S. 1123, *rehearing denied* 455 U.S. 983 (1981).

¹¹ *Lubbock Civil Liberties Union v. Lubbock Indep. School Dist.*, 669 F.2d 1038 (5th Cir. 1982), *certiorari denied* 102 S.Ct. 800 (1983). A California state court case, *Johnson v. Huntington Beach Union High School District*, 68 Cal. App. 3d 1, 136 Cal. Rptr. 43, *certiorari denied* 434 U.S. 877 (1977), similarly held that meetings of a student Bible club during the high-school day violated both the U.S. and the California constitutions.

¹² *Bender v. Williamsport Area School Dist.*, *review granted* 53 United States Law Week 3585 (19 Feb. 1985).

simple solutions: and that is the trouble with government-sponsored school prayer.

As embodied in much current legislation and in proposed constitutional amendments, it is little more than a symbolic gesture. It is a quick fix requiring no additional tax revenue or parental involvement. It is an attempt to solve large social problems with virtually no investment of social resources. It cannot stem the tide of secularism in the schools or in the country. It is unlikely to bring people closer to God. It has high potential to embroil religion in political conflict, and it may teach our children that prayer can be trivial. Like most other schemes to obtain great benefits at little cost, it is a delusion.

Those who want better schools and better children (and there is no guarantee of either) must be willing to pay for them. The price is paid through parental involvement with children and with their children's education. It is paid through community support — financial and moral — for the good things done in the public schools, and a willingness to work out genuine problems with patience, understanding, and good will. This is more difficult than having the teacher enforce a brief prayer moment at the beginning of the day, but the outcome is likely to be more rewarding.

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Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo

Richard S. Van Wagoner



Joseph Smith emerged from the ferment of Jacksonian America during a time when religion was regaining its hold over American life, when abolitionist groups, temperance movements, and benevolent societies were thriving. Utopian experiments testified to the exuberance of a nation advancing from infancy to childhood. Innocent vitality, limitless resources, a booming economy, and westward expansion nurtured a profound belief in America as the land of destiny, a light to the world.

God could not have chosen a better place, a better time, or a better people than the people of early nineteenth-century America for the “restitution of all things.” After a decade of religious revivalism, the booming economy of the 1830s had ripened millennial expectations. Word of angelic visitations was greeted with enthusiasm. The heavens were being rolled back. Old men were dreaming dreams, young men saw visions. Women spoke in tongues, and children conversed with angels. New faiths mushroomed.

Western New York, where the Prophet grew up, was so frequently swept by the fires of religious enthusiasm that it came to be known as the “burned-over district.” It was in this milieu, on 6 April 1830, that Joseph Smith organized the Church of Christ, later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Like other dynamic movements of the day, the fledgling church was influenced not only by restoration Protestant sectarianism but by flourishing contemporary social experiments. Joseph Smith’s unique ability to blend current ideas with his own visionary experiences is evident in the growth of his communal vision. The Prophet’s earliest exposure to utopian thought and practices may have stemmed from a religious sect called the United Society of True Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing. Popularly known as the Shakers, the

RICHARD S. VAN WAGONER, a clinical audiologist, has published in DIALOGUE, Sunstone, Utah Historical Quarterly, Utah Holiday, and BYU Studies. Coauthor of A Book of Mormons with Steven C. Walker, he has also written Mormon Polygamy: A History (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985). A version of this article was presented at the 1983 Sunstone Symposium.

group established a community a few miles from Smith's birthplace in Vermont (Arrington, Fox, and May 1976, 20). Mother Ann Lee's celibate society was the first communitarian organization of its kind in the United States.

Joseph was probably also familiar with the Harmonists, who claimed that George Rapp, a Lutheran minister and social reformer in Germany, was responding to a vision from Gabriel when he brought his followers from Germany in 1814 to Harmony, Pennsylvania, where Joseph Smith intermittently lived from 1825 to 1827. The Harmonists, who migrated to Indiana to found New Harmony in 1824, experimented like the Shakers with shared property and celibacy.

Robert Owen, wealthy Scottish reformer and industrialist, may also have directly shaped Joseph Smith's utopian ideas through one of his most influential American followers. Arriving in the United States in the mid-1820s, Owen promised a "new Eden in the far west" and began establishing communities based on communal ownership and equality of work and profit. After purchasing the New Harmony community from the Harmonists in 1825, he established two other communitarian societies in Ohio, at Kendal and Yellow Springs.¹ Sidney Rigdon, a prominent Protestant minister in the Western Reserve area of Ohio and a follower of Alexander Campbell's Disciples of Christ, attended a debate between Owen and Campbell in 1829. Taken with Owen's system of "family commonwealths," he tried to implement such a communal order within the Disciples of Christ (Erickson 1922, 17). Campbell's objections caused Rigdon to split from the group, along with other dissenters who went on to set up "common-stock" societies at Mentor and Kirtland, Ohio. By the fall of 1830, Rigdon and more than 100 members of "the family," as they were known, had converted to Mormonism, products of the missionary zeal that brought within a few months nearly 1000 new members into the Mormon fold.

After arriving in Ohio from New York in early February 1831, Joseph Smith convinced Rigdon's communal group to abandon the common-stock principle in favor of the "more perfect law of the Lord." A week later, on 9 February 1831, Smith announced God's revealed "Law of Consecration and Stewardship." Members were advised that "all things belong to the Lord" and were directed to deed all personal property to the bishop of the Church. The bishop then returned a "stewardship" to each head of a household, who was expected to turn over any accrued surplus to the Church. Known as the "Order of Enoch," "The Lord's Law," and the "United Order," the Mormon Order of Stewardship was intended as a pattern of social and economic reorganization for all mankind. The dream was to unify "a people fragmented by their individualistic search for economic well-being." The Saints as a group, divested of personal selfishness and greed, were to be prepared by this communal discipline to usher in the millennial reign of Christ (Arrington, Fox, and May 1976, 2-3).

¹ The Harmonists returned to Pennsylvania, founding the village of Economy some twenty miles from Harmony.

Despite the relatively peaceful but brief period in Kirtland, Smith's futuristic plans never fully materialized. As the Church began to expand in Ohio and Jackson County, Missouri, converts imported a diversity of life styles to the Mormon strongholds. Not only had a majority of Rigdon's communal "family" become Mormons, but individuals from a variety of utopian communities had also been converted. Ugly accusations that the Mormons were practicing free love, polygamy, and "spiritual wifery" soon rose against the utopian practices of the young society.

Many outsiders were suspicious of their close-knit adhesion, so foreign to mainstream America. Nor is it difficult to see how Mormon communitarianism with its shared property could have been suspected of a "community of wives" as well. One prominent observer of Robert Owen's "family commonwealths" expressed the popular assumption: "Family life is eternally at war with social life. When you have a private household, you must have personal property to feed it; hence a community of goods — the first idea of a social state — has been found in every case to imply a community of children and to promote a community of wives" (Dixon 2:209).

Mormons may have easily become confused in the public mind with Owen-like contemporary movements. In the early 1830s, another group of "saints" also emerged from the New York social chaos. Disciples of revivalist preachers Erasmus Stone, Hiram Sheldon, and Jarvis Rider claimed they were perfect and could no longer sin. They became known as "Perfectionists." As part of their doctrine, they advocated "spiritual wifery," a concept nearly identical to Mormon eternal marriage. John B. Ellis's 1870 description of perfectionist theology assured that "all arrangements for a life in heaven may be made on earth; that spiritual friendships may be formed, and spiritual bonds contracted, valid for eternity." Mormon missionary Orson Hyde, a former member of Rigdon's "family," visited a similar group he referred to as "Cochranites" in 1832 and worried about their "wonderful lustful spirit, because they believe in a 'plurality of wives' which they call spiritual wives, knowing them not after the flesh but after the spirit, but by the *appearance they know one another after the flesh*" (Hyde, 11 Oct. 1832; emphasis in original).

The frontier teemed with other practitioners of that "wonderful lustful spirit," such as the notorious Robert Matthews, alias "Matthias the Prophet." This self-styled "Prophet of the God of the Jews" announced that "all marriages not made by himself, and according to his doctrine, were of the devil, and that he had come to establish a community of property, and of wives" ("Memoirs" in Ivins 7:15). Matthews practiced what he preached, contracting an unusual marriage with the wife of one of his followers in 1833. Convincing the couple that, as sinners, they were not properly united in wedlock, he claimed power to dissolve the marriage and prophesied that the woman was to "become the mother of a spiritual generation" while he Matthews, would father her first spiritual child. Charges of swindling and murder were brought against him in 1835 by a group of his followers. Though legally acquitted of murder, he served a brief sentence on a minor charge. Three months after his release from prison, he turned up on Joseph Smith's doorstep in Kirtland using

the alias "Joshua the Jewish Minister." After two days of mutually discussing their religious beliefs, they disagreed on the "transmigration of souls," and Joseph told him his "doctrine was of the Devil . . . and I could not keep him any longer, and he must depart" (Jessee 1984, 74–79).

Linked as the Prophet was with such contemporary religionists as Matthias, Shaking Quakers, Harmonists, Perfectionists, Rapphites, and Cochranites, it is little wonder that many outsiders viewed him with a jaded perspective. Ironically, however, the real problems for Smith in Kirtland were caused by insiders. He had given a revelation 9 February 1831 which reaffirmed New Testament monogamy. "Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shall cleave unto her and none else," he said (D&C 42:22). In March 1831 he added, "It is lawful that [a man] should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh" (D&C 49:16). Within the Prophet's own congregation, rumors floated that he was violating these directives.

Benjamin Winchester, once a close friend of Smith's and leader of Philadelphia Mormons in the early 1840s, recalled in 1889 the situation in Kirtland during the mid-1830s: "There was a good deal of scandal prevalent among a number of the Saints concerning Joseph's licentious conduct, this more especially among the women. Joseph's name was connected with scandalous relations with two or three families" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 Sept. 1889). Benjamin F. Johnson, another of Smith's confidants, added late in life that this was "one of the Causes of Apostacy & disruption at Kirtland altho at the time there was little Said publicly upon the subject" (Zimmerman 1976, 39).

These and other rumors circulating in Kirtland during the summer of 1835 may have been the catalyst for the canonization of the Church's position on marriage. At a 17 August 1835 general assembly, Church members voted to accept the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants as "our belief, and . . . the faith and principle of this society as a body" (D&C, 1835 ed.). Addressing the charges of fornication and polygamy leveled at the Church, a "Chapter of Rules for Marriage among the Saints," as the Kirtland High Council Minutes called it, was read to the group by W. W. Phelps, the Prophet's scribe. This declaration said in part: "Inasmuch as this church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, and polygamy; we declare that we believe, that one man should have one wife; and one woman, but one husband, except in the case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again." The assembled Saints voted to canonize the section by appending it to the Doctrine and Covenants.

Historically, Mormons have not given that marriage statement the attention deserved by its pivotal significance. The neglect is understandable: the section is no longer in Church scriptures. When the Church officially announced in 1852 that it had been practicing plural marriage for nearly a decade, the 1835 statement in the Doctrine and Covenants seemed obsolete. It was removed in 1876 and replaced with Section 132, a revelation on "celestial marriage" received 12 July 1843 and introduced to the Saints in August 1852.

An additional reason the 1835 marriage statement gets little notice despite its status as the present law of the Church is that Joseph Smith was not present

during the 17 August general assembly which voted on the measure. Years later, the rumor circulated that Oliver Cowdery had authored the marriage statement against the Prophet's wishes. If Cowdery, as an Assistant President of the Church, did write the statement, most likely it was to protect the Prophet from the rumors that were spreading against him. For whatever reason, Smith planned a brief missionary venture to Michigan to coincide with the 17 August meeting.² Statements he and other Church leaders later made, however, as well as the fact that he performed marriages using the ceremony canonized in that 1835 declaration, argue that he approved of the marriage declaration.³ Furthermore, Smith could have made changes prior to the 1835 printing. A "Notes to the Reader" addendum, page xxv in the 1835 edition, details a change in the article of marriage *after* it had been canonized.

The 1835 marriage statement was important in several respects. Not only did it deny the practice of Church-sanctioned polygamy, but it also outlined a marriage ceremony which ended by pronouncing the couple " 'husband and wife' in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the laws of the country and authority vested in him [the person performing the ceremony]: 'may God add his blessings and keep you to fulfill your covenants from henceforth and forever!'"

This statement, the first referring to eternal marriage, together with the Prophet's two 1831 revelatory statements, suggests that Church leaders no longer viewed marriage as a strictly civil contract. But the Church did not officially accept responsibility for solemnizing the marriages of its members until *after* the 1835 "rules for marriage" had been canonized.

Civil authorities in Ohio did not recognize the license of Church leaders. Sidney Rigdon was arrested in 1835 for marrying a couple, then released when he produced his Campbellite license. This refusal to recognize Mormon priesthood authority was a source of irritation to Joseph Smith; and in a bold display of civil disobedience on 24 November 1835, he performed his first marriage. It was initially intended that Seymour Brunson, who held a valid minister's license, would marry Newel Knight and Lydia Goldthwait Bailey. But

² Smith was in Kirtland as late as 10 August and had returned by 23 August (HC 2:242-43, 253). Cowdery remained in Kirtland not only to conduct the conference, but to be with his wife Elizabeth, who gave birth to their daughter Maria on 21 August.

³ Joseph Smith quoted the 1835 marriage statement in its entirety and then declared it the only "rule of marriage . . . practiced in this Church" (*Times and Seasons* 3 [1 Oct. 1842]: 939). President Wilford Woodruff added in court testimony in 1893 that before the revelation on plural marriage was given in 1843, "there could not have been any rule of marriage or any order of marriage in existence at that time except that prescribed by the Book of Doctrine and Covenants." President Woodruff further testified that this was "all the law on the question" of marriage that was given "to the body of the people." Lorenzo Snow, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, added that the section on marriage was the "doctrine and law of the church upon marriage at that time [early Nauvoo]" (Temple Lot 1:304, 309, 312).

Joseph Smith used the ceremony outlined in the marriage statement in performing marriages — even plural marriages. Mercy Fielding testified in 1893 that on 4 June 1837 Joseph Smith married her to Robert Blashel Thompson using the "ceremony prescribed by the Church and set forth in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants." She added that the same ceremony was used when she became the plural wife of Hyrum Smith in 1843 (Temple Lot 1:344-45).

as Hyrum Smith began the introductory comments, Joseph stepped forth and declared his intent to officiate. The bride, later noting that “the prevailing law of Ohio did not recognize the Mormon Elders as ministers,” added that Smith said at the time of the wedding:

Our elders have been wronged and prosecuted for marrying without a license. The Lord God of Israel has given me authority to unite the people in the holy bonds of matrimony. And from this time forth I shall use that privilege and marry whomsoever I see fit. And the enemies of the Church shall never have power to use the law against me.⁴

Another interesting aspect of the 1835 marriage statement was a clause which held that “all legal contracts of marriage made before a person is baptized into this church, should be held sacred and fulfilled.” Despite that explicit directive, Lydia Goldthwait Bailey, though abandoned by her legal husband, was not divorced when the Prophet married her to Newel Knight, a fact well known to all involved.

The polyandrous Knight marriage was one of Joseph Smith’s earliest efforts to apply heavenly guidelines on earth despite legal technicalities. Emphasizing the sacramental nature of marriage, he commented at the conclusion of the Knight ceremony “that marriage was an institution of heaven, instituted in the garden; that it was necessary it should be solemnized by the authority of the everlasting Priesthood” (HC 2:320). Viewing temporal and spiritual standards as inextricably intertwined, Joseph Smith began in the fall of 1835 to teach the eternal marriage alluded to in the canonized marriage statement. W. W. Phelps, Smith’s scribe in Kirtland, has provided a commentary on the Prophet’s marriage teachings of that period. Writing to his wife in Missouri 9 September 1835, Phelps explained: “I have it in my heart to give you a little instruction, so that you may know your place, and stand in it, believed, admired, and rewarded, in time and in eternity.” Two weeks later he again wrote:

Br. Joseph has preached some of the greatest sermons on the duty of wives to their husbands and the role of all Women, I ever heard. I would not have you ignorant, Sally, of the mystery of Men and Women, but I cannot write all you must wait till you see me. This much, however, I will say, that you closed your 4th letter to me in a singular manner: really it was done after the manner of the Gentiles: says Sally “*I remain yours till death.*” But since you have seen my blessing I think you will conclude, “*if your life and years are as precious in the sight of God as Mine,*” thus you will be mine, in this world and in the world to come; And so long as you can “*remain on earth as you desire.*” I think you may as well use the word “*forever,*” as “*till death.*” . . . This is the reason why I have called you at the commencement of this letter, *My Only One*, because I have no right to any other woman in this world nor in the world to come according to the law of the celestial Kingdom. (emphasis in original)

Phelps’s understanding of eternal marriage in the “celestial Kingdom” obviously came from Smith, who preached numerous sermons on marriage dur-

⁴ Homespun 1893, 31. Newel Knight, the bridegroom, added that the Prophet said at the conclusion of the wedding: “I have done it by the authority of the holy Priesthood and the gentile law has no power to make a law that would abridge the rights of my religion. I have done as I was commanded, and I know the Kingdom of God will prevail, and that the Saints will triumph over all their adversaries” (Sketch, 6).

ing the fall of 1835 while Phelps was living in his home and working with him daily. Despite the implication of eternal marriage in both the 1835 canonized ceremony and Phelps's statements, the first Mormon eternal marriage did not take place until 6 April 1841, when Smith was sealed to plural wife Louisa Beaman by Joseph B. Noble.⁵ The Prophet had apparently come to view all marriages prior to this time, including his own to Emma Hale, as valid for "time" only. As late as 1840 he was occasionally signing his letters to Emma with the benediction "your husband till death" (Jessee 1984, 454).⁶ It was not until a 28 May 1843 meeting of the Endowment Council⁷ in Nauvoo that Joseph and Emma were sealed for time and eternity through the "new and everlasting covenant of marriage" (Ehat 1982, 2).

The idea of eternal marriage was not unique to Joseph Smith. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), an eminent Swedish scientist who turned to theology in middle age, wrote a number of books setting forth "heavenly doctrines" which he claimed were based on biblical teachings interpreted to him through direct communication with the spiritual world. "Two souls which grew up together before life are bound to find each other again on earth," he wrote, and "in heaven as on earth there are males and females. Man was made for woman and woman for man. Love must unite them eternally, and there are marriages in heaven" (in Cairncross 1974, 174–75).

William Hepworth Dixon discussed the "Americanization of spiritual wifery" as developed by Joseph Smith's New York contemporaries, the Perfectionists:

The theory is, that a man who may be either unmarried before the law or wedded to a woman whom he cannot love as a wife should be loved, shall have the right, in virtue of a higher morality, and a more sacred duty than the churches teach him, to go out among the crowd of his female friends, and seek a partner in whom he shall find some special fitness for a union with himself; and when he has found such a bride of the soul, that he shall have the further right of courting her, even though she may have taken the vows as another man's wife, and of entering into closer and sweeter relations with her than those which belong to the common earth; all vows on his part and on her part being to this end thrust aside as so much worldly waste. (Dixon 1:88–89)

New England proponents of spiritual wifery in the 1830s were asking such questions as "Does a true marriage on earth imply a true marriage in heaven? Can there be a true marriage of the body without a binding covenant for the soul? Is not the real marriage always that of the soul? Are not all unions which

⁵ Louisa Beaman (also spelled Beman or Beeman), daughter of Alva and Betsy Beaman, was born in Livonia, New York, 7 February 1815. She was sealed to Joseph Smith for eternity and Brigham Young for time on 14 January 1846, and died in Salt Lake City 15 May 1850.

⁶ See also Joseph to Emma Smith, 9 Nov. 1839, in Smith 2:376–77. Jessee (1984, 448–49) cites it, explaining that the closing benediction and Smith's signature have been cut away. Interestingly, in a 16 August 1842 letter to Emma, Smith signs the letter "your affectionate husband until death through all eternity for evermore" (Jessee 1984, 527). This letter precedes by more than nine months the Smiths's eternal sealing on 28 May 1843.

⁷ This secret organization was also called the Endowment Quorum, the Quorum of the Anointed, Joseph Smith's Prayer Circle, or simply the Quorum.

are of the body only, false unions?" Dixon notes that leaders of this movement answered boldly that "all true marriages are good for time and for eternity . . . all other combinations of the two sexes, even though they have been sanctioned by the law and blessed by the Church, are null and void" (Dixon 1:94).

Swedenborgian and Perfectionist thinking have striking similarities in Joseph Smith's early Nauvoo teachings. But Smith went a step further by advocating what he termed "celestial marriage," a blending of eternal marriage and polygamy to which polyandry became an integral though short-lived appendage.

With the introduction of polygamy to Nauvoo, the standards of "gentile law" were simply viewed as invalid, despite the clause to the contrary in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. As God's earthly agent, the Prophet claimed powers transcending civil law. Responsibility for binding and unbinding marriages on earth and in heaven was solely his or his designates'.

Augusta Adams Cobb is a case in point. Baptized in 1832, she was a stalwart Church member in the Boston area. Her husband, however, was not converted. Returning to Boston in the fall of 1844 after an extended visit to Nauvoo, Mrs. Cobb told her husband that she loved Brigham Young and "live or die, she was going to live with him at all hazards" (*Boston Post*, 22 Dec. 1847, cited in Ivins). She returned to Nauvoo and her husband successfully sued for divorce; but Church leaders had obviously not recognized her civil marriage to Mr. Cobb in the first place: she and Brigham Young had been married secretly 2 November 1843.

"Gentile law," with its civil marriage, was publicly denounced as early as 1847 by Orson Pratt in a sermon recorded by Wilford Woodruff:

as all the ordinances of the gospel administered by the world since the Aposticy of the church was illegal, in like manner was the marriage Cerimony illegal and all the world who had been begotton through the illegal marriage were Bastards not Sons & Hence they had to enter into the law of adoption & be adopted into the Priesthood in order to become sons & legal heirs to salvation. (Kenney 3:260)

Eleanor McLean, the twelfth wife of Apostle Parley P. Pratt, amplified this theology in an 1869 newspaper interview. In an 1857 Arkansas dispute, Mrs. McLean's legal husband, Hector, had murdered her extralegal husband, Parley. Trying to clear up the confusion of the polyandrous relationship for a reporter in 1869, she dismissed her legal marriage: "The sectarian priests have no power from God to marry: and a so-called marriage ceremony performed by them is no marriage at all" (Pratt 1975, 233).

Mrs. McLean was on safe Mormon ground theologically. Her source could have been the published writings on the subject by her brother-in-law, Orson Pratt. In his Church-sponsored *The Seer*, Pratt had explained in 1853: "Marriages, then among all nations, though legal according to the laws of men, have been illegal according to the laws, authority, and institutions of Heaven. All the children born during that long period, though legitimate according to the customs and laws of nations, are illegitimate according to the order and authority of Heaven."⁸

⁸ Pratt 1853, 47. Orson further added on 11 August 1871: "I said their [non-Mormon] baptisms are illegal. Now let me go a little further, and say that the ordinance of marriage is

Even Mormon marriages prior to the fall of 1835, when priesthood authority began to be evoked in marriage ceremonies, were adjudged invalid, with Joseph Smith's own marriage to Emma Hale 18 January 1827 by Squire Tarbill being considered "illegal according to the laws . . . of heaven." John D. Lee, a member of the secret Council of Fifty and an adopted son of Brigham Young, explained:

About the same time the doctrine of "sealing" for an eternal state was introduced . . . the Saints were given to understand that their marriage relations with each other were not valid. That those who had solemnized the rites of matrimony had no authority of God to do so. That the true priesthood was taken from the earth with the death of the apostles and inspired men of God. That they were married to each other only by their own covenants, and that if their marriage relations had not been productive of blessings and peace, and they felt it oppressive to remain together, they were at liberty to make their own choice, as much as if they had not been married. (Lee 1891, 146-47)

This developing position of Church leaders in Nauvoo on what constituted a wife makes much of the confusion surrounding Joseph Smith's personal behavior easier to understand. When he was sealed to Louisa Beaman 5 April 1841, few people were aware of the incident. Emma Smith did not know, neither did Hyrum. Most of the Twelve were on missions in England. But shortly after the first boatload of apostle-missionaries docked at the Nauvoo wharf, Joseph took them aside and began to teach them about polygamy — "spiritual marriage," as it would be known to a select few Nauvoo Saints.⁹

illegal among all people, nations and tongues, unless administered by a man appointed by new revelation from God to join the male and female as husband and wife" (JD 16:175).

⁹ The terms "spiritual marriage," "spiritual wifery," and polygamy have become confused in Mormon history. Though "spiritual wifery" in Mormon usage later became equated with John C. Bennett's advocacy of promiscuous intercourse or "free love," this was not the contemporary Nauvoo meaning. Polygamy, spiritual wifery, and/or spiritual marriage were used in Mormon and non-Mormon contexts as though interchangeable. Emily Dow Partridge, a plural wife to Joseph Smith and later Brigham Young, for example, uses "spiritual wife" as a reference to herself and others: "Spiritual wives, as we were then termed, were not very numerous in those days and a spiritual baby was a rarity indeed" (1877, 72). Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, another of Joseph's plural wives, added that in Nauvoo, "spiritual wife was the title by which every woman who entered into this order [plural marriage] was called" (Whitney 1882, 15). Bathsheba Smith, wife of Apostle George A. Smith, testified in court that during the John C. Bennett fracas in Nauvoo, the church "preached against him from the stand, and against plural marriage, the secret wife system, secret marriages. The spiritual wife system was the system by which a man had two wives at the same time" (Temple Lot 1:362). And Ebenezer Robinson, who was introduced to plural marriage by Hyrum Smith in November or December 1843, when asked in an interview, "Did you understand from Hyrum Smith in 1843 that polygamy & spiritual wifery was identical?" responded "I did" (Robinson to Jason W. Briggs, 28 Jan. 1880). Justin Morse, a Nauvoo resident in the early 1840s, testified 23 March 1887 that in 1842, "Elder Amasa Lyman, taught me the doctrine of *sealing*, or marrying for eternity, called *spiritual wifery*, and that within one year from that date my own wife and another woman were sealed to me for eternity. . . . This woman was the wife of another man, but was to be mine in eternity" (in Shook 1914, 169-70). Furthermore, the 1 January 1845 *Nauvoo Neighbor*, responding to Illinois Governor Thomas Ford's charges of polygamy, editorialized:

To relieve the governor's mind, on this subject, we will just say that the meaning of spiritual wives is to be married for eternity, instead of natural lifetime; and should a man die after they have been married, they have a legal right to get married again; and should they do it for eternity, especially a man, he must have spiritual wives.

Perhaps one of the first married Nauvoo women to be introduced to Joseph Smith's polyandrous teachings was the wife of Apostle Orson Pratt. If one believes the report of Smith's turncoat counselor John C. Bennett, Joseph approached Sarah Pratt sometime in early 1841 while Orson was still on his mission in Europe. "Sister Pratt, the Lord has given you to me as one of my spiritual wives," Bennett later quoted Smith. "I have the blessings of Jacob granted me, as he granted holy men of old, and I have long looked upon you with favor, and hope you will not deny me." "I care not for the blessings of Jacob," the feisty Sarah reportedly replied. "I have one good husband, and that is enough for me" (Bennett 1842, 229). The incident caused sufficient difficulty between Smith and Pratt that both Orson and Sarah left the Church for a short time.¹⁰

Some have assumed that, when Joseph Smith approached married women with polyandrous proposals, he was merely testing their faith, loyalty, or virtue. In Sarah Pratt's case, for example, the 14 September 1877 *New York Herald* reported: "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." In at least two other cases the Prophet "tested" an apostle by asking him for the hand of his wife. Church President Wilford Woodruff recounted the "test" of Apostle John Taylor: "The Prophet went to the home of President Taylor, and said to him, 'Brother John, I WANT LEONORA.'" Taylor was stunned, but after walking the floor all night, the obedient elder said to Smith, "If GOD wants Leonora He can have her." Woodruff concluded: "That was all the prophet was after, to see where President Taylor stood in the matter, and said to him, Brother Taylor, I dont want your wife, I just wanted to know just where you stood" (Whitaker 1 Nov. 1890; emphasis in original).

A similar test was required of Apostle Heber C. Kimball: "Joseph demanded for himself what to Heber was the unthinkable, his Vilate. Totally crushed spiritually and emotionally, Heber touched neither food nor water for three days and three nights and continually sought confirmation and comfort from God." Finally, after "some kind of assurance," Heber took Vilate to the upper room of Joseph's store on Water Street. The Prophet wept at this act of faith, devotion, and obedience. Joseph had never intended to take Vilate. It was all a test" (Kimball 1981, 93).

Jedediah M. Grant, second counselor to Brigham Young and father of 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 — the patriarchal order of God, and Joseph began, on the right and on the left, to add to his family, what a quaking there was in Israel." But asked Grant, "Did the Prophet Joseph want every man's wife he asked for? He did not, but in that thing was the grand thread of the Priesthood developed. The grand object in view was to try the people of God, to see what was in them" (JD 2:13–14).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the difficulties between the Pratts and Joseph Smith, see my forthcoming essay on Sarah M. Pratt.

