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# The Apocalypse of Adam

Stephen E. Robinson

In 1945 a collection of thirteen leather-bound volumes, containing fifty-three separate compositions, was discovered in the vicinity of the small town of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Since that time this collection has generally been referred to as the Nag Hammadi Library. These manuscripts, written in Coptic, the language of Egypt during the first centuries of the Christian era, are the literary remains of a group of Egyptian Christians who practiced a form of Christianity called Gnosticism. While Gnosticism was not confined to Egypt, it was there that the dry climate and a healthy distance from the watchful eyes of later orthodoxy worked together to preserve this remarkable collection of Gnostic scriptures.

In contrast to the Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered two years later, there has been relatively little excitement over the Nag Hammadi find. Until recently, with the exception of the Gospels of Thomas and Philip, the Nag Hammadi materials had remained inaccessible and relatively unknown even to students of early Christianity. This is due partly to unsettled political conditions in the Near East which have made it difficult to obtain authoritative copies of the manuscripts, but it is equally a result of the scarcity of scholars in New Testament and early Church history who read Coptic confidently. Only in the last few years have authoritative texts for many of the documents become available and the value of Coptic for primary research in early Christian literature and the New Testament been recognized. Thus, thirty years after their discovery, the Nag Hammadi documents are gradually receiving the attention they deserve, although most are still not available in English. In the future these documents will prove to be of increasing importance to biblical scholars and historians in general, and to LDS scholars in particular.

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An essay written for the Hugh Nibley festschrift, "Tinkling Cymbals," ed. John W. Welch, assembled on the occasion of Dr. Nibley's retirement. Copies of all festschrift essays are on file in casual publication in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

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The Nag Hammadi Library is important to students of early Christian literature primarily because it represents an early type of Christianity completely unlike what has long been called "orthodoxy." Walter Bauer demonstrated long ago that the traditional picture of Christian history is one from which the victorious fourth century Church carefully erased all traces of its earlier competition.<sup>1</sup> Actually, in the first three centuries there were several brands of Christianity all competing for the title of "orthodoxy." These were often as large as, if not larger than, the Universal Church, and equally powerful and influential. The rediscovery of these varieties of Christianity and their extraordinary doctrines is forcing scholars to take another look at the nature of earliest Christianity.

Although Gnosticism has long been known to scholars in a less complete form through the writings of the Church Fathers and through an occasional manuscript, it has usually been treated as a form of aberrant Christianity having only secondary significance. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library has reemphasized the fact that Gnosticism was not merely the "heretic fringe" of the Universal Church, but that in large areas of the ancient world Gnosticism *was* the Church.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the Nag Hammadi texts to LDS scholars is that they not only witness an early Christianity significantly different from the orthodox tradition, but that they witness the existence of certain peculiar doctrines and bits of tradition in very early Christianity that in modern times are found almost exclusively among the Mormons. The following few examples will demonstrate some of these teachings and traditions.

The term Gnostic comes from the Greek word for knowledge (*gnosis*). Fundamental to Gnosticism was the belief that the principle of knowledge is the principle of salvation and that it is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance.<sup>3</sup> Personal revelation was crucial. The knowledge necessary for salvation consisted, according to many Gnostic writings, of higher teachings and ordinances taught by Jesus and his disciples and transmitted in oral tra-

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

<sup>2</sup>It should be understood, however, that Gnosticism is itself only a general term used to identify a variety of sects which shared the same general approach to religion, but which did not necessarily agree on specific tenets. The term Protestantism is used in much the same way to denote an approach to Christianity which differs from that of Catholicism.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968), p. 297; see also Doctrine and Covenants 131:6.



ditions which were most often too secret and sacred to be written down or to be discussed with any who were not worthy of them. On those occasions when they were written down, they appear to have been closely held and committed to writing only in an effort to preserve them for future generations. Although orthodox Christianity has emphatically denied that any such esoteric teachings ever existed, Gnosticism insisted not only that they were an important part of earliest Christianity, but also that they were the *most* important part.

Quite often this secret teaching included a knowledge of certain passwords, signs, and seals that made it possible for the Gnostic to escape from the earth, to pass by angelic beings who barred the way, and to return to God. This was a literal return, for the Gnostics believed in the preexistence of man and even in his coeternality with God. The beautiful Gnostic "Hymn of the Pearl" portrays man as a spirit child of his Heavenly Father who lived as a prince in the palace of the Heavenly King before descending to the earth.<sup>4</sup>

Gnosticism frequently divides mankind into three categories: pneumatics, who are spiritual; hylics, who are not; and psychics, who are a little of both. Although psychics can be saved, usually it is only the pneumatics who can be saved in the highest degree of glory.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Gnostic Gospel of Philip, the highest ordinance of Christianity is eternal marriage.<sup>6</sup> This ordinance must be performed in this life, and the "bridal chamber" where it is performed is called the holy of holies. We read from the Gospel of Philip 117:24-25, "But the holy of the holy ones is the bridal chamber," from 118:17-20, "But the woman is united to her husband in the bridal chamber. But those who have united in the bridal chamber will no longer be separated," and from 134:4-8, "If anyone becomes a son of the bridal chamber, he will receive the light. If anyone does not receive it while he is in this world, he will not receive it in the other place." There is also mention made of heavenly garments and names which must never be spoken by those who know them.<sup>7</sup> Gnosticism knows a married Christ, or at least

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<sup>4</sup>Albertus Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp. 120-25.

<sup>5</sup>*On the Origin of the World* (CG II,5) pl. 125-6. The "CG" in this and subsequent citations shows the text to be part of the Nag Hammadi Coptic Gnostic Library now located in Cairo (*Cairensis Gnosticus*). The Roman numeral is the codex number, and subsequent Arabic numerals indicate treatise, page, and line.

<sup>6</sup>See Abraham 3:22.

<sup>7</sup>*The Gospel of Philip* (CG II,3), 117:24-25, 118:17-29, 134:4-8, 124:6-8, 105:21-22, 102:10-12. (R. McL. Wilson, trans., *The Gospel of Philip* [London: Mowbray & Co., 1962]).



a Christ with a sexual nature, as opposed to the asexual Christ of orthodoxy.<sup>8</sup> The apostles also are married, and in the Second Book of Jeu the resurrected Jesus has them form a circle around an altar with their wives at their left in order to teach them the true mysteries.<sup>9</sup> The Marcionites, a Gnostic sect, practiced a form of vicarious baptism for the dead, an ordinance that has since dropped out of orthodoxy although it is attested in the New Testament.<sup>10</sup>

In most forms of Gnosticism the secret oral tradition mentioned above is often associated with accounts of the creation of the world, the experiences of Adam and Eve in the Garden, and the fall of man. It is usually in this creation setting or in a temple or on a mountaintop<sup>11</sup> that Gnosticism places the revelation of the esoteric mysteries and the knowledge needed to thwart the archontic powers and return to God. Gnosticism is primarily concerned with the questions, Who am I? Where am I from? and What is my destiny? That the answers to these questions are often associated with the creation, the Garden, and the fall of man is probably due to the Gnostic presupposition that the end of all things is to be found in their beginning.<sup>12</sup> Of those documents which manifest this concern, the Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Adam is perhaps the prime example.

#### SUMMARY OF THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

The Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, 5) purports to record the revelation which Adam taught to his son Seth. According to the text, Adam first explains to Seth that after being created out of the earth, he and Eve possessed in unity a great glory, that Eve taught him a word of knowledge of the Eternal God, and as a result of this they were like the great eternal angels and were higher than the evil Creator God who made them. It is then told how the Creator God divided them into two aeons,<sup>13</sup> apparently an allusion to the

<sup>8</sup>*The Gospel of Philip* (CG II,3), 107:8-9, 111:32-37. Also, *The Gospel of Thomas* (CG II,2), 91:25-28).

<sup>9</sup>Carl Schmidt and Walter Till, *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, I 303, 1-11 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962).

<sup>10</sup>See Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, v. 10 and *De resurrectione carnis*, xlvi; see also 1 Corinthians 15:29 and Hugh Nibley, "Baptism for the Dead in the Ancient Times," in *Improvement Era*, 51-52 (December 1948-April 1949).

<sup>11</sup>For mountains as temples see Hugh Nibley, *What is a Temple? The Idea of the Temple in History* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1968), p. 231.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. *The Gospel of Thomas* (CG II,2) 84:9-18.

<sup>13</sup>An aeon in a gnostic context is "one of the group of eternal beings that together form the fulness of the supreme being from whom they emanate and between whom and the world they are intermediaries" (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary* [unabridged], s.v. "aeon.")



myth of the androgynous creation of Adam. Thus separated, their original glory and first knowledge leave them and enter into their seed to be manifest in future generations through the lineage of Seth. Seth himself is named after the great Savior figure who will be the manifestation of the lost knowledge and glory of Adam and Eve in some future generation. Adam and Eve, having lost their original glory and knowledge in the fall, now learn as men about dead things. They also now recognize the evil Creator God, who is roughly equivalent in Gnosticism to the Satan of Christianity.

Adam then falls into a sleep during which three men come to him whom he does not recognize, because they are not from the Creator God, but presumably from the Great Eternal God. Saying "Adam, arise from the sleep of death . . ." they restore some of Adam's knowledge and tell him about the Savior/Illuminator who will eventually be born from his and Eve's seed.

When Adam and Eve hear these things they give a sigh in their hearts which is overheard by the evil Creator God. He then appears before them and insists that he is their god, the god who made them. He somehow causes Adam to lust after Eve (the text is broken here) and there is a second fall.

Adam now reveals to Seth the things that the three men taught him, which consist of a vision of the future and of the appearance of the Savior/Illuminator. Adam prophesies that the Creator God will bring the Flood upon the world and destroy all men in order to kill the seed of Seth into whom the original knowledge and glory of Adam have entered.

But angels from the Great Eternal God come on clouds and, plucking the seed of Seth from the flood, transport them to the place of the spirit of life. The Creator God has in the meantime made a covenant with Noah and his sons,<sup>14</sup> promising to save them and give them kingship over all the earth if they will bear no seed of those who will not worship him. When the seed of Seth reappears, Noah is accused by the Creator God of breaking this covenant, which Noah denies. The seed of Seth then go into a land by themselves and establish a utopian community where there is no evil for 600 years, where angels of the Great Eternal God dwell with them, and where they are called by "the Name."

Noah then divides the earth among his sons and charges his posterity to serve the Creator God in fear and slavery. But from the seed of Ham and Japheth 400,000 men join themselves with the

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<sup>14</sup>See Genesis 9:9-17.



seed of Seth. The remainder of the seed of Ham and Japheth form twelve kingdoms and serve their god Sakla, the Creator God. Inevitably friction arises between the twelve kingdoms on the one hand and the seed of Seth with their 400,000 converts on the other. To vindicate his power in the eyes of the twelve kingdoms the Creator God sends some of his angels to rain fire, sulphur, and asphalt upon the seed of Seth. But again, the Great Eternal God sends his angels Abrasax, Sablo, and Gamaliel in clouds of light to descend upon the seed of Seth, lift them out of the fire, and take them away.

Some time after this the Illuminator of knowledge himself appears in order to leave for himself fruit-bearing trees (i.e., men who have the gnosis) and to redeem their souls from death. This is the Savior promised to Adam and Eve. He performs great signs and wonders and mocks the powers of the Creator God. Because the origin and power of the Illuminator is something that the Creator God and his angels cannot explain, they "punish his flesh." Nevertheless, they use "the Name" in error, and ask, "Where did it come from?" In answer to this question the twelve kingdoms of Ham and Japheth attempt to explain in short enigmatic statements how he was conceived, born, nourished and thus "came to the water." These statements follow the pattern of the first which is, in part:

He was from . . . a spirit . . . to heaven. He was nourished in the heavens. He received the glory and the power of the one who is there. He came to the bosom or womb of his mother. And thus he came to the water.

After the twelve kingdoms, a thirteenth adds its account. Then finally the fourteenth, the generation without a king, gives the correct answer which is

God chose him from all the aeons. He caused a gnosis of the undefiled one of truth to be in him. She said: "He came from a foreign atmosphere (*aer*). From a great aeon the great Illuminator came forth. He makes the generation of those men whom he has chosen for himself to shine, so that they shine upon the whole aeon."

A great conflict follows between the seed of Seth, here referred to as "those who will receive his name upon the water" and the thirteen kingdoms. Finally the peoples cry out that the seed of Seth is truly blessed and that they themselves are in error, that they have perverted the truth and will die as a result.



In answer to this mass confession of the kingdoms, a voice is heard (a *bath kol*) addressed to the three aeons Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous, who are over the holy baptism, condemning them for persecuting the seed of Seth, for fighting against the truth, and for polluting the waters of life in order to serve the Creator God. The voice then praises the seed of Seth (Gnostics) and assures them of their reward which they have earned by keeping the words they received and by *not* writing them down. The voice further declares that the truth will be borne through the generations by angelic beings and that the words of truth will be upon a high mountain upon a rock of truth and that those who know the Great Eternal God know all things.

In the conclusion of the document, which follows the proclamation of the heavenly voice, we are told that Seth passed these revelations on to his posterity. We are further informed that the secret gnosis is the holy baptism which is administered by the seed of Seth. Appended are the three names Jesseus, Mazareus, and Jessedekeus.

#### CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Apocalypse of Adam is not, strictly speaking, an apocalypse, since it is only indirectly an account of the revelation to Adam. Rather, it is an account of Adam's final instructions to his son Seth. Since the 700th year (64:4) should be understood as the 700th year of Seth's life, it is also, according to the Septuagint chronology, the last year of Adam's life. This would indicate that the document is not an apocalypse, but rather a testament in the pattern of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where the fathers also call their sons together just before their deaths for a last word of instruction and exhortation.<sup>15</sup>

The date of at least the major portions of the Apocalypse of Adam is very early. This is attested by the noticeable lack of an elaborate cosmogonic myth like those of demonstrably later Gnostic systems. The emanation of the archons, the fall of Sophia, and other characteristic elements of a more developed Gnosticism do not appear in the Apocalypse of Adam. It was the tendency of later Gnostic systems to continually refine the details of the creation and operation of the world in an effort to put distance between the highest God, the Absolute Good, and the actual created physical world, in which evil is undeniable. In the Apocalypse of Adam,

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<sup>15</sup>Cf. The Testament of Levi 1:1-2.



however, the shift from a purely mythological to a philosophical cosmogony has not yet taken place, and we do not find any such philosophical abstractions as *Sophia*, *Nous*, *Sige*, or *Ennoia*. The Apocalypse of Adam is consistently anthropomorphic and literal, showing nothing of the philosophical veneer of a more entangled Gnosticism.<sup>16</sup> The only exceptions to this occur in the excursus on the fourteen kingdoms which, as Hans-Martin Schenke and Charles Hedrick have suggested, may be an addition to the original text.<sup>17</sup> Attempts to date the document precisely have been only partially successful. Jean Doresse has suggested that the Gospel of the Egyptians is to a degree dependent upon the Apocalypse of Adam.<sup>18</sup> If this is correct, the Apocalypse of Adam is at least earlier than the Gospel of the Egyptians, which is usually dated before the third century A. D.