In some instances, however, the Prophet's intent went beyond "trying the people." He sought to marry wives of several living men, refusing to recognize the legality of their civil marriages. Mary Elizabeth Rollins, married to non-Mormon Adam Lightner since 11 August 1835, was one of the first women to accept the polyandrous teachings of the Prophet. "He was commanded to take me for a wife," she wrote in a 21 November 1880 letter to Emmeline B. Wells. "I was his, before I came here," she added in an 8 February 1902 statement. Brigham Young secretly sealed the two in February 1842 when Mary was eight months pregnant with her son George Algernon Lightner. She lived with Adam Lightner until his death in Utah many years later. In her 1880 letter to Emmeline B. Wells, Mary explained: "I could tell you why I stayed with Mr. Lightner. Things the leaders of the Church does not know anything about. I did just as Joseph told me to do, as he knew what troubles I would have to contend with." She added on 23 January 1892 in a letter to John R. Young: "I could explain some things in regard to my living with Mr. L. after becoming the *Wife of Another*, which would throw light, on what *now* seems mysterious — and you would be perfectly satisfied with me. I write this; because I have heard that it had been commented on to my injury" (George A. Smith papers).¹¹

Sarah M. Kimball, a prominent Nauvoo and Salt Lake City Relief Society leader was also approached by the Prophet in early 1842 despite her solid 1840 marriage to non-Mormon Hiram Kimball. Sarah later recalled that

Joseph Smith taught me the principle of marriage for eternity, and the doctrine of plural marriage. He said that in teaching this he realized that he jeopardized his life; but God had revealed it to him many years before as a privilege with blessings, now God had revealed it again and instructed him to teach with commandment, as the Church could travel [progress] no further without the introduction of this principle. (Jenson 1887, 6:232)

Sarah Kimball, like Sarah Pratt, was committed to her husband, and refused the Prophet's invitation, asking that he "teach it to someone else." Although she kept the matter quiet, her husband and Smith evidently had difficulties over the incident. On 19 May 1842, at a Nauvoo City Council meeting, Smith jotted down and then "threw across the room" a revelation to Kimball which declared that "Hiram Kimball has been insinuating evil, and formulating evil opinions" against the Prophet, which if he does not desist from, he "shall be accursed" (HC 5:12–13). Sarah remained a lifetime member of the Church and a lifelong wife to Hiram Kimball, who eventually joined the Church but was killed in a steamship explosion while enroute to a mission in Hawaii.

¹¹ After her sealing to Smith, Mary Lightner had seven more children by Adam Lightner. It was the rule rather than the exception for Smith to encourage a polyandrous wife to remain with her legal husband. Joseph Kingsbury even wrote that he served as a surrogate husband for the Prophet: "I according to Pres. Joseph Smith & council & others, I agreed to stand by Sarah Ann Whitney [sealed to Smith 27 July 1843] as though I was supposed to be her husband and a pretended marriage for the purpose of shielding them from the enemy and for the purpose of bringing out the purposes of God" (Kingsbury, 5).

Marinda Nancy Johnson, sister of Apostles Luke and Lyman Johnson, married Orson Hyde in 1834. A year before Hyde returned from Jerusalem in 1843, Marinda was sealed to Joseph Smith, though she lived with Orson until their divorce in 1870 (Quinn 1978, 98). Josephine Lyon Fisher, born to Windsor P. Lyon and Sylvia P. Sessions on 8 February 1844, less than five months before the Prophet's martyrdom, related in a 24 February 1915 statement that prior to her mother's death in 1882 "she called me to her bedside and told me that her days on earth were about numbered and before she passed away from mortality she desired to tell me something which she had kept as an entire secret from me and all others but which she now desired to communicate to me." Josephine's mother told her she was "the daughter of the Prophet Joseph Smith, she having been sealed to the Prophet at the time that her husband Mr. Lyon was out of fellowship with the Church."¹²

Two sisters, Zina D. and Prescindia Huntington, both respected Nauvoo women, were also polyandrous wives of Joseph Smith. Prescindia had married Norman Buell in 1827 and had two sons by him before joining Mormonism in 1836. She was sealed to Joseph Smith by her brother Dimick on 11 December 1841, though she continued to live with Buell until 1846, when she left him to marry Heber C. Kimball. In a "letter to my eldest grand-daughter living in 1880," she explained that Norman Buell had left the Church in 1839, but that "the Lord gave me strength to Stand alone & keep the faith amid heavy persecution."

Prescindia's twenty-year-old sister Zina was living in the Joseph Smith home when Henry B. Jacobs married her in March 1841. According to family records, when the Jacobs asked the Prophet why he had not honored them by performing their marriage, he replied that "the Lord had made it known to him that [Zina] was to be his Celestial wife" (Emma R. Jacobs in O. Cannon, 5). Believing that "whatever the Prophet did was right, without making the wisdom of God's authorities bend to the reasoning of any man," the devout Jacobs consented for six-months-pregnant Zina to be sealed to Joseph Smith 27 October 1841 (O. Cannon, 5). Some have suggested that the Jacobs's marriage was "unhappy" and that the couple had separated before her sealing to Joseph Smith.¹³ But, though sealed to the Prophet for eternity, Zina con-

¹² On 12 October 1905, Angus M. Cannon discussed this incident with Joseph Smith, III, and his son Frederick. In response to the elder Smith's inquiry, "Where is the issue in evidence of my father's having married plural wives," Cannon replied:

I will now refer you to one case where it was said by the girl's grandmother that your father has a daughter born of a plural wife. The girl's grandmother was Mother Sessions, who lived in Nauvoo and died here in the valley. She was the grand-daughter of Mother Sessions. . . . Aunt Patty Sessions, asserts that the girl was born within the time after your father was said to have taken the mother. And I want you to understand that I know your father lived and died a Prophet of the Living god, and I will be the last one to seek evidence of anything that the world might be pleased to criticize in his life, knowing that he alone was accountable to God for his conduct. (A. Cannon, 1905)

¹³ Jenson, 1:697, and Arrington 1985, 171. Henry Jacobs's letters indicate a blissful relationship from his point of view with no hint of discord. Interestingly, he still viewed Zina as his wife though she had been "sealed for time" to Brigham Young. Six months after that sealing had taken place, Jacobs wrote "Mrs. Zina Jacobs" from Brooklyn, New York, on 19 August 1846, enroute to his mission in Liverpool to tell her, "I have not forgotten you my

tinued her connubial relationship with Jacobs. On 2 February 1846, pregnant with Henry's second son, Zina was resealed by proxy to the murdered Joseph Smith and in that same session was "sealed for time" to Brigham Young. Faithful Henry B. Jacobs stood by as an official witness to both ceremonies (O. Cannon, 7).

This polyandrous triangle became even more complex. Zina and Henry lived together as husband and wife until the westward-bound Saints reached Mt. Pisgah, Iowa. At this temporary stop on the pioneer trail, Brigham Young announced that "it was time for men who were walking in other men's shoes to step out of them. Brother Jacobs, the woman you claim for a wife does not belong to you. She is the spiritual wife of brother Joseph, sealed up to him. I am his proxy, and she, in this behalf, with her children, are my property. You can go where you please, and get another, but be sure to get one of your own kindred spirit" (Hall 1853, 43-44).

President Young then called Jacobs on a mission to England. Witnesses to his departure commented that he was so ill they had to "put him on a blanket and carry him to the boat to get him on his way" ("Short Sketch" in O. Cannon Collection).¹⁴ Though his health returned, his spirits remained low. On 27 August 1847, his missionary companion and brother-in-law, Oliver Huntington, received a letter from his wife informing the two missionaries that "Zina had gone to Salt Lake City to live with President Young's family" (Firmage). Oliver dashed off a letter to Zina, complaining that "Henry is here and herd the letter. He says all is right, he don't care. He stands alone as yet. I have had almost as much trial about you as he has. I have had to hear, feel and suffer everything he has — If you only knew my troubles you'd pity me" (Firmage in O. Cannon Collection).

Henry returned from his mission and settled in California. But he was still in love with Zina, now a plural wife of Brigham Young. His letters to her were heartrending. On 2 September 1852 he wrote: "O how happy I should be if I only could see you and the little children, bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh." "I am unhappy," Henry lamented, "there is no peace for poor me, my pleasure is you, my comfort has vanished. . . . O Zina, can I ever, will I ever get you again, answer the question please" (O. Cannon Collection). In an undated Valentine he added:

Zina my mind never will change from Worlds without Ends, no never, the same affection is there and never can be moved I do not murmur nor complain of the handlings of God no verily, no but I feel alone and no one to speak to, to call my own. I feel like a lamb without a mother, I do not blame any person or persons, no — May the Lord our Father bless Brother Brigham and all purlains unto him forever. Tell

Love is as ever the same and much more abundantly And hope that it will contue to grow stronger an stronger to all Eternity worlds without End when familys are joined together" (In O. Cannon Collection).

¹⁴ Henry in his 19 August 1846 letter to Zina mentioned that "My health is measurably good at present excepting my Lung Bleede at times which causes much debilation of body; when I Met you before in nauvoo I was very feeble indeed and continued So untill I came to Cambey NY then my helth began to improve."

him for me I have no feelings against him nor never had, all is right according to the Law of the Celestial Kingdom of our god Joseph (O. Cannon Collection).

One might understandably wonder why a man so obviously in love with his wife would give her up to another. Oliver Huntington, writing of this incident in his autobiography, explained: "Zina's husband took to himself another woman before he had returned from England to the bluffs . . . and [Zina] chose a guardian, who could supply her with whatever she wanted, which she could not get, this supply came from the Church. She became the wife of Brigham Young."¹⁵ Another descendant clarified the incident further: "President Young told Zina D. if she would marry him she would be in a higher glory" (Briant S. Jacobs quoted in Firmage, 15, in O. Cannon Collection). Brigham Young himself provided the clearest insight into this situation in an 8 October 1861 General Conference statement on divorce: "There was another way — in which a woman could leave a man — if the woman preferred — another man higher in authority & he is willing to take her. & her husband gives her up — there is no bill of divorce required in the case it is right in the sight of God."¹⁶

The "patriarchal order of marriage," as polygamy was often termed in the nineteenth century, was specific in pointing out that salvation for women depended on their being sealed to a "Lord," or worthy man. Orson Pratt, who eventually became recognized as the "Apostle of Polygamy" for his spirited defenses of the principle, published the first theological discussion on the necessity of a woman's being sealed to a worthy man in order to receive heavenly exaltation:

You will clearly perceive from the revelation which God has given that you can never obtain a fulness of glory without being married to a righteous man for time and for all eternity. If you marry a man who receives not the gospel, you lay a foundation for sorrow in this world, besides losing the privilege of enjoying the society of a husband in eternity. You forfeit your right to an endless increase of immortal lives. And even the children which you may be favored with in this life will not be entrusted to

¹⁵ Cannon Collection. After receiving word of Zina's relationship with Brigham Young, Jacobs married Sarah Taylor. He was excommunicated on 6 December 1847 for his part in sealing W. W. Phelps to three women. See Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 207–8. After reinstatement Jacobs was again excommunicated on 26 January 1851 for reasons that even he did not know, according to his 1 Sept. 1852 letter to Zina.

¹⁶ President Young's theology may have come directly from Joseph Smith. Wilford Woodruff wrote in his journal, 2 June 1857:

Brigham Young Said Joseph taught that when a womans affections was entirely weaned from her husband that was Adultery in spirit. Her Affections were Adultrated from his. He also said that there was no law in Heaven or on Earth that would Compel a woman to stay with a man either in time or Eternity. This I think is true (but I do not know), that if a man that is a High priest takes a woman & she leaves him & goes to one of a lesser office say the Lesser priesthood or member I think in the resurrection that the High Priest Can Claim her. Joseph [Young]: What if she should not want to go with him? I should not want a woman under those Circumstances.

Brigham. I will tell you what you will find that all those evil traditions & affections or passions that Haunt the mind in this life will all be done away in the resurrection. You will find then that any man who gets a glory & exaltation will be so beautiful that any woman will be willing to have him if it was right & wharever it is right for the woman to go there she will be willing to go for all those evils will vanish to which we are subject in this life. (Kenney 5:55–56)

your charge in eternity; but you will be left in that world without a husband, without a family, without a kingdom — without any means of enlarging yourselves, being subject to the principalities and powers who are counted worthy of families, and kingdoms, and thrones, and the increase of dominions forever. To them you will be servants and angels . . . [Regardless of the] morality of such persons . . . how kind they may be to you, they are not numbered with the people of god; they are not in the way of salvation; they cannot save themselves nor their families; and after what God has revealed upon this subject you cannot be justified, for one moment, in keeping their company. It would be infinitely better for you to suffer poverty and tribulation with the people of God, than to place yourselves under the power of those who will not embrace the great truths of Heaven (Pratt 1853, 140).

Steeped in such philosophy, married women such as Mary Elizabeth Lightner, Sylvia Sessions, Prescendia Buell, Zina D. H. Jacobs, Augusta Cobb, and Eleanor McLean were persuaded that their non-Mormon or Mormon layman husbands could not take them to the highest degree of the coveted celestial kingdom. A Mormon male of hierarchical rank, with feet firmly planted in the priesthood, seemed a sure ticket to heaven.

In the labyrinth of early LDS matrimonial theology, the definitions of “wife” and “husband” are complex indeed. *Polygyny* — the practice of having two or more wives at the same time — correctly describes the Mormon practice of plural marriage. But so, in Nauvoo, does *polyandry* — the practice of having two or more husbands at the same time. There is considerable evidence, during the early years of plural marriage, that more than a few Mormon women had two husbands simultaneously. These bigamous or polyandrous relationships were complicated by the fact that the legal husband did not usually know about the extralegal husband. In addition, the Church recognized the nonlegal husband as the valid mate, whereas the law recognized the legal mate. *Polygamy* — the state of having two or more wives or husbands at the same time — is often said to be used incorrectly in describing Mormon plural marriage. But the history of Mormon marriage systems makes it correct to call many early Mormon marriages not only polygynous, but also polygamous.

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Women's Response to Plural Marriage

Kahlile Mehr



Plural marriage was a complex phenomenon in both theology and practice. It was no less complex psychologically. Some LDS women ardently accepted it as a divine principle. Others viewed it as an unwelcome but necessary sacrifice to achieve salvation. A few loathed it. There were women who coaxed reluctant husbands to take an additional wife. Others quietly acquiesced — either in initial discussions or when presented with a *fait accompli*, and still others left the household rather than accept a sister wife. Sometimes the inner and outer persons were in conflict. Inwardly repelled and outwardly obedient, many women faced a struggle that for some led to triumphant self-control and for others to shattering disillusionment.

The principle of plural marriage was promulgated unofficially both before and after its public life. Introduced in the 1830s, it emerged officially in 1852 after the Latter-day Saints had relocated in Utah, putting a geographical buffer between themselves and larger society. Officially terminated in 1890, the practice continued *sub rosa* until 1904 when it was completely disavowed by Church authorities and membership.

Those living the principle did so counter to the commonly held mores of Western society. This required them to justify their actions to themselves as well as others. For some, the justification was obedience to religious principle. For others, it was the pursuit of celestial glory. Some sought a larger posterity. Many accepted the counsel of ecclesiastical leaders or the urging of associates to live plural marriage. The satisfaction of romantic desires motivated at least some. (I have no evidence of sexual gratification motivating women.) For others, practical needs made the system feasible. At least a few women were tricked or even coerced.

KAHLILE MEHR is a professional librarian. He has degrees in Russian and library science and is a candidate for an M.A. in family and local history from Brigham Young University. This article was written to gain a personal understanding of his own polygamous forebears. He lives in Bountiful, Utah, with his wife, Marolyn Price Mehr, and their five children.

A quantitative study has yet to be made, but this essay reviews the motivations that led to acceptance of plural marriage among Mormon women based on anecdotes, family histories, and surviving first-person accounts. Not only does this study illuminate the complexity of plural marriage as a feature of the LDS heritage, but it raises larger issues of the dilemma confronting all who profess religion and reason while coping with their own humanity.

“If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent, and if he espouse the second . . . then is he justified” (D&C 132:61). This revelation established the divine mandate to marry plurally. After forty years of practicing it, when the Church was confronting national opposition, 2,000 LDS women gathered at the Capitol Theater in Salt Lake City on 6 March 1886 to address the reports that they were violating Christian marriage principles. Among other speakers, Ellis Shipp of Salt Lake City, a physician and the first of Milford Shipp’s four wives, explained: “True we practice plural marriage, not, however, because we are compelled to, but because we are convinced that it is a divine revelation, and we find in this principle satisfaction, contentment, and more happiness than we could obtain in any other relationship” (Shipp 1886, 37). Numerous other public statements by LDS women affirm their feeling that they lived the principle in adherence to divine mandate.

One might be tempted to dismiss such statements as propaganda designed to appease anti-polygamy critics. However, similar feelings are expressed in the personal papers of many participants. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton summarize: “That its primary justification — and the primary motivation of its practitioners — was religious obligation, no one who has examined the diaries and letters of the time can deny” (1979, 199).

Yet, not everyone accepted the principle full-heartedly and without qualm. This was particularly true during the early years in which it was practiced clandestinely. Eliza Partridge Lyman, a plural wife of Joseph Smith, reminisced in 1877 in Salt Lake City:

A woman living in polygamy dare not let it be known and nothing but a firm desire to keep the commandments of the Lord could have induced a girl to marry in that way. I thought my trial was very severe in that line and I am often led to wonder how it was that a person of my temperament could get along with it and not rebel, but I know it was the Lord who kept me from opposing his plans although in my heart I felt that I could not submit to them, but I did and I am thankful to my Heavenly Father for the care he had over me in those troublous times. (1846–85, 13–14)

The primary motivation in both this and the statement of Ellis Shipp is obedience to divine revelation.

While visiting Utah in 1872, Elizabeth Kane accompanied her husband Thomas and Brigham Young on a tour of LDS settlements from Salt Lake to St. George. A non-LDS observer, she tells of a plural wife she named Delia J. of Parowan married to a husband twice her age. Though childless, Delia was an earnest advocate of plural marriage as a divine institution. Elizabeth asked if she could support a Congressional act forbidding any further plural mar-

riages but legalizing those already in existence to secure the social position of all wives. Delia exclaimed: “‘Secure my social position! How can that satisfy me! I want to be assured of my position in God’s estimation. If polygamy is the Lord’s order, we must carry it out in spite of human laws and persecutions’” (1974, 105). Yet, Elizabeth reports that the first wife had told her Delia “could not bring her mind for a long time to see it to be her duty. But she is reconciled now” (1974, 104).

Helen Mar Whitney, a plural wife of Horace K. Whitney, wrote *Why We Practice Plural Marriage*, an important defense, in 1884. Her personal justification was included: “Had it not been for the powerful testimony from the Lord, which gave me a knowledge for myself that this principle is of celestial birth, I do not believe that I could have submitted to it for a moment.” Her own resistance had been physically debilitating: “During that season I lost my speech, forgot the names of everybody and everything, and was living in another sphere” (1884, 9; Crocheron 1884, 112).

Romania Bunnell Pratt Penrose, a plural wife of Parley P. Pratt and later of Charles Penrose, experienced an intense struggle as well but termed living plural marriage as cathartic: “Were it lived according to the great and grand aim of its author, though it be a fiery furnace at some period in our life, it will prove the one thing needful to cleanse and purify our inmost soul of selfishness, jealousy, and other mundane attributes” (1881, 6). Though Romania dissolved her sealing to Pratt in 1881, she continued to accept the principle, marrying plurally as the third wife of Penrose in 1886.

As a woman contemplated plural marriage, she had to come to terms with its centrality to salvation in the Mormon view: “For behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory” (D&C 132:4).

Although the twentieth-century Church interprets the new and everlasting covenant as celestial marriage, the nineteenth-century Church most often understood it as plural marriage. Not only did one have to be married in the temple (celestial marriage) but it had to be done plurally for each male and his wives to reach the highest degree of celestial glory. Annie Clark Tanner, a plural wife of Joseph M. Tanner remembers, “It was taught at that time [1880s] that the second wife opened the door of salvation in the Celestial Kingdom not only for herself but for her husband and his first wife” (1976, 62).

Bathsheba B. Smith, the first wife of Apostle George A. Smith, alluded to this doctrine when she said, “Being thoroughly convinced, as well as my husband that the doctrine of plurality of wives was from God and having a fixed determination to attain to celestial glory, I felt to embrace the whole gospel. . . . Accordingly I gave to my husband five wives, good, virtuous, honorable young women” (Tullidge 1877, 320–21).

Elizabeth Fuhriman was twenty-four, single, and being courted by a young single man who would call on her at work in Logan’s ZCMI. This perturbed the manager, Isaac Smith, who also had an eye for Elizabeth. He eventually forbade the youth to continue his store visits. Smith was fourteen years her

senior and married, but he proposed and she accepted even though the year was 1894 and plural marriage was officially discouraged. When later asked by her daughter, Elva, why she had chosen the one over the other, Elizabeth said he was a good talker, good looking, a good dancer, and that he convinced her "how many more blessings she would receive in the life hereafter if she married into polygamy" (Shumway 1980). Kimball Young reported that one wife felt so strongly that her own glory would be lessened by her husband's refusal to be married plurally that she divorced him after two years and became the plural wife of a man many years her senior (1954, 108).

However powerful the motive of salvation, it was not equally compelling to all. When the principle was announced in 1852, Fanny Stenhouse, then on a mission with her husband in Switzerland, retired to her room to read the revelation more closely. "Before I had got through one half I threw it aside, feeling altogether rebellious against God. I now began to feel perfectly reckless, and even willing to throw aside my religion, and take 'my chance of salvation,' rather than submit to Polygamy, for I felt that that new doctrine was a degradation to womankind" (1872, 34). Fanny permitted her husband to marry again, but later, both left the Church and lectured stridently against plural marriage.

While few went so far as Fanny, perhaps a little of her rebelliousness is to be found in many of those that confronted the principle. Many women like Delia J. and Helen Mar Whitney became more convinced of their faith through the practice of polygamy even though, as we have seen, they sometimes harbored feelings of doubt or rebellion. The reality for most women was probably a mixture of faith and frustration.

Some LDS women saw plural marriage as a means to increase the number of children reared in a knowledge of gospel principles, a view supported by Section 132: "[Plural wives] are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world, and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men" (D&C 132:63). Helen Mar Whitney felt children were "stars" in their mother's "crown" and each added to the glory of the woman and her husband in the afterlife (1884, 9). Eliza Martin Allen of West Jordan, the first wife of Daniel R. Allen, echoed these feelings, preaching to her reluctant husband during the 1850s that it was essential to their glory for him to have more wives and to rear and properly train a large number of children (Jensen 1948, 52). Daniel eventually married five other women between 1857 and 1872.

When the first wife was barren, she felt particularly obligated to permit the husband to have another wife. Jennie Harrington Tanner, first wife of Brigham Young Academy professor Joseph Marion Tanner, consented to his marriage with Annie Clark in 1883 because she had no children (Tanner 1976, 63-64). Wealthy Richards Clark of Farmington, the wife of Edward Barrett Clark, was childless during the first six years of their marriage. She received a priesthood blessing in 1885 which promised her children only when she permitted her husband to marry again. She acquiesced and permitted him to

marry Alice Randall that year. The blessing was fulfilled, though it exasperated her that Alice bore a child before she had hers (Clark 1979, 5). Childless Muzetta Porter Burton of Ogden was miserable during the first four years of her marriage to John F. Burton. In 1903, even after the banning of plural marriage, she felt strongly enough about the need to have children that she persuaded her husband to take her sister Florence as a wife. She pursued a career but continued to assist in the education and upbringing of the five children that came from the second marriage (Burton, 1929). Thus, some first wives salvaged the wound of barrenness by sacrificing their monogamous marriage.

Subsequent wives likewise found motivation in the desire to have posterity. Sarah Rogers of Snowflake, Arizona, older and with no prospects for marriage during the late 1880s, heard Charles Edmund Richardson speak in church and was impressed. One of Charles's daughters relates that Sarah greatly desired to have a family. Sarah's own daughter reports that Sarah's mother pressured her to marry Charles polygamously. A third of Charles's children report that Sarah finally approached the stake president and expressed her feelings. When the stake president delivered the message, Charles was beset with doubt and confusion. He paced the floor at nights protesting to Sadie, the first wife, that he could not do it. Sadie responded, "You know that you should be entering into this principle and you have no right to deprive that good woman of having a family" (Shumway 1980, 5; Blau 1980, 10; Richardson 1980, 13). Charles told Sarah that he did not love her but would agree to the marriage. Sarah became the second wife in 1887. Third and fourth wives joined the family in 1889 and 1904.

Many of those who entered plural marriage reported experiences that conveyed divine confirmation. For Louisa Greene Richards, founding editor of *Woman's Exponent* and wife of Levi W. Richards, after earnest prayer came an inner witness — "not suddenly, as it comes to some but gradually and unmistakably" (1882, 94).

For others the witness was more startling. Sarah Kendall Durfee of Springville, the first wife of Jabez Erastus Durfee, had rebelled against her husband's desire to remarry, became ill, and received a visitation from the other world. Her son reports that the person said: "'Sarah, you're awful sick, aren't you . . . Listen, your husband wants to take a second wife and you're opposing him, bitterly opposing him and that is a true principle. . . . He should stand at the head of the home and you should go with him and your children should go with him. If you don't, when you pass out of this life you'll be just canceled out'" (Durfee 1979, 3). Sarah promised to relent, and in 1880 Jabez married the second wife of five additional wives to be added to the family through 1902.

Emma Mortenson, working in Colonia Diaz as a teacher after the Manifesto, was unmarried, twenty-four, and concerned. She fasted and prayed about a husband and was comforted in a dream where she was shown the picture of the man she was to marry. Although she had previously vowed not to marry a redheaded man, she noted in her dream that her husband-to-be had red hair and a small moustache. She later went to Colonia Juarez and boarded with the Skousen family. She was shocked to recognize James Skousen as the

man of her dream. She had not only vowed never to marry a redhead but also never to marry into plural marriage. She became his second wife in 1901 (Skousen 1979, 11).

The impressive spiritual manifestation to Vilate Kimball, first wife of Heber C. Kimball, should not be overlooked. Joseph Smith had revealed the principle to Heber but Vilate knew nothing of it. She was perplexed at the turmoil in her husband's mind. Depression settled over them both and she prayed fervently to know the cause: "Her mind was opened, and she saw the principle of Celestial marriage illustrated in all its beauty and glory, together with the great exaltation and honor it would confer upon her in that immortal and celestial sphere if she would but accept it and stand in her place by her husband's side" (Whitney 1881, 74). Their mutual gloom lifted when she went to Heber, aware now of his unexpressed concerns.

Their mutual revelation represents the ideal. In general, this thorny problem was not easily resolved. Kimball Young recounts that a man in Paragonah, Utah, told his wife "he had had a revelation to marry a certain girl and that in the face of such divine instructions, she must give her consent. The next morning she announced that in the night she, too, had received a revelation 'to shoot any woman who became his plural wife'" (1954, 123).

Women's responses to dreams, visions, divine mandates and the promise of celestial glory were influenced greatly by their perceptions of the connections between this life and the afterlife. There were, however, other more down-to-earth motives that influenced Mormon women.

The counsel of ecclesiastical superiors was often decisive for women entering plural marriage. Young notes that in thirty-three instances where a motive is mentioned, thirty attributed their decision to the counsel of Church authorities (1954, 106). This motive is also mentioned commonly in the interviews of the LDS Polygamy Oral History Project. Sarah Williams of Cedar City responded to the advice of Church leaders and incurred the hostility of her family. When she left home to marry Benjamin Perkins in the fall of 1881, her father disgustingly said he had no desire to even wish her goodbye if she left to come back a plural wife. When she returned married, her mother scolded her. Sarah picked up her sister's baby, but the sister snatched it away and slapped her. Finally, Sarah's mother gave her a quilt and a blanket and asked her to leave permanently. Sarah felt that since she had been advised by her Church leaders to get married plurally, she was doing right and must take "the consequences" (A. Lyman 1930, 7-8).

Ecclesiastical leaders preached plural marriage consistently from the pulpit. Catherine Pond, married to Brigham Pond in 1885 as his second wife, explained to her son that her principle motive was to follow the counsel of Church authorities. She said that she had been taught by these authorities to accept the proposal of a worthy man if he asked her to marry into polygamy (Pond 1980, 16). Hyrum Clark proposed to Ann Eliza Porter on condition that she accept another wife later. Ann went to her father, Alma Porter, a bishop, and confided to him that she thought it was terrible. He said, "No, that is very noble and unselfish. If he wants another wife, you must be equal

to it" (Ericksen 1980, 16–17). Kimball Young quotes a nineteenth-century Mormon: "We'd heard it preached all our lives and we believed it was the true Principle. It was preached and preached and preached at us. When they weren't preaching that, they preached marriage" (1954, 203).

Frequently, when men were given positions of leadership, a Church leader would request that a man, and by implication his wife, enter the principle. Prior to being called as seventy's quorum leader, Andrew Lars Hyer of Lewiston, Utah, was told by Apostle Marriner Merrill to take a second wife. He conferred with his wife, Ellen Gilbert, and proposed a possible second wife. Ellen suggested instead their maid, Elizabeth Telford, whom he married in 1885 (Hyer 1978, 1).

The archetype for this private persuasion can be found in the experience of Isaac Robeson Farley of Ogden. When he and his fiancée Madeleine Malan came to Brigham Young in 1858 for the ceremony, President Young told him to bring her twin sister, Emily, as well. Isaac obeyed, and Emily agreed (Farley, n.d.). On another occasion, Brigham Young advised a man to marry a specific immigrant girl of sixteen before he departed to the Dixie Mission. The girl refused since her parents had not yet arrived. Brigham had the girl brought to his office where he explained that it was a commandment, that they would be blessed if they kept it and condemned if they did not. His counsel had the desired effect, and the two were wed (Young 1954, 109).

Blessings of ecclesiastical leaders sometimes encouraged plural marriage. We have already noted the blessing of Wealthy Richards Clark that promised her children if she accepted the principle. Emily Crane of Fillmore, Utah, was already engaged to George Penny, a single man, when Lorenzo Dow Watson proposed to her. She was undecided. Her parents sought a blessing from the stake patriarch for her. The blessing advised her to reconsider her choice and stated that she would marry plurally. Emily asked George if he would ever approve of plural marriage and, when he said no, she broke the engagement and married Watson (Driggs 1975, 4).

Sometimes friends, relatives, and other Church members provided the necessary emotional support, even when it came ambiguously. Ellen Elvira Nash Parkinson of Preston, Idaho, was eight months pregnant with her third child in 1887 when her husband, William C. Parkinson, married Louisa Benson. Ellen found the situation difficult to accept and sought her mother's counsel. The mother had been married plurally and responded to Ellen's plea, "You are no better than I to stand it." Ellen finally accepted the marriage because the Church urged it and the family all "approved" it. "There was nothing to do but make the best of it" (Parkinson 1965, 208). Ellen Gilbert Hyer of Lewiston, Utah, first wife of Andrew Lars Hyer, counselled her children, "Think nothing of it. It is just our religion" (Hyer and Ririe 1978, 19). Rudger H. Daines of Logan commented similarly that the plural marriage of his parents, William Moroni Daines and Chloe Hatch "was just a natural thing in their lives" (1976, 19).