The text shows unmistakable signs of dependence on a tradition sympathetic to that of the Old Testament, and there is in all probability a Jewish source behind the Apocalypse of Adam. Evidence of this can be found in the testamental form of the document, the Jewish angelology, the myth of the androgynous creation of Adam and Eve, the heavenly voice (*bath kol*), the importance placed on "the Name," and the fact that in this text Adam and Eve commit a real sin and experience a real fall. Likewise the account of the destruction of the Sethian city in 75:9-11 almost certainly draws upon the Old Testament account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Josephus, a first century Jew, is already familiar with the tradition found in our text of Sethians who live apart in their own land, believe that the earth will be destroyed by water and fire, and who write their knowledge on pillars of stone.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to these Jewish elements, the Apocalypse of Adam does not contain any elements which are necessarily Christian. All of the apparent Christian references can easily be explained from

<sup>16</sup>Cf., for example, Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Book 1, and The Apocryphon of John (CG II,1).

<sup>17</sup>Charles Hedrick, "The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source Analysis," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature*, 108 (1972): 586; and Hans-Martin Schenke, "Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung der Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften," *Koptologische Studien in der DDR* (Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1965), pp. 124-35.

<sup>18</sup>John Doresse, "Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible ou l'Evangile des Egyptiens II: Commentaire," *JA* 256 (1968):370-76.

<sup>19</sup>Genesis 19:24-28; see also PHEME PERKINS, "Apocalyptic Schematization in the Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature* 108 (1972):593.

<sup>20</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.2.3.



pre-Christian or non-Christian sources. Hellenistic mystery religions had many revealer/redeemer figures who taught their chosen followers the mysteries of salvation. Pre-Christian Judaism had a doctrine of a suffering Messiah as Jeremias has shown,<sup>21</sup> and thus George MacRae suggests that the section from the Apocalypse of Adam that deals with the suffering Illuminator is in essence a midrash on Isaiah 53.<sup>22</sup> If this is true, the suffering-Messiah passage does not establish a Christian origin for the document, but rather strengthens the contention that it rests on a Jewish *vorlage*. The same result obtains in respect to the apparent reference to baptism. The refrain of the thirteen kingdoms "and thus he came to the water," is, to begin with, something of a riddle. Schenke goes back to an older Egyptian meaning for MOOY to get the translation "and thus he came into appearance," making the refrain refer to an epiphany.<sup>23</sup> While this makes the phrase understandable, it relies on a meaning for MOOY which is not attested in Coptic. It is more likely that "and thus he came to the water" refers to the baptism of the gnosis (85:24-25) and would therefore have the sense of "and thus he came (at baptism) to knowledge and power." Since initiatory baptism was not an exclusively Christian rite, there is no reason to insist that these passages were written by a Christian or that they refer to the baptism of Jesus. In the final analysis, however, the conviction that the Apocalypse of Adam is pre-Christian is based on an argument from silence, and MacRae cautions us with the reminder that while *The Concept of Our Great Power* (CG VI,4) also contains no single indisputably Christian passage, the combined weight of its allusions and parallels makes its Christian origin certain. In summary, it can be fairly stated that the Apocalypse of Adam is early, that it reflects a Jewish *vorlage*, and that it may be an example of pre-Christian Gnosticism.

#### THE APOCALYPSE IRANIAN?

Alexander Böhlig has suggested more specifically that the Apocalypse of Adam may be an example of pre-Christian Gnosticism under the influence of Iranian religion.<sup>24</sup> In evidence he offers

<sup>21</sup>Walter Zimmerli and Joachim Jeremias, *The Servant of God*, Studies in Biblical Theology, no. 20, (London: SCM Press, 1957), pp. 57ff.

<sup>22</sup>George MacRae, "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," *The Heythrop Journal* 6 (1965):33.

<sup>23</sup>Hans-Martin Schenke, "Gegenwärtigen Stand," p. 133 (from *Worterbuch*, II, 52/53 [D]).

<sup>24</sup>Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963), p. 90.



some Iranian parallels to the Apocalypse of Adam. For example, Böhlig notes that the three men who come to Adam at 65:26 correspond to the three Uthras in the eleventh book of the Mandaean *Ginza*. The descent of holy angels and the polluting of holy waters are also found in the same book of the *Ginza*. Surely the fact that all three of these motifs from the Apocalypse of Adam are found in the same book of the *Ginza* is striking and must be given due consideration. But at the same time, it remains that all three of these motifs have Jewish and Hellenistic parallels as well. As Böhlig himself points out, it is likely that the reference to the three men in 65:26 is ultimately derived from the three angels who appear to Abraham in Genesis 18:1ff. PHEME PERKINS has drawn attention to a similar passage in *The Death of Adam*, vv. 15-22, where Eve sees three men enthrone Adam after his death.<sup>25</sup> The three descending angels, Abrasax, Sablo, and Gamaliel are also found in the Gospel of the Egyptians. Although they are not accused of polluting the waters, the aeons Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous are specifically said to be over the living waters in Codex Brucianus.<sup>26</sup>

The scheme employed in the Apocalypse of Adam of three world ages separated by flood and fire also appears typically Iranian. But first century Judaism was already familiar with the same idea, even though it may ultimately have been borrowed. Josephus speaks of the Sethians setting their knowledge up on pillars of brick and stone that would survive these twin cataclysms.<sup>27</sup>

Böhlig has further suggested that the formulas of kingdoms seven, eight, ten, and eleven in the excursus on the fourteen kingdoms refer explicitly to the birth of the savior/illuminator Mithra. However, all fourteen formulas are vague at best, and while it is true that some of them contain elements identified with Mithra, these elements are also found in connection with a number of other Hellenistic saviors. If the allusions were more specific we would probably find that the statements of the thirteen kingdoms represent various "counterfeit" saviors from the Hellenistic mystery religions, including Mithraism, while that of the fourteenth, the generation without a king, represents the "true" understanding of the Savior professed by the Gnostics who produced the Apocalypse

<sup>25</sup>PHEME PERKINS, "Apocalyptic Schematization," p. 594; see also Michael Stone, "The Death of Adam—An Armenian Adam Book," *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966):283-91.

<sup>26</sup>Codex Brucianus, Baynes Papyrus LXI 18-21.

<sup>27</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.2.3.



of Adam. In any event, it is unlikely that all or most of them refer to Mithra, since Mithra himself is never pictured as a suffering Savior as is the Illuminator in this text.

It has also been suggested that the fourteen kingdoms may be paralleled in Iranian religion by the fourteen light aeons of Mani.<sup>28</sup> But it seems more probable that we are presented here with a contrast of thirteen false kingdoms against the one true generation,<sup>29</sup> since we are specifically told in 75:18-22 that the generations of the powers use the name, whatever it may be, erroneously.

While there are solid Iranian parallels to the Apocalypse of Adam, it may be that the traditions found in the Apocalypse are just as likely to have their antecedents in Jewish and Hellenistic literature and ideas. But, while it may be unnecessary to draw on Iranian religion for ideas that are already found in the Mediterranean world, the fact that parallels can legitimately be called up from both the East and the West suggests that the mythical and religious preconditions of Gnosticism were more ubiquitous in the ancient world than is generally thought.

#### THE APOCALYPSE AND THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS

To Latter-day Saints, interest in the Apocalypse of Adam lies particularly in the following parallels to LDS religion. The document is a testament which Adam in the last year of his life leaves to his righteous posterity, the seed of Seth. Adam says that he and Eve were originally created with glory and knowledge. Eve brings knowledge to Adam and as a result "we were as the great eternal angels," (64:14-16). The Creator God (Satan) separates them, thus bringing about a fall. Their original knowledge and glory leave them, and they become mortal. Now they recognize the Creator God. Adam falls into a sleep during which three men come to him and say "Arise, Adam" (66:1-2).<sup>30</sup> They then instruct Adam and Eve and promise them that a Savior shall come into the world who shall suffer in the flesh. The content of their revelation to Adam consists of a vision of world history, which when combined

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<sup>28</sup>Kephalia, 10.42ff.

<sup>29</sup>There are also thirteen aeons in the Pistis Sophia. See G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia* (London: John Watkins, 1947), p. 156ff. It should be noted here that if we are correct in interpreting the formulas of the thirteen kingdoms as representing inaccurate or false utterances, then the formula of the ninth kingdom which may be a reference to the fall of Sophia, may also be the polemic of one Gnostic sect against another.

<sup>30</sup>The "awakening of Adam" occurs elsewhere. See The Apocryphon of John 70:20-21 and 79:4-25.



with what Adam has already told Seth, makes the Apocalypse of Adam an account of this world from the creation to the consummation, with emphasis on the role and fate of the seed of Seth. The climax of world history is the coming of the Savior/Illuminator.

The power of the gnosis is bound up with "the Name" at three points in the text (72:5-7, 77:20, and 83:6), although we are never told what the name is. The Gnostics will be rewarded for *not* writing down the words of the secret knowledge for they are to remain oral and secret (85:5-6). In the epilogue to the Apocalypse all of this is placed in a ritual setting, and the secret gnosis of Adam is identified with a ritual baptism or anointing (85:22-28).

Much of this has a familiar ring due to similar constructs in the book of Moses, the Book of Mormon, and LDS ritual. But easily the most striking parallel is to the account of Adam-ondi-Ahman in D&C 107:41-57. Here we are told that three years before his death Adam called his righteous posterity to him to receive his final blessing; in the Apocalypse of Adam this occurs in the last year of Adam's life. In D&C 107:53, all of the patriarchs mentioned by name are of the seed of Seth; in the Apocalypse the revelation is given to Seth and is about his seed. In D&C 107:42 Seth is told by his father that "his seed should be the chosen of the Lord and that they should be preserved unto the end of the earth"; in the Apocalypse, the glory of Adam passes into the seed of Seth, they are designated as the seed through whom the Savior will come, and their miraculous preservation from the attacks of the Evil One is foretold. In the Apocalypse there is an appearance of three angels; in D&C 107:54 it is the Lord himself who appears. In the Apocalypse the history of the world to the final consummation is portrayed; in D&C 107:56 Adam is said to have "predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation."

A final caveat to this study must recognize, however, that parallels of themselves are neutral; they prove nothing. While it is hoped that Latter-day Saints will become excited and enthusiastic about such parallels as can be found between ancient literature and the beliefs of the Church, it is even more to be hoped that this enthusiasm will lead to an increased participation by Latter-day Saints in the competent study of this literature for its own sake and not merely for the sake of those parallels.



# TEXT

## Plate 64

1. The Apocalypse of Adam
2. The revelation which Adam
3. taught his son Seth in
4. the seven hundredth year,  
saying:
5. "Listen to my words my
6. son Seth. When God
7. had created me from
8. the earth along with Eve  
your mother
9. I walked about with her in a
10. glory which she had seen from
11. the aeon we were from.
12. She taught me a word
13. of knowledge of the
14. eternal god. And we were as
15. the great eternal angels.
16. For we were higher than
17. the god who made us and
18. the powers with him whom
19. we did not know.
20. Then the god, the ruler
21. of the archons and the power
22. separated us in wrath.
23. Then we became two aeons.
24. And the glory that was in
25. our heart left us,
26. me and your mother Eve
27. along with the first knowledge
28. that breathed in us. And
29. it fled from us
30. and went into
- 31.
32. which did not come

## Plate 65

1. forth from this aeon which
2. we were from, I
3. and Eve your mother, but
4. it went into the seed of
5. great aeons. For this reason
6. I myself have called you
7. by the name of that man
8. who is the seed of the  
great generation
9. or from whom it comes. After
10. those days, the eternal
11. knowledge of the god
12. of truth was far from
13. me and your mother Eve.
14. From that time on we
15. were taught about dead
16. works like men. Then
17. we recognized the god who
18. had created us. For we  
were not
19. strangers to his power and
20. we served him in
21. fear and bondage. And after
22. these things we were
23. darkened in our heart.
24. And I was sleeping in the
25. thought of my heart.
26. And I saw three
27. men before me
28. whose likeness I was
29. not able to recognize because
30. they were not from the powers
31. of the god who made
32. us. They surpassed
- 33.
- 34.



Plate 66

1. said to me: "Arise,
2. Adam, from the sleep
3. of death and hear
4. concerning the aeon and  
the seed
5. of that man, the one to
6. whom life has come, the one
7. who came from you and
8. from Eve your wife."
9. Then, as I listened to  
these words
10. from those great men,
11. who stood
12. before me, then we gave a
13. sigh in our heart, me and
14. Eve and the Lord God
15. who created us stood
16. before us. He said
17. to us "Adam, why have
18. you sighed in your heart?
19. Don't you know that I
20. am the god that created
21. you? And I breathed into
22. you a spirit of life,
23. a living soul." Then
24. there was a darkness upon our
25. eyes. Then the god who
26. created us created
27. from him
28. I am
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

Plate 67

1. in my thought and
2. my heart I knew
3. a sweet desire
4. for your mother. Then
5. the bloom of our
6. eternal knowledge
7. was lost to us.
8. And weakness
9. plagued us.
10. For this reason the days
11. of our life became few.
12. And I realized that
13. I was under the power
14. of death. And now
15. my son Seth I will
16. reveal to you those things
17. which were revealed to me
18. by those men
19. whom I saw
20. at first
21. before me:
22. "After I complete
23. the times
24. of this generation,
25. and the years
26. of this generation
27. are gone
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.



Plate 68

(Plate 68 is blank.)

Plate 69

- 1.
2. For torrents of rain
3. from God the Almighty
4. shall be raised up
5. that he might
6. destroy all flesh from
7. God the Almighty that
8. he might destroy
9. all flesh \* from the earth
10. by means of that which was
11. round about them  
together with
12. some of the seed of
13. those men into whom
14. has passed the life of
15. the knowledge which
16. came from Eve
17. your mother. For they were
18. strangers to him.
19. After these things
20. great angels will come
21. on high clouds.
22. They will take those
23. men to the place
24. where the spirit
25. of life is
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.

---

\* dittography



Plate 70

- 1.
2.               which are there
3.               from heaven
4. to the earth and the entire
5. multitude of flesh will be
6. left behind in the water. Then
7. God will rest from
8. his wrath and he will put
9. his power upon the waters
10. and he will spare Noah
- and his sons
11. and their wives by means
- of the
12. ark together with the animals
13. which he allowed them and
14. the birds of heaven which he
15. called and released
16. on the earth. And God
17. will say to Noah—he
18. whom the generations will
19. call Deucalion: "Behold
20. I have watched over you in
- the ark
21. together with your wife
- and your
22. sons and their wives,
- with their
23. animals and the birds of
24. heaven which you called
25.     and released on the earth .\*

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\* cf. 1. 14-16 above.

Plate 71

1. Because of this I will give
- the earth to you,
2. to you and your sons. In
3. royalty you will rule
- over it, you
4. and your sons. And none of
5. that seed will come from you
6. of those men from another
7. glory who will not stand
8. before me. Then they will
9. be like the cloud of the
10. great light. Those men
11. will come who were
12. cast forth from the knowledge
13. of the great aeons and
14. angels. They will stand
15. before Noah and the aeons.
16. And god will say to
17. Noah: "Why have you
18. departed from what I
- told you?"
19. You have created another
- generation that
20. you might scorn my
- power." Then
21. Noah will say: "I will
22. testify in the presence of your
23. might that the generation of
24. these men came neither from
25. me nor from



Plate 72

1. the knowledge
2. those men
3. and he will bring them into  
their proper land
4. and he will build them
5. a holy dwelling place and
6. they will be called by that
7. name and they will dwell there
8. six hundred years in an
9. incorruptible knowledge.
10. And angels of the great light
11. will dwell with them.
12. Nothing abominable shall
13. dwell in their heart
14. only the knowledge of God.
15. Then Noah will divide the
16. whole earth between his sons
17. Ham and Japheth and Shem.
18. He will say to them:  
"My sons,
19. hear my words. Behold, I have
20. divided the earth between  
you. But
21. serve him in fear and
22. bondage all the days
23. of your life. Let not
24. your seed depart from the face
25. of God the Almighty
26. I and your
- 27.

Plate 73

1. son of Noah: "The
2. seed will be pleasing  
before you
3. and before your power.
4. Seal it in your sharp
5. hand with fear and
6. commandment, that
7. all the seed which came  
from me
8. will not turn away from you
9. and God the Almighty
10. but they will serve
11. in humility and
12. fear of their knowledge."
13. Then others will come forth
14. from the seed of Ham and
15. Japheth. Four hundred  
thousand
16. men will go and enter
17. into another land and they  
will dwell
18. with those men who
19. were from the great
20. eternal knowledge because
21. the shadow of their power will
22. protect those who have dwelt
23. among them from every  
evil thing
24. and from every abominable  
desire.
25. Then the seed of Ham and
26. Japheth will form twelve
27. kingdoms and the
28. Seed will enter into
29. another people
- 30.
31. for



Plate 74

1.           who are dead
2.       the           great
3. aeons of incorruptibility.
4. And they will go to Sakla
5. their God. They will enter
6. into the powers, accusing
7.       the great
8. men who are in their
9. power. They will say to Sakla
10. "What is the power of
11.       these men
12. who stood before you,
13. those who were taken
14. away from
15. the seed of Ham and Japheth
16. who will amount to
17. 400,000 men?
18. They were received into
19. another aeon
20. from which they came and
21. they have turned away from
22. all the glory of
23. your power and the rule
24. of your hand,
25. because the seed of Noah
26. through
27. his son has complied with your
28. every wish, and also all
29. the powers
30. in the aeons over which your
31. power rules. But neither those
32. men nor those who
33. dwell in their glory
34. have done what you want.
35. But they have turned your
36. whole multitude." Then
37. the God
38. of the aeons will give them
39. some of
40. those who serve him
41. 29.
42. they will come upon that land

Plate 75

1. where the great men
2. will be, those who
3. neither have been defiled nor
4. will be defiled by any lust
5. because their soul was not
6. in a defiled hand but it
7. was from a great command-
8.       ment
9. of an eternal angel.
10. The fire and sulphur and
11. asphalt will be cast upon
12. those men and
13. fire and a mist will come upon
14. those aeons and the eyes
15. of the powers
16. of the Illuminators will
17. be darkened.
18. And the aeons will not see
19. them in those days.
20. And great clouds of light
21. will descend and
22. other clouds of light from the
23. great aeons will come down
24. upon them. And Abrasax,
25. Sablo, and Gamaliel will
26. descend and lift those
27. men out of the
28. fire and the wrath and they
29. will carry them above
30. the angels
31. and rules of the powers.
32. And they
33. will take them out
34.                               of life
35. they take them to
36. aeons



# Plate 76

1. of the  
 2. there with holy  
 3. angels and aeons. The  
 4. men will be like  
 5. those angels because they  
 6. are not strangers to  
 them. But  
 7. they work in the incor-  
 ruptible seed.  
 8. And again the Illuminator  
 9. of knowledge will pass by  
 10. a third time in great  
 11. glory that he might leave  
 12. some from the seed of Noah  
 13. and the sons of Ham  
 and Japheth  
 14. that he might leave for  
 himself some  
 15. fruit bearing trees.  
 And he will  
 16. redeem their souls from the  
 17. day of death. For everything  
 which  
 18. was created from the  
 19. dead earth will be  
 20. under the power of death.  
 21. But those who ponder  
 the knowledge  
 22. of the eternal God  
 23. in their heart will not perish.  
 24. For they did not receive  
 the spirit  
 25. from this kingdom only  
 26. but they received it from  
 27. one of the eternal angels.  
 28. Illuminator  
 29.  
 30. dead  
 31.

# Plate 77

1. of Seth. And he will  
 perform  
 2. signs and wonders to put  
 to shame  
 3. their powers and their archon.  
 4. Then the God of the  
 powers will  
 5. be troubled, saying: "What  
 6. is the power of this  
 man who is  
 7. exalted above us?"  
 Then he will  
 8. stir up a great wrath against  
 9. that man. And the glory  
 10. will transfer itself  
 and will abide  
 11. in holy houses which  
 12. it has chosen for itself and  
 13. the powers will not see him  
 14. with their eyes. Nor will they  
 15. even see the Illuminator.  
 16. Then they will buffet  
 the flesh  
 17. of the man upon whom the  
 18. Holy Spirit descended. Then  
 19. the angels and all the  
 20. generations of the powers  
 21. will use the name in  
 22. error, saying:  
 23. "Where did it come from?"  
 24. or "Where did the words  
 25. of falsehood come  
 from, which  
 26. all the powers could not  
 27. find?" Therefore the first  
 28. kingdom says of him  
 29. that he was from  
 30.  
 31.

## Plate 78

1. A spirit to heaven.  
He was  
2. nourished in the heavens.  
He received the glory  
3. and the power of the one  
who is there. He came  
4. to the bosom of his mother.  
5. And thus he came to the water.  
6. But the second kingdom says  
7. of him that he came  
8. from a great prophet.  
9. And a bird came and  
carried the  
10. child which was begotten  
and took him  
11. onto a high mountain  
12. and he was nourished by  
13. the birds of heaven. An angel  
14. came forth there. He  
said to him:  
15. "Arise! God has given you  
16. glory. And he received a  
glory and a strength.  
17. And thus he came to  
the water."  
18. The third kingdom says of him  
19. that he came from  
20. a virgin womb.  
21. He was cast out of his city,  
22. he and his mother. He  
was taken  
23. to a place in the  
wilderness. He  
24. nourished himself there. He  
came and he received  
25. glory and power. And thus  
26. he came to the water.  
27. The fourth kingdom says  
28. of him that he came  
29. virgin  
30.

## Plate 79

1. her, he and Phersalis  
2. and Sauel and his armies  
3. which were sent.  
And Solomon  
4. himself sent his army of  
5. demons to seek after the  
6. virgin. And they  
did not find  
7. the one they sought after, but  
8. the virgin who was  
given to them.  
9. She was the one they  
brought. Solomon  
10. took her and the virgin  
11. conceived. She brought forth  
12. the child in that place.  
13. She nourished him on the edge  
14. of the wilderness. After  
he had  
15. been nourished, he  
received glory  
16. and power from the seed  
17. which was begotten by him.  
18. And thus he came to the  
19. water." But the fifth  
20. kingdom says of him:  
21. "He came from a  
22. drop from heaven. He  
was sown  
23. in the sea. The deep  
24. received him, gave him birth,  
25. and raised him to heaven.  
He received  
26. glory and power. And thus  
27. he came to the water.  
28. The sixth kingdom  
29. says of him: "He  
30. came into existence on  
account of



Plate 80

1. Which is above that he  
might spread
2. flowers. She conceived from the
3. desire for the flowers. She
4. brought him forth in  
that place.
5. Angels of the flower-garden
6. nourished him. He received
7. a glory in that place
8. and power. And thus he came
9. to the water." But the
10. seventh kingdom said
11. of him: "He is a drop.
12. He came from heaven to earth.
13. He was carried down to  
caves of
14. dragons. He became a child
15. A spirit came upon him. He
16. took him to the height,  
to the place
17. where the drop was from.
18. He received glory and power
19. in that place. And thus
20. he came to the water."
- But the
21. eighth kingdom says
22. of him: "A cloud came
23. over the earth. It wrapped  
around
24. a rock, and he came
25. from it. The angels
26. in the heaven nourished
27. him. He received glory and
28. power in that place and
29. thus he came to the water."

Plate 81

1. But the ninth kingdom says
2. of him: "From the nine
3. Muses one divided off.
4. She came to a high  
mountain. She
5. spent awhile sitting there in
6. order to desire herself alone
7. that she might be both male  
and female.
8. She fulfilled her desire and
9. conceived by her desire.
10. He was born. He was  
nourished by
11. the angels who are over  
the desire.
12. And he received glory in that
13. place and power. And then
14. he came to the water." The
15. tenth kingdom says of him:
16. "His God loved a cloud
17. of desire. He ejaculated
18. into his hand and cast
19. some of the drops into
20. the cloud beyond him.
21. He was born. He received  
glory
22. and power in that place. And
23. thus he came to the water."
24. But the eleventh kingdom
25. says of him: "The father
26. desired his own daughter.
27. She herself conceived by
28. her father. And she cast
29. a tomb

Plate 82

1. out in the wilderness. The  
 2. angel nourished him in that  
 3. place and thus he came to  
 4. the water." The twelfth  
 5. kingdom says  
 6. of him: "He came from  
 7. two Illuminators. They  
   nourished  
 8. him there. He received glory  
 9. and power. And thus he came  
 10. to the water." But the  
 11. thirteenth kingdom says  
 12. of him: "Every birth  
 13. of their archon is a word.  
 14. And this word spoke a  
 15. command in that place. He  
 16. received glory and power  
 17. And thus he came to the  
   water  
 18. that the desire of these  
   powers  
 19. might be satisfied." But  
   the generation  
 20. without a king over it says:  
 21. "God chose him  
 22. from all the aeons.  
 23. He caused a knowledge  
   of the  
 24. undefiled one of truth to be  
 25. in him." She\* said:  
   "He came  
 26. from a foreign atmosphere.  
 27. From a great aeon the  
 28. great Illuminator came forth.

---

\*i.e., the knowledge

Plate 83

1. He made the generation  
   of those men  
 2. whom he has chosen for  
   himself to shine  
 3. so that they shine upon the  
 4. whole aeon." Then the seed  
   will fight  
 5. against the power, those  
   who will receive  
 6. his name upon the waters  
   and by means of  
 7. them all.\* And a cloud  
 8. of darkness will cry out in  
 10. a loud voice saying:  
 11. "Blessed is the soul   of those  
 12. men because they have known  
 13. God with a true knowledge.  
 14. They shall live forever and  
 15. ever because they did not  
 16. perish in their lust  
 17. along with those angels.  
   Nor did  
 18. they fulfill the works of the  
 19. powers. But they stood  
 20. before him in a knowledge  
 21. of God like light  
 22. which has come forth from  
 23. fire and blood. But we  
 24. have mindlessly done every  
 25. deed of the powers. We  
 26. have taken pride in the  
 27. transgressions of our works.  
 28.  
 29.                               his works  
 30.                               black

---

\*i.e., all the waters



Plate 84

1. is eternal. But these are
2. spirits. For now we have realized
3. that our souls shall die in death.
4. Then a voice came to them
5. saying: "Micheu, and
6. Michar and Mnesinous, who are
7. over the holy baptism
8. and the water of life, why
9. have you been crying out against
10. the living God in lawless voices
11. and tongues which have
12. no law with souls
13. full of blood and abominable
14. deeds? You are full of
15. deeds which are not those of the truth
16. but your ways are full of
17. gladness and joy, even though you
18. have defiled the water of life.
19. You have brought it under
20. the will of the powers
21. to whom you have
22. been given, to worship
23. them. And your thought
24. is not like that of
25. those men whom
26. you persecute
- 27.
28. desire

Plate 85

1. their fruit does not wither. But
2. they will be known
3. to the great aeons because the words
4. of the god of the great aeons which
5. they have kept, they have not put
6. in the book, nor have they written them down.
7. But angelic ones will bring those
8. which all the generations of men
9. will not know. For
10. they will be on a high
11. mountain upon a rock of truth.
12. For this reason they will be named
13. "The words of incorruptibility
14. and truth of those who know
15. the eternal God in
16. wisdom of knowledge and
17. teaching of angels forever,
18. for he knows all things."
19. These are the revelations which
20. Adam revealed to Seth his
21. son. And his son taught them to
22. his seed. This is the knowledge
23. of the hidden things of Adam
24. which he gave to Seth, which
25. in the holy baptism of those
26. who know the eternal knowledge
27. by those born of the word and
28. the imperishable Illuminators who
29. came from the holy seed.
30. Jesseus, Mazareus,
31. Jessedekeus
32. The Apocalypse of Adam

# Columbia River

Clinton F. Larson

The sunstream river wends below Cascade Locks  
Between green mounds of shoreline whose sable  
Pines rectify slope, verge, promontory, and rock,  
Upward pencilling the windwaving sills of blue.  
Ages of sunmist sheet and fall, resonant in palms  
Of morning where gleam green and yellow as rue  
Of night. Flashing, spiring, windbreaking over  
The vibrancy of waves, the weather moves in calms  
Of light, surf of it beyond, reviving. The cup  
Of harbor, inlet, farms arising, wheat of land  
Will mark randomly where farmers found arable  
Soil between golden mounds of desert Oregon.  
Run of wind riffling the river mounts windrows  
On the far shore as a skiff turns, yielding  
And tipping in a bend to find the shadowy wharf  
That teems with sail and gear: tenor of days  
In the sweep will pay the fare for green turn  
And bend on that river, greening to Portland,  
Beyond which the water spreads and calms in  
Pacific blue. O angelus of capped rounds  
Of sound and bays of the coastal rock, I lock  
The skiffs of cirri in and keep them wavering  
Sunward on the stream!