The pressure to conform was at times intense. Elijah Nicholas Wilson courted a young woman whom he does not name in Cache Valley. Elijah had

spent an unusual youth, growing up with the Shoshone, and was regarded by some as a renegade. They attempted to thwart his suit and encouraged the girl to marry a man of good standing in the community who was already married. She told Elijah "her folks and the bishop and all of the neighbors had turned loose on her and she saw no peace until she promised to marry him [Elijah's rival]" (1971, 194–203).

Economic security or status was an acknowledged motivation for some LDS women. Conditioned by modern society to accept romance as a primary motive to marry, we tend to forget that "pioneer people were motivated by elementary survival interests," as Nels Anderson suggests, "and none were more practical than some of these pioneer women, many of whom favored men who were more secure economically and able to provide the substance for living" (1942, 403). An unmarried woman may have been attracted to a polygamous man because, as Vickey Burgess-Olsen notes, polygamous husbands were usually better off occupationally than their monogamous peers and held higher positions in the Church (1975, 125).

Elizabeth Kane relates an instance where Sarah Comstock, a maid, obtained a jesting promise from the first wife that she could marry the husband after seven years of service. At the end of the seven years, she broke an engagement to another man, reminded the wife of her promise and claimed it, sharing the home and goods of the well-to-do husband (1974, 104).

A first wife might find some short-term economic advantage if her husband married a domestic who would continue her service to the family. Thus, Melvina Greer Skousen encouraged her husband, Daniel, to marry a hired girl saying, according to her daughter, "You might as well marry her and keep the money in the house" (Walser 1976, 22). Financial advantage was not the only benefit. Phylinda Loverage Terry of Union, Utah, sorrowed so deeply at the death of one of her children in 1848 that her health failed. Her husband Charles brought in Sarah Hammond, a neighbor's daughter, to assist the family during the wife's illness. She cared lovingly and competently for the children. Phylinda continued to fail and consented for Charles and Sarah to be married in 1851, thereby providing for the stability of her family once she was gone. She soon died (Blair 1937, 11).

A first wife usually had the most status among the wives. According to her daughter, Caroline Romney Eyring of Colonia Juarez, Mexico, was willing to permit a second marriage because she believed "that the way they would get their celestial glory was by living this principle." However, she expected to be "queen bee" as her own mother, a first wife, had been. She was disappointed when Edward, the husband, decided that Caroline and Emma, the second wife and Caroline's sister, would be treated equally (Calder 1980, 5; Eyring 1976, 11).

Sometimes a plural marriage offered escape from a difficult situation. Pearl Dean Taylor of Colonia Juarez worked "real hard" to tend her invalid parents until she married Samuel Walter Jarvis as a plural wife in 1902 (Augustus 1976, 8). Emmeline B. Whitney, a widow, wrote in 1852 to Daniel H. Wells, who had five wives, requesting that he "consider the lonely state"

she faced and “return to her a description of his feelings for her.” They were married that year (Eaton-Gadsby and Dushku 1978, 459). Nancy Gibbons was forty-eight and John D. Lee was thirty-five when, according to his report: “She told me she was without friend that she could in reality claim as a counselor or lodge the secrets of her breasts with, and that she had thought rather hard of me for I was one of the first elders that brought the gospel to her and a man in whom she always reposed the most exquisite trust and confidence” (Lee 1938, 99). She became his twelfth wife.

First wives, likewise, found themselves looking at the situation from a practical point of view. Viewing plural marriage as inevitable, one anonymous wife encouraged her husband to marry: “If you’re going to get married, I want you to do it while I’m young. I don’t want you to wait until I’m old and good for nothing and then bring in a young wife” (Young 1954, 113).

From a scriptural perspective, love was not a prerequisite to plural marriage. As Section 132 observes: “If any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed” (D&C 132:64). When asked by her son if she loved her husband, second wife Catherine Pond responded that she did not but that she learned to love him (Pond 1980, 11). One peppery prospective second wife in St. George (identified only as Carolyn Y.) refused to have romance mixed up with her religion: “Yes, religion that was what it meant to me. I wouldn’t have no courtin’. Before we was married he used to want me to go out walkin’, but I wouldn’t have it. ‘No courtin’, I says to him. ‘If you’ve got anything to say to me, you know how to say it and where. Come to the house and say it out straight, no strollin’ around like young lovers. I don’t go walkin’ with any woman’s husband’ ” (Sarah Comstock in Mulder and Mortensen 1954, 433).

These two traditional views coexisted with the generally accepted role of love as prelude to marriage increasingly adopted by American society in general throughout the nineteenth century.

A third wife had love as her first priority in marriage: “I don’t think I thought anything about the Principle . . . when I married. . . . I fell in love with my husband and married him, just as a girl would today, only it was in polygamy. He was twenty years older than I was, but he never seemed old. I think I loved him even when I was a little girl” (Young 1954, 117). Sarah Crossley, baptized as a child in England, knew many of the missionaries including Peregrine Sessions. Sarah immigrated with the Willie handcart company at the age of thirteen and suffered severely. Peregrine took her into his Bountiful home, cared for her, and when she was eighteen, married her. She relates, “I think I had loved him from my very childhood, and although I was his fourth wife and many years younger I was the happiest woman in the world” (Burningham 1979, 1–3).

Such happiness could create its own disruptions. According to the son of Betsy Lowe Allen of Cove, Utah, when she found her husband, James Carson Allen, “spooning” with her younger sister Ellen a year after her own marriage, she cried so long and so heartbrokenly that she could no longer produce milk

for her baby (Allen 1980, 22). Ann Doney Lowe of Franklin, Idaho, confided in her son that she deeply loved his father, James Galloway Lowe, but when he married Elizabeth Kingsford in 1885 after five years of monogamy, it was nearly unbearable for her (Lowe 1976, 8).

Kimball Young suggests that wives not romantically attached to their husbands were better able to adjust to plural marriage (1954, 209). One of the strongest advocates of plural marriage, Zina D. H. Young, advised that a successful polygamous wife "must regard her husband with indifference, and with no other feeling than that of reverence, for love we regard as a false sentiment; a feeling which should have no existence in polygamy" (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 417).

There is no evidence to suggest that sex motivated women to accept plural marriage over monogamy. Commenting on this, Romania Pratt Penrose said in 1886:

It cannot be true, as asserted, that plural marriage is entered into as a rule for sensual motives. It is self-evident that it is not the case with women, and it is unreasonable to suppose that men would bring upon themselves the responsibilities, cares and expenses of a plural family, when they could avoid all this, yet revel in sin. (Penrose 1886, 31)

Even anti-Mormon literature portrayed Mormon women as victims of lust rather than proponents of sensual designs.

Not all women were given a choice, either to accept a plural wife or to become one. Young reports two cases. One man, after sixteen years of marriage, requested his wife to ready his temple clothes. When she inquired the reason, he said it was to remarry (1954, 122). One son reports hearing his father tell his mother that the authorities threatened to release him from the bishopric if he did not take another wife. The mother reluctantly consented (1954, 74).

Fourteen-year-old Anna Eliza Berry in 1879 accompanied her mother and stepfather to St. George, ostensibly to tend the younger children and to enjoy the ride. Once while feeding the team she asked her stepfather why he was taking her to the temple. He said to marry her. She writes, "Well I just felt horried [sic] and thought but never dare say is that the way a woman gets Married cant a woman say who she wants." She went through the temple for her endowments. While she was in the sealing room, she writes, "I was lookin at the pretty rooms and I remember of knelling on the alter and a man talking. Mr. H. C. said yes and after they said to me to say yes I wispered yes not noing what I was saying." On the return journey the stepfather put his arm around her shoulder and called her his "little wife." She was aghast and said, "Why, be I your wife? He said yes, but I said well I never new [sic] that. He said dont tell a sole or we will half to be put in prison for living in poligmey and I did feel so bad I wondered if all girls got married that way and would like to run away" (Day 1899-1907, 4).

Uneasy decisions and unsettling adjustments confronted many women in plural marriage. Dropped into the balance of a woman's decision were the weights of faith, emotion, and reason. When the factors had been weighed, the

women decided on various courses, ranging from outright acceptance and encouragement of the system to adamant rejection.

Theresa Thompson, an example of the first extreme, questioned her husband-to-be, Anson Bowen Call, at the time of his proposal in 1885: "Do you believe in polygamy and would you practice polygamy?" He didn't hardly know what to say because he wanted to gain her favor. He said, 'I believe in the principle and if the opportunity comes I would practice it.' She said, 'I am thankful of that'" (Alder 1976, 27). Theresa later consented to three more wives entering the family after the Manifesto. She outlived them all.

Many women responded cooperatively, though hesitantly. For some plural marriage was a violation of beliefs and feelings they could not accept. Belief in the principle helped other plural wives deal with their negative emotions. Sadie Richardson, of Colonia Diaz, the first wife of Edmund Richardson, struggled with jealousy as two more wives joined the family, but claimed "that woman who believes in continued revelation, could not be far off in accepting the principles of polygamy. They might have different attitudes in their living of it, but not in the divinity of it" (Richardson 1980). The third wife in Edmund Richardson's family, Rebecca Jacobson reported, "I have been happy and blessed as a polygamist wife. . . . Any sacrifice we made for each other was rewarded ten-fold." In the words of Annie Richardson Johnson, Edmund and Rebecca's daughter, "Like Joseph Smith, polygamists had sealed their testimony, not with their blood, but with the power of acceptance when the principle of Plural Marriage was revealed" (Johnson 1972, 292, 294). With such an attitude, many women felt deeply affirmed in their decision.

Mary Jensen, a fifteen-year-old living in Cottonwood, Utah, recorded that "one morning she found her mother sorely depressed with her older sister, Annie, looking very serious." She was shocked to learn that her stepfather felt "it his duty" to take seventeen-year-old Annie as his second wife. Affronted, Mary convinced her mother and her sister to refuse. She persuaded them that "the Lord doesn't want a man to marry a lot of women." Simply stated, this was the argument that Church members faced from the outside and, because of their Western heritage, from the inside. Mary's case was an argument that gave way with the passage of time. Both she and Annie were married two years later as sister wives to Joseph Moulton (Moulton n.d., 11-12).

Wilford Woodruff, while an apostle, complained in October conference in 1875 that "we have many bishops and elders who have but one wife. They are abundantly qualified to enter the higher law and take more, but their wives will not let them" (Cowley 1909, 490). Juanita Brooks's grandfather went wooing in vain when his first wife appeared at the home of the prospective wife and left after a door-slamming scene. The second woman refused the proposal (1922, 300). Ann Riter Young, first wife of Seymour B. Young, went to George Q. Cannon, counselor to Church president Wilford Woodruff and said, "I don't give my consent." She pleaded that they had a child with cerebral palsy to take care of and that her husband was already too occupied to find time for another family. This did not preclude Seymour's marriage to Abbie Wells (Hammond 1980, 8). When Charles Ora Card, stake president in

Logan and later founder of Cardston, Canada, remarried, his first wife, Sarah Ann Birdneau Card, left him and did all she could to help the federal marshals find and imprison him (Card 1980, 27).

Given the potential problems in a monogamous marriage, it is reasonable to suspect that plural marriage would generate more. Statistics indicate that plural marriage ended in divorce more commonly than single marriages. Studies of family group sheets in the Genealogical Society Library, show a 9 percent divorce rate among polygamists as compared to a 1 percent (0–9) rate among monogamists (Kunz 1980, 68–69). These statistics are probably symptomatic of the unseen, unresolved struggles that beset those so married.

An intimate glimpse of those complex feelings comes from the Leavitt family of Bunkerville, Nevada. The first wife, Mary Abbott Leavitt, had given her consent for Thomas Dudley Leavitt to remarry; but as she awaited his return with his new bride, Ada Waite, she went outside in the moonlight and “asked the Lord to give me strength that when they came I would be able to bear it. I told him how I felt in my heart and asked him if he would bless me so that this feeling would leave me, so I wouldn’t have that jealous feeling and that terrible feeling. I couldn’t endure it. I shed bitter tears, and I prayed with all my heart and soul.” She heard the wagon, hurried back to her house, and waited in the dark. Thomas entered and struck a match. Seeing her in the shadows, he approached and, noting that she had been crying, he embraced her and said, “I want you to know that you are my first love. . . . No one can take your place, nobody” (Waite 1980, 5).

In summary, then, women accepted plural marriage for reasons both spiritual and temporal. It brought great self-mastery to some. In others it unleashed emotions that were hardly containable. Ultimately, it required the resolution of conflicting demands placed on the individual woman in response to her faith, emotion, and reason. The struggle to resolve the tension felt within each soul and acted out in each life is a matter that requests only our understanding and not our judgment. As Marinda Bateman explained to her daughter who objected to the practice of plural marriage, “Do not say you do not believe it, say you do not understand it” (Jensen 1948, 51).

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Mothers and Daughters in Polygamy

Jessie L. Embry and Martha S. Bradley



uring an oral history interview, Jeneveve Eyring Layton began a description of her mother with the exclamation, “Oh, my mother! She was wonderful. You know how you feel about your mother” (Layton 1982, 4). Indeed, the closeness of the mother-daughter bond in the nineteenth century generally goes without saying. Perhaps more importantly from a social perspective, daughters learned the domestic values and skills which would govern the rest of their lives by doing household chores with their mothers. Mormon women were no exception to the traditional trends. Church leaders encouraged mothers to “teach . . . daughters to be housekeepers, to be particular, clean, and neat” (JD 9:188–89). Eva C. Webb noted, “In Aunt Margaret’s home, eventually there were seven living daughters, trained to do their part so well that even the four-year-old could use dust pan and brush up the crumbs that might fall from the table and those just older would wash and dry and put away the dishes” (Webb 1939, 1:285–86). Such domestic training, although not always so thorough, was typical of most households, as was advice about building relationships.

However, polygamy added a unique dimension. The first generation to practice plural marriage adapted monogamous traditions to the polygamous situation whenever possible. But having more than one woman fill the mother role was not part of this tradition; the mothers had to create new norms. The children who grew up in these families had a different perspective of close relationships than did other nineteenth-century children.

Annie Clark Tanner obtained first-hand information about plural marriage as she grew up in a polygamous household. There she observed the difficulties which sometimes occurred between the wives. Her father gave his first wife special consideration; whenever the families traveled together Annie’s

JESSIE L. EMBRY is the Oral History Program Director at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University. MARTHA S. BRADLEY is a Ph.D. candidate in community history at the University of Utah and has four daughters and one son.

mother, the second wife, sat in the back seat. And the second Mrs. Clark resented the unequal distribution of attention. "See, there she goes," Annie remembered her mother saying as Ezra Clark drove off with his first wife Mary. "She never lets him go without her." Despite this strain on the relationship, however, Annie also noted the mutual respect. "I have heard my brothers and sisters say, and I agree with them, that at no time in our lives did we hear any unpleasant words between our mothers" (Tanner 1976, 10).

Annie also learned to accept the principle of plural marriage as a divine commandment of God. Though she appreciated the difficulties, she was also aware of the promised rewards. "The principle of Celestial Marriage was considered the capstone of Mormon religion," she wrote in her autobiography. "Only by practicing it could the highest exaltation in the Celestial Kingdom of God be obtained." Therefore, when Joseph Marion Tanner proposed marriage, Annie became his second wife (Tanner 1976, 12, 57–69).

Annie Tanner's perspective on the necessity of plural marriage was shared by Emma Romney Eyring. Emma grew up in the Mormon colonies in Mexico where "close to 100 percent of the people then living in Juarez Stake were so attached to this order [polygamy] that it was the woof and warp of their domestic life and also the theme and central idea of community worship" (Ivins Collection). Emma became the plural wife of Edward Christian Eyring — her sister's husband — not only because "she loved Father," as her daughter reported, but because "it was the only thing that she knew. Her parents had lived in polygamy and Father's parents had lived in polygamy. Most of the people in the colonies lived in polygamy. . . . It was what the Church taught" (Layton 1982, 7). Isabel MacFarland Bingham also saw plural marriage as the ultimate Mormon lifestyle. "When we're born in polygamy and raised in it, we believed in it; I never saw anything in my father's family that would make me think it wasn't right" (Bingham, 1937).

Women like Isabel Bingham, Emma Eyring, and Annie Tanner, who saw polygamy successfully practiced, were more likely to become plural wives themselves. Those women whose girlhood experiences with polygamy were less positive often sought monogamous relationships or refused to marry at all. One family's experience with polygamy on the underground tainted the three daughters' feelings on marriage in general. They were taught to distrust strangers, to lie to federal officials, and to assist in the elaborate subterfuge required to protect their father. One maintained that, for her, this paranoia of strange men extended to all men. None of the three married (Van Rosen 1983).

Lottie and Amanda Farrell became fearful that their father's special attention to their mother's maid would lead to the marriage altar. When the domestic told the girls she was going to make a trip to Logan, Utah, with their father, Lottie and Amanda "spiked that scheme all right by telling the girl all the bad tales we could think of about polygamy — how she'd have to spend the rest of her days scrubbing floors and how much other work like milking and gardening she'd have to do." The potential bride did not marry their father and left Utah as well (Farrell).

Daughters who accepted polygamy had learned ways to interact as plural wives from their mothers' examples. Emma and Caroline Romney's expectations of their own roles as Edward Eyring's plural wives were based upon what they had learned from their mother's marriage. Edward, however, tried to treat both wives alike whereas the first wife in their mother's marriage had had more decision-making power. This led some of Caroline's children to observe that Edward's equality was actually inequality to Caroline because she expected more authority as the first wife (Miner 1980, 6-7).

Ada Lowe Hart learned the peacemaking role she would assume in her own plural marriage from her mother. Ada's brother Glen Lowe noted that "Aunt Lizzie was a little more excitable than Mother was. I think Mother was the mainstay of holding them all together to start with. Mother would always give in if Aunt Lizzie wanted a few favors." According to Glen, Ada assumed the same relationship with her sister-wife. "Aunt Vady was demanding. She always got the best. But Ada was good just like Mother. She was just as calm and low tempered as Mother was. You would never hear her complain. Aunt Vady was more of a flighty type. But they got along just as good as Mother and Aunt Lizzie" (Lowe 1976, 7, 16-17).

Interestingly, Ada had been very close to Aunt Lizzie ("I loved her almost as my own mother," Hart, 19) and wanted to be as close to Vady's children. Vady sent her eldest daughter Evadyna to help Aunt Ada, whose older children were sons. Evadyna recalled how she once complained about there being so many "damn" dishes. Her father overheard her remark and said that because of her swearing she would have to do the dishes all alone without her half-brothers' help. "But I remember Aunt Ada coming to my rescue and I've always loved her for it" (Palmer 1980, 3).

The mothers in polygamous families also set the tone for the relationships between the families. In the Hart family, Ada emphasized cooperation. Her daughter Rhea remembered Ada sending her to Vady's for some sugar. Vady asked Rhea to divide the sugar but then complained that Rhea had taken more than half. Rhea, argry when she returned home, appealed to her mother. Ada assured Rhea that Vady had been fair. "She could have easily taken my side. But they were very concerned about keeping unity in the family and not having any bad feelings. Each of them would just bend over backwards to maintain and foster love and unity" (Grandy 1980, 14). Because of this sense of cooperation, one of Vady's daughters said, "I think my mother just made us realize, and Aunt Ada did in her home, that we were all brothers and sisters and that was the way it was to be" (Palmer 1980, 6).

There had been the same feeling of togetherness in Ada's parents' home. The mothers worked closely together, and the children felt close to their father's other family. Jennie, one of Ada's younger sisters, remembered Aunt Lizzie's home, "We went over there and made ourselves at home . . . We felt we were as welcome there as if it were our own home . . . I never thought of her as being other than just like my mother because if we had any trouble . . . and Mama wasn't around, she was the one we went to" (Huff 1976, 5, 10).

Jennie and her brothers and sisters were close enough to play practical jokes on Lizzie. When some of Lizzie's relatives were coming to visit, Ann's children hung a bucket on a nail so it would spill on the first person to walk in the door. Jennie said, "I guess my mother just went along with it That was for April Fool's" (Huff 1976, 9).

Mary and Sarah Thompson Patterson, full sisters, also cooperated and passed on this feeling to their children. Sarah's oldest daughter and namesake commented, "I've wondered sometimes how they arranged their affairs so that everything just went off so smoothly. There was no arguing. They did all the weaving and were paid for it, but they never argued about . . . how much the other should have." She further explained that the children loved both of the mothers, "The only difference was the mothers did the personal things for their own children and other than that the children would go to either mother for things that they wanted" (Hart and Ward, 5, 2-3). Zina, another of Sarah's daughters, said, "It didn't matter who the mother was. We were all brothers and sisters. We all shared the same hopes and dreams and liked the same things" (Dunford 1980, 14-15).

Although many daughters of polygamous families remembered loving their "other mother" as much as their own, a pattern of small differences emerges from their memories: they went to the other mother for assistance only if their own mother were absent; they felt at home in the other wives' houses but usually knocked before entering; and though another mother might rebuke them, their own mother usually gave them household assignments or disciplined them for disobedience. Caroline Eyring wanted to feel she had something of her own that Emma did not share. When the older children returned home on a visit, they recalled, she expected them to visit Emma, but they were not to stay too long and they were not to enjoy themselves too much (Miner 1980, 10). In turn, Caroline wanted to make sure her daughters did not have to do more work than Emma's children. Her daughter Rose remembered, "My [half] sister Maurine didn't have to milk until a long time after I had started. Mother finally put her foot down and said that I didn't have to milk if Maurine didn't" (Calder 1980, 8).

Caroline's oldest daughter Camilla had especially resisted her father's marriage to Emma "When I was to set the table for dinner, I found the oldest silverware to put at Aunt Emma's place. I feel ashamed now of my petty reaction, but as a child I did not understand the great sacrifice it represented on the part of all three of them to live harmoniously in that relationship" (Miner and Kimball 1980, 12-13). According to her sister Rose, polygamy was always "very hard on Camilla. She was only nine years old when Aunt Emma came into the family, and she took Mother's part right from the beginning. Always throughout her life she could see more Mother's side" (Calder 1980, 12).

Similarly, Emma's daughters described their mother as an excellent seamstress and an extremely hard worker in the home, in the Church and on a job. While they thought a lot of Aunt Caroline too, they believed their mother was neglected by the people in Pima when she was compared to Caroline (Boyd

1982, 12). Such differences, even in happy homes, indicate closer bonding with the birth mother.

In homes where polygamous wives were neglected by their husbands, the mother-daughter bond was often the primary emotional relationship. Annie Clark Tanner remembered relying on her infant daughter Jennie for "comfort" during her sojourn on the underground. "When I felt to complain, almost at the same moment I felt to reproach myself at seeing her innocent trusting ways. She has indeed been a comfort to me." Later when Annie's husband abandoned her, she depended even more on her growing children for moral support. She explained, "A woman in polygamy is compelled by her lone position to make a confidant of her children" (Tanner 1976, 118, 269). Annie's own mother took her out of school to help raise her younger siblings who came in rapid succession, and Annie early functioned as a woman with adult responsibilities (Tanner 1976, 34-35).

When the plural wives did not get along at all, the children had little contact with the other mothers. Sisters Margaret and Agnes Wildman Roskelley apparently had some disagreements even before they were married to William Hendricks Roskelley. Agnes's daughter Lula asked her mother, "How could you consent to marry Pa with Aunt Maggie already the first wife? You must have known what a troublemaker she was as your older sister?" She said her mother replied, "Well, I guess we expected everyone to be perfect, living in the principle" (Mortensen, 5). Their disagreements carried over into the marriage. Margaret's daughter Roxey remembered, "In my day Mother and Auntie were not close at all. I can't understand because I love my [own] sisters so much. I have sat in church more than once with Mother on one side and with Auntie on the other side of me. They didn't speak" (Rogers 1979, 8) or visit each others' homes. Another daughter said, "They worked in their raspberry patch together, but that was the only time they visited. It didn't seem like they had any resentment to each other like I would in that position. They tolerated each other" (Lewis 1980, 6).

As a result of their estrangement, Margaret's and Agnes's daughters did not feel very welcome in their aunts' homes. Zina visited Agnes occasionally and "liked my aunt as well as you could expect a person to" (Bell 1976, pp. 1, 5). Roxey, however, did not feel welcome in Agnes's home and rarely visited (Rogers 1979, 7). And Agnes's Lula had very little contact with Margaret. She resented the fact that Margaret divided all the goods and set Agnes's share on the window sill. She also felt it was unfair that Margaret had a large home and her mother only had a two-room log cabin. Lula described Aunt Maggie as "a small woman with a fierce scowl, piercing black eyes and a shrill voice . . . I was scared to death of her" (Mortensen, 6).

The very real difficulty of accepting and loving the children of the other wives was expressed by Jane Snyder Richards; she admitted competing for their father's affection (Richards 1880, 3). Rose Eyring also noticed that her mother, Caroline, "had difficulty being always kind and fair to Aunt Emma's children" (Calder 1980, 5).

Major differences were difficult to overcome in polygamous families, but minor disagreements were forgotten, and many wives worked closely together. Times of illness especially encouraged cooperation. Nancy and Sarah Harvey were separated by the death of their husband and the tragedy of leaving their homes in Mexico. However, when Sarah learned that her sister-wife was dying of cancer, she took her daughters and moved to Blanding to care for Nancy until she passed away (McConkie 1976, 7). Adelia and Georganna Stowell remembered that their mother often sent them to help the other wives in times of illness or simply when they had too much work to do (Lilywhite 1982, 21). Women helping each other in times of illness was, of course, not unique to polygamous families. One historian has called this special effort "the sisterhood of the sickbed" (Faragher 1979, 138). But many sister wives seemed to feel a special responsibility to help each other at such times.

Another special relationship between wives and children occurred when one wife was barren. Sometimes the sterile wife would take some of the other wife's children into her home and raise them as her own. Dennison Romney was raised by his mother's sister and his father's plural wife under such an arrangement (Romney 1981, 1). Ann Jarvis Van Orden remembered that her "Aunt Rose," who was without children, acted as the primary mother figure in their home for many years while Ann's mother was an invalid (Van Orden 1939, 1:284-85). Margaret Smoot mothered her sister wife's two small children while their own mother taught school (Smoot).

The ultimate test of the relationship between mothers and their sister-wives' children came when one of the wives died. If they had been close, the other wife would become a mother to the orphaned children. Such was the case in the Edward Patterson family where the second wife Sarah died one month after giving birth to her daughter, Venna. Zina, who was nine years old when her mother died, recalled that the first wife Mary "just felt terrible and lost. They [Sarah and Mary] would discuss things together and work together." But despite her grief, Mary became a mother to Sarah's daughters. Venna, who never knew her own mother, always called Mary "Mama." The other girls still called her Auntie but accepted her as a mother. Three years later when their father died, Zina explained, "Auntie carried on courageously without him and life went on the same as always . . . She just took over and treated us like we were her own children. I don't know that there was any difference . . . I'm sure it was easier for us to grow up normally because of her" (Dunford 1980, pp. 15, 12, 8-9).

Sarah Edwards Hutchings also moved into the mother role for her sister-wife's children. She was only eighteen when her husband's first wife, who lay dying, implored her to raise her seven small children. Sarah loved all the children, particularly the baby who was only seven months old. This baby girl died six months after her mother. Sarah mourned the baby and only the birth of her own child six weeks later "helped reconcile us to the loss" (Hutchings 1958, 8: 381-87).

Sometimes even a loving mother-substitute was not enough. Abolone Porter Hurst had been very close to her mother. When she died, her father's other

wife Mary took care of the children. Lone was close to Aunt Mary and appreciated her help, but she “was never exactly like Mother to me. I don’t mean to say that she . . . didn’t treat me just as good as our mother would . . . I always got lonesome for Mother” (Hurst 1981, 17).

Special problems arose if the wives had been unable to work together when they were both alive. When Samuel Walter Jarvis approached his wife Francis (Fanny) Godfrey Defriez about taking another wife, she selected two possible candidates. According to one version, he decided not to marry at that time because of financial problems (Young 1976, 20). However, the other version says that the candidates were undesirable — “two old maids.” Later, Sam had a dream to marry his “pearl,” Pearley Dean Taylor (Augustus 1976, 8). Fanny did not approve of the marriage and, according to her daughter, “As far as Mother was concerned there was just no contact, social or otherwise” (Young 1976, 21). Pearley’s daughter, Pearl, agreed, “Mother cried a lot because she was unhappy. She never was accepted by the first wife and it was real hard” (Augustus 1976, 8).

After Pearley fell fatally ill during the flu epidemic of 1918, Sam told Fanny “she had to” take care of the children. Pearl remembers Fanny agreeing, “but she didn’t want anything to do with [Pearley’s namesake] Pearl.” Fanny only remained for a short while, then Sam stayed home to take care of the children (Augustus 1976, 3, 11).

Four years later, Sam died. Pearl chose to ride in a wagon at the end of the funeral procession rather than in a car with Aunt Fanny. She then lived in various homes throughout Colonia Juarez where she could help with the housework, though some of her brothers stayed with Fanny. Bessie, the youngest sister, was raised by her aunts and maternal grandmother (Augustus 1976, 13–14).

After her father’s death, Pearl had no contact with her father’s first wife until “Aunt Fanny called me over to her son George’s place . . . She apologized for the way she had treated me all those years. Of course, it would take a lot of courage to do this” (Augustus 1976, 8). Fanny’s daughter Esther further explained her mother’s bitterness, “Mother just didn’t ever want to become reconciled, and she remained extremely bitter to the end. Even after having the children with her, I don’t think she tried to feel any different toward their mother and Pearl” (Young 1976, 20).

Just as in other nineteenth-century homes, life in polygamous households varied from family to family. The homes were domestic laboratories in which girls learned what it meant to be female. They learned how to act, how to work, and how to think as women. But in the polygamous household, daughters learned more. Since there was no handbook or set of rules about how to live in polygamy, it was within the families that this “research” was done. When the girls saw how their mothers got along with each other, how they ran their families, and what accommodations they made to the peculiar demands of the principle in practice, they adapted this learning to their own lives. The important messages that polygamous mothers were inadvertently teaching their daughters were the intricate patterns of relationships — how to live with others

in obedience to a difficult principle, how to share both husband and children, and finally how to be a female member of a polygamous family.