---

Clinton F. Larson is professor of English and poet-in-residence at Brigham Young University.



# Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828-1856:

## The Making of Zion's Teacher

Douglas F. Tobler

There is a fuller and more immediate effectiveness of a great spirit than that possible through his works. These show only a part of his being. The entirety flows pure and wholly through his living personal self. In a way which cannot be proved in detail, nor investigated, nor even wholly thought, his real self is taken up by his contemporaries and handed on to generations to follow. It is this quiet and—it cannot be otherwise described—magical effect of great spiritual natures that carries an ever growing thought from generation to generation, from nation to nation, and allows it to rise with ever greater might and extension.

Written works—literature—then take it mummified, as it were, over those gaps which the living effectiveness can no longer leap.<sup>1</sup>

Humboldt's characterization of the effective teacher is surely true of a transplanted German, Karl G. Maeser, who at forty-eight years of age, came to Provo in 1876 at the request of Brigham Young to give new impetus to the Brigham Young Academy and to provide it with the proper academic and religious balance. Contemporaries and succeeding generations alike have properly recognized Maeser as BYU's "spiritual architect,"<sup>2</sup> one whose

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<sup>1</sup>Wilhelm von Humboldt, From "Ueber Schiller und den Gang seiner Geistesentwicklung," in Marianne Cowan, ed. and trans., *Humanist without Portfolio* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University: The First Hundred Years* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 77ff. Maeser was praised by President Francis M. Lyman ("Dr. Karl G. Maeser has done for me directly and indirectly through my children more good than any other educator"); Charles W. Nibley ("I could sit in the dust at the feet of this man"); President Heber J. Grant (who said Brother Maeser was one of three people [his mother and John R. Winder were the other two] who were getting along in years whom he hoped would still be alive when he returned from his mission to Japan); and Senator Reed Smoot ("His undoubted faith in God, his unselfish devotion to a knowledge of his profession, his spirit of self-sacrifice together with a powerful personal magnetism, softened with a true love and personal interest in every student are characteristics that won my love and admiration for Dr. Karl G. Maeser"). Other similar tributes are in "Dr. Karl G. Maeser Memorial," *Brigham Young University Quarterly*, Volume 3(1 February 1907) and Volume 31(1 November 1934).

work was highly valued by the Church Authorities, for he not only turned out educated men and women, but turned them out Latter-day Saints, prepared alike for the ordinary duties of life, the work of the schoolroom and the labors of the mission field.<sup>3</sup>

A portrait of Maeser's Brigham Young Academy in its earliest years reveals a small group of committed Saints lovingly nurturing the fledgling institution through practical struggles for existence while at the same time charting its unique spiritual-intellectual course within the Great Basin Kingdom. The list of devoted supporters is long: then, as now, it included faculty, trustees, administrators, and students, each offering his own talents and training for the benefit of the whole. To be taught were the James E. Talmages, Josiah Hickmans, N. L. Nelsons, George Sutherlands, Amy Brown Lymans, and countless other eager and not-so-eager students. To provide the funds there were Brigham Young himself (although not for long), Abraham O. Smoot, Harvey Cluff, Uncle Jesse Knight, and others who believed in the enterprise and were willing to sacrifice for it.

But while we often pay tribute to this teacher whom sensitive students like Talmage and Nelson admired to the point of hero worship,<sup>4</sup> little has been known of those sources of Maeser's character, world view, and educational philosophy which qualified him for the trusted calling he received and which formed the basis for his later success as a teacher in Zion.<sup>5</sup> It is the purpose of this essay to illuminate his European background to attempt to put his life's work in historical perspective.

The traditional picture of Maeser's early life depicting him as

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<sup>3</sup>Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904), 4:328.

<sup>4</sup>In a speech at Maeser's birthplace in Vorbrücke near Meissen, Saxony, 19 November 1926, President James E. Talmage of the European Mission recalled his relationship with Maeser years before: "... Together we have hungered and eaten, thirsted and drunk. In periods of quiet converse sanctified by such love and trust as would be fitting between father and son, Karl G. Maeser has told and taught me the way of repentance and the indispensability thereof. . . ." "In Honor of Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Millennial Star* 88 (9 December 1926):773.

In 1919 in response to a request to evaluate what parts of Brother Maeser's legacy to the Church schools should be retained, N. L. Nelson described his relationship to his mentor: "And I who revered Bro. Maeser as perhaps no mere son could have done; who for a dozen intimate years was his secretary, and was even chosen when he wanted things done; I who listened breathlessly to his every word, and never really outgrew the awe I first had for him as a boy—am not unworthy, I hope, to take up this challenge." N. L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 27 June 1919, David O. McKay Papers, Church Historical Department.

<sup>5</sup>Maeser's biography by his son, Reinhard, devotes a scant twelve pages to his German background. See Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser: A Biography* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1928), pp. 9-21.



an "authoritarian Prussian aristocrat," educated in the best of Germany's schools, a "professor," one of that country's "intellectual elite," "one of its foremost educators" who gave up wealth, position, and prestige to come to America for the gospel's sake is, at best, an incomplete and distorted stereotype understandably fashioned by grateful family and students whose understanding of the realities of nineteenth century Germany's education and culture was colored primarily by their own frontier experiences.<sup>6</sup> What seemed "aristocratic" or "intellectually elite" in the valleys of the Wasatch was not necessarily so in a Germany basking in worldwide cultural and educational preeminence. Moreover, Maeser himself may have wittingly and unwittingly contributed to this image of his past in the minds of his Utah contemporaries by the absence of his own written firsthand accounts of his early life, his Kissinger-like German accent, the external authoritarian bearing, his unforgettably-formal frock coat, and a touch of his own forgivable vanity.<sup>7</sup> In any case, when Maeser arrived in Provo, he brought a philosophy of life and education which derived from a happy marriage of his German experiences and training, and the philosophical and metaphysical truths of the gospel to form in him a whole man and a whole philosophy of education in the Mormon context. His lifelong friend, fellow teacher, and brother-in-law, Eduard Schoenfeld, has correctly pointed out how both elements, united for the first time, gave Maeser the ideal purpose and meaning to his own life

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<sup>6</sup>Wilkinson, *BYU*, pp. 81-84. "Dr. Maeser's Legacy to the Church Schools," *Brigham Young University Quarterly* 1(1 February 1906), is an excellent example of misrepresentation of Maeser's training, social and educational status. See also R. Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 11; Mabel Maeser Tanner, "Karl G. Maeser, My Grandfather," Maeser File, BYU Archives. Alma P. Burton quotes a statement by N. L. Nelson which seriously overstates Maeser's standing in the German academic community. Alma P. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>In presenting his complete picture of Brother Maeser, N. L. Nelson wrote: "Considering how deeply his life and ideals helped to shape my own, I am loath to record one other instance [in addition to irascibility] of weakness, especially in his declining years. His work as an educator had borne such exceptional traits in character, that wherever he went he became the object of extravagant praise. And he liked it. Adulation became the nectar to which he looked forward on every occasion. Illustrations of how sweet it became to him would be cruel to his memory; and indeed, which of us under like circumstances would remember Christ's admonition: 'Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth!?' " N. L. Nelson to David O. McKay, 27 June 1919. Mabel Maeser Tanner quotes from her grandfather's diary (which has not been found) an observation which gives an inflated view of his status in Germany: "Impressions of extreme unfriendliness [toward the Mormons] had grown up in this land as elsewhere and yet, in the home of us prominent educators in the center of this cultural center of the Kingdom of Saxony, we men of community standing were entertaining them and listening respectfully as the principles of this unpopular Gospel were expounded to us." Mabel Tanner, "My Grandfather."



as well as to what he thought mankind could become if they could receive this complete form of education.<sup>8</sup> Maeser not only experienced a kind of intellectual and existential joy from his whole philosophy of life, but he also saw it as a principle for the perfectability of mankind. If Maeser later on appeared to be rigid when confronted with the pedagogical reform ideas of his successors, his reluctance was probably actuated as much by a conviction of having discovered certain philosophical and pedagogical "absolutes" as by personal intransigence or obstinacy.<sup>9</sup> Finally, Maeser's own, by German standards, "inferior" kind of academic training ironically prepared him better for the later achievement in the pioneer society in America than it would have in his native Germany. Here he was able to implement the ideas derived from his philosophical mentors, Humboldt, Goethe, Schiller, Hegel, and the classical idealists of the late Enlightenment, as well as the "radical" pedagogical notions of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and his disciples, Friedrich Froebel and Jean Herbart. Had Maeser received the usual German university education of the nineteenth century instead of the "second-class" normal-school preparation then frowned upon in Germany, he would, along with hundreds of other teachers, have fallen victim to the specialization, relativism, and amoral value structure which, at the time, was the pride and later the bane of the German educational system. With the addition of Mormonism's certainty of God's existence and the moral principles deriving therefrom, Maeser was prepared, like an educational Don Quixote, to offer all students, old and young, rich and poor, gifted and slow, the education of the whole man, which, as both his mentors and he envisioned, would bring freedom and dignity to each human being.

Maeser's beginnings in Germany were neither Prussian nor aristocratic. Born 16 January 1828 to unmarried<sup>10</sup> lower middle class Lutheran parents in Vorbrücke, a village adjacent to the famous porcelain manufacturing town of Meissen (a town of some seven

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<sup>8</sup>Eduard Schoenfeld, "Dr. Karl G. Maeser," *Liabona: The Elders Journal* 9(1 August 1911):82.

<sup>9</sup>Nelson to McKay, 27 June 1919.

<sup>10</sup>The documents of the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church of St. John, in the Coelln parish record (p. 340, first entry) that Carl Gottfried Maeser was born on Wednesday, 16 January 1828. "The father was said to be Johann Gottfried Maeser, painter in the manufacturing [porcelain] plant in Meissen." The same records show that Maeser's parents were married "Sunday, 10 January, 1830" in the same church. *Staatsarchiv Dresden*, Band AA, 414, p. V. This type of so-called "cavalier indiscretion" was common at the time among the lower and lower middle class families throughout Europe. All translations by the author.



thousand where Maesers had lived as peasants and artisans since the Reformation), Carl (he spelled his name this way until he was a teenager) was the oldest of four sons of Johann Gottfried and Hanna Christiana Zocher Maeser. As was the custom for people of their station, grandparents, parents, and children all lived together in the Zocher home (where his father had first come as a boarder) until after Carl left home at age eleven to attend school in the Saxon capital of Dresden, fifteen miles away.

Maeser's father was a porcelain painter-artisan at the nearby plant who, according to family tradition, believed he could have become a famous artist had he not "painted for bread too soon."<sup>11</sup> Although painter-artisans at the factory were relatively numerous (the quality of the porcelain had declined from its eighteenth century apogee) and were paid relatively low wages,<sup>12</sup> the prosperity which came to the entire Saxon economy and to the porcelain industry after Saxony joined the Prussian Customs Union in 1831 plus the earnings of father, grandfather, and later his mother's brother, Fritz, were sufficient to meet the family's modest but growing financial needs. The family was traditionally Lutheran, attending to the usual obligations of membership including pride in Martin Luther, their native son, and gratitude that they were not Catholic. That Maeser, unlike many of his intellectual contemporaries, never seriously entertained even in his earnest "searching years" becoming a Catholic was at least partially due to the religious influence of family and community.<sup>13</sup> Home life centered on the extended family relationship with little evidence to suggest unusual education or culture. As a child Carl was such an avid reader that he became temporarily blind from it at the age of eleven, although he had little more than the Bible and an almanac to enjoy.<sup>14</sup> During those years, the Maeser family grew with the addition of three other sons born between 1830 and 1835, although the two

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<sup>11</sup>R. Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup>Porcelain painters at the time were considered more artisans than artists. Of the 354 workers employed in the factory, 121 were considered "painters." After the Napoleonic Wars, Saxony was required to pay war debts in the amount of seven million taler. Assessments were made according to income. In Meissen an Arkanist paid four taler, a painter six groschen, and a laborer two groschen. Otto Walcha, *Meissner Porzellan*, Hrsg. v. Helmeunt Reibig (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1973), pp. 179, 185.

<sup>13</sup>The Age of Romanticism, as a reaction to the faithless Enlightenment and the French Revolution it had helped spawn, turned many intellectuals, including the Schlegel brothers and Chateaubriand to Catholicism in search of refuge from political and social turmoil. See John Halsted, ed., *Romanticism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 17ff.

<sup>14</sup>R. Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 11.

middle boys, Heinrich and Hermann, died before the decade was over.

The schools in Meissen had an excellent reputation. Here Carl received the standard curricular fare of most elementary schools in Prussia, Hessen, and Saxony. Of the regular thirty-hour weekly instruction in the lower, middle, and upper grades, nine hours were spent on German, mostly grammar, four hours on religion, five hours for mathematics (arithmetic and geometry) and the rest divided among drawing, science, history, geography, gymnastics or needlework, and singing.<sup>15</sup> However, at the apparent insistence of his paternal grandmother, in 1837 or 1838 it was decided to send young Carl to Dresden to live with relatives, the Draches,<sup>16</sup> respected middle-class artisans living near the famous old Latin school, the *Kreuzschule*, only recently converted into a more modern preparatory school (*Gymnasium*), where he could attend the school and obtain an education superior to that available in Meissen. There Carl was to receive the bulk of his formal education between 1838 and 1846 before enrolling in the Friedrichstadt Normal School program to become a teacher.

Although the distance from home in Meissen to Dresden was ridiculously short, a whole new world opened up to the inquisitive ten year old boy. Dresden was the capital of royal Saxony where Frederick August II presided over a sumptuous court and state rich in tradition, but politically dwarfed between two stronger neighbors, Austria and Prussia. Here, too, was the artistic and cultural center of all Germany with architectural achievements and art collections to enhance its reputation. Moreover, although Dresden lacked the intellectual prominence of Leipzig, the other Saxon city to the north, it was more than alive to the political, social, economic, religious, and philosophical stirrings which fermented beneath the placid philistine Biedermeier surface. In the late 1830s Saxons were still smarting under the division of the old kingdom at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which resulted as punishment by the great powers—Russia, Austria, and England—for the Saxons' collaboration with the hated Napoleon scarcely two decades earlier. Saxony was also a prominent spawning ground among the

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<sup>15</sup>Levi Seeley, *The Common School System of Germany and its Lessons for America* (New York: E. L. Kellogg, 1896), pp. 91-92.