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Exiles for the Principle: LDS Polygamy in Canada

Jessie L. Embry



In his thesis on the “Founding of the Mormon Community in Alberta,” Archie Wilcox explained, “It can be said, without any fear of correction that the Mormons of Alberta do not and have not practiced polygamy in this province at any time” (1950, 10). While this is the image that the Mormons in Alberta wanted to give the Canadian government, Wilcox’s defensive statement is only partially true.

After the Supreme Court in *Reynolds vs. United States* (1879) upheld the anti-polygamy provisions of the 1862 Morrill Act, the stricter provision of the 1882 Edmunds Act seemed almost inevitable. James May, who married a plural wife, Rhoda Ann Lang, in 1877 and moved with her to Cardston in 1888 after serving a prison term for unlawful cohabitation, summarized in 1882: “In this year the Congress of the United States enacted and passed what is known as the Edmunds Bill making plural marriage a crime and punishable by fine and imprisonment. Then commenced a raid on that class of men which lasted about eight years. . . . Men fled to every point of the compass to escape the wrath of those very righteous pharisees” (p. 24). In 1886 and 1887 Charles O. Card, stake president in Cache Valley, directed the settlement to one of these “points of the compass,” Southern Alberta. He had originally planned to move to Mexico, but Church President John Taylor encouraged him to go to Canada because, as Taylor explained, “I have always found justice under the British flag” (in Hudson 1961, 80–81).

Card first led an exploring party to British Columbia. On 29 September 1886 when they crossed the Canadian border “at 25 minutes to 10,” Card recorded, “I took off my hat, swung it around and shouted ‘In Columbia we are free.’” When the group could not find land, they selected property in

JESSIE L. EMBRY is the Oral History Program Director at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University. A version of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association meeting in Provo, Utah, May 1984. This article could have never been written without the support and encouragement of Charles Ursenbach, who passed away this year.

Southern Alberta but discovered, when they returned in June 1887, that the property was part of Cochrane Ranch. They had to move their settlement south to Lee's creek near present-day Cardston (Card n.d., 4; Stutz 1981, 1).

Before returning to Canada in 1887, Card had lobbied hard among plural families in Cache Stake. Some men accepted his request as a call; others felt that it would be a good way to escape the pressures of the U.S. marshals. By January 1887 Card had given President Taylor the names of forty men "desiring refuge in the north" (Card 18, 22). However, when it came time to leave in the spring, only ten of these men agreed to make the trip. Jonathan Layne, one who did, explained that several men were arrested just before the departure date. Some of those still at liberty were afraid that a mass exodus might arouse suspicion and decided to stagger their departures (Layne, 26). By 3 June 1887 nineteen adults — sixteen men and three women — had arrived at Lee's Creek. Of the sixteen men, fifteen were polygamists (Wilcox 1950, 62–63).

The Cardston Ward Minutes from 1888 to 1904 chronicle the arrivals of new polygamous families. When the newcomers introduced themselves in church meetings, many mentioned that they had been on the underground, unable to attend church for a long time. Morgan Hinman, who arrived in Cardston in 1889, recorded in his journal on 30 June, "Rhoda Harrod played the organ, and it is the first one I have heard since I was forced to leave my home. I have not heard one since the last Sunday in August 1886." Almost all of the men echoed Charles Card's lamentation in his journal, 1 January 1887, "My fate seems to be an exile and driven or compelled for freedom's sake to seek a foreign land" (p. 19).

When the Mormons first arrived in Alberta, they were not sure if the Canadian government would allow them to bring their plural families; and Francis M. Lyman, John W. Taylor, and Charles Card traveled to Ottawa to ask for special land, water, and immigrant privileges and also feel out the political situation. In a letter to Canadian Prime Minister John F. MacDonald, these men explained that they were not asking Canada to legalize polygamy or to sanction plural marriage but simply to accept existing families. They argued, "The comparatively few who need to seek rest and peace in Canada would not be a drop in the bucket compared with the millions of people who are protected in their faith and practice plural marriage under the Government of Great Britain."¹

MacDonald informed the Mormon leaders that the Saints would be allowed to settle in his jurisdiction only if they agreed to live monogamously in Canada. When they returned to Cardston, Lyman, Taylor, and Card expressed their disappointment with MacDonald's ruling, but Taylor told the members to

¹ Cardston Ward Minutes, 21 Oct. 1888; Lowry Nelson, "Settlement of the Mormons in Alberta," in C. A. Dawson, ed., *Group Settlements: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. (Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 203–4. The letter also included some justifications for the Mormons' practice of polygamy. Before Lyman, Taylor, and Card left for Ottawa, they expressed faith that the mission would be successful. The Cardston members were asked to fast and pray that the mission would be successful and showed their support by uplifted hand.

regard Canada as “a place of refuge where we [can] raise one family and wait till the clouds . . . disperse.” He “exhorted the people not to worry but to thank God they are persecuted for righteous sake, but live here and build up the country and obey its laws” (Minutes, 25 Nov. 1888). Card commented that “he felt to acknowledge God’s hand in all things. Said we should pray for this government that it should be lenient towards us,” while Orson Smith, a resident of Cardston who had traveled with Card in exploring the area and who moved there in about 1888 with his third wife Mary Ellen Wright, added, “We should not feel discouraged as it was no more than we could expect” (Minutes, 2 Dec. 1888).

Despite these restrictions on the practice of polygamy in Canada, polygamists continued to move to southern Alberta, and most of them brought only one wife. Thus, in 1888, when the *Lethbridge News* and the Canadian government began accusing the Mormons of practicing polygamy, they insisted that they were following MacDonald’s instructions.² For example, in 1890 when the Deputy Minister of the Interior questioned the Mormons about practicing polygamy, Card wrote to him, “I am aware of the assurance we gave to Sir John A. MacDonald and the Minister of Interior, and I can assure you that our good faith in this matter has not been broken. Our people understand too well the laws of the Dominion of Canada to infringe upon them” (Letter in Card, Journal, 22 Feb. 1890; see Minutes, 9 Feb. 1890).

Although the Mormons technically obeyed the law in Canada, they talked about polygamy in their meetings. Visiting General Authorities encouraged the Saints to obey the laws of Canada but exhorted them to also continue to live the celestial law of plural marriage. For example, in 1889, John W. Taylor “promised those without children that if they would embrace the celestial order the day would come when all would be right.” He also encouraged those practicing polygamy “to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves and especially those who should return to Utah” (Minutes, 4 July 1889). On 3 November 1889, a number of General Authorities, including Church President Wilford Woodruff and his counselor George Q. Cannon, attended a conference in Cardston, and several of the brethren mentioned plural marriage in their talks, especially encouraging men to not abandon the plural wives and children. According to Woodruff, the laws of God never change and although the United States said the members of the Church should not obey the law of God, President John Taylor had always obeyed the law and the Lord would hold the United States responsible for passing laws against plural marriage. “We will do the best we can, but we cannot cast off our wives and children and we

² The *Lethbridge News* carried a number of articles in 1888 and 1889 attacking the Mormons for asking the Canadian government if they could bring their plural families. The articles appeared on 29 March 1888, 19 November 1888, 5, 12 and 26 December 1888, and 30 October 1889. A 12 December 1888 article read, “Our Mormon neighbors made a grand mistake” to not keep the practice of polygamy “to themselves and neither attempt to practice or flaunt their infamous doctrine in the face of Canadians. This however they have now done and they stand revealed before the public in the hideous aspect of polygamists and apparently proud of what Canadians consider their shame.” A. Maitland Stenhouse, a resident of Cardston and a monogamist, answered the charges in letters to the editor. Copies of the articles and Stenhouse’s replies are in the LDS Church Archives.

will not do it. The result is with the Lord.” Cannon “said we have all taken interest in the establishment of a settlement on this side of the line” and he had come to see if the people were obeying the commandments. He congratulated them for their faithfulness and then concluded, “We do not speak of the higher principle of the gospel at home, because it is deemed treasonable, but we testify that God did reveal this principle to Joseph Smith and commanded his elders to embrace the principle of plural marriage.”

The Cardston residents also discussed polygamy in their church meetings. The Relief Society minutes record on 5 April 1889, a meeting in which the women spoke of the trials of being separated from their loved ones, but Mary Woolf, the first wife of John Anthony Woolf who served as first counselor in the Alberta stake presidency, explained, “The people of God were persecuted in ancient times and it is the same today. [She] had been asked if we believe in polygamy and had testified to the truth of it. [She] did not know that we should always speak of these things to strangers but [she] had been asked and did not feel to deny her belief in this.” On 28 June 1890, the priesthood meeting minutes record a discussion on “whether or not a man can obtain eternal increase with one wife.” Everyone who spoke agreed that polygamy was an essential doctrine of the Church and H. L. Hinman who brought his second wife to Cardston in the late 1880s or early 1890s, added that he “thought a man must live with more than one woman at the same time to fulfill the law.” Charles Card pointed out that they should “not publish these things to the world,” but “they should obey all commandments of God.”

The Church members in Cardston continued to openly discuss polygamy in their meetings up until Wilford Woodruff issued the Manifesto in October 1890. Then both the men and women spoke in favor of the Manifesto in their meetings and expressed their support of Woodruff as the Prophet of the Church.³ However, the Manifesto did not end talk of polygamy in Canada. Both Apostles Matthias Cowley and John W. Taylor continued to advocate plural marriage when they visited Alberta. Louis Brandley, a son of John Theodore Brandley and Margaret Keeler, Theodore’s second wife, who went to Canada to live with his father and his father’s third wife Eliza Zaugg, remembered “how thrilled I was with their preaching and what fine men I thought they were” (1982, 20). William L. Woolf, a son of John Woolf, one of the early Mormon settlers in Alberta, remembered a conversation with Taylor about polygamy, then added, “I admired John W. Taylor beyond description. I was old enough to see that he was fighting a losing battle, but he was valiant, he was sincere, he stood for what he believed, he was eloquent.” Woolf described Matthias Cowley as “a more moderate man, not as outspoken as Brother Taylor, but he was an eloquent man when he spoke and he knew all the inner workings of the polygamous community” (1972, 30).

Because of the respect the Mormons in Alberta had for Cowley and Taylor, a number of men married post-Manifesto wives in Canada. For example, in

³ Minutes, 2 and 23 November 1890. Typical comments were J. R. Leavitt’s the Manifesto was “all right” and Orson Smith’s “we have demonstrated our firm belief in celestial marriage.”

1903, Cowley and Taylor, along with Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Reed Smoot, came to Cardston to divide the stake (Wood, *Journal*, 31 Aug. 1903). Heber Allen, then president of Alberta Stake, was asked to move to Raymond and head the new Taylor Stake which was named for John W. Taylor. Edward James Wood replaced him as Alberta Stake president (Tagg 1959, 54–56). Both Wood and Allen had come to Canada with their fathers, who had plural wives, and though monogamous, were persuaded to enter plural marriage. His son, V. A. Wood, recalls the impetus as coming from John W. Taylor (Wood 1982; Palmer 1959, 5–6). Wood married his wife's sister Addie who had been engaged to his brother before the brother died. Neither Tagg's biography of Wood nor Wood's journal mentions his second wife. She lived in Salt Lake. Wood visited her when he went to General Conference, and had two children by her; but he does not include her name in his accounts of his trips.

Welburn Van Orman, the son of a monogamist who lived in Alberta, suggested in an oral history interview (1983, 25) that Taylor tried to convince other Alberta Church leaders to marry in polygamy, including his father, who was called to be the bishop of Stirling Ward in 1904. Van Orman refused: "When the President of the Church tells me to I will, but until then I won't."

Other Canadian men married plural wives after the Manifesto including Louis Brandley's father, Theodore. When Theodore's first wife died in 1892, his second wife, Louis's mother, was ill. Theodore moved to Canada in 1899 with his first wife's children and a housekeeper, Eliza Zaugg. In 1901 John W. Taylor married Theodore and Eliza. Theodore also married another former housekeeper, Emma Biefer, in the early 1900s (Brandley 1982, 14).

Other Mormons came to Canada after the Manifesto to marry in polygamy and then returned to the United States. Theodore Bennion, a son of Edwin Bennion, explained that his father, a member of the stake presidency in Granite Stake and a stockman, "was asked by the presiding brethren of the church to enter into polygamy and take another wife or wives. . . . He married Agnes [Campbell] and also my mother Mary Clark. They went to the Canadian Temple. I think it was in September 1903" (1976, 2). (Bennion was confused about at least some details as the Canadian Temple was not built until the 1920s.)

Since there are no ward records for early members in Cardston, it is impossible to determine what percentage of the settlers were part of polygamous families. However, available sources show that most of the Church leaders had plural wives, although most of them had only one wife in Canada. For example, in 1895 the stake presidency, Charles O. Card, John Anthony Woolf, Sterling Williams, and Sylvester Low, all had more than one wife although Williams may not have had both wives at the same time. Of the twelve men on the high council, ten of them were polygamists and only one was definitely a monogamist.⁴ Of the forty-nine members of the high priest quorum in the

⁴ Alberta Stake Minutes, 27 May 1895. LDS Church Archives. Family group sheets in the Genealogical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, included only one of Sterling Williams's wives. Although he was married twice, it is thus impossible to tell whether he had the two

Alberta Stake in 1897, twenty-four (48 percent) were polygamists. Three other members of the high priest group, William Wynder, Edward J. Wood, and Frank Leavitt became polygamists in 1903. Of the other twenty-two members of the quorum, only seven (14 percent) were definitely monogamists.⁵

The records of approximately fifty Canadian polygamous families reveal some common trends.⁶ Over 90 percent of the fifty men were married to their plural wives before 1890. Only five men married after the Manifesto. Nearly 44 percent had a third wife; only about 17 percent had a fourth wife and only one of fifty-two men had a fifth wife.⁷

Ninety percent of these men came originally from Utah, and almost 50 percent were from Cache Valley.⁸ Since Card was the president in Cache Stake for a number of years even after he moved to Canada, his greatest influence was with the people in that area. The settlers from Cache County came from both the north and south ends of the valley, with only one from Logan itself. Card recorded in his journal 1 January 1887 that Hyde Park, said to have the highest percentage of polygamy per capita "certainly is a good place and one

wives at the same time. Johannes Anderson, James May, Niels Hansen, Jonathan Layne, Robert Leishman, Simeon F. Allen, Mark E. Beazer, Ephraim Harker, and Oliver Robinson, members of the high council, were all polygamists. James Quinton had only one wife. Available records do not indicate whether Hyrum W. Taylor had more than one wife.

⁵ High Priest Group Minutes, Cardston Ward, 1897, LDS Church Archives. Polygamists were Sylvester Low, William Wood, T. William Duce, Charles O. Card, John A. Woolf, Johannes Anderson, James May, Niels Hansen, Robert Leishman, Samuel Matkins, Ephraim Harker, Mark E. Beazer, John E. Layne, Joseph G. Young, Josiah A. Hammer, Richard Pilling, George M. Hudson, Joseph Gold, Thomas R. Leavitt, William West, John Easthope, and William Henderson. Henry Wynder, Edward J. Wood, and Frank Leavitt became polygamists in 1903. Monogamists were Vincent Stewart, Charles Quinton, D. H. Caldwell, William Orin Lee, Levi Harker, Homer Woolf, and Ephraim B. Hicks. Some of these monogamists had relatives in Alberta who were polygamists. Available records do not provide enough information to determine the status of Sterling Williams, Hyrum Taylor, James Quinton, John Pilling, Hans C. Jensen, Jesse W. Knight, Joseph Barnes, Joseph Paine, Magnes Holman, William Miller, Richard Hancy, Christian Selk, Peter O. Olson, and E. E. Bingham.

⁶ Information on these families was obtained by collecting names from the ward minutes, the stake high priest group minutes, and a list supplied by Charles Ursenbach, an Alberta resident who conducted oral history interviews in the Cardston area and who had a special interest in polygamous families in Canada, then by examining the four-generation group sheets in the Genealogical Department. The list is by no means complete, and no attempt was made to check the dates from the group sheets, submitted by members of the families.

⁷ I have information on fifty-two men for this study. The totals are not always the same because there was not information for all families in all areas of comparison.

<i>Marriages</i>	<i>2nd wife</i>	<i>3rd wife</i>	<i>4th wife</i>	<i>5th wife</i>
before 1860	3	3		
1860-1870	12	2	1	
1871-1880	15	9	4	
1881-1890	17	7	2	
1890-1904	5	2	2	1

⁸ The fifty-one men on which information was available came from Cache County 20, north of Logan 11, Logan 1, south of Logan 8, Davis County 8, Salt Lake County 6, Weber County 4, Sevier County 3, Box Elder County 2, Utah County 2, Juab County 1, Idaho 4, and Mexico 1.

where union and love for the Gospel abounds.” Four of the men who moved to Cardston were from Hyde Park.

Sixty-eight percent of these polygamous men came to Canada before 1890, and over half came during 1887. Most came to escape the U.S. marshals, while those arriving after 1890 felt more comfortable living in Canada with one wife than in the United States where they had several wives, because they wanted to marry additional wives, or because they wanted to improve their economic conditions.⁹ At least one, William Moroni Palmer, came with his second wife, but his first wife had died, so he was not technically a polygamist (Palmer 1979, 5; W. M. Palmer Family Group Sheets).

Nearly half (43 percent) lived with their second wives in Canada. Twenty percent brought their first wife, and 18 percent had their third wife in Canada.¹⁰ At least three men had two wives in Canada at the same time: John Lye Gibb, Franklin Dewey Leavitt, and Thomas Rowell Leavitt. The wives lived in different communities, and William L. Woolf explained, “The Canadian government[’s] . . . agreement was generally adhered to.” He remembers not more than four to six men who kept more than one wife in Alberta (1972, 18).

Many of the pre-Manifesto marriages followed similar patterns: the husband, one wife, and their children came to Canada to escape the pressures of Utah law, established homes, continued to have children, and became an important part of the community. Most of them died in Alberta while the wife or wives left behind in the United States usually died in their hometowns there.

Jonathan Layne, one of the first men to come to Cardston in 1887, had married his first wife, the widowed Lucinda M. Bassett, in 1851. After her last child was born in 1868 Jonathan also married Anna Longhurst in the Endowment House on 6 September 1869, and they settled in Lewiston in northern Cache Valley. Jonathan recorded in his autobiography, “I said many times that I would not move again . . . unless God’s servants required of me. But I little knew what the Lord had in store for me in way of trials.” When the U.S. marshals started arresting polygamists, Jonathan planned to go to Mexico, “but after thinking . . . over the character of the people in Canada and their Government, [and] the character of the Spanish in Mexico, [I] decided that the English Government was most likely to give all men their rights before the law, so I decided to go there.”

Before he left the United States, Jonathan worked in sawmills and traveled with Anna, spending less time with Lucinda. As he left for Canada, Jonathan remembered, “I looked back on the peaceful homes of Cache Valley and my own homes which contained nearly all I held dear in this world, my wife [both were living in Lewiston] and children.” In 1888 Anna joined Layne in Cardston, another child was born, and Anna died. Layne died within the year,

⁹ Of forty-eight men, arrivals were: 1887 14, 1888–90 13, 1890–95 7, 1896–1900 3, and post-1900 5.

¹⁰ Information was available on forty-nine men. First wife to Canada 10, second wife 21, third wife 9, fourth wife 3, first and third wives 1, first and second wives 1, first then second wife 1, second and third wives 1.

of a broken heart, according to a family member. Lucinda remained in Lewiston where she died in 1911 (Autobiography, 24, 26; Family group sheets).

Sam Smith Newton's family followed roughly the same pattern. Sam married his first wife, Sarah Elizabeth Parker (Lizzie), in 1881 in Salt Lake City. On a mission to England during the 1890s, he met Lizzie's cousin, Amy Susan Johnson, and with Lizzie's permission, married Amy in 1900 in the Logan Temple. At first the two families lived in Salt Lake, but in 1904 Sam moved to Cardston with Amy and her two small children. Mildred, a daughter of the second family, explained that her parents had come to Alberta "in order to avoid the law." Mildred guessed her father brought his second family because "the first family was there and established. . . . It would have been a much easier thing to pick up the two youngsters and move them rather than to move the eight of the other family" (M. Stutz 1982, 9-10).

A year later Lizzie died without seeing Sam again, and her three youngest children, including a three-year-old daughter, came to Canada to live with Sam and Amy. Mildred and her sister Winnifred recalled that the older children seemed especially bitter about their father's second marriage and had little contact with the first family. Sam remained in Cardston until his death in 1954 and became a leader in construction and music there. Amy died in 1963 in Cardston (Stutz 1982, 9-10; Thomas 1982, Sam Smith Newton Family Group Sheets).

In other Canadian families, children of other marriages frequently came to Cardston though their own mothers were alive. As Louis Brandley and three of his full brothers and sisters were old enough that they could help on the farm and in their father's store, they came to Raymond to live with their father and his third wife. Louis arrived in Canada in 1904. When Louis's mother died in 1910, the remaining three children moved to Alberta (Brandley 1982, 14-15). Annie Clark Tanner sent five of her seven children to Canada to live with their father, Joseph Marion Tanner. However, Marion's desire for the children to stay in Canada conflicted with Annie's wish for them to attend school, and the children returned to Utah to live with their mother (1976, 171-256, 266-87).

Because of the Canadian government's open opposition to the practice and articles in the *Lethbridge News* claiming the Mormons were living plural marriage, polygamy was never as visible in Canada as it was in Mexico. As new generations were born, it was not common knowledge who had polygamous families. For example, when Charles Ursenbach, oral historian and Alberta native, showed Wallace Hanson, another native of Alberta, a list of possible Canadian polygamists, Hanson told him, "It's surprising when I look over this list. I've sort of taken for granted that they were of polygamist families. But when I come right down to stating that I think they are, I'm at a bit of a loss" (1973, 1). V. A. Wood (1982) explained that many of the people in Cardston, particularly the younger ones, did not know that his father, Edward J. Wood, had more than one wife. Winnifred Newton Thomas agreed that the older people knew about polygamy, "but it was still kind of hush, hush especially with President Wood because [he] was the president of the temple and he was

president of the stake. Polygamy was out and it was a no-no then" (Thomas 1982, 26). A woman, born in Cardston about 1920 and raised there, explained that she was a grown woman before she knew that E. J. Wood had another family (Resident 1982).

In short, Cardston residents downplayed the importance of plural marriage after 1890, limiting public discussion and keeping information about plural marriage from their children. However, plural marriage played an important role in the settlement of Cardston and the other Mormon communities in Southern Alberta. Although the Canadian government put restrictions on the practice and most Mormons obeyed the agreement to have only one wife in Canada, there was always tension between human law and higher law.

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The Black Door

Patricia Hart



Hyrum Black had three wives. All of the people up and down Tudor Avenue knew that. In fact, I suppose all of the people in Salt Lake City knew that there were polygamists among us, some secret, and some, like Hyrum Black, open. Anyway we all knew he had three wives when he moved in and that he had at least those three until the day he was murdered.

We had all seen the construction of the three identical houses on what had been a corner vacant lot where I played baseball with the Crandall twins and Steve and Jerry Clark and all of the Jensens up until the time I was twelve. We had seen Hyrum himself, dressed in old-fashioned pants made of brown, rough-woven cloth that had buttons on one side instead of a zipper in the front, a shirt with big round buttons, suspenders, and work boots, out supervising the construction with his beard and his cane in one hand, raising his arms and bellowing commands in Biblical language. We thought he looked like Brigham Young himself gazing down on our valley and declaring “this is the place!”

The day the house was finished, the workers started building the wall, a high, gray stone wall that looked like the side of the Salt Lake Temple, stern, foreboding, and with strange carvings of the sun, moon and stars at cryptic intervals near the top. When the wall was finished, he planted all the way around the outside of it a row of seedling poplars. After that, the only way you could see into Hyrum Black’s yard was by climbing a tall tree, with the ones at Jensen’s being the best because they were the closest. That’s where we stationed ourselves the day Hyrum Black arrived with his three wives and who knew how many kids? You couldn’t count them because they moved around

PATRICIA HART was born in Provo, Utah, in 1954 and lived there most of the time till she was twenty. She completed a B.A. in Spanish in 1976 at BYU, and an M.A. in Spanish in 1978 at the University of Utah. She has lived in Spain, Pakistan, Mexico, and France both working and studying. In 1977 her first novel, Death in Deseret, won first prize of \$1,000 in the Utah Institute of Fine Arts Novel competition. In 1980 her novel Little Sins was published by Tower Books of New York. She is currently completing a doctorate in Spanish and French at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

too much, but there had to have been at least seven, because two of the women were carrying babies and there was one tall boy my age or so who looked retarded, and then the twins, boys who looked old enough to be in school, and then there were a bunch of stragglers. The mothers were dark and didn't talk much, moving silently in their long, dark skirts, except to call out an order now and then in a low voice with words we couldn't understand.

"Do you think they're space people?" Jimmy Jensen asked, and we would have hooted him down out of the tree, except that we were trying to be quiet and not noticed.

"That's Spanish, pea brain," I informed him. "Mom told me they came up from the Colonies in Mexico." At the time, of course, I had no idea of what the Colonies in Mexico were; I was just parroting my mother. And actually, even this information was inaccurate, if the tales I heard years later could be believed. According to them, Black had been brought up in Mexico City, the child of a mainstream Mormon banker and his Utah wife. The move to polygamy was something, rumor had it, that his parents never understood, and no one was quite sure whether his costume and ways were something he stumbled on in a forgotten sect south of the border, or something he had invented himself.

"You think you're so smart, Greg Nelson," Jimmy told me, his eight-year-old ire rising.

"That's right," and I gave him a quick Indian burn with both hands on his forearm. He yelped like a coyote and that's when Hyrum Black noticed us up in the tree and came over to the wall banging his cane and yelling at us to get down. "Way to go, retardo," I told Jimmy as we scooted down out of the tree.

A few weeks later on Sunday my father woke me up at seven as usual to go with him to priesthood meeting. Sitting beside him on a folding chair in my white shirt and the black suit I was busy outgrowing I heard that my father and I had been assigned as home teaching companions to a number of families in the ward. That meant that we were supposed to visit them at least once a month, make sure they didn't need anything, give them a message from the First Presidency or a lesson or a scripture, and pray with them, all of us standing around in a circle, before leaving.

"And why don't you stop in and welcome the Black family — er families — to the neighborhood while you're out," Brother Jones ended with a smile. I tried to imagine what a circle it would be if we prayed with my father and me, Hyrum, the three wives, and all the kids, and giggled a little nervously. My father laid a hand on my arm because they were getting ready for the closing prayer.

The next night after dinner my father and I put on our suits again and walked down the block to the corner, where the opening in the wall around Hyrum Black's place could be found. My father knocked. No answer. He knocked again on the dark wooden slats of the door. After a minute or so we heard heavy footsteps heading our way. At last the door swung open, and Hyrum Black, dressed in a brown shirt with a round collar and big buttons, stuck his head out. I mention only that he was wearing a shirt because that

was all I could see. For all I knew, behind that heavy black door, his lower half could have been diapered or half-goat or *al fresco*.

“What do you want?” There was something unused about this way of saying the words.

“Brother Black,” my father said in a friendly voice, holding out his hand, “I’m Brother Nelson, and this is my son, Greg. We stopped by to see if you or any members of your family have needs that we could help with.”

“We do not need anything,” Hyrum Black answered gruffly. “And I would thank you not to call me Brother. We are not brothers in the same faith. Yours is a corrupt and dying perversion of the faith Joseph Smith revealed as a boy of thirteen in 1820.” That caught my father by surprise, I could tell. He opened his mouth, and then closed it again, apparently undecided as to what to say.

Just then a head, small and blue-black like some strange and beautiful summer insect, darted out from under Hyrum Black’s arm and looked at us with unblinking eyes. I had just time to notice the long hair parted in the middle and done in two long, black braids, and the small face with a delicate mouth that smiled faintly on seeing me, before her father plucked her away by the shoulders the way you might hold a butterfly for a moment by the wings, and said loudly into her face, “*¡Angélica! ¡Vete pa’ dentro ahorita!*” And before my father could say anything else, Black turned to us and bellowed, “I will thank you not to come around to my door any more, and I will also thank you to keep your son from spying down on us from the trees!” He slammed the heavy black door shut, and for the next ten years, that door never opened to me again.

From the time I was twelve until I turned nineteen I saw Angélica only rarely, and only from a distance: being bundled into the jeep, or running up the street with a sister or two in tow. None of the children went to our school. Did the mother and aunties teach them at home, or did they just work? Were there nine of them now? Or perhaps an even dozen? Nobody knew. Raw milk was delivered to the family in huge containers from a nearby dairy farm, and so were big bags of wheat and bushels of produce, supplementing the carefully planted and weeded garden we imagined out back. During the deer hunt, Black could be seen going out with the tall, retarded son, and they invariably came back with a buck strapped across the hood of the jeep.

“Venison stew again for the Blacks this winter,” Mother said, watching them carry it inside. “And I’ll bet they use everything! I don’t know how they get by!” The truth was, nobody knew. Word was, Black had paid for the construction of the houses in cash and paid cash for everything he bought around town. But nobody knew where any of the money came from, or how he got it, or how much of it there was.

The children came out only rarely; and after the frightening day of the shaken cane, as far as I knew none of us ever climbed the Jensens’ tree again to spy down into the yard. Once when I was fifteen I saw Angélica in a long black dress and a white pinafore that buttoned up the back, her long braids

looped under and fastened to her head, on the sidewalk in front of the house with a piece of chalk drawing something that looked sort of like a hopscotch. I watched from my living room window as another, smaller version of her peeped out the gate, then scurried toward her and began pulling on her arm. Angélica shook her head, but her little sister, or cousin, or whatever, kept pulling and gesturing. Then the gate opened again and the tall, retarded-looking boy came out and stood on the little strip of grass between the street and the sidewalk. Slowly he lifted one elbow into the other hand and rested it on his belt buckle, and slowly he put his raised thumb into his mouth. The little girl pointed to him and made gestures of despair, all the time looking up the road—for their father’s jeep? Angélica hesitated, hoppy taw, or whatever it was, in one hand, standing on one foot and then reluctantly lowering the raised foot to the ground again. She slipped the taw or whatever it was into the pocket of her white pinafore, then reached for the arm of the tall, retarded boy and guided him to the black wooden door in the wall without ever jostling his thumb from his mouth. The door swung open and the three of them disappeared.

The life on Tudor Avenue that I remember during those years was a stream of afternoons devoid of mysteries because inside our house, everything was known. It was a stream of afternoons of coming home from school to eat bread and peanut butter and watch “Highway Patrol” or “Sea Hunt” before going out to ride bikes or play touch football over at the church. Those afternoons melted into evenings later of MIA dances where I mostly just stood on the sidelines of the Church gymnasium (only we called it the cultural hall), which was festooned with green and gold crepe paper. It was a time of school plays and Scouting trips and debate meets and then reluctant appearances at any number of girls’ choice dances given by the sororities (only we called them cultural units). As I look back, I have the impression of months bumping each other out of the way in innocent haste as they rushed into years, leaving me scarcely time to breathe, let alone to look at the odd complex on the corner of Tudor Avenue surrounded by the weird gray wall with carvings of the sun, moon, and stars near the top. But it was always there, as I hurried by on my way to the seminary parties or the senior class bonfire or a wrestling match or a music lesson. It was always there, and Angélica was always still inside it — in some part of my mind I knew that.

The poplars Hyrum Black had planted around the outside of the wall grew over the years, and he pruned and shaped them into spearlike perfection around the fortress with the help of the tall, retarded boy. The trees were like a warning, and I believe we heeded it. I don’t remember ever talking much about the Blacks with my friends, or that it ever occurred to us to make fun of the children when we glimpsed them in their clothing from yesteryear and their unsmiling faces. Theirs was a corner of another time and place, of words and ways we couldn’t understand, so we dismissed them from our consciousness — that strange, dark family who openly broke the law of monogamy, but thought of *us* as the gentiles.

One night in November of the year I was a senior in high school I was walking home just before midnight from Eric Jones's house, where we'd been working on our debate boxes together. I turned the corner onto Tudor just in time to be hit by a flying rush of skirts that sent me sprawling backwards into a snowbank.

"What!" I called out in surprise. Then I realized that the bundle sliding top over tin cup across the icy sidewalk, something flying from her hand, was Angélica. I scrambled to my feet, dusting the snow from my levis and reached down to help her up. Her black braids were wound around her head now, and the dark eyes looked piercingly into mine for a moment as I lifted her to her feet and brushed at her black woolen shawl and heavy dark skirts. Then she broke the gaze and began looking around.

"Are you looking for what you were carrying?" I asked softly. She didn't pay any attention to my words, so I went to the ditchside and recovered at last a small, dark object, an odd, pharmaceutical-type bottle, I found as I knocked off the snow, and the dim light from the streetlamp in the next block helped me to make out in funny, old-fashioned letters, "Ipecacuanha," on a label that had the worn feeling of old suede.

"Here," I said, turning around and holding the bottle out to Angélica, and she snatched it away from me quick as a night insect darting toward a light, looked into my eyes again for just a second, and then turned and ran across the street in the direction of the black door in the wall, which swung open a second or two before she reached it, then swallowed her up. I stood rooted to the spot for a moment or two, shaken by what I had seen in that last glance from the beautiful young girl who didn't seem to understand any of my words and whose pure, dark features were so unlike those of the Nelsons and Jensens and Clarks and Smiths I knew. But even her uncommon beauty and my uncommon innocence could not keep me from recognizing that look immediately and wordlessly for what it was: a glance of pure terror.

I stood there that frozen midnight for more than a minute, debating. Where had she been coming from? And why had she been out alone at that time of night? She hadn't been to the drugstore, not at that hour. Had she been to the home of another fundamentalist family not far away? And what was in the strange bottle? Was someone inside the high, gray wall sick? Did they need help?

In a moment of courage I now find difficult to believe I crossed the icy street, walked through the eery shadows between the poplars to the black wooden gate and knocked politely. Then I pounded and shook the handle. Nothing. No one. Angélica! I thought in despair. If only I could speak your language! If only I had known the words to make you stop and tell me what you were afraid of! Outside the wall everything was dark and silent, and eventually there was nothing to do but to go home.

Six months later, two days after my high school graduation, I was called on a mission for the Mormon Church to Guatemala. I left more than three thousand miles behind me Salt Lake City, Tudor Avenue, my family and

friends and, of course, Angélica, inside her high gray walls with the carvings of the sun, moon and stars near the top.

It was springtime a year and a half later when my father came into my room and told me the police wanted me. That, for once, aroused a spark of interest in me, and the green and gold afghan slid off my knees onto the floor.

“They want me?” I asked suspiciously. “Why?”

“I told them you speak Spanish,” my father answered. “There’s something happened down the street at Hyrum Black’s. I think somebody’s dead.”

I got to my feet and ran a hand through my hair, longish over my collar because I’d discarded the idea of cutting it the way I’d discarded most other ideas involving action since I got out of the clinic in Chichicastenango.

“Come on,” my father said, buttoning his sweater. I could tell that only part of his excitement was at seeing me standing up and about to do something useful. The other part was the same thing that moved me: curiosity.

Outside it was early afternoon — something I’d barely realized from the darkness of the room where I’d drawn the blinds and neglected to turn on the lights. It was the same room where I’d been sitting for nearly four months, making excuses to my parents about when I thought I might be ready to start classes at the University of Utah. The earth was just beginning to smell alive again after the frozen months of winter, and Jimmy Jensen’s dad was actually tinkering with his lawnmower in front of the garage. It had been weeks since I’d been outside, and I was warm, too warm even, in the long-sleeved shirt of the kind I always wore now.

At the corner of Hyrum Black’s lot even the fiercely trimmed poplars were beginning to put out leaves. A uniformed policeman was standing at the gate and a couple of plainclothes detectives were standing just inside. I recognized them without being told.

“You speak Spanish?” the uniform wanted to know.

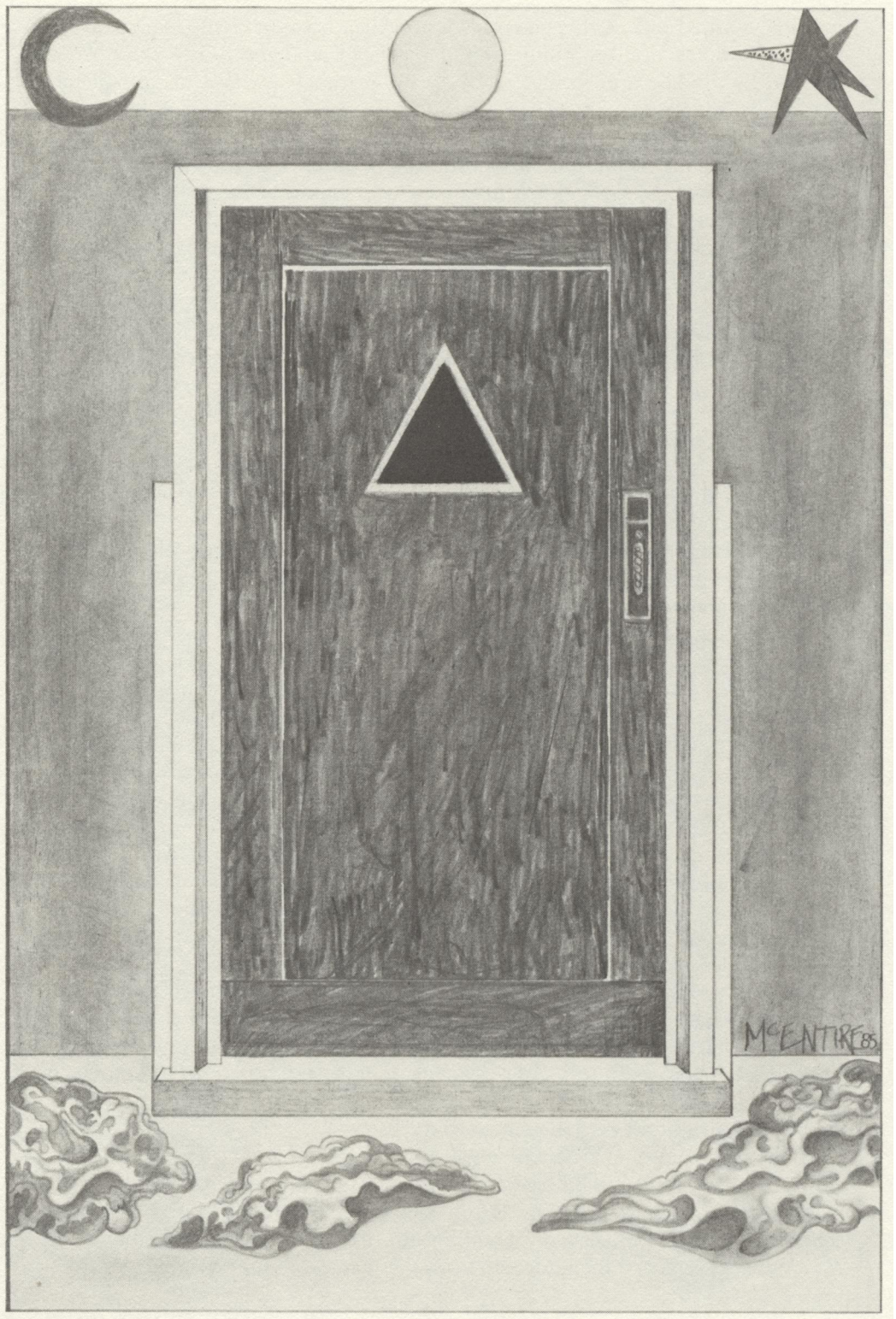
“Yes,” I said.

“How well?” he asked, unblinking.

“Well enough,” I said, not blinking either.

“Come inside,” he said after a moment, and then to my father, “I’m sorry, but you’ll have to wait out here. The family’ll only have what strangers they have to inside.”

As I stepped through the black door in the corner of the wall, I found I was in front of the third of the identical houses, three stone and wooden buildings that looked much smaller than I remembered them from the time before the wall went up. High pyracantha bushes covered with thorns and orange berries separated the three houses, and a neat lawn ran to the edge of the garden on the side of the lot nearest Jensens’ and their fateful climbing tree. On the walk in front of the middle house, two bodies lay side by side, a man and a woman, feet together and arms folded neatly across chests. The man was Hyrum Black, beard grayer than I remembered it, but wearing the same sort of suspenders and homespun trousers and shirt with the rounded collar and big buttons. But it took me a second to realize that the body at his side was one of his wives. In



my first, startled glance, I'd taken it for Angélica because of the black knitted shawl, the black braids wound around the head, and the heavy, dark skirts covered by a white apron. But as I stepped nearer, I saw that in spite of the black hair, the woman at my feet must've been closer to forty than Angélica's twenty. The features were different too — broader, more Indian.

"That was my sister," said a soft voice in Spanish from the doorway of the middle house. I turned and saw a woman who looked a few years older than the one stretched out on the ground in front of me, with a few gray strands weaving through her braids, no apron, and a gray shawl instead of a black one.

"Your sister, or your sister-wife?" I said, not to be impolite, but because I imagined it was the kind of thing the police would want to know.

"Both," she said. "When Hyrum Black came to Puertitas he asked my father for all three of us, and Father said all right. It has been easier that way, I think. We were already used to each other, used to never having anything that belonged to one alone. It was easier that way, I think. Or at least it was in the beginning."

"What's she saying?" The detective held the microphone of the tape recorder toward me.

"She says the dead woman was her sister," I said.

"Would you like to come inside?" the woman with the gray shawl asked politely.

"I'd be honored," I said.

"Your Spanish is very good," she said, and because this was a statement, not a compliment, I said nothing. When my eyes adjusted to the dimness of the interior, I had to bite my lip to stifle a sudden urge to laugh that rose up inside me, because as I looked around the one large room in which I found myself, it reminded me of nothing so much as the living room at the Ponderosa on TV. There was a stone fireplace in one corner, a wooden table, half a dozen pine chairs, a stool, a rocker, a cradle, a churn, a loom, all in the appropriate places. At the far end of the room, a curtain was carelessly drawn over a sort of pantry stacked from floor to ceiling with mason jars filled with canned goods, and in the center of the room a braided rug covered the wooden floor.

"Please sit down," the woman told us, her features impassive and more Indian than not.

We pulled up the pine chairs around the table; and as the detective with the tape recorder searched vainly for a place to plug it in, I looked around the room and realized with a start that there was someone in the armchair near the empty fireplace. Someone with black braids wound tightly around her head and covered from neck to feet by a heavy quilt, knees drawn up to her chest, chair turned slightly away from us. Angélica. I pulled nervously at my shirt sleeves, but she didn't even glance my way.

The tape-recording detective gave up on finding a plug and fumbled in his coat pocket for some batteries. At last we were all ready.

"Please tell the woman that I am Detective Keller and this is Detective Charles." The uniform was apparently waiting outside, guarding the bodies or something. I repeated the information.

“Ask her to tell us, in her own words, what happened,” Detective Keller said. I repeated the request, and so she began:

“My sister, Verónica, killed our husband, poisoning his postum, and then she drank from it too, killing herself. I can show you the poison. And the cup.” She stopped as though she had said everything.

“But why?” Detective Charles exploded. “What could make her do a thing like that? And why didn’t the rest of them stop her? You’ve got to find out more.” Something in the way he asked the series of questions triggered a memory in me. The mission president himself sitting at my bedside in Chichicastenango saying why, why why, over and over again. But I never answered any of his whys except the most superficial ones.

I repeated the questions to the woman before me.

“Hyrum wasn’t always like these last few years,” she said, thinking, I suppose, that this was some kind of answer. “In the beginning you’ve never seen a kinder man, when the three of us came to live with him. Then when we were all expecting our first babies, practically at the same time, well you’ve never seen anybody happier.” Her voice was becoming more sure now, like a wheel that’s been standing for a long time, but that, after the first few spins, finds it can still turn.

“I was the first one to go into labor. It was a hard labor, and I had nobody to help me except Verónica and Ester, and both of them were ready to deliver any day themselves. But at last he was born, and they told me he was a boy and there was a whoop of excitement from outside the door where Hyrum was listening, but then Verónica was washing him and suddenly she made a little gasp. What’s wrong, I asked her, but she didn’t say anything, just brought him over, a tear falling from each eye, and laid him in my lap. Magdalena, she told me, here is your son. It was one of those times when you can’t ignore what you least want to see because it was obvious. The baby was an idiot. That was my Abel.” The word she used to describe the child shocked me, and it was a few seconds before I realized that she had been describing the birth of the tall, retarded boy who accompanied his father on the deer hunts. I repeated the story to the policeman, who looked less than interested.

“Then Verónica had her baby. Angélica.” The woman pointed vaguely to the corner. “At first we were all relieved because she was such a beautiful child, especially her eyes, not like Abel’s eyes at all. But then Hyrum started worrying about her, and finally we all did and he tried some tests and declared to us that she was an idiot too.”

“Angélica!” I burst out in surprise. “But that’s impossible! You just have to look into her eyes to . . . to . . .” I stopped, suddenly embarrassed.

“We didn’t want to believe it,” Magdalena said. “But as the months went by, we began to in spite of ourselves. It was obvious she was not like other children.”

“You should have taken her to a doctor!” I said without really meaning to.

“Verónica wanted to, but Hyrum said she was our shame, and we would bear her, and Abel too, at home.”

“What happened to the other baby?” I asked suddenly. “The third one; Ester’s baby?”

“It died.” Magdalena stopped, then went on again, unwillingly. “Hyrum said it was a curse on our first fruits. Then Ester got pregnant again, and when she had the twins, things seemed to be all right again. Nothing prouder than an old man who has fathered twins.”

I quickly relayed all this information, and Detective Keller told me to get on with it, to hurry her along to the important parts. I shrugged helplessly, then turned back to the stern-faced woman. “But what about Angélica all of this time! Nobody helping her! She was not retarded, was she!”

“No,” the woman said shortly, “she was not retarded.”

“Then what about her?” I demanded. “Nobody helping her to learn things! All of you treating her like she was,” I paused and then spat out the word, “an idiot! Didn’t you know that if you treat a person like something then they can become it!” I’m not *like* that, I told Elder Gray, my companion, over and over again. But you are, he kept telling me, and in gradual despair I began to believe him.

“Who are you to judge us!” The woman’s fury snapped out for a second, but she gathered it back. “I am sorry. You do not mean to be cruel, but you cannot know what it has been like, what these last years have been like, for all of us.” As she pronounced these words, the front door swung open, and framed against the light of the outside was the tall, pointed figure I’d seen years before in the same posture: left thumb hooked over his belt buckle, right elbow resting on it, propping that thumb up to his mouth.

“Abel!” Magdalena burst out, then turned to me. “I told Ester to keep the children all together in the house, but Abel is hard to control sometimes. The only one who could really do it was Hyrum, and now that he is gone . . .” She trailed off, and I tried gently to get her back on track. Meanwhile Abel, thumb in mouth, walked over to the armchair where Angélica sat and towered over her protectively.

“Tell me about these last years,” I said. “Tell me what happened.”

“None of it would have happened,” she said in a hidden tone, “none of it, if we had stayed in Mexico where we belonged, if we had stayed *what* we were meant to be, but Hyrum found it more difficult every day to be instructed by anyone, to be answerable to anyone. He wanted to be Hyrum Black, prophet, seer and revelator, and not just for his family but for everyone. One by one he shut out all the other families who lived near us, and then he got the idea of coming up here, with a handful of people he claimed were behind him, but I don’t know really if they were or not. After we got here, he forbade us to learn any English, to go out of the house or to let anyone in. Even the others from Mexico we saw less and less often. Are they still here? I don’t know. It was inevitable that with only each other all the time things would eventually go bad.”

How did they go bad? the mission president asked me. I have sinned, President Peterson, I said. How? he said. What does it matter? I said. They are just different faces of the same thing, and they are all ugly. What does it matter so much which one? “What went wrong?” I asked the woman before me.

“A lot of little things. The way we made the clothes, the way we sat at the table, the way we worked in the garden. He criticized us all. But the one he was the hardest on was Angélica. He loved her the best, but at the same time, could hardly stand to look at her. After he decided that she was not an idiot after all”

“Fine,” I burst out.

“You are not so smart as you think.” Magdalena gave me a cold look. “Hyrum decided that she was not an idiot after all and then one day he had realized that she was”

“I can’t believe this,” I said to the detectives, to their odd looks. Then I caught hold of myself. Magdalena was eyeing me, hands calmly folded in the lap of her dark skirt, but clearly offended at being interrupted twice.

“I am sorry,” I managed to say. “Forgive me for interrupting. You were about to say that Hyrum decided she was . . . ?”

“. . . possessed,” Magdalena concluded, after a slight hesitation. “That is when he started the exorcisms, the long days of prayers for all of us, the midnight purges.” The incident of the cold November night years before came back to me. “But nothing satisfied him. We should have stopped him, Verónica or Ester or I. We should have stopped him. But maybe we had half started to believe it ourselves. She was so . . . odd.” I struggled and remained silent.

“At last we thought he had satisfied himself that he had cast the legion out of her because for a long time he didn’t say anything more about it. And she was attached to him, poor, strange little thing, in spite of it all, and so who knew” she checked herself abruptly, then went on as if she had turned a sudden corner, “who knew what he was thinking?” Verónica told him he should take her to México and marry her to someone there, and if only he’d listened to her! But he said it was something he would never do. How can I do that to one of my brethren, he would shout. She is our pain, and we will bear her alone.” Magdalena paused, apparently thinking, and I took advantage of it to catch Detectives Charles and Keller up on the story.

“Less *Dallas* and more details,” Keller said with asperity when I’d finished. “See if you can’t get her up into this decade at least.”

“*Hermana*,” I said softly, slipping into the mission lingo without being aware of it, “I just don’t see how that explains Verónica killing her — your — husband, and then herself.” And I don’t understand the *way* you tried it either, President Peterson told me. For pity’s sake, that’s a woman’s way, and I said well, you had to use what you had on hand, didn’t you, and one thing about Mormon missionaries is that we all shaved every day and he said Elder, did you sleep with a woman, is that it?

“It was Hyrum’s idea,” she said, “when he found out what she’d done he said that *that* was something we couldn’t bear within the family, although the Lord knows he was blind to it the longest of any of us, because even Abel had noticed before Hyrum did! There’s no blind man like he who will not see! But when he finally did, he raged around the house for a week or more shouting that God had punished his family enough and that he, Hyrum, would not stand for it any more, and that the only way to put things right was for Angélica

to pay the ransom, and that the only way she could pay it was with her life.”

“What! What do you mean, ransom! And what had she done!” What does it matter, I told President Peterson. What does it matter which of the masks it was that we read in high school to be hated needed but to be seen! What does it matter which one it finally turns out to have been!

“What is it!” Keller wanted to know, and I told him quickly, and then Magdalena went on:

“We talked about it and cried about it for days, and finally Hyrum called a council, the four of us, him, Verónica, Ester, and I. Angélica sat over there in that chair in the corner while we talked. We all cried, even Hyrum, but in the end he decreed it by the power of his priesthood, and we all agreed to it, that the three of them would eat dinner together, and afterwards that it would be in the postum so that she would die with her mother and father there, because another way would be too cruel.” She looked silently at her hands as I repeated the story to the tape recorder.

“God, it’s just like Jonestown,” Detective Charles breathed.

“But why!” Keller burst out. Why, they asked me in the hospital, why, asked President Peterson, why asked my father when I got home. I only want to know one thing, he said to me tears running down his face, why?

“Why?” I asked Magdalena.

She looked at me in a way I had seen somewhere before. In the mirror? Then she began slowly to talk again, picking up the thread of the story where she had left off. “So then it was settled. We all went to the other house and sat together praying while the three of them ate dinner in here alone. We were all together in Ester’s house, so we knew it was just the three of them in here, and nobody else. After a couple of hours I couldn’t stand waiting any longer and came over, expecting to find Angélica dead, but instead she was sitting over there in that chair, just like now, and Hyrum and Verónica were the ones who were dead, faces slumped forward onto the table.

“Verónica had said she was going along with it all, but at the last minute it must have broken her heart. At the last minute she must have decided that rather than kill her own child, she would kill her husband, because there was no other choice, and then herself.”

I repeated this to the detectives. “But why did they want to kill her?” Keller repeated. “Ask her that!”

“You still do not understand!” she responded with a sniff when I passed to her the question. “All right, I will show you everything. I will make you understand.” You still don’t understand? I said to my father. All right, I’ll spell it out for you. Father, I told him, I have slept with another man, now how about that? Doesn’t that clear everything up? Doesn’t that make you feel better for knowing? Doesn’t that make everything all right?

“You still do not understand.” Magdalena got up and walked slowly to the empty fireplace in the corner of the room and shooed Abel from the way gently. With a slow, certain movement, she helped the girl in the armchair turned slightly away from us to bring her legs down to the floor and throw off her

quilt and stand up. I don't know much about that kind of thing, but guessed she must have been about six or seven months pregnant.

"Ask her who the father was," Keller told me. "The retarded boy? Or was it old Black himself? Or was it somebody else we don't know about?"

"What does it matter?" I turned on him. What does it matter, I said to my father, when all of the faces are ugly.

I turned back to Angélica, and she looked into my eyes, but not with the terror I had seen that night long ago at midnight. Angélica! I thought. You behind your wall and I behind mine! If I had known how to talk to you then, if I had known you were waiting for me, if you had known I was coming back to you . . . She looked at me as if she understood. There was no shame in her look, and I felt mine falling away before her pure black gaze.

"Ask her who the father was."

I turned to Magdalena again and repeated the question.

"I do not know," she said simply. "Only Angélica knows that. Or maybe Verónica knew it was Hyrum. Maybe that's why she killed him. We'll never know.

"Why don't you just ask her?" I said. "Nobody ever gets around to doing that, do they?" I stopped surprised, because Magdalena was looking at me with what, if I hadn't known better, I would have interpreted as triumph. I turned to the detectives and relayed the information.

"Wait a minute," Charles said as I finished. "Magdalena wasn't there at this dinner, was she?" I shook my head. "Then how can she be so sure that it was Verónica who changed her mind? You said that Angélica was here in the corner the whole time they talked about it. How can she be so sure that it wasn't Angélica herself who switched the cups?"

I repeated the question, *Angélica de mi alma*, although I knew already that it wasn't true. I had seen from your eyes that you were like me and you knew what it felt like to look at *that* straight on and not care. We were not born the way we were, Angélica and I, but made. Made to be something that we wouldn't have been, not really, if things had been different. That's what I thought or knew or thought I knew before Magdalena opened her mouth to answer me. Then when I heard the words I remembered again what it felt like to be at the point of knowing everything then to find it turned in on itself and ugly like a rubber Halloween mask.

"How do you know that it wasn't Angélica who switched the cups," I said for form's sake, "if she was sitting right there listening to everything?"

"But she wasn't," Magdalena said with the suggestion of a smile. "She was sitting right there, but she wasn't listening. She couldn't have listened. Angélica is deaf."

The Only Divinely Authorized Plan for Financial Success in This Life or the Next

Neal C. Chandler



Thelm, the man is standing in his own way. If only he would get the vision of this thing. . . . See the potential, the tremendous opportunities. If he'd just drop those skeptical blinders long enough to see what's really going on in this world. . . ." Carmen Maria Stavely, whose exotic given names trailed a deliberately homespun life like forgotten party streamers, raised both imploring hands from the breadboard on her kitchen table. There were traces of dough, like vestigial webs, between her fingers, and a haze of mottled beige flour softened her angular white forearms and conservative, pinstriped hair as though she had been airbrushed into her genteelly dilapidating kitchen by Andrew Wyeth. Her voice, however, and her adamant gun-metal eyes remained as impermeable and abrupt as broken slate.

At the far end of the table, her friend, Thelma, silently mixed and measured ingredients with that vaguely desperate preoccupation of the inept. It was some seconds before she realized that Carmen had ceased to knead the dough on the table in front of her and was poised over the breadboard as if it were a pulpit.

"Nineteen months, Thelm. Wednesday, it will be one year and seven months to the day that Walter lost his job. And he didn't just lose it, either. He threw it over, threw it right in their faces like a dirty rag, because . . ." Her eyes retreated a little. "Because it was a matter of principle. And nobody understands any better than I do, Thelm, or than you do for that matter, that you have simply got to live by your principles. Walter turned round and walked away from that place, and he's never looked back. And there'll be no criticizing or second guessing from me or from the children. We know what went on down there. We're proud of him."

NEAL C. CHANDLER, who presently serves as statistical clerk in his ward in Cleveland, Ohio, teaches German and English at local colleges. He is the father of six children and his wife, Rebecca Worthen Chandler, is former managing editor of the Mormon Mendicant.

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Thelma, who very much liked Walter, nodded earnest agreement, but was reluctant to smile or speak up. And her caution was her good fortune, for Carmen reversed field without warning. "I'll tell you this. No matter what people say, you can't eat pride. You can't pay the bills with it. It won't keep up with the mortgage; and when you get down to it, it won't even help you hold your head up. Just you go down there to the savings and loan, or the gas company, or even the hardware store and tell them that you're not going to pay again this month because 'you see, sir, it's all a matter of principle, sir,' and then you watch and tell me how high your head is when you come out again. I've been apologizing to those go-fers of Mammon for nineteen months, so don't anyone tell me about pride. I can't afford it. I've got six children, and I can't afford it."

This was not like Carmen. Though she kept precise accounts of the world's evils, when she spoke of family, she was normally as partisan and as carefully sweet as the Avon lady. She had not spoken like this with friends before, certainly never with any of the ladies from church. But Thelma, who was new, was also different. She was not a talker. Instead, from long habit and by genetic predisposition, she was a woman talked about.

Since her early teens she had been indentured to a body whose breathtaking and bountiful femaleness was itself a destiny, so that for decades she had exerted little more than damage control over her own life. But now, at last and inevitably, her earthly vessel had begun to run awkwardly aground on the sands of time. And though she made use of this shipwreck to free herself and change the course of her life, she was none the less like the last surviving priestess of some razed and discredited temple who continues from blind habit — and the inability to do otherwise — to practice her ancient custodial art upon the ruin. She wore her dyed hair in the electric hues and styles that once made Rhonda Flemming's fortune. And her floral print dresses were as dumbfoundingly a-domestic as her open-toed pumps and violet nail gloss. Sitting in church, she was a vision of transcendental cheek, an aging child of Babylon come in cheerful obliviousness to winter on Mount Zion.

And so the congregation talked. But despite their talking, she came. And if the truth were known, she came with a will. For though spectacularly out of context and as foreign as garden compost to the carefully aseptic practices of piety, Thelma Hunsaker Rydell had come among them to take not her place, but refuge.

Perched now in Carmen Stavelly's kitchen, she was like a giant flowering lotus in a pantry herb garden. She dominated the room with flaunted color and inutility all the while she struggled with the bowls and cups and measuring spoons on the table before her. Carmen, however, seemed not to notice. The truth is that, though she loved to brandish the Lord's terrible swift sword, she was not finally capable of pointing it at real flesh-and-blood persons. In her own way she was as incongruously innocent as her guest. The two had, in fact, become fast friends — more than friends, for each filled an acute need in the other. Thelma was the willing acolyte, a submissive and even anxious pupil in search of keys and passwords to a better and more peaceable king-

dom. Carmen, on the other hand, was an incorrigible but seriously disheartened teacher who very much needed a disciple possessed of eyes to see and ears to hear.

They read in the scriptures together, and Carmen explained at length, jealously shepherding her ward through the jungles of interpretation. She led Thelma gently but unswervingly by the pure light of orthodoxy as only Carmen understood it. And while she led her, she introduced her as well to certain other blessings: the consolation of natural herbs, the joys of honey, pure and unrefined, the regenerative power of legumes and of raw milk, and the open revelation of whole, home-ground wheat. And truthfully, all that she gave and all that she did for her new friend was repaid her an hundred-fold in gratification. For unlike Walter, who merely tolerated his wife's sacrificial devotions to a higher order of nutrition, and unlike her children, who, she knew, cheated, Thelma embraced vegetarianism as sincerely and enthusiastically as if all along she had only been waiting to be asked. In the logic of her emotions, in fact, the surrender of flesh seemed a natural consequence, an ordained penance, and a modest price to pay for release from the past.

Together, the two women shared abstinence and enlightenment in growing communion. In the course of just a few months Carmen opened Thelma's understanding to the first and last principles of history and of politics, of medicine and cosmetics, of nutrition and housekeeping and home economics. And on this particular day, because it was very much on her mind, and because only eighteen hours earlier a terribly important — and equally inconclusive — meeting had taken place in her own living room, Carmen rehearsed her pupil for the umpteenth time in the virtues of a certain superlative cleaning agent. It was — on principle — the only such product Carmen allowed in her home. The Stavelys washed everything with it from their teeth to their rusting Ford stationwagon, and Carmen hoarded an entire two-years' supply in a basement cupboard no bigger than a bread box. Like other enlightened users, she rendered moral tribute to its pure and unfrilled utility by calling it simply "the product." And, as with so many other things, her unwavering product loyalty was rooted in true religion.