<sup>16</sup>The *Adressbücher* of Dresden for the years 1848-1851 list three Drache families living at the same address, *Kreuzkirche* 10. They were: Adolf Drache, bookbinder for the royal court; Gottlieb Ludwig Drache, porcelain painter; and Gustav Julius Drache, accountant. *Stadtarchiv Dresden, Adressbücher der Stadt Dresden*.



youth and intellectuals for a freer, more liberal society, transcending even the liberties granted in the Constitution of 1831, and for the unification of all German states into a single, liberal German nation-state. Such an institution, Saxons reasoned, would end the hegemony of the arrogant, disliked Prussians to the north and the foreign Catholic Austrians on the south. That young Karl, like the overwhelming majority of the educated youth of his day, was influenced by these political currents is clear from later comments of students as well as by the prominent place the ideals of political liberty had in his own philosophy.<sup>17</sup>

Equally significant for the Saxony of Maeser's youth were the economic and social changes which were transforming it from a primarily agricultural into a more industrialized and commercial society. These, together with the revolutionary increase in population, produced pressures for greater productivity throughout the land while challenging the time-honored sociopolitical domination of the landed aristocracy.<sup>18</sup> By the early 1840s an enlarged middle class, composed of industrialists, businessmen, academics, and students, augmented by artisans declassed by the emergence of the factory system, joined with an increasingly self-conscious industrial working class to revise the old order, peacefully, if possible, violently, if necessary. Karl G. Maeser thus grew up in the same Germany that produced both Otto von Bismarck and Karl Marx, but, while influenced by some of the same forces which helped fashion their ideas, followed a different course which in the long run might have a power similar to theirs.

The most direct influence during those years, however, came from his school experience. This same *Kreuzschule* had not only taught many scions of the local nobility and upper bourgeoisie their Latin and Greek, but only a few years earlier had permitted Richard Wagner to daydream his adolescent years through its classes. Its objective was to provide in both formal and substantial respects

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<sup>17</sup>Erastus Nielsen noted that Maeser actively supported the "Liberal or Constitutional" party during the revolutionary years of the forties. His whole philosophy of education was based on the freedom and dignity of the individual as had been taught by the German humanists. See Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (Provo: Skelton, 1898), pp. 32, 352. There was a heavy concentration of academics and students in the Liberal party, while fewer found their way into the ranks of both the Conservatives and the Democrats. See Heinz-Georg Holldack, *Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte der Reaktion in Sachsen, 1849-1855* (Berlin: Matthiesen Verlag, 1931), p. 10.

<sup>18</sup>Prior to 1840, Saxon population grew one percent *per* year and nineteen percent between 1815-1840. See Rudolf Koetzschke and Hellmut Kretzschmar, *Saechsische Geschichte* 2 vols. (Dresden: C. Heinrich, 1935), 2:140.



the preparation for the independent study of the arts and sciences (*Wissenschaften*) through a well-rounded humanistic and especially classical education.<sup>19</sup> This preparation was for the university training which followed for all who graduated from its program. The educational ideal was to be Greek, Christian, and German, the attempt being to harmonize Greek philosophical ideals with Christian principles, particularly through the study of Greek and Latin in connection with history and mathematics.<sup>20</sup> All of this was to be taught within the framework of a growing German nationalism. Students were required to complete six classes of one and one-half years each, with the first three years having not more than thirty-six hours of instruction weekly and going down to thirty-four and thirty-two hours in the subsequent three year segments, with no time credit given for gymnastics, singing, or orthography.<sup>21</sup> Eight to ten hours were devoted to Latin, six to Greek, six to mathematics and the natural sciences, and two or three hours to religion, German, history, geography, and French. In order to graduate, students were required to read the classical authors and to be able to speak and write reasonably well. In Greek they were expected to know Plato and Demosthenes and to read the easier parts of the tragedians.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* . . ., 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1921), 2:354-355, 518-519.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>While all *Gymnasien* included music in the curriculum, the *Kreuzschule* featured a traditionally excellent boys' choir from the best singers among them. Undoubtedly Maeser belonged and may even have received a small stipend for his musical ability. In any event, the choir would go from house to house each Sunday "caroling" and the serenaded citizens would reward the singers with a donation which went to pay for their education. The choir also presented an evening vespers service in their resident church, the *Kreuzkirche*, each Saturday evening at six o'clock. Here Maeser not only developed his musical talents, but also his religious and spiritual awareness. Edith Krause (Prenzlau, German Democratic Republic) to Douglas L. Tobler, 20 October 1975.

<sup>22</sup>Paulsen, *Geschichte*, p. 519. The stereotype of Prussian or German school discipline has also been heavily distorted. Not only was there the Humboldtian tradition rejecting rote memorization, but the Pestalozzian concept of love and object-teaching made considerable headway during the nineteenth century. Maeser was a product of this pedagogy; discipline did not mean brutality; the demand for excellence did not exclude love and compassion. Testimonies from his former students to this effect are legion.

"We know that the impression prevails among Americans that German teachers 'spare not the rod,' and that their manner of discipline is severe, if not brutal. A series of visits running into the hundreds, covering all classes of schools in all parts of Germany, and during a period of four years, does not bear out that view of the case. On the contrary, the spirit of the great body of teachers is that of kindly and human interest, affectionate solicitude for moral growth, and the administration of justice always tempered with mercy. They are from hereditary pedagogical custom rigid, firm and exacting in discipline, but that does not mean that there is any lack of love on the part of the teacher, or that the pupils do not love their teachers. Indeed, the children are generally fond of their teacher, and hold him in highest respect. Kindness is the rule and harshness the rare exception. No doubt there are



They were also required to present Latin essays in the upper classes as well as a translation into Greek plus individual creative works in French, German, and mathematics. Every month each student was to inform his teacher of the study he had done on his own and to welcome the teacher into his room to see what he had been doing with his spare time. All of this was according to the laws governing education in Saxony throughout most of the nineteenth century. No wonder Maeser's Utah students were both awed by the breadth of his training and taxed by the rigor of his discipline!

Maeser's years at the *Kreuzschule* did, however, have one unusual feature that left a lifelong impression upon him. Its principal, Hermann Koechly, an aggressive, dynamic scholar-pedagogue, had already become known as an outspoken critic of the excessive emphasis on Latin and rote learning, especially of Latin works, in the *Gymnasium*. Koechly argued vigorously that it was "both a crude and widely spread erroneous idea that the ability to speak and write Latin was the same as a classical education."<sup>23</sup> He therefore formulated his own program which limited the study of Latin, renewed the emphasis on Greek, and increased the reading time spent in modern languages and the natural sciences in place of writing and speaking exercises.

Koechly's reforms found only modest acceptance as philologists and reactionaries rose up in unison to denounce them as precursors of the academic ruining of Germany as well as the subversion of both church and state.<sup>24</sup>

The earlier traditional curriculum was, however, an accurate reflection of the dominant influences upon education and the general intellectual climate in Germany in general during the 1830s and '40s. The traditional central role of religion, deriving from Reformation and Pietist times had been rationalized to a shadow of its former self. Religious training was to continue in the schools, not because its doctrines were true, but because it provided a pragmatic moral guide for youth until they reached maturity and were motivated by higher philosophical principles. In the years following the Napoleonic Age, the ideological power of the German Enlightenment and its extension in the classical humanism and idealism so magnificently articulated in the works of Goethe,

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still abuses of this kind, and so there are in American schools, but the idea that the German schoolmaster is a tyrant to pupils is surely a mistaken one." Seeley, *Common School System*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>23</sup>Paulsen, *Geschichte*, 2:474-75.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

Schiller, Winckelmann, Herder, and Humboldt, had raised man, especially the well-rounded Greek ideal of man, to the level of god.<sup>25</sup> If man from his primeval state of goodness had, by ignorance and benighted institutions been corrupted, it was the task of the arts and education to rescue him from ignorance and degradation. Man should be able to experience the freedom and full flowering of his own personality. Hence, the creation of a society and a system of education which would release this individual genius and establish the dignity of every human being was the primary duty of those living in an enlightened age. Nor was this freedom only for an elite few. In 1792 Humboldt articulated the importance of freedom for every person in his *Ideas to Attempt to Determine the Limits of State Authority*:

Let no one believe, furthermore, that freedom of thought and enlightenment are for the few in any nation; that the many are so exhausted by activities dictated by the need for earning a living, that freedom of thought is useless to them, or even disturbing. Or that they can best be activated by the diffusion of principles handed down from on high, while their freedom to think and investigate is restricted. There is something utterly degrading to humanity in the very thought that some human being's right to be human should be abrogated. No one stands at such a low level of culture that he is incapable of reaching a higher one. Even if the most advanced and enlightened religious and philosophical ideas could not reach a large part of the citizenry directly, even if it proved to be necessary to clothe the truth in such a way that it could find a point of contact, even if one were forced, in other words, to speak more to their hearts and their imaginations than to their cold reason, nonetheless the widening of horizons of scientific knowledge which is the result of freedom of thought reaches them as well, and the beneficent consequences of free unrestricted inquiry stretch over the spirit and character of a whole nation, down to its last and least knowing individual.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>As Johann Gottfried von Herder observed: "With solemn reverence we ascend to Olympus, and there behold the forms of gods in the likeness of men. The Greeks deified Humanity. Other nations debased the thought of God and made it monstrous; but this one elevated the divine in man to deity." As quoted in William S. Learned, *The Oberlehrer: A Study of the Social and Professional Evolution of the German Schoolmaster* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), p. 33.

William Learned summarized this view of the nineteenth century *Gymnasium's* pedagogical thrust: "Add to the faith in this trinity [the Good, the True and the Beautiful] the further conviction that the Good, the True and the Beautiful are supremely useful and that all together serve the purpose of a noble patriotism, and you have the dominant motives of the new-humanist *Oberlehrer*." Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>26</sup>Humboldt, "Ideen zum einem Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen," in Cowan, *Humanist*, p. 33. In commenting on the message of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*, Robert Anchor notes: "For the chief question Goethe raises here, the one around which *all* the characters in the novel



On the importance of the individual and his development through education Humboldt wrote:

All reflection upon ultimate or distant aims invariably leads us back to the investigation of our present condition. For since such aims may be found in the highest, most definite, most harmonious development of all human capacities, they always lead back from the general to the individual, from the future to what is needful right now. Any attempt to promote the progress of the human race which does not emanate from the organic development of its individuals is barren and chimerical; if on the other hand, the individual's education is attended to, its influence upon the totality follows of itself, and without specific intention."<sup>27</sup>

That Maeser knew his Goethe, Schiller, and Humboldt well and had absorbed many of their fundamental ideas is evident both from the prominence of their works in the *Gymnasium* curriculum, by references to them in Maeser's written work, and especially by his later espousal of similar ideas.<sup>28</sup> For example, in *School and Fireside*, under the heading of "True Education," he wrote:

Every human being is a world in miniature. It has its own centre of observation, its own way of forming concepts and of arriving at conclusions, its own degree of sensibility, its own life's work to do, and its own destiny to reach. All these features may be encompassed by general conditions, governed by general laws, and subject to unforeseen influences and incidents, but within the sphere of their own activity, they constitute that great principle which we call individuality.

Individuality means not the mere part of existence, as in plant-life, nor the mere power of conscious volition as in the animal. In man it means that inheritance that separates man from the rest of the physical creation, empowers him with endless progression, and designates him as an offspring of Deity.

This divine attribute of man is placed for the time being at the disposal of the educator, whether in the family circle or at school, to cultivate and develop it to its utmost capacities.<sup>29</sup>

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revolve, is what a person must be, what qualities and insights he must possess, to enable him to relate to a dehumanizing society without either being destroyed by it or compromising with it. . . . This combination of hero and poet is what Goethe understood by genius, which, for him, was nothing more than the normal man fully developed." Robert Anchor, *Germany Confronts Modernization: German Culture and Society, 1790-1890* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), p. 30.

<sup>27</sup>Humboldt, "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert," in Cowan, *Humanist*, p. 143.

<sup>28</sup>Maeser's *School and Fireside* contains numerous aphorisms and couplets from Goethe's and Schiller's writings. See pp. 24, 29-30, 62, 319, 334.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 243. Maeser's own articulation of education even uses much of the same language as his intellectual mentors: "The highest aim of education lies in the endeavor to cultivate the head heart and hand, in the knowledge of and the voluntary

The German *Gymnasias* were, like the universities and much of Europe's intellectual community, also at the same time under the spell of German Idealism, the legacy from Immanuel Kant through G. F. W. Hegel, who by the 1830s had for a full generation dominated philosophic thought which postulated not only the primacy of mind—both absolute and individual—in the quest for truth, but exerted a powerful influence against both established religion on the one hand, and philosophic materialism on the other. Lionel Trilling's description of Hegel's philosophy as a new kind of "secular spirituality" captures the confidence of the orthodox Hegelian movement in the individual intelligence's ability to grasp the totality of reality without resort to orthodox Christian doctrines.<sup>30</sup> Maeser's later rejection of evolution—especially that theory of evolution deriving from Herbert Spencer—as the "process underlying all phenomena in the physical and mental world" had its roots not only in his understanding of Mormon doctrine, but also in Idealism's rejection of its philosophic assumptions:

According to the theory of some evolutionists, all faculties of the mind are only operations of physical forces, which view reduces psychology to a mere branch of physiology. The utter helplessness of the new-born infant and the very gradual awakening of its perceptive faculties seem to sustain, at first glance, such a proposition. But closer analysis leads to the conclusion that the five senses are mere means for the conveyance of impressions. Behind the physical mechanism is a receptive, conscious and directing mind that is endeavoring to familiarize itself with the use of the organs of sense and motion, as an apprentice begins to handle tools and instruments placed before him. Mind is not the product of matter, but inhabits, premeates, [*sic*] and vivifies matter. On entering the body, it brings along capacities that raise the new-born infant, notwithstanding its apparent helplessness, far above any of the most advanced animal species.

How did that mind come into possession of capacities entitling it to such possibilities? Did these capacities originate with the mind itself during the embryonic period? If so, the mind with its wonderful capacities would be the result of the physical process of conception, and would have to terminate with the exhaustion of the forces that started them both into activity.

That is the theory of evolution. There is, however, a grander view of the case pointed out to us by the voice of Revelation.

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obedience to the laws of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, for therein consists the heaven-inherited right of free agency. Sin, ignorance and coarseness are moral and intellectual defects and exclude the complete exercise of free agency" (p. 116).