"It's concentrated, Thelm. That's the whole thing. It's absolutely concentrated. Do you realize what the women of this country are paying out every single day for useless fillers? A cup of this and a cup of that. Do you have any idea how that adds up? But no matter, they just keep pouring it right down their drains, right down the tubes, right down into the pockets of the corporations, the multi-nationals. And while those gangsters get richer and richer, what do we get? Well, I'll just tell you. We get filler! Forty, fifty, sixty percent . . . it's infuriating, absolutely infuriating!"

She pinned the glutinous mass under her small fists unrelentingly to the floured mat on the board. Then, releasing all at once, she looked up with resignation. "It's our own fault, you know. Walter showed me an article in *Newsweek*. We don't subscribe, of course. Those magazine people are all owned, body and soul, by the multi-nationals, and I won't let him. But he buys it at the drug store anyway, and I guess I don't mind as long as the money

doesn't come out of household, and he doesn't leave it lying around for the children. Sometimes, I think they even print the truth in there — when it serves their purpose. I think this was the truth, Thelm, because this company did a test, a marketing one, and offered genuine, pure concentrate to the public. Imagine! And do you know that 73.2% of the women tested — seventy-three point two! (Carmen was addicted to dramatic repetition) — paid no attention at all to the directions on the box. Bright red letters, big as you please, and women went right on pouring a cup of this and a cup of that until their machines choked up like stuffed zucchini. And the cost, well it went absolutely through the ceiling, and the first thing you know they're all clamoring to the corporation to 'please' let them have their fillers back."

Pain settled over Carmen's high alabaster brow like the mark of Cain. "Can't you just see it? Can't you just visualize the chairman and the smart-aleck vice president of sales slapping each other on the back and gloating all over the board room? If that story doesn't just have the clarion ring of truth to it. You should have seen Walter. Couldn't have been any more pleased if he'd thought it up himself. Oh, he didn't say anything, but the silence nearly cost him a hernia. Dear Lord, is it any wonder that many are called, but few are chosen? When it comes to women, Thelm, sometimes, I confess, I think the fewer the better. Sometimes I'm not very charitable." Deftly she reversed the heaving victim on her board and this time fairly slammed it down into the bed of flour which woofed out on either side and then slowly dissipated in magnified particles through the angular afternoon sunlight.

"I guess," offered Thelma, now experienced enough to know a response was expected, "I guess they just didn't understand the importance." And then in a tone of concession. "I suppose it's not very surprising, is it?" She was half apologizing, wondering if she herself were not guilty of having poured an unrecognized fortune in genuine concentrate through the gluttonous bowels of some hapless machine. More than one had succumbed to her prodigal stewardship.

Thelma was now separating dough into loaves and setting them aside to rise again. "How many are we making, Carmen dear?" She changed the subject with a decisive cheerfulness, hoping to divert attention from her own probable complicity in this sorry affair. And she watched with relief as her mentor's quick mind tracked rapidly and systematically out of its distraction to lodge the question neatly into context. "Thirty-six. They want thirty-six this time. We're a great hit. Especially the honey-cinnamon. Brother Glover is printing up new labels right now. Every single ingredient listed in big old-fashioned letters right across the top, and 'Mrs. Stavely's Natural Breads' in fine print at the bottom. That was my idea. We can pick them up in the morning on our way to the shop."

Carmen completed her final series on the bread board stylishly with a double underhook and an improvised guillotine of artful wickedness. "There! And they are paying us right up front this time. Just like downtown." She relished this acquired bit of business-speak, though her anxious mind was foraging far ahead of the pleasure. "But it's not enough, Thelm. It's never enough, and it's gone before I ever see it. Walter has simply got to see the

light.” The sun percolated from her mood again. “He’s fifty-four years old, and they’re not hiring account executives at the old folk’s home. What is the man thinking of? Last night in that living room out there, right in front of witnesses who’ll swear to every word I’m telling you, Kevin Houston offered my husband a distributorship — a distributorship, Thelma.” She paused to underscore the inconceivable. “And Walter behaves as if he were deaf . . . or crazy . . . or senile! Did he say, ‘Yes sir, this is the chance we’ve been praying for?’ Oh no! He didn’t even say no! He just embarrassed me and seven perfectly unsuspecting people to death, that’s all. I could have choked him. I could still choke him.”

Thelma tried to reflect appropriate distress. She knew Kevin Houston. He taught Bible classes every Sunday to overflow crowds of hushed and wet-eyed admirers. More importantly still, he was known to be the young wizard behind the organization that sold and distributed “the product.” He was a much-heralded, much-admired, phenomenal success. And he was not secretive or niggardly with his magic either. There were meetings, seminars with flip charts and flow charts and ardent testimonials; and Carmen Stavely went, more willingly almost than to church, for she returned truly encouraged and uplifted. But her unemployed husband would not go with her; and so, Thelma guessed, she had resolutely brought Mohammed to the mountain, though apparently with disappointing, even disastrous results.

Thelma hurt for her friend. Yet her sympathy taxed her scruples because, if the truth were known, she did not entirely like Kevin Houston. At first she had credited the unwelcome shadow of aversion to his wife, a tall, dental red-head, who smiled and popped her gum with the steely self-assurance of a knuckle-ball pitcher. But it wasn’t his wife, it was Brother Houston himself, though the reason was hard for Thelma to put her finger on. Perhaps it was the involuntary way he courted women, his pure adolescent sincerity, the vulnerable eagerness to please; or perhaps it was the ready masculine command over every needful and unneedful thing. He was a charming show-off, not unlike certain other remarkable men she had known, and not known, and, unfortunately, married. In his presence, she felt uncomfortably at home. And if she followed and listened to him as enthusiastically as anyone, it was never without a troublesome pang of self-betrayal. But these misgivings were still vague and beyond Thelma’s capacity for articulation so that when she came, as she felt she must, to Walter’s defense, she had little choice but to travel on borrowed light.

“The Potters say they’re not going to get involved with Brother Houston, because his business is what you call a pyramid scheme. Maybe that’s what Walter is thinking, dear. Maybe you shouldn’t be getting involved in a pyramid scheme either.” Thelma knew she was in over her head, but the open scorn that blossomed in Carmen’s face told her she had trodden on something ripe and dreadful.

“Sylvia Potter is as dim as dusk, and so is her husband. Of course it’s a pyramid, Thelma. What else would it be? Now, you just get out a dollar bill and take a good look at it.”

Thelma, though readily contrite, did not have a dollar; and Carmen rummaged angrily through her cupboards until she found one, then spread it out dramatically under the nose of the blushing lotus lady at her kitchen table.

“Now, what do you see?”

Thelma stared blankly down at the bill.

“Oh, for heaven’s sake, not there!” Frantic with irritation, Carmen reached down, flipped the bill over, and pointed. “Here!”

Thelma was astounded. “Why, it’s a pyramid.”

“Of course, it’s a pyramid. And what does it say right there?”

The words were Latin, but Thelma obediently mispronounced each in turn as it was pointed to, and then, when she had finished, Carmen translated the lot just as if Latin were as familiar to her as the *Reader’s Digest*: “‘God’s-new-order-of-the-world-now-established-among-men.’” Carmen completed a second instructional pass round the pyramid with her finger. “It’s God’s own plan, Thelma, put here in a free country with a free market and free enterprise. That’s what a pyramid is, it’s capitalism — Christian capitalism — and it’s there because the founding fathers of this country, men like . . .”

She flipped the dollar bill over once more and poked with her finger until Thelma read, “George Washington.”

“Exactly! Honorable men like George Washington, whom God raised up for that very purpose, put it in the Constitution and on the back of that dollar bill so that every eye might see and every tongue confess the truth of what I’m telling you right now. Of course, it’s a pyramid! Anyone with any education and any proper history and common sense knows it has to be a pyramid, because that is what this country is all about. When you’ve got a pyramid, you’ve got the only divinely authorized plan for financial success in this life or the next.”

Carmen drew herself up on the table and was very solemn. “There are laws, Sister Rydell, decreed before the very foundations of this world, and if a man wants any blessing at all in heaven or on earth, then he’ll only get it through obedience to the law on which that blessing depends. And when Kevin Houston offers you a distributorship in your own living room, it’s not just some business he’s talking about. It’s a corporation in the very image of the eternal. It’s an executive position in the new order of the world. And that’s an investment that thieves can’t steal nor moths, nor rust, nor anybody else corrupt. That pyramid scheme, you’re talking about, is an answer to prayer, pure and simple. Last night Kevin Houston offered my poor drowning husband a steamship, an entire, luxury steamship. And it’s so big and so marvelous and so absolutely beyond imagining that Walter can’t even see it. He’s as blind to it as a dug-up mole to sunlight, and if I don’t find some way to open his eyes, then he and I and the lot of us are going to go down right here in plain sight of rescue.”

Thelma was by now well aware of just whom she had inadvertently provoked. She recognized the vocabulary and the high, dramatic, sabbath school tone. “What,” she asked defensively, “did Walter say when Brother Houston made his offer?” And her tactic worked, for Carmen ignored the question

entirely, though her uncharacteristic silence made it obvious that it oppressed her. She was already stacking bowls and pans and filling the sink with water, but sooner or later the burden would have to be excised from her narrow chest. After a moment or more of struggle, she opted for sooner.

“Do you know what he said?” She turned with both anger and incredulity in her voice. “He said, ‘Young man, your fly is open.’” Thelma choked and struggled for control over the involuntary muscles in her diaphragm.

Carmen, meanwhile, raged. “That’s it! The whole thing! The exact words! An hour, an entire hour spent explaining the program, step-by-step, right out of scripture so any child could understand. And all Walter Stavely sees is an open zipper. It’s disgusting. In front of all those people. I’ve never been so embarrassed in my life. And poor Brother Houston didn’t even have time to turn around and zip himself up before Walter hightailed it into the kitchen like some scamp child who knows he’s in for the dickens. If I were his mother instead of his wife, I’d strangle him.” She went back to her dishes. “And what am I going to tell Kevin Houston? The man’s a Samaritan . . . there’s no other word, a Samaritan. ‘An offer’s an offer,’ he said, just as if nothing in the world had happened. But whatever am I going to say to him when he calls this evening?”

“Can’t you take the distributorship yourself?” Thelma abandoned Walter to his fate. But Carmen kept to her dishes and replied as automatically as if the words were memorized. “Walter Stavely is the head of this family. It’s his responsibility. It’s his decision, and he has got to make it. If you cut off the head of the family, Thelma, you kill the body too. Some solutions are just no solution at all.”

“Well, have you asked him?” Thelma persisted.

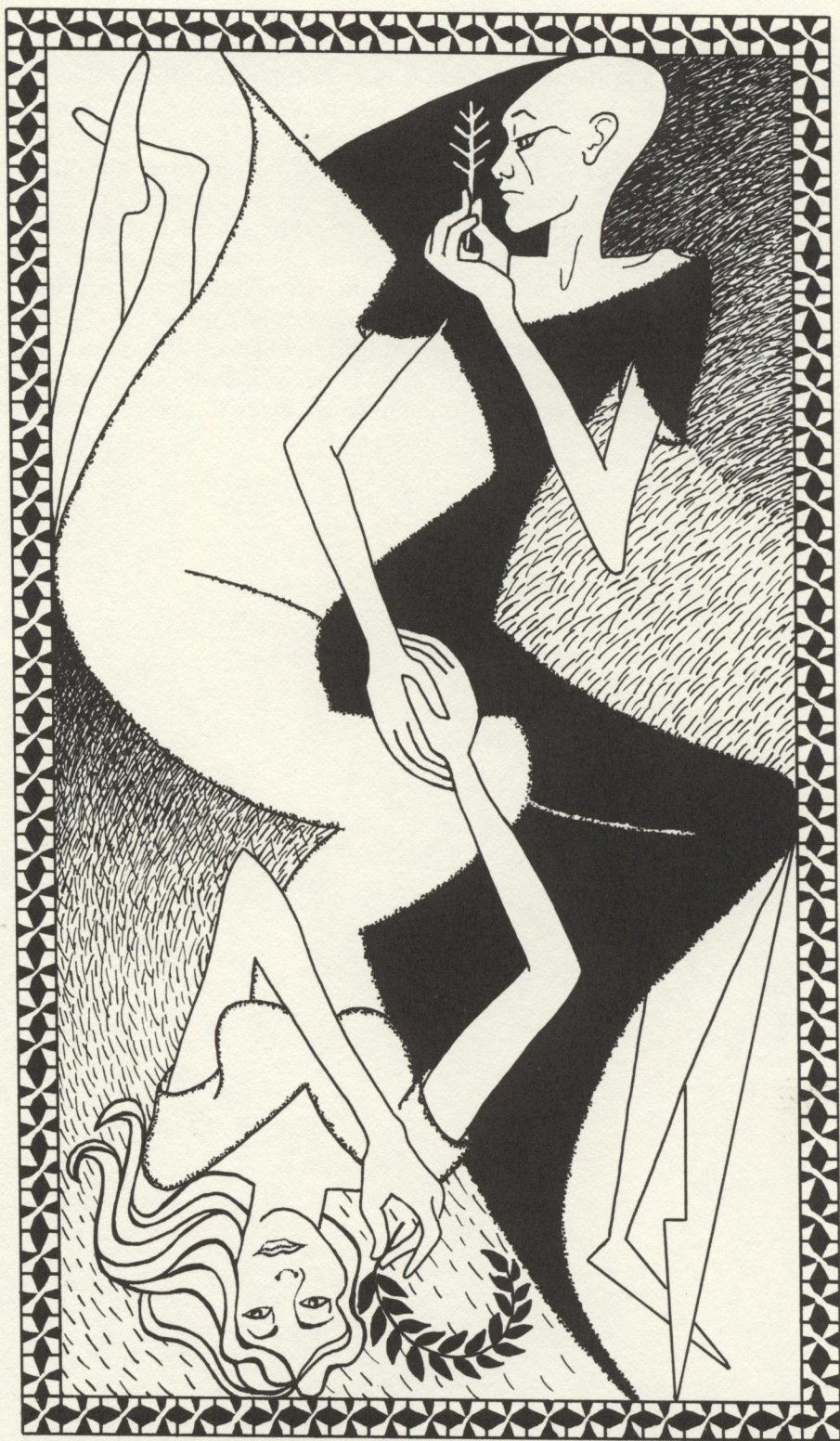
“Yes, of course I have. This morning. Out there in the garden. He was tying up those tomato plants again, though it’s so late in the season, I don’t know why he bothers. I asked him straight out, ‘What do I tell him, Walter. I’ve got to give the man an answer.’”

“Well?”

“Well, he looked up grinning like a bad joke and said, ‘My dear, the man’s a flasher, and I never go into business with flashers.’” Thelma choked again, but Carmen hadn’t finished. “Now flashers are not necessarily bad people. Walter wants that understood. In fact, they have a certain basic honesty — very up front, so to speak. Isn’t that clever, Thelma?” Thelma was paralyzed, unable to raise her eyes from the table. “Don’t you think that’s very clever of Walter? Sat out there all morning thinking up his clever answer. And when he’d given it, he looked at me with his old man’s eyes and said, ‘I’m sorry, Carmen. I suppose he’s a nice enough fellow, and, yes, he knows a thing or two about the world, but I promise you, that young man will show you things you never wanted to see.’ And then he went back to tying up those damned tomatoes just as if he’d really said something . . . and just as if those poor exhausted plants would go right on bearing all winter long, and the mortgage wouldn’t fall due, and the roof didn’t leak, and the transmission in the stationwagon wasn’t going, and Kathryn and Walter, Jr., didn’t need help

with their tuition, and the final insurance notices weren't out there unopened, because I can't face them, and the water bill, and the taxes" And her voice trailed off into a litany without shore or boundary.

A long time passed. The afternoon dissolved into autumn gloom, and Thelma realized with a start that her teacher, her sure-minded, millennial sponsor, was sobbing quietly into the dishwater. She sat for a while in self-conscious silence, unsure of what to do, but in the end her instincts were stronger than her brief acquaintance with discretion. She went to Carmen Stavely, folded this narrow, bristling bird of a woman into the schooled softness of her great, fading, vagabond bosom, and held her like an older sister or like the mother she'd never been, while her friend cried helplessly, and God on his inscrutable pyramid sent raw winter rain down upon the very spot where Walter Stavely had so carefully tied up the tomatoes.



One Year

Margaret Munk

THE NEWS

The scene was written
In advance,
Rehearsed as often
As the days of waiting
Would allow.

The curtains of sedation
Would be parted to reveal
My husband's face,
The good news broadcast
From his eyes,
Voice buoyant with the word,
Among the loveliest bequeathed
By Roman tongue to Saxon —

Benign:

Of a kind disposition;
Manifesting gentleness and mildness;
Tending to promote well-being;
Beneficial.

And I would bathe
The hard, brusque pillow
With some grateful tears,
Burrow into healing sleep,
And wake to life resumed.

MARGARET RAMPTON MUNK is a writer living in Silver Spring, Maryland, with her husband Russell and three children. She has served as both Relief Society and as Primary president there.

Instead,
 Along the timeless, lightless hours
 Spanning days and nights indifferently,
 The sluggish curtain lifted,
 Hesitated,
 Fell,
 And lurched again,
 Three times allowing glimpses
 Of a vision so unwelcome
 That narcosis masqueraded ably
 As a fair seducer,
 Come to lure me back.

The face was right,
 The eyes were there,
 The voice.
 The word was wrong.

Malignant:

Showing great malevolence;
 Actively evil in nature;
 Threatening to life or health;
 Deadly.

The third time,
 The drug had lost its power
 To be kind.
 I knew.
 Each morning I would wake
 And know again,
 And mornings would become a year
 In which this once familiar body,
 Turned traitor
 Only halfway through the course,
 Would be a battleground.

The cue was wrong for tears.
 They waited, prisoners behind
 A hard tube filling up
 The passageway of sound.
 So pain became
 The gaoler of grief,
 And I lay silently,
 Rewriting.

THE REASON

Still pain-weak
From the knife's first battle blow,
I cringed from combat
Yet to come.
"I can't," I told the doctor.

"Shall I tell you
Why you will?
Because I trust you —
And because you have three kids.
You will do it
For them."

He knew the facts,
My mind supplied the details.

Laura,
Self-conscious in her young nubility
And lean, unfinished beauty;
Taller by an inch or two than I,
Pushing hard at childhood's barrier,
Woman-bound
Upon an unfamiliar road;

Danny,
Brown and island-born,
Leavening my life
With limber wit,
Small body housing
An electric mind
Too set upon material things,
In need of tempering
With compassion
Through acquaintance with
Another heritage;

Andrew,
Only recently entrusted
To our care;
Every stranger's friend,
Unable to withhold good will
Or harness love;
Trusting with a terrible totality
The tenderness of life.

All ours by invitation,
Guests of our longing,
Entitled to the full-length, guided tour.

I would.

THE NURSES

I will forget their names,
But not the kind brown hands
Applying dignity
Along with soap and lotion;
The quiet voices of experience,
Soothing shock and terror
With the balm perspective;
The shoulder into which at last,
The night I saw the truth
Inscribed on paper
In the correspondence
Of consoling friends,
I unleashed ten days' hoard
Of tears.

Never mattered less
The color of the hands,
The accent of the voice.
Never had I learned
From solemn ceremony,
Quilting bees,
Or angry feminist crusades
What helplessness and pain
Taught me of sisterhood.

THE HAIR

I always had some,
Even in my youngest picture.

After it had darkened,
My parents told me how
They once could hide a penny
Of new copper there
Among the strands.

It grew prolifically haphazard
Down a shy and conscientious
Schoolchild's back,
And hung below my waist
In auburn ropes
Plaited during every breakfast
By my mother's fingers.
Once,
I purposely released the bands
And let the waves fall free
Until the teacher
Bound them back.

At Easter,
Armed with cotton rags,
Like a determined healer
Binding up some annual wound,
My mother operated on a kitchen stool
Until it hung in shampooed corkscrews,
Ribbioned to accentuate
The spring's new dress.

At eleven,
Sharp pain on the right became
Three days of tossing
In a hard hospital bed,
While woven braids dissolved into
A tangled nest I knew to be
Beyond redemption.
A kind nurse found me crying.
Did it hurt so much?
When I confessed
The honest cause,
She sat an hour beside me
With a brush,
And not the scissors I had feared.

That summer
As a sacrifice
To junior high,
I underwent a second surgery,
And had them severed
At the shoulders,
To appear three decades later
In a Christmas box
Sent by my mother
To my daughter.

When we met,
My husband called it red.
I grew it long again
For him.

Today I combed it,
Clipped and brittle and drug-dead,
Into a basket
In the bathroom
Of my mother's home.
And she, who placed the penny,
Wrapped the rags,
Preserved the plaits,
Joined me in mourning.

THE INTERLOPER

When my husband went to bed in summer,
It was with another woman.

I hardly envied her.
She was less
Than I had been in spring.
Lighter by ten pounds,
Thin and scarred and hollowed out,
Not publicly or privately
Definable as female.

This time the doctor
Was a lawyer,
His only remedy
The loving instinct
Of a man two decades married.

His sudden ardor
For his strange new partner
Was transparent, but
Remarkably effective.

CHEMOTHERAPY

I learned trust early.

At five,
Banished at midnight
To a winter bed,
I heard sleigh bells,
Not doubting the capacity
Of narrow chimneys
For portly, fur-clad gentlemen.

At eight,
In white,
I yielded to the water
In my father's hands,
Believing it would mean
Salvation,
As opposed to drowning.

At nine,
Clasping terror tightly
As a life preserver,
I plunged through ominous green waves
Beneath a taut white plastic rope
And found myself astonished —
Standing, living, breathing —
On the other side.

I gave myself,
And then my children,
To the needles
And the cherry-flavored drops
Promising deliverance
From the unseen killers
Of my forebears' children.

Fortunate,
For here I lie,
Connected by a hollow needle
And by thread-like coils of tube
To hanging bottles filled,
From all appearances,
With water,
Red Kool-Aid,
And urine.

Sick with half sleep,
 I watch the measured rhythm
 In the tube,
 And think of Vishnu
 And of Shiva,
 Preserver and Destroyer
 In one essence,
 And trust the droplets
 That could carry death
 Into my waiting vein
 To carry life instead.

EVERY DAY

The grocery lists
 Still gather in my purse;
 We still run out of Kleenex
 And bus change.
 Wrestling matches
 Need a referee
 Before the tears begin.
 Thirteen still needs a reprimand
 For talking back,
 And four can't make it
 Through the night
 Without a diaper.
 Milk spills;
 Shoe laces come untied.
 The phone still rings
 Ten minutes before dinner time
 To say he will be late,
 Or pass on one last bit
 Of junior high school gossip.
 Scout excursions,
 Broken bikes,
 Music lessons
 And a friend across the highway
 Still require
 My hand upon the wheel.

August, as always,
 Is a surfeit of long, sultry days;
 September energizing
 In its crisp relief.
 Bedtime and rising time,
 The yellow bus,

The lunch bags that go with it,
The homework that comes back.
The daily ritual
Of the evening meal;
The tired kiss
Across the pillows.

The only difference is
The value placed on days
And hours
And minutes
By a stern reminder
That supplies are limited.

NEW ENGLAND COUNTRY GRAVEYARD
ON AN AUTUMN DAY

How much is spoken
By gray stone
Where time and rain
Have left it still articulate.

Too often,
As I stroll and read
By mellow light
Of mid-October,
The message is
The brevity of life.

This one was someone's wife,
But only long enough
To bear her man one child,
To sleep beside her here.

This one,
Despite the promise
And the strivings of a boy,
Lived long enough to be a soldier —
Never quite a man.

This couple lie
With tiny grass-bound slabs
Strung like a rosary
At the parental feet.
How much life was left
In hearts too often pierced

Before they followed to this place
 The children
 Whom they should have left behind?

God, God!
 Not yet!
 Keep me longer
 From the darkness of those beds.
 And when the colors on these hills
 Are gone, and green,
 And gold again,
 Let me be here to see
 With open eyes
 And well-loved people
 Just a call away.

THE FUTURE

None of us are born
 Believing we will die.
 Belief comes with experience,
 To some, soon;
 To all finally.
 The question is not whether,
 Only when and how.

Faust-like,
 I want to bargain
 For more time,
 Even knowing
 The inevitable end,
 And believing that end to be
 A new beginning.

Time for what?
 For caps and gowns
 And grandchildren?
 Yes, and years together
 With a faithful friend
 With time to talk again,
 And rest,
 And read;
 For seeing parents,
 Who gave me the beginning,
 Safely to the end;
 For weaving words together

In new ways,
A try for immortality
On perishable pages;
For learning to make music
With a bow;
For feeding younger minds,
And being fed by them.

But children traveling
The rocky road
From childhood to adulthood
Can inflict
The bitterest wounds of all.
For this?
Promenades
Down bleak hospital hallways,
My awkward iron partner
On my arm,
Gave doorway visions of
Poor heaps of bone
And rough white hair
Huddled on hard beds
Which they would never leave
Alive.
For this?

I do not fear
The gateway or
What lies beyond;
Only, at times,
The pathway leading there,
And what may lie around
The blind curves of each year,
Each day.

But that was understood
When I applied.

It's a package offer,
One to a customer,
Sight unseen,
Open one compartment daily,
Take it or leave it.

I'll take it,
Full size —
Please.

Lightning Barbs

Marden J. Clark

I'd ridden this way a hundred times,
Up Monday Town along the fence
Dividing wheat from perennial sage
Herding cattle to summer grazing
In Bear Hollow beyond our fences,
Never liked it much, this shouting
At bawling cows and shambling steers,
Breathing their dust and smelling their hides,
Never learned to enjoy a horse
Or sit one easily, feeling mostly
The thump and jolt — horse against me —
Legs chafing and burning from salty sweat.
I was riding my brother's iron gray.
Young and heady, she loved to run.
I rode her bare, almost enjoyed
Her patient walk or gentle trot,
Her quick response to rein or spur.

We rode together toward darkening clouds
Crowning the Wasatch, hiding the sun,
Up Monday Town into deeper dusk,
To rumble and echo, then roar of thunder,
To deep gray of rain running down range
And over foot hills to reach the gate
Where I could loose the cattle to graze.

MARDEN J. CLARK is emeritus professor of English at BYU. His published work includes Moods: Of Late, co-winner of the 1979 Prize for Poetry of the Association for Mormon Letters, and Morgan Triumphs, "less than a novel but more than a collection of short stories."

We turned back in rain, the gray and I,
Galoped ungentle to get out of range.
Behind at first, then all around
The hills echoed thunderclaps
Following hard on brilliant flashes
That fractured the dark. Intent on travel
Neither mare nor I expected
The crack and spit of fire on fence
Five feet away, much less the spit
And chase of flame along barbed wire,
Flame just pacing us along the top wire,
Lagging behind on bottom wire
But dancing the lead on middle wires
Far ahead, dancing barbs of fire.
She stiffened, jerked, turned her head,
Eyes and nostrils torn with terror,
Lighted with fire still dancing on wire,
Then lunged for home.

Close by or against the fence she ran.
I felt the rip on pants and leg
But lost the pain in a passion of speed
Grafting my skin to skin of the gray,
My body playing to rhythms of her run,
All terror absorbed in a strange ecstasy —
Sweet Jesus, the vital ecstasy! —
Of her panic at frolic with electric reins,
With song of thunder, spit and crack
And dance of lightning, even with barbs
Along the fence, ecstasy of riding
This way the first time.

We passed the corral

And floated over the lower gate
Before she fell into a gallop
Then settled to trot then walk. I felt
No urgency though rain still washed my face,
Poured rivulets down my iron mare.

I'm told the fence saved mare and me:
Open rod to ground the lightning.
But when I dream of lightning and horses
And barbs of fire, nothing of terror
Clings to that moment of crackle and spit
Lighted with fire singing down wire,
Renewing ecstasy, renewing union
With more than mare or rain or barbs:
With source of lightening.

Soul-Making, or Is There Life Before Death

U. Carlisle Hunsaker



his not existing is despicable.” Such was the outcry of a man who came to the painful realization that he was so immersed in and absorbed by a field of forces and influences that if to exist means to come from oneself, to pro-act rather than merely react, then indeed he has ceased to exist. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he had not yet achieved that state of being which is referred to as the fullness of life.

Of course, every man is alive, but Christ chose to announce his own mission by making it clear that there are varying intensities of life. That they might have it more abundantly was his own way of stating his purpose. Irenaeus, one of the early Church fathers, was responding to this sense of Christ’s mission when he suggested that, “the glory of God is a man fully alive.” God glories in life, in the fullness of it. And he glories in the process of enabling others to achieve it.

This not existing *is* despicable, and it is painful. Who is there among us who cannot to some extent identify with Eliot’s plaintive lament, “Where is the Life we have lost in living?” (1963, 147) Such a question gives effective expression to a nagging sense that somehow an essential dimension to our being has withdrawn from active participation in life. We can experience a kind of frenetic passivity. Outwardly we are hurried and harried. Inwardly, we slumber. Our on-the-surface busy-ness is not matched by in-the-depth awareness.

Let us give attention to some of the images employed by those who endeavor to bring us to a realization of this living death. Henry David Thoreau joined the chorus of voices which has accused man of being asleep. “Why is it,” he asks, “that men give so poor an account of their day if they have not been slumbering? The millions are awake enough for physical labor, but only

U. CARLISLE HUNSAKER, a former instructor at the Institute of Religion, University of Utah, presented this paper at a DIALOGUE-sponsored session of the Sunstone Symposium, August 1984. It was awarded third place in the Philosophy and Theology category of the 1984 DIALOGUE Writing Contest.

one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion; only one in a hundred million to a poetic or divine life. To be awake is to be alive. I have never met a man who is quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face?" (1978, 74)

The entire work of Colin Wilson, a British writer, could be viewed as an effort to bring this root malady to our attention. "We are," he maintains, "only minimally free." For the most part, we are in the grip of what he refers to as the robot, or if you will, the physical dimension of our being.

Our challenge is to gain freedom from the robot. It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of this recognition. Nothing is more difficult than for human beings to grasp the extent to which their powers are held in captivity by the robot. It is as if we had been injected with some drug that keeps us in a state of paralysis and just as a man who had spent his whole life in an iron lung could have no conception of what it feels like to be a champion athlete, so we chronic invalids have no idea of what it means to be free and healthy or of the powers possessed by a healthy person.

A simple experiment will underline the point. Put down this book for a moment and stare at the wall, allowing your mind to go blank. In this state, the 'real you' has abdicated. Your body ticks on like an enormous clock. Your brain continues to register images. Perhaps there is even a tune running in your head. Yet all of this is purely mechanical. You have ceased to be a person and become little more than a mirror reflecting the reality around you. Yet as far as other people are concerned, you are still there — sitting in the chair looking solid and real. If some accident to your brain caused you to live out your life in this state, you would still be able to function perfectly adequately and few people would notice the difference. They would not notice that "you" had disappeared. If someone asks you a question while your mind is blank, note how little effort it costs you to respond. Your robot does most of the work for you. And so it is with almost everything you do within your waking hours. You inhabit a machine which does most of your "living" for you. (1978, 74)

While serving in the Austrian army during World War I, Wittgenstein wrote a letter to a friend, Paul Engelmann, in which he responded to a question regarding our changeable moods. "About your changeable mood, it is like this. We are asleep. Our life is like a dream. But in our better hours we wake up just enough to realize that we are dreaming. Most of the time, though, we are fast asleep. I cannot waken myself. I am trying hard. My dream body moves, but my real one does not stir. This, alas, is how it is."

Ralph Waldo Emerson suggested that most men resemble a nest of Indian boxes. That is, if you strip away all that which is exterior, if you take away from a man his coach (we would say his car), his manner of dress, his position in society, his manner of speaking — if you strip away all of that behind which man tends to hide and finally get to the self, you would find it to be a poor, distorted, imperceptible, crippled thing. (Bridges 1971, 29)

That which should give our lives substance, that which should be the source of our identity is stunted and covered over. Paul and Alma come to mind as being representative of the scriptural voices which have been effective in portraying this universal, human condition. Harvey Cox is one who sees Paul as being relentless. Paul wants to rub our faces in what for him is a fact of human existence: a kind of death infects the whole of it. A careful reading of his entire epistle to the Romans is very instructive.

Paul labored long enough to know that there is nothing more futile than offering a solution to someone who is unaware of a problem. Consequently, he endeavors to bring us to that awareness which would impell us to join our voices with his in asking the anguished question: "Who will deliver me from the bondage of this death?" (Rom. 7:24)

Alma is no less compelling as he speaks of our "deep sleep" and of our soul being "encircled about" with what he calls "the bands of death and the chains of hell." Alma is not timid. He contends that our lives testify against us, as we are guilty of what he calls "all manner of wickedness." However, like Paul or Benjamin or any of the great prophetic voices, Alma is no hellfire and damnation doomsayer. His vivid portrayal of the problem only makes the solution, about which he speaks with equal fervor, the more compelling. Incidentally, Alma does all of this in what I regard to be one of the most important sermons ever recorded. It is found in the fifth chapter of Alma.

Now because these ringing declarations can be muted by familiarity, we must pause here and be reminded that truth is never trite. If terms begin to sound overly familiar, perhaps we are losing our grasp of them. To be specific, we miss Paul's point in suggesting that death pervades life if we suppose we are being asked to face the inevitability of physical death. Paul, Alma, and all others who testify of the mission of Christ know that physical death is not the problem. Physical mortality only becomes a problem to the extent that one's mortal existence has been bereft of life. The facts of the matter are that we cannot cease to be, but we can fail to be fully alive. So Paul and Alma ask us to join the ranks of those who take existence after death for granted but who lament the loss of life before death.

One other caution. We must avoid the temptation to indulge in a kind of smugness which upon hearing Alma speak of our wickedness, encourages us to remind ourselves that we are not guilty of any so-called major sins. To so indulge ourselves would be to miss Alma's point — that our souls can be so encircled about with trivia as to make impossible that audaciously creative righteousness to which we are called. It should also be noted that these men are not merely calling us to repentance, not in the sense that they ask us to blow on our hands, grit our teeth, and repent. What they understand is that even our efforts to repent can be twisted and distorted into self-deception unless such efforts are preceded by an awakening or quickening of that part of us which can provide the vantage point from which we finally open ourselves to life-enhancing truth. Only thus will we cease to twist truth to support our limited awareness. To follow Alma in this matter we could say that first the soul is awakened and set free and then it is enabled to experience or manifest (Alma said "sing") redeeming love.

The witnesses we have consulted are disturbingly consistent: that which makes us human has been forgotten and covered over. The images they employ combine to suggest that this essential dimension of our being has become so embedded in the snarl of the forces which act upon it that, in a sense, it has died; or, in a manner of speaking, it slumbers. Consequently, that which we call our lives is a kind of fitful sleep or stumbling sleepwalking. The few who

have the courage and persistence to become aware of this condition find it difficult to improve upon Paul's question, "Who shall deliver us from the bondage of this death?" (Rom. 7:24)

The answer is, of course, Christ. Alma speaks of awakening out of a deep sleep and awakening unto God. The point of his message is that Christ is the catalyst by which this wakening is experienced. However, the specifics of Christ's role in this process of awakening will not be treated here. That is the subject for another time. The point of this presentation can be further elaborated by focusing on such questions as: "What is that dimension of our being which slumbers and has been forgotten? What is its function? What mode of being can issue from its awakening?"

I choose to label this forgotten, embedded, slumbering but essential part of us the sovereign self. We could call it the self or the soul, but I choose to call it the sovereign self because such terms are descriptive of what I hope to convey as to its importance and function. I believe it was the sovereign self which Tennyson had in mind when he referred to what he called "the true and real part of us" (Needleman 1982, 71).

By the use of the term *sovereign* I mean to claim autonomy and invincibility for a dimension of our being. I mean to suggest that the forces which impinge upon man need not become efficient or material causal forces which encounter no predicating or answering response. I mean to suggest that with the awakening of the sovereign self, which I believe few of us have experienced, we cease to be a product or — what is the same thing — a victim. While it is true that we always find ourselves within a conditioning context which either impoverishes or enriches, such a context does not determine. Neither enriching nor impoverishing influences nullify our capacity to come from ourselves, or if you will, to come from our Self. It is this capacity within us — the sovereign self — awaiting our discovery, which sets us apart from other forms of life. The quest for each of us is to come to and live from this sovereign self.

We become fully human only when we find that place within our own being which allows us to choose to obey voluntarily the laws which govern our growth. For us, the cosmic laws of life enhancement are presented as moral choices, while the commands presented to other forms of life are vital or instinctual.

It should by now be obvious that I do not believe that determinism need be the last word about human beings. However, I fear that such a theory is an all-too-accurate description of the present condition of most humans. With all of our emphasis upon free will, we should not be too quick to dismiss theories of determinism because such theories represent efforts to make sense of our own experienced bondage. With Paul, we are led to exclaim, "For the good that I would, I do not. But the evil which I would not, that I do" (Rom. 7:19). In our theological and psychological discourse, let us be precise enough and honest enough to acknowledge that autonomy or sovereignty is a potential which in fact few realize.

The mode of being which issues from coming to and living from the sovereign self is the state of being fully alive. It is the abundant life. I choose to

conceptualize such a mode of being by labeling its major constituents as sovereignty, serenity, and passion.

Let us pursue thoughts designed to bring each of these into sharper focus. Sovereignty is the secure base upon which serenity and passion can be experienced. Needleman has alluded to Kant's view that there are "influences which can raise the energies of the soul above their accustomed height, awakening in us a faculty of resistance of a quite different kind which gives us courage to measure ourselves against the apparent almightiness of impinging forces" (1982, 189). This growing sense of the faculty of resistance is part of what I mean by sovereignty.

Camus spoke of discovering in the midst of winter that there was in him an invincible summer. That part of us which is invincible is, for my purposes, the sovereign self.

On one occasion when asked how he felt, LeGrand Richards reportedly answered, "I lost one leg. I can't see out of one eye. I'm almost deaf. But LeGrand Richards is fine." LeGrand Richards had discovered the sovereign self.

Emerson, suffering the loss of a young son and then of his wife (their deaths came very close together), wrote in his journal that in the midst of this trial he discovered that the "power of the soul was equal to its needs, all the evidence to the contrary notwithstanding" (Marshall 1975, 46). Emerson had discovered the sovereign self. Those who provided the evidence to the contrary had not. "Awake my soul," cried Nephi. "No longer droop in sin. Rejoice." (2 Ne. 4:16-35). Nephi was engaging in the discipline of awakening the sovereign self.

There is the Oriental story of ten fools, who, after crossing a river, wanted to make certain all had crossed safely. One of them started counting the others but in doing so left himself out and therefore counted only up to nine. "We are only nine," he declared. "One of us must have been drowned in the river." "Are you sure you counted right?" asked another fool. But he, too, omitted himself and no matter how many times the ten fools tried to count themselves, the result was always nine. They began to weep because they were convinced that one among them had been drowned but they could not think which. A passerby asked them what was happening, and they explained. In seeing all ten before him, the man realized their mistake and he started to count them by touching each one in turn. As each one was touched, he was to call a successive number. "One," said the first. "Two," said the second, and so on, until they came to the last fool, who said, "Ten." The fools, astonished, thanked the wayfarer and rejoiced that one of their number had not been drowned (Ferrucci 1982, 65). The story illustrates the confusion to be experienced as we fail to count ourself, the sovereign self, as we take note of, or if you will, count the forces which make up the context of our lives.

We are getting now to the very heart of the problem. We tend to identify ourselves with the forces which impinge upon us and therefore we see ourselves as reducible to those forces, be they external or internal. Thus we fall prey to the master lie of the master liar. Believing ourselves to be puppets of such forces

which constitute the context of our lives, we succumb to sloth. Adam-like, we blame it on Eve; and Eve-like, we blame it on the snake.

What single question could be more compelling: "Is there some place, some force within the human soul which can transcend the pulls and shocks of human existence?" All of the major religious traditions answer yes, but I believe Mormon theology presents a unique and exciting foundation for an affirmative response to such a question. The implications of possessing within ourselves a primal, uncreated, co-eternal-with-God intelligence, can begin to etch themselves more deeply into our sense of self. I believe the intelligence, the uncreated core within each of us, is the sovereign self. Etymologically, *self* means "the same," suggesting an unchangeable invincibility. The purpose of existence is for that self to be added upon, that it might enhance its power and range of involvement. The tragedy of existence is that we allow this self to become embedded in those forces which were intended to be the context of its enhancement.

There is another fascinating source of support for those who are inclined to reject the reductionism which has been so pervasive since the time of Freud. I speak of the growing number of scientists who are waging an attack on the long-reigning materialism which would reduce us to biological robots. Sir John Eccles, Nobel Prize-winning neurobiologist in a book with the interesting title, *The Wonder of Being Human: Our Brain and Our Minds*, contends "that the moral point of view begins with man's awareness of the fact of his own transcendence, a recognition that human persons are different from and rise above those utterly material events comprised in the physical cosmos. Where this recognition has been blocked or distorted, life has been less than fully human. In its absence, there may be animal pleasures but not human happiness. Radical materialism," continues Eccles, "should have a prominent place in the history of human silliness." (Eccles and Robinson 1984, vii)

The essential feature of Eccles's position is that the brain and what he refers to as the mind are independent entities. Wilder Penfield, world-famous brain surgeon, just before his death at age eighty-four, made clear his support of this position. He did so with these words: "The mind seems to act independently of the brain in the same sense that a programmer acts independently of his computer. I am forced to choose the proposition that our being is to be explained on the basis of two fundamental elements." (1975, 75) Roger Sperry, Nobel Prize-winning psychobiologist, put it this way: "The causal potency of an ideal or an idea becomes just as real as that of a molecule, a cell, or a nerve impulse" (1983, 36). This is both encouraging and frightening because, to quote Eccles and his colleague, "the actions and goals of people are very much influenced by the sort of being they think they are" (1984, 2). Indeed, those thoughts create a range from the German concentration camp to the loving, respectful care of the elderly, the terminally ill, or the crippled, from the sense of human beings as being reducible to their physical state to a sense of the unrepeatable preciousness of the individual.

To extract and enhance the sovereign self — that is our challenge. I have a body, but do I experience a presence, a vantage point, which is independent

of the condition of that body? I assume various roles in life, but do I enjoy a sense of identity which transcends those roles? I will always enjoy approval more than disapproval, but do I experience a sense of worth which persists through both? Can I fail and not perceive myself to be a failure? Do I experience that energizing hope which is reserved for those who know that, in sinning, the self is not tainted or pock-marked but forgotten? Can we say with Paul that that within which tends toward sin is not the real self? (See Rom. 7–9.)

With the enhancement of the sovereign self, there comes serenity. The basic component of serenity is the feeling that one is safe or secure. The relationship between a sense of sovereignty and a sense of safety should by now be obvious. I believe we are mistaken in our tendency to disparage the search for security or safety. Our lives are not our own until the legitimate source of safety has been discovered. The pain of feeling unsafe is acute, and so many of our commonly experienced human ills result from misguided responses to such pain. Consider the driven businessman, the dependent housewife, the drug addict, or the approval addict. All of these lifestyles are manifestations of this unfulfilled need for a legitimate sense of safety. The search for such a feeling of security manifests a deep wisdom. It is the soul's effort to claim its birthright. Such a search only becomes inimical to life as we become careless and too easily satisfied.

In the face of the very real threats, dangers, and risks of life, Christ calls out to us to "fear not." And he offers us what he calls his peace. Surely this is not an invitation towards pollyanna-ish denial but an announcement of a stunning fact: there is a dimension of our being which is not at risk. A whole demonic pack of dreads and fears are exorcised by an awareness of this truth. Such an exorcism may be considered a necessary prelude to one's capacity to be truly ethical and humane. Love does not issue from a fearful, burdened mind. Anxiety and fear are the seedbed of domination and exploitation.

Christ's mission was to enable human beings to exist as free persons. Without such freedom there is no exaltation because there is no secure base from which to freely choose. In a very real sense, the freedom he sought to confer was freedom from fear. The capacity to come from oneself is finally released as we experience the serenity born of an awakening to the sovereign self.

The manifestation of this capacity to come from oneself I call *passion*. I recall a period of time in my life when I found myself working with a man who had been described to me as a man of passion. I discovered that he was a very busy and involved man. However, the longer I worked with him, the more convinced I became that he was, in fact, a desperate and frightened man. To labor compulsively, to strive to elicit a particular response from others, to seek desperately for external validation in whatever form — all of these strivings may be accompanied by strong emotion and great effort, but they do not manifest passion in the sense that I use the word here. They cannot, because passion issues from the secure base of sovereignty and serenity. Passion is the surging of the life within me in response to those aspects of reality which are found to be intrinsically satisfying.

I ask you not to contaminate what I have attempted to describe as the sovereign self by calling it the enemy of involvement. By sovereignty I do not mean detachment. It is a feeling of total vulnerability which keeps the self ensconced within its own being. It is when I feel basically or metaphysically secure that passion begins to surge from my depths because life begins to take on a different hue. Reality ceases to be that against which I defend myself. The true vocation of the soul is to move forward into reality with passion, to enjoy a fascinated engagement with images of possibility. The sovereign self does not withhold itself because it does not feel itself trapped by commitment, defined by failure, or threatened by disapproval or unrequited love. It can open itself to persuasions of others while retaining the sacred right of private judgment. While it feels with and for others, it acts from itself.

I suggest that boredom, which we are told we are experiencing in epidemic proportions, is borne of fear. Boredom constitutes an effort to turn the volume down. If I look out upon reality and see fearful burdens and threats to my very being, my defense is to convince myself that I do not care. Boredom is one of the defenses against vulnerability.

It was said of Daniel, "The Lord hath loved thee because thou art a man of desire" (Dan. 9:21, Douay). To so live is to find the process of life its own reward.

It is man's tendency to become absorbed in the harried pursuit of ends which do not spring from the sovereign self, which give rise to Eliot's question, "Where is the Life we have lost in the living?"

In conclusion, we might say, "And now abideth sovereignty, serenity, passion, these three. But the greatest of these is —" who can say? It is only for purposes of discussion that we can tease them apart. The work and glory of God — the purpose of existence — is to enable each individual to become a locus of sovereignty, serenity, and passion.

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Reflections on the Restoration

Lowell L. Bennion



The world's living religions began with the lives and teachings of charismatic leaders such as Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Muhammad. Each won a following by the force of his character, the witness of his faith, and the humane content of his teaching. In the beginning these religions were relatively simple in their teaching, with limited ritual and organization and, of course, without tradition.

As they acquired a following and the founders died, their disciples, wishing to carry on the words and mission of their leaders, canonized their words, elaborated rituals and organization, and built material monuments to the faith — cathedrals, statues, temples, and historical markers. This process is called institutionalization and it characterizes practically every ongoing movement — be it economic, educational, political, or religious in character.

Thomas O'Dea, insightful sociologist of religion, made a simple but profound statement when he said, "Religion *needs* most and *suffers* most from institutionalization." If religion were not institutionalized, it would likely die with the founder or with his immediate disciples. It would not be integrated into the social fabric of society. Religion is a social phenomenon. To be shared and preserved it must have a body of beliefs and other ways of expressing feelings and aspirations by the group. Scriptures, rituals, and traditions fill this need.

On the other hand, religion may suffer from institutionalization because institutional practices and interests may increase dramatically and divert people from the original purposes and values of the founder. In my missionary days in Europe, I became aware of the dangers to religion found in the elaboration of Church dogma, ritual, and organization which took place when the Church of Christ became the Church of the Roman Empire. Indeed this was one explanation and evidence of the apostasy in early Christian history. It was not, however, until I began to study the process of institutionalization that I gained a fuller understanding of its meaning for religion.

LOWELL BENNION, former director of the University of Utah Institute of Religion, is executive director of the Community Services Council, Salt Lake City.

In many well-established religions, ethically and spiritually sensitive members have felt burdened by the weight of their religious institutions. They sensed that the purpose and spirit of the pristine faith had been weakened and impaired by the excessive or irrelevant accumulation of doctrine, ritual, and authority. Nearly every reform movement in Christianity has been a search for the simplicity and authenticity of the Christian faith of the New Testament times. John Huss and Martin Luther attacked practices of the Catholic Church. John Wesley and George Fox, founders of Methodism and the Society of Friends, sought to recover the true spirit of Christianity within the Church of England. When their reform efforts failed, they established new religious movements. These new religions developed into institutionalized religions of their own. The Quakers are an exception. They have retained the simplicity of their original faith better than any group I know. In spite of (or because of) their success, they have remained a very small group.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints represents another effort to restore the pristine gospel and Church of Christ as it existed in apostolic times. It is by no means the only Christian movement of the nineteenth century which sought to do this. But in several ways, the concept of restoration in the LDS faith is distinctive.

First of all, the idea that this new religion was the restored Church and gospel was made clear from the beginning. Joseph Smith was not trying to pour new wine into old bottles. For him, the divine Church of Christ did not exist on earth. A fresh revelation and a new dispensation were needed to bring back the gospel and a church acceptable to Deity. Joseph was not learned in Christian history or dogma. Young, untutored, and unaffiliated, he sought not to reform existing churches but began anew to reestablish the true Christian faith. This was a bold undertaking which he did not claim to initiate himself, except through prayer. After his First Vision, he felt, like Amos of old, called to speak for God.

The beginnings of Mormonism have inspired me from my youth. I was deeply moved by my belief in the reality of a personal God, the resurrected Christ, and the principle of revelation revealed through the experience of Joseph Smith. I resonated with the fact that Mormonism began in the inquiring mind of a youth who sought out God on a spring morning in the springtime of his life. I have cherished the feeling all my life that this, my religion, was more like a free-flowing mountain spring than a lake filled with moss or covered with ice.

A second distinctive aspect of the restoration in the LDS faith is the concept of divine authority. Religious leaders have felt called of God and doubtless have been moved often by his inspiration in their search for the true Christian faith. Joseph Smith not only felt inspired but said that he received authority in a very real manner. He claimed that leaders of the original Christian movement — John the Baptist and Peter, James, and John — appeared to him and Oliver Cowdery, laid hands upon their heads, bestowed on them the priesthood of God, and commissioned them to organize the Church of Christ, to perform the ordinances of the Church, and to act for Deity in sacred

matters. I am not aware of any other movement which, in its attempt to reestablish the true Christian faith, makes such a claim to divine authority. The priesthood exercised by most Christian leaders is an inner subjective calling felt by the individual and confirmed in the same way by his congregation. Lutherans call it the priesthood of all believers. The Catholic Church is an exception, claiming divine authority through apostolic succession from Peter.

A third remarkable element in the restoration of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the incorporation of much of the religion of the Old Testament. Inspired in part perhaps by the Apostle Paul's emphasis on the distinction between Judaism and the Christian faith, many Christian movements have made little room for the religion of Israel in their efforts to return to the pristine Christian faith. The faith of Jesus, Paul, and the other apostles, however, had much in common with the religion of Israel. All of them quoted the Old Testament repeatedly to justify and validate their new religion. For early Christians, Jesus was the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. His ethical teaching was in complete harmony with that of the prophets and some later teachers in Judaism. For them, pristine Christianity was Judaism plus the mission and life of Jesus Christ.

Like the founders of Christianity, Latter-day Saints have incorporated much of the religion of Israel into their own faith. They call themselves modern Israel and claim kinship with Joseph who was sold into Egypt. The Book of Mormon overlaps both the Old and New Testament periods. The Book of Mormon quotes extensively from the Old Testament and also highlights the coming of Christ. In part, the Book of Mormon is a fusion of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Its authors call it a record of Joseph and declare that one of its purposes is to serve as a New World witness of the Bible. (The LDS Church itself now subtitles the Book "Another Testament for Christ.") The forced exodus of the Mormons from Nauvoo to a promised land to build a new Zion, had much the same meaning to Mormons as the exodus from Egypt must have had for ancient Israel.

When Orson Pratt celebrated the arrival of the pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley, he identified their new home in the "tops of the mountains" with the Zion spoken of by the prophets. Indeed, the Saints saw themselves fulfilling Old Testament prophecy in this, their heroic adventure.

But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it.

And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever. (Mic. 4:1-5)

Like ancient Israel, Latter-day Saints considered themselves a chosen people, called to establish Zion, a New Jerusalem. Their flight west was reminiscent of Israel's flight from Egypt. They named their river, which flowed from the fresh waters of Utah Lake to the Great Salt Lake, the Jordan. They constructed a defense of polygamy that included the lives of Old Testament patriarchs. Someday they would return to Missouri as the Jews would to Jerusalem.

A fourth important characteristic of the restoration was an attempt to establish a cohesive society based on Christian love. This intent is beautifully portrayed in Mosiah 18 in the Book of Mormon where Alma teaches the meaning of baptism.

And now, as ye are desirous to come into the fold of God, and be called his people, and are willing to bear one another's burdens, that they may be light; Yea, and are willing to mourn with those who mourn; yea, and comfort those that stand in need of comfort, and to stand as witnesses of God at all times, and in all things, and in all places . . . what have you against being baptized? (Mosiah 18:8-29)

The rest of the chapter tells how their baptismal pledge became reality in their daily lives.

Early in Mormon history, valiant but unsuccessful attempts were made to establish a law of consecration which would have gone far to eliminate poverty and to enable the more capable to contribute richly to the common good. The Saints were told to "remember in all things the poor and the needy, the sick and afflicted, for *he that doeth not these things, the same is not my disciple* (D&C 52:40; italics added).

Brigham Young made repeated attempts to achieve the same goal, as evidenced in *Building the City of God* by Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976). All of these socio-economic experiments in Missouri and the West failed for political, economic, and human reasons, but they illustrate how the restoration was more than theological and ecclesiastical. Sincere and sacrificial efforts were made to establish a Christian society.

The pristine gospel taught by Jesus had both institutional elements and profound religious and ethical principles. Jesus himself submitted to baptism, called the Twelve, and sent them to preach and baptize. To Peter, he gave authority to bind on earth and in heaven. His chief concerns, judging by his sayings and actions, however, were the will of his Father and the well-being of the human family. He said little about institutional matters and much about humility, faith in God, and love of neighbor: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another" (John 13:35).

Because of the fragmentary nature of the New Testament record and the possibility of more than one interpretation being placed on passages of scripture, it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove rationally and definitively that the LDS faith is a restoration of the primitive Christian church and gospel.

Many fundamental aspects, however, support the claim: the lay character of the Church, the assertion of divine authority, the simplicity and form of its ordinances (the blessing of children, the administration of the sick, baptism by immersion and of the spirit, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper), baptism for

the dead, and the presence of prophets, apostles, and other officers named in the New Testament; its emphasis on faith and repentance, the first principles and ordinances, its concept of Deity and man, and its many programs which promote the welfare and fellowship of its members.

The Church plays a very important, necessary role in the religious life and salvation of its members — teaching the gospel, performing essential, grace-bestowing ordinances, offering opportunities for corporate worship, fellowship, and service, and motivating people to live the gospel. However, the Church is not an end in itself. It is a means of developing true disciples of Christ — persons who have faith in him, who are learning to live the kind of life he would have them live, and who believe in and trust his grace.

Like pristine Christianity, Mormonism also has within it both institutional elements and gospel principles and ideals. Both derive their value from helping to bring “to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.” Both are a means to an end, the end being the developing of Christian faith and living in the lives of God’s children. As the LDS Church ages and expands in size, territory, and functions, I am concerned that it continue to serve this, its primary purpose, rather than being diverted to institutional ends.

1. My first concern is that we do not equate the religious life with Church activity. The Church is an essential part of the religious life. There we are taught the gospel, make sacred covenants, and have opportunities to serve one another. But the Church is not the end of the religious life. We are not here to serve the Church but rather to serve people through the Church. Men and women are not made for the Church, but the Church, like the Sabbath, is made for them. We do not teach lessons but people. Ultimately nothing matters in a class, a meeting, an interview, or a Church activity except what people take away — ideally, increased hope, faith, knowledge, desire to serve, or resolution to live the teachings of Jesus.

2. My second, similar concern is that institutional goals do not become ends in themselves. When they do, they may violate gospel principles and inhibit spiritual growth in members. About twenty-five years ago, some ambitious, well-meaning mission presidents made baptisms their goal. They established baptismal quotas and pressured their missionaries to meet these goals. Selling techniques were introduced. Some children were baptized without fully understanding the meaning of the ordinance and without informed consent from their parents.

Some home teaching is done just to get it done, not to build caring and serving relationships with those visited. Just last week I heard two contrasting reports from people visited. In one instance, the brethren come faithfully and never fail to say, “If there is anything we can do, call us.” The sister lives alone, is in frail health, cannot drive, and would very much like to be taken to Church but is too proud to ask. Her teachers never offer her a ride. She stays home. The other elderly widow has a home teacher who keeps snow removed from her walks and makes minor, needed repairs on her house. He takes the initiative, sees what needs to be done, and does it.

3. My third concern is that we do not think that the ordinances of the Church have value in and of themselves apart from the quality of our lives. We must not be content because we were baptized, married in the temple, ordained to the priesthood, given the gift of the Holy Ghost, made recipients of the sacrament, and of temple ordinances. Church rituals and ordinances are not ends in themselves. They are linked with gospel living. If our baptism doesn't motivate us to bear one another's burdens, it is putting trust in dead works; if the priesthood doesn't make us better servants of Christ, amen to its value in our life; if temple marriage does not contribute to the Christian quality of our marriage, of what value is it?

4. I am concerned also lest the scriptures become an end in themselves. This happened in ancient Israel. The Mosaic law introduced a humane and ethical emphasis in religion, particularly in the teaching of Amos, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. But there developed in Israel the tendency to elaborate and worship the law irrespective of human values or consequences. A classic example was Jesus' conflict with Pharisees over keeping the Sabbath. Did man exist for the Sabbath or the Sabbath for man? Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath, to save life or to lose it (Luke 6: 1–10)?

Latter-day Saints are taught to study and revere scriptures as the word of God, but they must not be interpreted apart from God's purpose in human life or the fundamentals of the gospel. Jesus made the scripture of his day — the Law and the Prophets — “hang” on the love of God and love of man. This principle still holds for scriptural interpretation today. The scriptures are not of one quality; they are not a legal document, equally binding in every book and on every line. As with the Law of Moses, some of it was conditioned by the state of the times and is no longer valid today.

The principle of continuous revelation enables the prophetic leadership of the Church to relate the will of God to ongoing human needs and understanding which may, at times, change an earlier teaching or practice. Jesus, for example, did away with animal sacrifice among the Nephites and instead called for “a broken heart and a contrite spirit” (3 Ne. 9: 19, 20). The 1978 revelation, giving worthy males of every race opportunity to hold the priesthood, is a classic example of a change in policy that is consistent with gospel fundamentals and human welfare and salvation. The divine will is not fully known. The work of the Church is not finished. We have yet to learn the full meaning of Christian discipleship. The salvation of men is still in the making and every succeeding generation of Latter-day Saints must learn anew what it means to be a disciple of Christ. Goethe wisely said, “What from your father's heritage is lent, earn it anew to really possess it.”

5. My fifth concern is that we may identify our being Latter-day Saints *primarily* with things peculiar and distinctive in our religion such as the Word of Wisdom, welfare projects, temple work, missionary service, family home evening, and genealogy. These are valuable programs but again only means to an end. We are here and in the Church to learn to become disciples of Christ—to learn the meaning of love, humility, faith in Deity, and to worship God and

to remember his Son — to take his name upon us and have his spirit to be with us. I am deeply grateful for the Word of Wisdom. It is one of the reasons why I am grateful to have been reared a Latter-day Saint, but it must not be my chief interest in the gospel of Jesus Christ. The same goes for genealogy or keeping a journal.

6. My sixth concern is that we make our commitment to God and Christ and fellow human beings whole souled. We should make friends for the sake of friendship, not to gain converts to the Church. Friendship is not to be a means to an end, a technique of selling the gospel. I hear people say that they are living the gospel to receive blessings, to gain the celestial kingdom, or to earn exaltation. If that is their primary motive, I wonder if their goal doesn't detract from the quality of gospel living — if they are not serving two masters — the gospel and their own interests. I prefer the Savior's statement: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all* thy heart, and with *all* thy soul, and with *all* thy mind" (Matt. 22:37; italics added). I believe we should love our neighbors because they need our love and because we need to learn to love. Love it its own reward.