<sup>30</sup>Lionel Trilling and Harold Bloom, eds., *Victorian Prose and Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 9. Cf. *School and Fireside*, pp. 31-32.



The mind or spirit entered into this mortal sphere from a previous state of existence known to the Latter-day Saints as our "primeval childhood." Our condition in this world is as much the natural consequence of the course pursued in our previous existence, as the life hereafter will be the natural consequence of the course pursued during mortality. This great principle of pre-existence contains the keynote to the doctrine of pre-destination or rather pre-ordination. God never acts arbitrarily as some sectarians would have us believe, but the shaping of every man's destiny is largely by his free agency in his own hands. . . .<sup>31</sup>

It should be noted in passing that the philosophical step from Hegel's Absolute Mind or Spirit using free men to accomplish its purpose to the Mormon view of God's direction of the world's destiny without violating man's agency is not a prohibitive one.

Sometime during the course of his nine year *Gymnasium* experience, Maeser apparently made his decision to eschew a university career in order to train for a career as an elementary teacher. With this in mind he enrolled at the Friedrichstadt Teacher School in Dresden where the emphasis was much less upon scholarship and much more upon pedagogy. Teacher preparation schools had little prestige in Germany in the 1840s, being considered decidedly inferior to the vaunted universities.<sup>32</sup> But Maeser had made a decision to which he tenaciously adhered throughout his life—to become a great teacher.<sup>33</sup>

Here he came under the indirect spell of the already-famous Swiss pedagogical reformer, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), whom Maeser called "the apostle of the present day educational dispensation,"<sup>34</sup> and his German disciples, Friedrich Froebel, the founder of the kindergarten, and Jean Herbart. Even a brief comparison of Pestalozzi's principles—including his pedagogical epigrams, and Maeser's own approach to education reflects the debt Maeser owed and paid to his mentor.<sup>35</sup> What Maeser wrote about Pestalozzi, his own students would later write about him:

In seeking the reason for the prominence accorded this humble and unpretentious teacher, we select only a few items from his

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<sup>31</sup>Maeser, *School and Fireside*, p. 109.

<sup>32</sup>Paulsen, *Geschichte*, 2:277. It was taken as axiomatic that if you were a good scholar, good teaching would take care of itself.

<sup>33</sup>Maeser's aphorism: "If it shall please my Heavenly Father, I will be a teacher in Heaven" was an expression of his early decision in an enlarged Mormon context. See Karl G. Maeser, "Sentence Sermons of Dr. Karl G. Maeser," Maeser File, BYU Archives.

<sup>34</sup>Maeser, *School and Fireside*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>35</sup>Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *The Education of Man: Aphorisms*, ed. William H. Kirkpatrick (New York: Greenwood, 1975), passim.

long career of usefulness. He discovered the mainspring of all successful instruction, viz. object-lesson teaching. By discarding textbooks, with their theoretical principles and abstract rules, and basing his instructions upon objects within reach of his pupils, he brought his school into communion with the realities of life. In his celebrated work, "Leonhard and Gertrude," he demonstrated the inseparable connection between scholastic and domestic education. By his loving and fatherly ways, he won the affection of his pupils, and by the purity of gentleness of his life, he raised up before them the authority of a worthy example.

Like Socrates, Pestalozzi had many followers, that developed his ideas into various systems, which are today forming their part in the further development of theoretical and practical education.<sup>36</sup>

Maeser probably entered the Friedrichstadt Teacher College in 1846 on the basis of a scholarship provided annually by the Meissen nobility to two students from their area.<sup>37</sup> There were fifty students whose daily routine began with getting up at 5:00 A.M., Bible reading at 5:30 after singing (students were required to bring a hymnbook, choral book, and Bible), then breakfast followed by instruction beginning at 6:00 A.M. in summer and seven in winter. This particular teachers' college also had a school for poor children connected to it where students could practice teach, a feature undoubtedly attractive to the budding pedagogue.

By the spring of 1848, Karl had completed the requirements for graduation which included

. . . a specific and correct knowledge of the main truths of Christianity, familiarity with the biblical history, a general knowledge of geography, competence in general mathematics, familiarity with the main rules of spelling and grammar of the German language, fluency in the ability to articulate ideas, an understanding of the principles of logic and psychology, competence in playing piano and some experience in singing. . . .<sup>38</sup>

In addition, the future elementary school teachers were "to organize religious truths into an orderly whole" to relate them to everyday life, to avoid the appearance of affected erudition, and to apply in all subjects the general principles of pedagogy. Following Pestalozzi, students were admonished to use the practical experiences of the school to implement the teaching they had learned. Finally, students were required in the second and third years (the additional

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<sup>36</sup>Maeser, *School and Fireside*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>37</sup>Christian Traugott Otto, *Die Schule und des Schullehrerseminar zu Friedrichstadt-Dresden von 1785-1835* 2. Auflage (Dresden: Arnoldschen Buchhandlung, 1836), p. 60.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 61.



year was for those who had not graduated from a *Gymnasium*) to teach one hour per day, prepare two original German language and two musical compositions per month, to learn and preach sermons and to play the organ. They were also required to sing in the choir and perform in concerts.<sup>39</sup>

But this was not the end of the preparation. Each student was also required to complete an apprenticeship of two years as a teacher's assistant or as a private tutor. Maeser chose the latter course and went in the spring of 1848 to the village of Goerkau, then part of the Austrian Empire just across the border in present-day Czechoslovakia to tutor Lutheran children living in this Catholic area. Though he may have returned for visits from time to time during the two years, he was not directly in Dresden during those tumultuous months of 1848 and 1849 when much of Europe, Germany, and Saxony (especially Leipzig), erupted in revolution. Nevertheless, Maeser's sympathies, as already noted, were firmly committed to the Liberal-Constitutional party, the party of most Saxon intellectuals, led by Professor Karl Biedermann in Leipzig. Their program called for an extension of the liberties provided in the 1831 Constitution, for the development of a responsible, parliamentary check upon the powers of the monarchy, and for the unification of all German states into a united Germany under a liberal constitution.<sup>40</sup> This position reflected both Maeser's enthusiastic liberal and national sentiment and put him squarely in the camp of those seeking a moderate and realistic solution to the promotion of his cherished ideal, the enlarged freedom of the individual. He seems even then to have realized that the "freedom to think," the keystone of the German classical humanist tradition, was inadequate for real human freedom and creativity, a lesson which most Germans would not fully learn for nearly a century.

Unfortunately, by 1849 all signs of revolutionary political achievement had faded not only in Saxony but in Germany as a whole. Reaction and repression set in under the iron fist of the ultraconservative Count Beust. Thousands of Saxons emigrated in the early fifties, draining the land of some of its best brains and most highly skilled artisans.<sup>41</sup> Maeser returned to Dresden to begin

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Franz Blanckmeister, *Saechsische Kirchengeschichte* (Dresden: Verlag von Franz Sturur, 1899), p. 398.

<sup>41</sup>Hildegard Rosenthal, *Die Auswanderung aus Sachsen im 19 Jahrhundert* (1815-1871) (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlag, 1931), p. 28. During the following years, 1853-1861, 4,531 Saxons emigrated to North America, 3,260 to other German states and 1,283 to other countries.



his career as a teacher and, perhaps, to prepare himself for marriage and a family. Not having attended a university nor being yet twenty-four and thus old enough to pass the Second Teachers' Examination, Maeser was only qualified to teach provisionally in the elementary grades. It is probable that he returned to Meissen as a substitute teacher for a year or two and then seeing his opportunity, responded to an advertisement in the *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 25 March 1852, soliciting substitute teachers for two of Dresden's *Buergerschulen*.<sup>42</sup> Here, Maeser met the principal, Carl Immanuel Mieth, who hired him. The *Adressbuch* for Dresden records him as a teacher in Mieth's school in the first district during the years 1852 and 1853.<sup>43</sup> During the second year, 1853, Eduard Schoenfeld, later to be his brother-in-law and fellow Mormon, joined the faculty, and also joined Maeser in frequent visits to the Mieth home where the young teachers shared an interest in the principal's two daughters. By 1854 Maeser had moved to a new private school on the outskirts of Dresden, the Budich Institute. Undoubtedly, Maeser was drawn to the institute not only by the opportunity to become an *Oberlehrer* (assistant master teacher), but also because it provided a more conducive setting for the implementation of his innovative pedagogical principles. The school was originally a four-year preparatory one for those unable to do well in regular public schools, but was soon extended to a kind of special continuing education school for students, especially girls, up to age sixteen. Apparently, Professor Budich had had some difficulty in communicating the purpose of his school to the community. In the 29 March 1852 edition of the *Dresdner Anzeiger und Tageblatt*, he countered the rumor then circulating that his school was only for young children, pointing out that both boys and girls over twelve years of age were enrolled. Then, to answer apparent accusations about the academic respectability of his institution, he noted that, in addition to instruction in French and English, the upper classes also taught Latin and Greek, the traditional touchstones of true education.<sup>44</sup>

It was while preparing his lectures for the religion classes at the institute that Maeser confronted directly the spiritual crisis which had been building in him. In this he shared a predicament with most of the European intellectuals of his age. This was not only the age of Hegel and Marx, but of Kierkegaard and Carlyle,

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<sup>42</sup>*Dresdner Anzeiger und Tageblatt*, 25 March 1852.

<sup>43</sup>*Adressbuch der Stadt Dresden, Staatsarchiv Dresden*, Bd. AA.

<sup>44</sup>*Dresdner Anzeiger*, . . . 29 March 1852.



of Matthew Arnold and Tennyson, all of whom, caught in the intellectual and spiritual maelstrom swirling around the centers of enlightenment and science, were gradually losing their faith in religion and religious systems and were struggling to see purpose in life and the universe. As Lionel Trilling has trenchantly observed "The dark night of nihilism was a common event in the lives of thoughtful men of the 19th Century."<sup>45</sup>

Maeser was particularly put off by the traditional petty quarrels between Protestants and Catholics in Saxony.<sup>46</sup> Neither partisans seemed to understand that their quibbling was only a surface diversion; the battle in the trenches, already taking recognizable shape, was a battle between Christianity and its means of human salvation and the newer secular philosophies which were later augmented by fully articulated Darwinism and Marxism, and the obvious materialist cultural values springing up with industrialization. These were not only successful in wooing away the intellectuals, but served as a kind of justification for the growing religious indifference of the common people throughout Europe.

Maeser has left two brief glimpses into his own spiritual struggle and the agnostic condition he found himself in when his attention was first drawn to an account describing the evidences of spiritual and religious vitality of the maligned American sect, the Mormons. In an article, "How I Became a 'Mormon,'" published later in life in the *Improvement Era* he wrote:

As *Oberlehrer* at the Budich Institute, Neustadt, I, like most of my fellow-teachers in Germany, had become imbued with the scepticism that characterizes to a large extent the tendency of modern higher education, but I was realizing at the same time the unsatisfactory condition of a mind that has nothing to rely on but the ever changing proposition of speculative philosophy.

Although filled with admiration of the indomitable courage, sincere devotion, and indefatigable energy of the great German Reformer, Martin Luther, I could not fail to see that his work had been merely an initiatory one, and that the various protestant sects, taking their initiative from the revolutionary stand of the heroic monk at Wittenberg and Worms, had entirely failed to comprehend the mission of the reformation. The only strength of

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<sup>45</sup>Trilling, *Victorian Prose*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup>Blanckmeister has drawn a fascinating picture of how the two major sects quarreled over superficial matters while Saxons were perishing in unbelief. Cf. *Saechsische Kirchengeschichte*, p. 368ff. A scathing critique of organized Christianity in Germany by the influential young German author, Karl Gutzkow, calls religion an "attitude of despair about the purposive nature of the world" (*Verzweiflung am Weltzweck*). See Karl Gutzkow, "Gestaendnisse ueber Religion und Christentum," in *Das Junge Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Phillip Reclam, 1966), p. 207.

Protestantism seemed to be its negative position to the Catholic Church; while in most of the positive doctrines of the multifarious protestant sects their antagonism to one another culminated only too often in uncompromising zealotry. These ideas illustrate in the main my views on religious subjects, at that time and are explanatory of the fact that scepticism had undermined the religious impressions of my childhood days, and why infidelity, now known by its modern name as agnosticism, was exercising its disintegrating influence upon me.

In that dark period of my life, when I was searching for a foothold among the political, social, philosophical and religious opinions of the world, my attention was called to a pamphlet on the "Mormons," written by a man named Busch. The author wrote in a spirit of opposition to that strange people, but his very illogical deductions and sarcastic invectives aroused my curiosity, and an irresistible desire to know more about the subject of the author's animadversion caused me to make persistent inquiries concerning it.<sup>47</sup>

In his memorial address given in Meissen in 1926, Maeser's former student, James E. Talmage, remembered:

Even as I have heard the story from his lips direct, I tell it to you. He had undertaken to prepare a lecture or thesis on the distinctive characteristics of the many and varied churches of the day. By a fortuitous coincidence, during the time of his research he came across a newspaper story relating to the Latter-day Saints, depicting them in a very unfavorable light, even mis-representing them by such epitaphs as fanatical un-Christian-like, dishonest and immoral generally, but the writer of this article, which was intended to be calumnious and derogatory told also of the wonderful growth and development of these strange people in the valley of the Rocky Mountains, of the growing commonwealth they had planted in the desert, of their achievements in agriculture and industrial areas. With the analytical vision of a trained reasoner and moreover with the open and unbiased mind of an honest man, a lover of truth, Karl G. Maeser saw the inconsistency of these contradictory assertions. "I knew," he has said to me many times, "that no people could develop and thrive as the facts showed the Latter-day Saints to have done and at the same time be of a degraded nature and base ideals."<sup>48</sup>

The story of Maeser's investigation of Mormonism and conversion to the Church in 1855 is well-known. The spiritual manifestation which followed the ordinance, the speaking in tongues with Elder Franklin D. Richards, provided a supernatural bene-

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<sup>47</sup>Karl G. Maeser, "How I Became a 'Mormon.'" *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899):23-26.

<sup>48</sup>Talmage, "In Honor of Dr. Karl G. Maeser."



diction to Maeser's quest to know of God and his will which nourished him, his family, and his students for several generations. As Eduard Schoenfeld observed, from that time Karl G. Maeser was a changed man.

As by magic he was at once transformed, changed, illumined, yes inspired. The skeptic of yesterday was at once the ardent advocate of real religion, not because he had found some new passage in the Bible, but because his soul had been touched, the way was clear, he knew it for himself. . . . He now . . . had hold of the right Key. God had silently placed it in his hands, and all was clear to him. . . .<sup>49</sup>

Maeser had thus acquired the spiritual foundation for a whole philosophy of life and education. The reality of God and the validity of his word not only gave him the overwhelming sense of purpose in life he had been seeking in his own soul, but provided a foundation from which the objectives of the German idealist philosophers and pedagogues could be achieved. He only needed time for the fuller development of his educational philosophy, and an opportunity to implement it. That opportunity would not, Maeser knew, come in Saxony. The repressive regime of Count Beust following the Revolution of 1848-49 suppressed innovation in every phase of life. Neither political nor religious freedom, both of which Maeser craved, existed. Neither did his chances for employment as a teacher, now that he had joined the Mormon sect. But in any case, the climate for teachers committed to educational reform along Pestalozzian principles was, at best, dismal. Adding to these reasons the inward call to build up Zion, he decided to take his family, fellow members, and friends, and join the throng who were leaving Saxony for a new beginning in America. From then on the United States of America became his spiritual home and the building of the Kingdom his consuming mission.

The loss of men and women like Karl G. Maeser for Germany and German education would not be felt directly until well into the next century. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, German secondary and higher education developed a world-renowned reputation for seminars, scholarship, and sophisticated culture. In philology, history, philosophy, theology, law, economics, and in the rapidly-developing sciences, German universities drew admiring students and professors from all over the world. One

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<sup>49</sup>Schoenfeld, "Dr. Karl G. Maeser."

trained at a German university had sat at the feet of the accepted masters and bathed himself in the glow of erudition and fame.

But beneath the glittering exterior, all was not well. The objectives of Humboldt, Goethe, and the early educational reformers had been thwarted; instead of a broad education for ever-extending generations of German youth, specialization had chosen a few for lifetimes of pedantry and technical competence while forgetting the broad development of the mind and the training for political and social responsibility. German education, and with it German society, was in trouble. One prominent historian, Hajo Holborn, looking back on some possible explanations for the German catastrophe of the twentieth century, concluded:

. . . It would be one-sided to look at the rise and the subsequent support of the Nazi party exclusively in terms of social conflict. The actual decline of German education goes far to explain not only why so many Germans voted the Nazis into power but also why they were willing to condone so many of their subsequent crimes. German education hardly dealt with the "whole man"; it chiefly produced men proficient in special skills or special knowledge but lacking not only in the most primitive preparations for civic responsibility but also in a canon of absolute ethical commitments. Although the churches provided this for a good many people, and to a greater extent within the Roman Catholic Church than within the Protestant churches, the number of Germans who looked to the Church for guidance was limited. The higher philosophy and the humanities of the period were largely formalistic or relativistic and did not produce a firm faith. In these circumstances it was inevitable that so many people fell for cheap and simple interpretations of life and history, as offered by the racists. To young people in particular this proved an irresistible temptation.<sup>50</sup>

During its recent centennial celebration the community of scholars at BYU was reminded anew of its unique educational opportunities, privileges, and responsibilities to contemporary society. President Spencer W. Kimball has reaffirmed with emphasis the prophetic challenges given here in 1968 and President John Howard of Rockford College, speaking at the 1976 April Commencement, challenged us all to conquer a wilderness "disguised as civilization" which is "subtle and fluid and elusive."<sup>51</sup> This challenge is, however, not just for BYU, nor just for America, but for the world. We

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<sup>50</sup>Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1969), p. 813.

<sup>51</sup>John A. Howard, ". . . Outraged by Silence," *Speeches at the 101st Annual Commencement*, Brigham Young University, 23 April 1976.



could do worse than to take Dr. Maeser's philosophy of life and education back to Europe and to the rest of the world as an alternative to the confusion, purposelessness, and appeal of the hollow Marxist humanism which now prevails as an outgrowth of the secularization of Western education and society during the past two centuries.

Maeser's principles are as relevant today as they were in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Like him, we still need to make a better attempt to be "whole men" before we teach our students about wholeness. Education is still of a piece, combining the secular with the spiritual, the "school with the fireside." Teachers need to have an emotional as well as an intellectual commitment to the dignity of all men as children of God, whether rich or poor, black or white, gifted or dull, and to their callings to help develop the slumbering potential in those children. Like Maeser we must be humble before God and learn "even by faith" but also be bold and courageous in addressing ourselves to our colleagues and to the world. We must be willing to work as hard and devotedly as he did to become both scholars in our disciplines as well as informed citizens of the world community and fellow citizens with the Saints in the household of faith. When this takes place then, just as Maeser's vision of an outward university on Temple Hill has seen its fulfillment in our day, so will the spiritual and intellectual soul which should permeate those buildings become a living reality.

# Serenade

Donald R. Marshall

He looked at himself in the bathroom mirror and felt immediately nauseated. "Delton," he started to address himself, but his voice came out hoarse and faint and he had to clear his throat and start over. "Delton Mecham," he tried, more bravely, "you're revolting."

He turned his head slowly from side to side, watching the effects of the overhead light on his pale forehead. At times the almost colorless strands of hair surviving on the shiny expanse of his head seemed to disappear in the glare of the light. "You're *twenty-eight*," he told his reflection, not certain how he expected it to react. "You're *twenty-eight years old*." Exactly what he meant by that he was unsure: twenty-eight seemed too old to be still unmarried; on the other hand, it seemed far too young to be so bald. He touched the tips of his trembling fingers to his cheek. "Fishbelly white," he heard himself whisper, staring incredulously at himself. He had had to reread the first few chapters of *Huckleberry Finn* just that day, and Twain's imagery suddenly seemed more appropriate for himself than even for Pap Finn. "You're fishbelly white." He remembered hearing an older girl in high school once say that someone she knew looked as if he had crawled out from under a rock. Could she have meant him? Had he always looked like that? He stared at himself. It was true: his skin had the unhealthy yellow-gray pallor that reminded him of the underside of a toad or of some grotesque and puffy thing that keels over on its back and kicks its tiny legs in the air when you expose it from under its rock.

He had felt uncomfortable in both of his classes all week. It had been as though the students were studying him, with frowns and a certain evident repugnance, through a pane of glass, like some freakish squid or rare and loathsome snake. It was a wonder

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to him now that they had not laughed. Their comparing his meager abilities—to say nothing of his appearance—to Mrs. Quilter's graciousness and poise was inescapable, he realized that. But how could he bear to face them for the three remaining weeks? Three *days* had been painful enough. He wished that Mrs. Quilter had not had a nervous breakdown, and he wished that Dr. Munson had not asked him if he could take over for the rest of the semester. A month ago the prospects of being a graduate assistant and teaching two sections of freshman composition for the coming fall semester had seemed a stimulating, exhilarating challenge. Now the thought left him weak—like the thoughts of giving blood or letting Dr. Gottfredson grind on his teeth.

The day had been excruciating. For the rest of the world, he decided, it must have appeared to be a day of miracles, a day which, having been cleansed by the warm showers of the evening before, seemed to have risen fresh in a bath of pure sunlight to renounce once and for all the gray dreary winter it was leaving behind and to welcome a promising regeneration. The lawns, freshly green and yet unshaded by barely budding trees, had attracted hordes of students; ice cream cones dripped and peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwich crusts dried out while the students sprawled and laughed in the bright April sun.

But for him there had been no miracles, no hope, no promise. He had watched it all from the top floor of the Harold B. Lee Library while he had prepared a short lecture on Dryden, fumbled through the pages of *Paradise Lost*, and, time running short, hurriedly skimmed once again over Huck's first few adventures. Three times during the day, when it had been time to gather up his books and march across campus to his class, he had attempted to descend into that orgy of arms and legs sprawled upon the lawn—at least he had skirted it. But even keeping to his sidewalk and only nodding and feebly lifting his hand a time or two when he passed by someone he knew, he had felt out of place, overdressed, weighted and encumbered by the pull of his tie, the heavy wool of his coat, and the drag of his loaded briefcase.

Once or twice during the afternoon, while he had looked down from his library window, his imagination had leaped away from him, and he had almost pictured himself stepping back into a darkened alcove long enough to strip down to some daring costume—which, like Clark Kent, he would have had hidden under his gray sportcoat and trousers—and hurling himself, all muscles

and bronze amidst envy and awe, down into that chaos of color tangled upon the new green grass. But he was far too much of a realist to allow such fancies much reign, and some thought always sent him shrinking back into his carrel and his books. Not even in imagination, he feared, did such a costume exist that could transform him into what he would really hope for; as far as dress was concerned, he had long ago realized that he was doomed. He had once been daring enough to spend a shameful amount of his savings on a wide-lapeled, flare-legged suit like those he had seen sported by his fellow schoolmates. But his courageous attempt to be part of the mod world had been disastrous: on the first nervous morning he had worn it, an acquaintance had stared at him and then, breaking into a shameless grin, asked him bluntly: "*Where* on earth did you dig *this* up?"

He drew closer to the mirror and examined the button-down collar of his shirt. It was beginning to fray. The thought increased his melancholy for it was like an announcement that a close friend was moving away. Not that he had any really close friends—but he felt that he knew what it would be like. Actually, he had always found it difficult getting close to people. It was not that he was cold—or that he didn't try. He just didn't have the knack. Once he had admired a fellow he had met in a zoology class—a well-rounded, guitar-playing, sports car enthusiast and track star—who, a year later, had lived on the same floor as he in Helaman Halls. After he had returned from his mission to Oklahoma and the other fellow was home from France, they had bumped into each other occasionally. He had always felt that part of the reason he felt close to this particular individual was that he knew—though he had long forgotten how—when his birthday was. This possession, like some personal secret discovered and guarded in silence, almost seemed to him to insure some intimate friendship. And once, when the time seemed right, he had mustered up—from where, he was later unable to imagine—enough courage to confide this fact to his "friend." In a moment of panic, suddenly not quite sure whether the date was October 30th or 31st, he had decided to keep on the safe side and bumbled out: "Do you want to know something? I don't think there's been a year, when the end of October comes along, that I haven't thought of you."

The fellow had looked puzzled. "Why's that?"

He had swallowed and clung, for support, to his knowledge. "You know—your birthday."



The track star had looked even more surprised. "What do you mean? My birthday's in March."

He never saw him much after that.

He looked now at his collar and sighed. When this white shirt went it would mean giving up the last link with his mission. His roommates four years ago had urged him to give them away to Deseret Industries, but what does one do with a limited budget and a drawer full of a half dozen or so perfectly good—or almost perfectly good—white shirts? He was not sure, not even now that this last was going, that he would rush downtown and buy a red stripe like Scott's or a pink and purple print like Rick's, even though the teaching job would mean some unexpected money. He just wouldn't feel right in them.

He looked at his tie and the old nausea surged through him. How would he ever get that spot off? Worse still, how had he ever been able to face his class? He had retied it so that the spot had been nearly hidden behind the place where his coat buttoned, but he noticed now how straggly and wrinkled it looked beneath the knot and he felt sick all over again. He had had only a few minutes, between his Neo-Classic exam and the second of his two English 101 classes, to find a corner to eat his Franco-American spaghetti. Long weary of baloney sandwiches, he had invested in a little thermos and sometimes took spaghetti or soup. But today had been a disaster. He had promised a student he would go over the comments with him that he had written on the boy's last theme (defending a *D* or an *E* grade was painful enough; why must he be obligated to justify an *A*-?), and finding vacant in A-203 JKB the desk he shared with three other graduate assistants, he had hurriedly gulped down his lunch in the three or four minutes before the boy arrived. The student had stayed for nearly half an hour, but it was what he had discovered just after the boy left that made him squirm now before the mirror. Feeling at least a modicum of victory in standing fast in his defense of the student's grade, he had happened to glance down, just as the boy left the room, and discovered in horror the big blot of tomato sauce and one cold string of spaghetti clinging to his tie.

His afternoon, precariously hanging together at best, had fallen apart. What could be done? Should he have called the student back and reprimanded him jokingly for not having brought to his attention the red blob decorating his chest? It was not his luck to manage situations like that with any degree of casual poise. Should

he simply then have removed the tie and gone to class pretending nothing had happened? He would have felt naked and humiliated—as though the boy were passing notes around the room announcing why the tie was missing. So he had dabbed at the tie as best he could with water and a paper towel from the men's room and then retied it so that the now-glaring stain was hidden under his coat. But he had felt it shrieking at him all during that hot hour in the classroom when the hair had prickled on the back of his neck and he had had the terrifying sensation that there was spaghetti sauce still damp behind his ears and even dribbling down his forehead.

He sighed and heard himself make a little sound reminiscent of a wounded puppy. He looked at himself one last time, his eyebrows dropping as if they were about to slide down each side of his face. Was there any hope? He imagined he saw Andrew Carnegie, Charles Atlas, and Norman Vincent Peale, come to collect their books, looking upon him now and shaking their heads with the same despair he saw reflected in the mirror.

Then Rick came home. He heard the bang of the door to their basement apartment almost at the same time that Rick, in cut-offs and BYU T-shirt, barreled into the bathroom.

"Well, hello, gorgeous. Admiring yourself?" Rick stripped off the T-shirt and kicked off his tennis shoes. "What are you doing cooped up in this dark hole on a day like this? Afraid the light outside will spoil 'the light within'—like that El Greco dude?" Rick was in the shower running the water before Delton could get out an answer. He sighed once again and made a motion to leave; his roommate's muscular and suntanned form rotating behind the opaque glass made him envious.

"Hey—can I borrow your transistor again?" he heard him call out above the splatter of the water. "We're going up in the canyon. I'll be careful with it."

"Okay," he said, as he carefully shut the door and walked down the hall to the dark room with the bunk beds. "You're twenty-eight years old," he whispered to himself again. "You don't even have a girl friend"—he threw himself on the bottom bunk—"and you don't even have a tan."

He couldn't remember later if something he had dreamed had boosted his spirits or if it was just the fact that the long nap had the restorative effect of dissipating most of his depression, but when he awoke alone in the apartment about nine o'clock



that evening and sat eating a Twinkie by the kitchen table, he decided that something had to be done. He was not sure where to start on the girl-friend problem; he had never dated at all in high school, had suffered through only three miserable blind dates throughout college, had been mercifully spared the problem during his mission, and then, while in the army, been frightened out of his wits by a buxomy woman with orange hair who had plopped down on the stool next to his and eaten the pickle off his plate while he had tried, terrified and aghast, to choke down the last bites of his pastrami sandwich.