7. We must teach people not lessons. We must reach hearts, not statistical goals. Giving lessons is an institutional emphasis. Teaching individuals is a gospel emphasis. The purpose of Sunday School is not to teach the gospel, but *to teach individuals* the gospel. Nothing matters in a Church class or activity in the last analysis except what happens to the people involved. This is true of a sacrament meeting, a class, a social, a basketball game, or home teaching.

I remember asking an M-Men basketball coach what his purpose was in coaching his young men. His answer, "To win the stake — and if possible the Church — championship." I repeated the question with emphasis. He repeated the answer with emphasis. His objective was institutional. He did not see it in either gospel principles or the well-being of individual team members.

Similarly, in a leadership meeting, I asked Scoutmasters what their purpose was in Scouting. One answered, "To get every boy registered and in uniform." Another said, "To have at least 75 percent attain the rank of Eagle." These answers reminded me of an experience one of my students related years ago. He said that every boy in the troop in his ward but one had qualified for an award at a given Court of Honor night. Desiring 100 percent, the Scoutmaster said to this boy, "If you will promise to complete your second-class work in the next thirty days, we will present you with a second-class award Friday evening at our Court of Honor." To the Scoutmaster's shame and the boy's credit, the lad refused to accept "the honor." Institutional goals sometimes do violence to religious and ethical principles.

8. A final illustration of institutionalization that may divert effort from more genuine, religious goals is taking pride in materiality. Jesus had no place to lay his head. Churches, and worthy motives, build cathedrals, temples, meeting houses, monuments, and historical sites to inspire members and to honor the founder of the faith. These are legitimate unless they become a source of pride or divert attention from true gospel living. Catholics have been criticized for building and decorating great cathedrals in the midst of poverty.

Looking to our day, Moroni warned us, “Why do ye adorn yourselves with that which hath no life, and yet suffer the hungry, and the needy, and the naked, and the sick and afflicted to pass by you, and notice them not?” (Morm. 8:39)

I like to think of the restoration of the pristine gospel of Christ not as a single event in the past, but as an ongoing effort on our part to make the things important to the Savior important to us. We have the authority and the teaching to accomplish the restoration, but each generation of Latter-day Saints must learn the meaning of Christian discipleship anew and realize it in their lives. Thus, we must not view the Church as an end in itself, but as an appropriate, wonderful means of helping people to become true disciples of Jesus Christ. Only in this way can we gain the values and avoid the limitations of institutionalization.

I feel the need to worship God more leisurely and more purely, to visit the sick and afflicted and lonely more often, to be more neighborly, to cultivate a broken heart and a contrite spirit, to be less busy in and out of Church and to be more committed to Christ and his way of life. Never has the need to be true disciples of Christ been more urgent and perhaps more difficult. The world needs to witness a Christian society. This is our opportunity — not only to preach the Restoration but to realize it by choosing, in our personal and community life, to live by the weightier matters of the law — faith, justice, and mercy.

REVIEWS

In Silence, She Speaks

Not in Vain by Susan Evans McCloud (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1984), xi, 209 pages, \$8.95.

Reviewed by Carolynne Cecil Berrett, registered nurse currently staff nurse for Upjohn, mother of six children, Young Adult Gospel Doctrine teacher, and lecturer on early Mormon medicine, including Ellis Shipp.

DR. ELLIS REYNOLDS SHIPP closed her unpublished autobiography with the words, "Great minds are they who suffered not in vain. . . . I do not feel my spirit great, but oh, I have suffered — and I pray it has not been in vain." From this statement by the second woman physician in Utah, McCloud chose her title. A study of Ellis's life, including the deaths of five of her ten children, reveals no hyperbole in her statement.

I am impressed with the way McCloud unravels the events of Ellis's life up to her years in medical school. From then on I am continually aware that she leaves more unsaid. It is apparent that McCloud's research is superficial and incomplete, sometimes causing her to make false assumptions.

For example, Ellis returns to medical school in Pennsylvania, pregnant. Her professors urge her to have an abortion. McCloud writes, "Ellis endured her Gethsemane. She prayed all through the night for strength and guidance, on her knees in her little attic room. As dawn broke through the window her answer broke through the veil of darkness. She knew what she had to do. She could answer them now, 'I came to learn how to save life, not to take it!'"

(p. 126). This narrative is misleading. Her own story makes it plain that she did not even consider abortion and instead immediately responded to her professors: "I came to save life, not to destroy it." She did indeed spend the night in prayer, but not as a result of indecision.

McCloud also neglects another significant incident that occurred during this tumultuous time. According to Nellie Shipp McKinney, Ellis's daughter, Ellis dreamed that her baby would be a girl born with one arm. This dream was disturbing as well as prophetic. Even though the baby, a girl, was not handicapped, years later Ellis would take into her home a young orphan girl named Augusta who had only one arm. Ellis wrote of her,

A little bird flew to my nest . . .
I clasped her fondly to my breast . . .
Each day she grew more dear . . .
She was a wounded, gentle dove . . .
[that] Now nestles 'neath my sheltered wing.

Ellis's story is not complete without Augusta, but McCloud does not mention her.

McCloud's meticulous precision in recording dates and putting the events of Ellis's life in chronological order is admirable, yet she treats those events without regard to their relative importance. On the one hand, she devotes considerable space to telling us about Ellis's trip to the Salt Lake Theatre to see *Camille*, describing the building itself in lavish detail (pp. 54–56) while covering some of the most significant experiences in Ellis's life in two or three short paragraphs, if at all.

An example is McCloud's treatment of the death of Ellis's child, Burt. Probably

no other single event in Ellis's life so challenged her role as a physician, a mother, and a wife, but McCloud writes only that "According to family records . . . Burt Reynolds Shipp died. There is no mention of this in Ellis's notes or journals" (p. 139). Further research would have disclosed an incredible set of circumstances surrounding this son's death and the reason Ellis did not write of it.

An unpublished manuscript by Nellie Shipp McKinney tells this story, which Ellis's granddaughter, Lenore McKinney Hoskins, repeated in an interview to me. When Ellis left for medical school in Pennsylvania she had given birth to five children; only three survived. Leaving her ten-month-baby, Burt, devastated her, and she worried constantly over him. She would miss half of his life by the time she returned home. Soon after her return, Ellis was living with her children in her apartment-office when she received a despairing call from her husband. Thirteen of his children by his other wives had diphtheria. "Please come," he pleaded, "there is no one else." This cruel reality was true as so few doctors were available during this merciless epidemic, and many families were in quarantine. Ellis was willing to go but there was no one to leave her own children with, and somehow they had, so far, escaped the disease. Ellis prayed, pleaded, and agonized over reaching the only decision she could. She would put her children "in God's care" and go. She successfully nursed Milford's thirteen children back to health but her own son, Burt, was taken. Her grief went beyond her written

word. It was one of the few times, her family recalls, when she went to her knees asking, "Why, oh why, oh why?" Ultimately she was blessed with acceptance and was able to continue her life without bitterness.

McCloud merely skims the surface of the last half of Ellis's life, indicating that she must be unaware of the wealth of information available. Though no journals exist, numerous other sources in letters and in living descendants are available.

Nothing is said, for instance, of eighty-six-year-old Ellis hitchhiking around the West to organize nursing classes, preaching the gospel as she went. In a poem titled "The Wanderer," now in the possession of a granddaughter, Lucille Musser Jackson, Ellis gives us insight into these lonely years.

No home — No place on earth
to call my own . . .
Oh God in love, in mercy
from above
Send solace to thy
wandering child.

Not in Vain may leave the reader feeling that Ellis was an unhappy person. She was not. Her daughter Nellie remembered that her mother was not above a good practical joke. McCloud obviously has deep feeling for Dr. Shipp and transmits that feeling to the reader, but I felt as though I was reading a historical novel. *Not in Vain* is inspiring, well-written, and worth reading. However, because it is incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, its value as a historical document is limited, and the book cannot be considered an accurate or complete biography.

Faithful History

The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1839 by Milton V. Backman, Jr. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1983), 479 pp., \$13.95.

Reviewed by William D. Russell, chairperson of the Division of Social Sciences at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa.

MILTON BACKMAN, a professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, has written a history of Mormonism in Ohio in the 1830s. He appears to have consulted virtually all of the primary sources pertinent to his subject. What emerges is a portrait of a people of great faith who experienced some very powerful

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religious experiences. Their faith was so strong that they were willing to do whatever their prophet asked them to do — be it sell their homes and farms and move to another location, go on a mission, work on the construction of a temple, or enlist in a church militia and march halfway across the United States to fight their enemies.

Backman's intended audience — and probably those who will most enjoy the book — appear to be Mormons who are interested in the history of the Church. The uninitiated reader, though, sometimes requires explanations of unique terms which the author does not give. Non-Mormons who want to understand the faith of the early Mormons will find it a little tedious but useful, as the author concentrates a great deal on the revelations, doctrines, and spiritual experiences of the men of the Church during the Kirtland period.

The focus of the book is so much on the male Church leaders that the sensitive reader will wonder how Mormon wives responded to the expectations the Prophet made upon their husbands — and ultimately on them — as the wife must have ended up the primary breadwinner in many families. One is struck by the burden the women must have borne during all of this, but the author does not address this question.

Even the Prophet's wife goes almost unnoticed. Emma is first mentioned on page 44 where she merely "accompanied" her husband on the migration to Ohio. On page 150 we find her "in charge of sewing and cooking for the workers" on the temple. The third and final mention of her is in regard to the hymnal which she was called by revelation to prepare. In Backman's account she seems incompetent and reluctant to perform her task. The high council has to push her to get the job done, and they appoint W. W. Phelps to revise what she prepares before they have seen it. Contrast this portrait to that of the energetic and independent Emma in Linda Newell and Valeen Avery's *Mormon*

Enigma: Emma Hale Smith (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

Those of us who are RLDS should recognize that in the great schism of 1847–48, Brigham Young was loyal to Joseph while the dissidents who broke with the Prophet were the kind of people who later became RLDS. The RLDS Church ultimately rejected much of the Nauvoo period's products by Joseph Smith but has always been hesitant to admit it.

Also, isn't it time that all of us Mormons recognize as untrue our oft-repeated assertion that traditional Christianity held that revelation had ceased with the end of the apostolic age (pp. 4, 56)? Over the centuries Catholicism had many mystics as well as the doctrine that God spoke through the popes and the church Fathers. Protestantism also has a long tradition of contemporary revelation: the rise of pietism, the Quaker "inner light," the Great Awakening, and most importantly for Mormonism, the Second Great Awakening. Mormonism arose in the midst of an awakening in America in which persons were seeing visions, speaking in tongues, and giving physical expression to what were seen as divine manifestations.

I wonder how a historian can believe that the gospel preached by the early Mormons "was not new, but had been taught to the children of God in every dispensation, beginning with the first man, Adam" (p. 223). Mormons have seemed inconsistent here. On the one hand, we have taught that our pre-1844 church is a restoration of New Testament Christianity and that the true gospel was taught from antiquity. On the other hand, we believe in the need for continued revelation. Historians of the Judeo-Christian tradition recognize that New Testament Christianity and Mormonism cannot be equated, and historical evidence for the "antiquity of the gospel" is virtually nonexistent. Why not assert the obvious — that the religion that emerged in Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo was a creative new approach to religious

questions and organization? Why diminish the role of continued revelation by making it simply a restoration of that which was supposedly "lost"?

The book is "faithful history," and Backman is a good practitioner of the art. He sees the events in Ohio through the eyes of faith, especially faith in the Prophet Joseph Smith. When the Prophet announces revelations, they are clearly from heaven, accurately understood and explained by the Prophet. There is never a suggestion that the revelations might have reflected Joseph Smith's personality or interests. Problems within the Church are never the fault of its leaders, even when Joseph's illegal economic actions caused severe financial losses among the Saints. Rather, the people are proud and selfish, or don't fully understand the Prophet or his doctrines. Opposition from non-Mormons is the fault of non-Mormons, or, at worst, caused by the mistakes of *individual* Mormons acting on their own rather than marching in step with their prophet. The reader may wonder if the prophet ever erred.

As is generally true of faithful history, the author's central concern is for the institutional church. For Mormonism, this usually means a strong desire to protect the reputation of its leaders and especially the prophet. Such history can hinder the Church because it produces a misplaced faith in the humans who lead the institution rather than in God. By not allowing the prophet to err in his role as prophet and by being even somewhat reluctant to let him err in his human capacity (if we can separate the two), the faithful historian perpetuates the tendency in Mormonism to make gods of the men who lead us. For many, the result is ultimately disillusionment, when they become aware of the humanity of their leaders.

We should seriously consider whether Ezra Booth was right when he objected to the idea that people should pattern their lives after the revelations that one man received. Booth felt it would lead men into

a "state of servitude" and result in an "unqualified vassalage" (p. 95). For Backman, however, there is no question that the prophet acted properly when he extinguished the revelations of a woman named Hubble and limited to himself the power to receive revelations for the Church. That places tremendous power in one man. Backman does not comment on the political significance of this centralization of power or on the happy agreement between the content of the revelations and the Prophet's political self-interest. Might this exclusive authority have contributed to some of the abuses of power that occurred in Nauvoo? What were the internal effects of terming the newly created seventies a quorum "equal in authority to that of the Twelve" (p. 252) but then clarifying their place in the hierarchy as lower than that of the high priests, to say nothing of the apostles? (p. 253)

Another question which might profitably have been explored is who was or was not influential during various stages of the Church's development through this period. One might expect a discussion of Sidney Rigdon's influence on Joseph Smith. Did Rigdon's relationship to Alexander Campbell influence the decision in March 1831 to switch from the Old Testament to the New Testament in the translation of the Bible? Did the Campbellites's belief in the restoration of the New Testament Church come into Mormonism through Rigdon? Was early Mormon communitarianism influenced by the communitarian group previously existing in Kirtland under Rigdon?

The author also underplays human influences on the Prophet when he labels the Second Great Awakening "a powerful series of revivals in New England and frontier communities in Kentucky and Tennessee" but fails to mention the revivals in the state of New York in the 1820s by the greatest revivalist of the period, Charles G. Finney (p. 20). Any student of Mormonism should find Finney's *Memoirs* very interesting.

What does Joseph Smith's supreme confidence tell us? When certain Kirtland

men were waiting for Professor Seixas to arrive to teach them Hebrew, Joseph attempted to teach the class (p. 171). When Brigham Young spoke in tongues, the Prophet identified it as “the pure Adamic language” (p. 178). When Joseph challenged William McLellin to write a better revelation, he concluded that McLellin was unable to “imitate the language of Jesus Christ” (p. 91). Do these small incidents make a larger pattern?

He revises the revelations when he deems it appropriate, and he implements them flexibly. For example, while the revelation on Zion’s Camp instructed them to organize in companies of ten (p. 175), they apparently found it more workable to travel most of the time in companies of twelve (p. 182). He feels free to take on more counselors than the revelations call for (p. 242). He teaches that an officer of the Church who has been taught the Word of Wisdom but does not practice it is not worthy of his office (pp. 259, 260) but does not discuss the actual practice — con-

siderably less stringent — of the early Saints, including the Prophet.

Backman tells the reader about those parts of the 1832 “Civil War prophecy” which were fulfilled in the Civil War three decades later but does not mention predictions that were not. Nor does he explain, as any historian ought to do, the contemporary 1832 South Carolina nullification crisis.

Not surprisingly, some Mormon historians have been attacked of late by fellow Mormons for writing history not sufficiently “faith-promoting.” Is it any wonder that Mormons used to reading faithful history such as *The Heavens Resound* are troubled when they read history that is more balanced?

Joseph Smith need not be enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to borrow the words of Edward Kennedy at his brother Robert’s funeral. We can portray the prophet in all of his humanity and still respect him for what he was — a great and charismatic religious leader, perhaps the best in nineteenth century America.

Fast and Loose Freemasonry

Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode, by Mervin B. Hogan (Salt Lake City: Third Century Graphics, 1980), 59 pp., \$6.95, and *The Involvement of Freemasonry with Mormonism on the American Midwestern Frontier*, by Mervin B. Hogan (Salt Lake City: Privately printed, 1982), 39 pp., typescript, \$3.25.

Reviewed by Kent Walgren, writer and antiquarian bookseller.

MERVIN B. HOGAN, a prolific expositor on the subject of Mormonism and Freemasonry, is apparently gaining some reputation among Mormons and Freemasons alike for “impeccable” and “peerless” scholarship. (See Jerry Marsengill, Introduction, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge U.D.*, [Under Dispensation], edited by Hogan (Des Moines: Research Lodge No.

2, 1974). G. Homer Durham, then Managing Director of the LDS Church’s Historical Department, in a letter to Hogan dated 11 March 1981, praised *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode*: “I believe your summary . . . throws more light on this subject than anything yet produced in or out of the Church” (“Book News on Mormon History,” No. 1 [1981] p. 3, issued by Deseret Book Company).

Much of Hogan’s effort has consisted of republishing documents or articles of others with a short introduction of his own. For example *Freemasonry and Civil Confrontation on the Illinois Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Privately printed, 1981) is a reprint of Sheriff Jacob Backenstos’s 1845 proclamations; *Mormonism Viewed by a Masonic Adept* (Salt Lake City: Privately printed, 1982) is a previously unpublished

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paper on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon by Manly P. Hall, a thirty-third degree Mason and author of numerous books on the esoteric aspects of Freemasonry. Hogan has also attempted his own exegesis of the interrelationship of Mormonism and Freemasonry. This review will focus on two works that inquire into that relationship during the Illinois period: *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode* (originally published in 1977 as pages 267–324 of Volume 2 of the five-volume *Little Masonic Library* (Richmond, Va.: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., Inc., 1977) — hence the strange page numbering of the Campus Graphics edition) and *The Involvement of Freemasonry with Mormonism on the American Midwestern Frontier*.

Hogan begins his *Illinois Episode* by attacking as “unscholarly” Kenneth Godfrey’s 1967 BYU Ph.D. dissertation, *Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839–1846*, which devoted a chapter to “Masonry in Nauvoo.” The chapter was subsequently distilled into an article, “Joseph Smith and the Masons,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79–90. Hogan criticizes Godfrey’s use of James Cummings’s assertion, as recalled by his grandson Horace Cummings, that Joseph Smith seemed “to understand some of the features of the [Masonic] ceremony better than any Mason and that he made explanations that rendered the rites much more beautiful and full of meaning” (p. 275). (Cummings, a Nauvoo Mason, was, according to Hogan, “one of the Prophet’s intimate friends.”) Hogan says this is impossible because the minutes of Joseph’s initiation, passing, and raising on 15 and 16 March 1842, say nothing about any oration by the Prophet (pp. 276–77). Had Hogan carefully checked the “Autobiography of Horace Cummings” at BYU, he would have found that Cummings made no claim that the explanations Joseph Smith gave occurred at the time of his affiliation. Godfrey’s statement can be read either way.

Further, Hogan relies too heavily on the accuracy of the minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge in his repudiation of Cummings’s recollections. From Hogan’s own editing of those minutes for publication, he should know that they were doctored when expediency dictated, as is shown by duplicate sets of some minutes. For example, the *History of the Church* records that on 26 May 1842 John C. Bennett admitted “licentious conduct toward certain females in Nauvoo” and “cried like a child” before a meeting of the lodge (5:18). The minutes for that meeting, however, describe nothing out of the ordinary. (Ms. Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D. [Under Dispensation] LDS Historical Department Archives).

Hogan further chastises Godfrey for not doing “the requisite basic research and homework” (p. 277) in reviewing the Nauvoo Lodge minutes at the Church Archives, unfairly failing to mention that those minutes were not available to scholars when Godfrey was researching his dissertation in the mid-1960s.

Hogan rambles disorganizedly for the next fifty pages, engaging in extensive irrelevant quotation, speculation, digression, and unsubstantiated conclusion. He accepts uncritically Henry G. Sherwood’s account of the October 1843 Grand Annual Communication of the Illinois Grand Lodge, which suggests that the only reason the Mormon lodges were disenfranchised was prejudice against Mormonism. Such a conclusion ignores the influence of John C. Bennett’s disclosures in the Springfield, Illinois *Sangamo Journal*, one of two major papers in Springfield (8, 15, 22 July 1842), charging the Mormon-dominated Nauvoo Lodge with irregularities, including Joseph Smith’s being made a Master Mason before the Lodge was installed and having sexual intercourse with the wives of other Master Masons. His 1842 *History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842) added fuel to the fire with his description of the Order Lodge, Joseph Smith’s own personal lodge, now known as the Holy Order (participants in endowments) and his charge

that Joseph suspended a member of the lodge for blackballing another — permitted in Masonry.

Next, Hogan explicates why the *Book of Mormon* was not influenced by anti-Masonry, which was rampant in upstate New York in the late 1820s. He defines “secret society” in such a way that Freemasonry falls outside his definition and concludes, therefore, that “the secret society of the Book of Mormon cannot be mistaken as, or construed to be, Freemasonry by anyone other than a totally uninformed person. . . .” Such a statement is bewildering. Consider, for example, Hogan’s quotation from Helaman 6:21–22:

. . . [the Nephites] did enter into their covenants and their oaths, that they would protect and preserve one another in whatever difficult circumstances they should be placed, that they should not suffer for their murders, and their plunderings, and their stealings. And it came to pass that they did have their signs, yea, their secret signs, and their secret words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant, that, whatsoever wickedness his brother should do he should not be injured by his brother, nor by those who did belong to his band.

Can Hogan really tell us that these characteristics could not apply to Freemasonry? To the contrary, they constitute the precise criticisms that anti-Masons were levying against Masonry in western New York in the late 1820s. The best recent scholarly treatment of political anti-Masonry is William Preston Vaughn, *The Anti-Masonic Party in the United States 1826–1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), esp. pp. 16–20.

In this same section of his book, Hogan notes that Hyrum Smith was a member of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112 in Palmyra before the anti-Masonic excitement, and concludes: “Hyrum Smith’s membership in that Lodge does more than anything else to identify and establish both his and the Smith family’s status and standing in Palmyra prior to the announced founding of the Church. The later detractions and im-

pugnations of Pomeroy Tucker and other Palmyra neighbors can be largely questioned or disregarded due to the simple fact of Hyrum Smith’s Masonic membership in his hometown lodge” (p. 288). A few pages later, Hogan contradicts himself: “There are no few sister Grand Lodges which were founded by known scalawags and scamps about whom the less is said the better it is for the implied reputation of the Masonic Order” (p. 299). Whatever the merits of Pomeroy Tucker’s reminiscences of the Smith family in Palmyra, this assertion is silly.

After digressing into “The True Hallmarks of Freemasonry,” Hogan sets forth his theory of how Freemasonry came to Nauvoo: John C. Bennett, without Joseph Smith’s knowledge or consent, induced a few Nauvoo cronies to join him in petitioning nearby Bodley Lodge to recommend that a lodge be founded in Nauvoo. Bodley Lodge demurred because Bennett had been previously expelled from an Ohio lodge. James Adams of Springfield, a close friend of Joseph Smith along with Grand Master Abraham Jonas, then begged Joseph to sanction Masonry in Nauvoo. Reluctantly, Joseph agreed on condition that every Mormon priesthood holder might affiliate. Bennett, disappointed, had to settle for the office of Secretary of the Lodge instead of Worshipful Master.

Unfortunately, Hogan’s analysis, which is speculative to begin with, rests on two suppositions, one doubtful and the other false. First, it is doubtful that Bennett would attempt to establish a lodge in Nauvoo without Joseph Smith’s knowledge or consent. Reed Durham in his 1974 Mormon History Association presidential address, “Is There No Help for the Widow’s Son?” published without his permission in *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 11–16, concluded that Masonry was instituted at Nauvoo “certainly with the approval of the hierarchy of the Church” (p. 12). This conclusion is supported by contemporary diaries and letters which indicate Joseph sincerely believed Masonry to be an apostate

endowment. For example, Joseph Fielding's Nauvoo diary (22 Dec. 1843) states: "Many have joined the Masonic institution, this seems to have been a Stepping Stone or Preparation for something else, the true Origin of Masonry" (Andrew F. Ehat, ed., "The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *BYU Studies*, 19 [Winter 1979]: 145, 147). Heber C. Kimball similarly wrote to Parley P. Pratt on 17 June 1842: "There is a similarity of preast Hood in masonry. Bro. Joseph ses masonry was taken from preasthood but has become degenerated. but menny things are perfect" (Parley P. Pratt Papers, LDS Historical Department Archives).

Second, Hogan's analysis presumes that Bodley Lodge knew that John C. Bennett was an expelled Mason. On page 303, Hogan asserts that Bennett had been expelled from Pickaway Lodge No. 23, Circleville, Pickaway County, Ohio. Yet Hogan himself obtained the proof that Bennett was *not* an expelled Mason by quoting the minutes of the Pickaway Lodge in Chapter 15 of his unpublished manuscript "Mormonism and Freemasonry on the Midwest Frontier" (n.d., copy in LDS Historical Department Library). He concludes there: "In all fairness to Bennett, it appears he had some justification to claim before Nauvoo Lodge that his status with Pickaway Lodge No. 23 was not clear to him" (p. 8).

Hogan's unqualified refusal to give any credence to Bennett has deprived him of important insights into the workings at Nauvoo. In his introduction to *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.*, Hogan speculates as to why two sets of minutes exist for the lodge yet ignores Bennett's 15 July 1842 letter to the *Sangamo Journal* in which Bennett explained why there were up to four copies of the minutes. The day is long past when a scholar of Mormonism can summarily disregard John C. Bennett.

Hogan concludes his treatise with a section entitled "The Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony." After noting that an analysis of the similarities between the

ceremonies of the two institutions is impossible because the details are secret (obviously untrue—the rites of each are readily accessible), he quotes from *Anderson's Constitutions*, the foundation work of Freemasonry (London: Printed for William Hunter and John Senex at the *Globe*, 1723):

According to Dr. Anderson, Freemasonry claims descent from Adam and the responsibility of conveying the teachings he received from God in the Garden of Eden. On the other hand, Mormonism claims that its revelations from God include the design of the temple and its temple ceremonies.

Confronted by these two premises, there should be no surprise to find a similarity or even identity between certain signs, tokens, oaths, costuming, paraphernalia, phraseology, etc., in some of the ceremonies practiced by each of these two universal institutions. (p. 321)

Even though Hogan's reluctance to discuss details of either ceremony may be appropriate, his explanation for the similarities is both unscholarly and unsound. In citing the legendary history of Freemasonry from *Anderson's Constitutions* with apparent approval, Hogan engages in what must be considered at best gross disregard of fact. No serious Masonic scholar today contends that Freemasonry had its beginnings with either Adam or Solomon's Temple. For example, in his *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (1902), Albert G. Mackey notes that "no Masonic writer would now venture to quote Anderson as authority for the history of the Order anterior to the eighteenth century" (p. 68). The facts point to a beginning of Freemasonry no earlier than the seventeenth century. The standard scholarly treatment is Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones *The Genesis of Freemasonry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949). The authors, on the faculty of the University of Sheffield, were Masons and members of the Quatator Coronati Lodge, the premier lodge of Masonic research.

In *The Involvement*, Hogan ventures into even deeper speculation, primarily about Abraham Jonas and James Adams,

the Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master of the Illinois Grand Lodge in the early 1840s. Hogan assures us that James Adams was motivated by political ambitions to secretly join the Mormons; that he was “unquestionably” the driving force behind the organization of the second Grand Lodge of Illinois, and that he expected to be elected Grand Master — all of which Hogan fails to substantiate. Hogan further assures us that Abraham Jonas was not interested in being Grand Master because he’d already been Grand Master in Kentucky, that he conspired with Adams to manipulate Joseph Smith and the Mormons to elect Jonas to the Illinois legislature (even though Jonas had already served four terms in the Kentucky legislature), and that the Mormons, in return, confronted Jonas with “the Prophet’s demands,” specifically that all Mormons could join the craft. (Masonry requires that the membership be very selective.) Again, this is pure speculation, as are the motives Hogan imputes to George Miller, John D. Parker, and Lucius Scovil. Hogan says: “One surmises from the Minutes that Miller was annoyed by the subsequent manipulations of Jonas as dictated by the Prophet. Nevertheless, he played his assigned part. Parker was unquestionably a most willing cat’s-paw; he made no appearance in Nauvoo Lodge for several months. Scovil may not have been informed as to what was planned since he was not involved.” These three were the first Worshipful Master, Senior Warden, and Junior Warden, respectively, of Nauvoo Lodge. Hogan’s reconstruction is all speculation. The minutes are silent. After creating his scenario, Hogan notes: “Obviously I am forced to present and discuss the known documented facts, and weigh the credible probabilities or possibilities which are intimated or implied by the available

historical record” (p. 28). These “known documented facts” and “credible probabilities” are strikingly absent. The majority of his ten footnotes reference other papers of his own.

Even so, there are two areas in which Hogan deserves credit for contributing to the question of Mormonism and Freemasonry. He has been responsible for getting into print some formerly unpublished manuscripts, most notably two versions of the minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge. Unfortunately, Hogan only published these *Official Minutes* up to 6 May 1842, while they continue into 1846. Similarly, perhaps the most valuable aspect of *The Illinois Episode* is Hogan’s verbatim inclusion of the previously unpublished Henry G. Sherwood statement noted above.

Second, a Mason himself, Hogan offers insights into the practical workings of the craft. For example, he offers in *The Illinois Episode* background on the practice of making Masons at Sight (a rare honor, bestowed upon Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, which permits the conferring of the first three degrees without waiting for the initiate to obtain proficiency in the preceding degree — usually at least a month), insight into the workings of presenting a petition, and the justifiable excuses for the absence of a Grand Master at his Grand Annual Communication.

In conclusion, if you are interested in a discussion of anti-Masonry in the Book of Mormon or an accounting for the similarities in the sacred rites of the Mormons and Masons, you will be disappointed by Hogan’s work. Similarly, if you hope for a readable, scholarly overview of Mormon Freemasonry at Nauvoo, you will again be disappointed. Hogan promises much but delivers little. A definitive study on the subject of Freemasonry and Mormonism has yet to be written.

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