No. He would not start there, just yet. He didn't have the knack. But he could do something about his appearance. At least it would be a start. He finished up his Twinkie and walked around the kitchen with a nervous determination. Tomorrow, he resolved, he would—no, not tomorrow, for tomorrow would be "Y-Day" and students would be up on the mountain whitewashing the block Y. But the next day, if the sun promised to shine, he would climb up to some secluded spot on the mountainside, his bathing trunks hidden underneath his clothes—again the old vision of Clark Kent's transformation glowed briefly in his mind—and lie in the sun until he began to resemble a normal human being.

He was out of school for three days the following week with the sunburn. He cried out whenever Rick or Scott put the cream on him, and when he was alone, he wept with pain. But the worst came when he started to peel. The lobster red had turned a dull rose color, but as it came off in strips—from his back, his legs, and even from under the long mouse-colored hairs he combed in a special way to try to conceal his baldness—it left him looking for a time like some mythological relative, in various shades of pink, to a zebra.

But two things happened during this period. The first, and least significant, was his discovery of what seemed to constitute "the knack." He had been lying in his bed one night, uttering little "oohs" and "ouches" each time he shifted position and the sheet grazed his tender skin. Although the door was only open an inch or two, he was able to see through the hallway to the small front door of their apartment, and at about ten-fifteen he heard the outside door open and watched Scott usher in some tall girl with long dark hair and a maroon pantsuit. Where they finally sat was out of his view, but he could not ignore, much as he tried, the sounds of Carly Simon, Elton John, and Blood, Sweat,

and Tears that soon rocked forth from Rick's stereo and vibrated the print of *The Man with a Golden Helmet* on his wall. Nor was it easy trying to correct the stack of freshman themes left over from the week before while unable to avoid catching bursts of laughter, giggles, and assorted fragments of conversation:

"Oh, really?" "Out of sight, man!" "Hey, that's swingin'!" He found himself counting the times he heard Scott say "really cool" (he lost track, however, and interest as well, after forty-seven) and Linda (was her name Linda? or was Linda the one before Michele threw him over?) tossed around "y'know" so much he hadn't even bothered to count. But sometime after midnight the stereo went off and no more records were put on. The conversation now drifted through the hallway and into his room almost without obstruction:

". . . but why not? Haven't you prayed about it?"

"I *have*. I told you I have."

"Well, so have I—and I'm sure—in fact, I know beyond a shadow . . ."

"Please. Can't we just, you know, sort of—I mean, what's wrong with just going out?"

"Why don't we both pray. . . ."

"Look. I've made a promise, y'know, and . . ."

"A promise not to pray?"

"Of course not, silly. Just wait—I mean, I've just got to wait until he at least, y'know, comes home. I just want to *see* him first."

"But that's four more months! Look: We've got something really cool going, right? *You* told *me* last night that . . ."

Delton was ready to get up and shut the door. He had been staring at the same misplaced semicolon for fifteen minutes. But his legs burned when he tried to move, and as he sucked in his breath to keep from crying out, he heard sounds of a different sort coming from the other room.

It was a hymn. Scott's voice, without accompaniment yet steady and clear, began to fill the quiet apartment and spill through the doorway:

*Sweet hour of prayer,  
Sweet hour of prayer,  
That takes me from this world of care . . .*

Delton was shocked. He felt he had missed some transitional conversation, and the song struck him now as rather odd and out



of place. Yet, after Scott had finished two verses and finally stopped, he thought he heard Linda sobbing quietly, and then, for the next hour until they finally passed within his view, their arms around each other as they left the apartment, he heard almost no sounds at all except an occasional sigh and what vaguely sounded like some muffled endearments.

He felt melancholy after they left and couldn't get his mind back to the stack of themes beside him. He feared he would be losing both roommates—Rick was already unofficially engaged—and the thoughts of living alone next year as he waded through stack after stack of freshman comma splices and dangling modifiers made him long for some nebulous feminine creature to listen to his *own* song, although he didn't have the slightest idea what that song was or would ever be.

At one-thirty in the morning, the themes untouched by his side, Delton was still sitting up in bed and staring at the wall when Rick burst into the room, bright-eyed and doing a little dance as he tossed off articles of clothing. "June 6th," he announced. "June 6th, babe, is going to be the big day."

Delton couldn't resist the question: "Rick," he tried, his voice a little hoarse. "Would you tell me something—something personal?"

Rick stopped, his fingers in the air, in the middle of some step borrowed from *Zorba the Greek*. "Well—that depends. . . ." The look he gave Delton made him feel he had overstepped his bounds.

He got it out as fast as he could: "What I mean is, did you ever sing to Cheryl? *Hymns*, that is?"

"Hymns?" He looked puzzled. "Boy, you *are* getting personal!" he chided. Then he broke into a grin. "Sure—once a few months ago when we were parked up by the temple. That always gets them."

He didn't feel that he dare ask anything more, but his mind immediately became a vast darkened parking lot in which earnest young men, each warbling his own hymn to his own girl friend in the dim privacy of his own car, became a part of a gigantic chaotic choir performing nightly at the mouth of Rock Canyon. And after the bedroom light was finally turned off and he had tossed for an hour or more, it was this cacophonous choir that eventually sang him to sleep.

The second event that happened during this period was clearly the most momentous of the two: at the beginning of spring term,

he met Lois. She was tiny and fragile, with pale skin, a slightly pointed nose, and a frail little voice; but within a week after he met her working in the reserve room of the library, he was certain she was the love of his life.

It was already May, and in the evening the smell of the lilacs made him dizzy. He found himself taking nervous walks around the block in the fresh night air—not the desperate melancholy walks he had taken earlier while the ground had been frozen in muddy ridges and patches of snow had crunched crustily under his feet—but walks that sent him striding, almost leaping, excitedly down the sidewalk, checking his watch at every streetlight until ten-thirty arrived, and then racing up the hill and across the quad to the library, his determination to be on time always assuring his arrival at least twenty-five minutes before the reserve room closed.

He was not entirely certain that *she* was certain he was the love of *her* life, however. She had not openly demonstrated any overwhelming warmth—something which, he concluded, probably prevented his fleeing in terror from the whole idea—yet she was decidedly civil and had never, as he recalled, betrayed any sign of being about to burst into laughter whenever he appeared, his face still mottled in various shades of pink from his Y Mountain episode. In fact, he often thought to himself, elatedly, “If she likes me now—just wait until I’ve *completely* peeled!” And when, after nearly a week of walking her home, stopping once for onion rings and once for root beer floats, she asked him to reserve a date for dinner at her apartment, he felt quite sure that the world was becoming for him a rather different and marvelous sort of place.

Because the date set for the dinner was a whole week away, he anxiously began making plans for the weekend at hand. He found, however, that she was going home (to Afton, Wyoming) and would not be back until late Sunday night. The weekend was devastating. Friday night he loitered around the library just to be near the place that reminded him of her, but the couples flocking to the Varsity Theater and walking arm in arm across the moonlit campus depressed him. And on Saturday night he wandered through the streets downtown; but here again the couples, hugging and laughing as they waited in lines in front of the Academy, the Uinta, and the Paramount, made him melancholy and impatient for his love’s return.

On Sunday evening, he walked by her house every half hour until, from where he stood in the shadows of the trees across the



street, he saw a car drive up and watched as someone let her out and removed her suitcase from the trunk. In order not to seem too eager, he paced back and forth under the trees for ten more minutes, then rushed to her door, and, after some time, convinced her to go out for a little walk while the weather was so nice. All weekend he had held imaginary conversations with her, yet he had difficulty now remembering even one of the polished and eloquent things he had imagined saying. Earlier in the weekend he had even thought of preparing a long letter that he could leave with her roommates or slide under the door, since a written explanation of all that was presently churning inside him would have allowed him to select just the right words and arrange them in just the right way. He dismissed the idea, however, when he recalled what had always seemed to be his fate: he always managed to inadvertently bumble up the key words. Once, when he had entered a short story contest in junior high, his disappointment at not having placed at all (out of only five entries) had been embarrassingly magnified when he discovered, on the final page of his rejected entry, a gross typographical error in the last sentence: "... and he lay there on the cement, his heart thorbbling."

And so, as they walked slowly up the hill in the dark, beyond the lights of Heritage Halls, then Deseret Towers, and finally Wymount Village, he fumbled for the proper words to explain the emptiness he had felt in her absence:

"How was the weather in Afton, Wyoming?" he managed.

"Just fine."

"Oh. Well, I guess it wasn't so bad here either," he found himself saying. "Anyway it didn't rain or snow or anything like that."

And on they walked, mostly in silence, up the road to where the golden spire rose out of the white temple, luminous against the night sky. Four or five cars had pulled off the road. From one he thought he heard a squeal, and then a high-pitched voice shrieked, "It's absolutely fantastic! How on earth did you ever find out my ring size?"

Lois snickered, and Delton reached out impulsively in the dark for her hand. He caught her shoulder bag instead, and not knowing what to do, clung to it. They were both out of breath from the long climb up the hill, and he stopped now to lean back against the wall surrounding the temple, panting in the darkness and still clinging to the strap of her purse.

His heart was pounding. He felt his free hand move almost instinctively to his mouth, but he resisted the urge and left it clenched stiffly by his side: he had already bitten his fingernails down to the quick while pacing under the trees waiting for her return. Once he had started saving the little half-moon-shaped slivers that would fall on his books and papers as he gnawed away at first one hand and then the other while he studied. He had kept them all in a little envelope. But then it occurred to him that if he could remember to save the nail-bitings, then he could remember not to bite them at all. So he had thrown the envelope away and gone on nibbling unconsciously at various moments of the day. He had wished since that he had kept his little collection; it had made quite a little lump in the envelope. Besides, what else did he have as a monument to his suffering?

The pounding in his chest seemed to have risen to his throat and he found himself swallowing over and over to hold it back. His hand, still attached to her shoulder strap, suddenly started to quiver. He clutched tighter. Lighted by the moonlight as well as the glow from the temple, her long hair excited him. He was almost close enough to it to get a faint shampoo smell. He swallowed. He had never been this close to a girl before. He knew that he had to do something. He couldn't just go on sniffing her hair and gripping the vibrating strap. A hymn, he thought anxiously. What hymn? He tried frantically to concentrate, but the only things that would come to his mind were "When We're Helping, We're Happy" and "Give, Said the Little Stream."

At that moment, he imagined he felt her pulling away from him, and in desperation he grasped at whatever words offered themselves. He almost jumped when the sound of his own voice cut through the darkness:

*The spirit of God like a fire is burning . . .*

He detected a warble, a sort of unintended vibrato that unnerved him; but he tried to make up for the unsteadiness of his voice by an increase in volume that surprised even himself. He went on with the verse and into the chorus—

*We'll sing and we'll shout  
With the armies of heaven,  
Hosanna, hosanna to God and the Lamb!*

—hoping that the tune was close enough. It sounded right to him, but he had been told before— usually by frowns, but once verbally



and explicitly by an acquaintance—that he had a tendency to stray somewhat from the actual melody. Caught up in the fiery momentum of the hymn, he almost decided to go on with all four verses, but something in her look—something akin to awe—finally made him stop after the last line of the chorus.

For him it was a triumph. He wasn't sure what to make of the little patter of applause that came from one of the nearby parked cars after he'd finished, or the fact that someone had rolled down a car window and shouted "Encore!", but whatever uneasiness accompanied him as they walked back down the hill in the dark was overridden by an almost thrilling sense of accomplishment. The hair tingled on the back of his neck and his clothes felt damp, but for him it had been a demonstration of almost unprecedented bravery.

Neither of them said much on the way home. But he felt that her remark—"Do you—uh—sing very much?"—was not without some warmth, and at least demonstrated an interest in his daring performance on the hillside. And he hoped that the sense of triumph running through him was warranted—that he had not only become victor over his own trembling self, but had conquered as well the fearful territory that had separated him and the love of his life. Not daring to risk what was beginning to seem an auspicious advance in the right direction, he refrained from kissing her goodnight when they reached her porch. Ahead of him glowed the Saturday dinner date, and he determined that, by then, he would be prepared for anything.

He was not, however, prepared for what happened. It turned out to be an unsettling week; with final exams looming ahead, he found himself buried in note cards and rough drafts of papers he had to complete for his own graduate classes, and inundated at the same time with the fresh deluge of freshman research papers, most of them either plagiarized or just honestly badly written. He tried to allow time to be at the reserve room of the library, but the room was overrun now with the semester's procrastinators and he could barely see Lois over the heads of the students that flocked to the counter with their book requests scrawled on tiny white slips. After work she begged to flee home to study for her own exams and he was left to go back to his dreaded note cards and rough drafts and research papers. The only near-bright spot in the week happened one evening when he was buying a Twinkie at Carson's Market: waiting at the checkstand, he heard someone



call out his name and looked up to see a large freckled girl waving a chubby hand and standing in line at another cash register. "I hear you're coming to dinner Saturday," she said, and evidently noticing the startled look on his face, added quickly, "I'm Phylma—remember? One of Lois' roommates." He felt embarrassed as he left the store that he hadn't remembered her at first, yet this feeling was gradually replaced by one of elation when it occurred to him suddenly that the anticipation at Lois' apartment somehow miraculously rivaled his own.

By Friday night his excitement for the following evening was so strong that he could hardly contain himself; but he finally resisted all temptations to make his usual nightly pilgrimage to the campus at ten-thirty, and restricted himself, instead, to the narrow asceticism of the kitchen table, assiduously filling the margins of the students' papers like a monk illuminating ancient manuscripts. And on Saturday, he burst out of his basement cloister to regain contact with the world, getting first a haircut, next buying some new shave lotion (although if *Hai Karate* really accomplished what the advertisements promised, he determined to use it sparingly), and finally splurging at The Emporium on a gift-wrapped box of chocolate-covered raisins.

But he was not prepared for what happened. Even when he stood ringing the bell in the shadows of the porch and a massive silhouette loomed up against the drawn shade of the front room window, even when Phylma opened the door in her turquoise taffeta dress and he saw the tiny rhinestone earrings clinging to her ample lobes and the matching necklace lying on her moist and freckled neck, he failed to realize what had taken place. As she ushered him in, Phylma smiled a self-pleased smile, like a little girl who knows she has done something special, and he caught a glimpse, beyond her towering figure, of a small table—complete with a long white tablecloth, a bowl of orange flowers, and matching ostentatious candlesticks—set, very meticulously, just for two. She plopped herself down on the creaking sofa and patted heartily the cushion next to her for him to sit down. He did.

"Now," she announced, and held up one fat palm as if to prevent him from suddenly fleeing, "everything is almost all ready." He felt the prickles on the back of his neck—the old spaghetti sauce dripping down behind his ears and under his collar. He saw the tip of her pink tongue peek out quickly and dart along the edge of her lipsticked lips; her eyes had the sparkle of a child about



to pull a Halloween prank. "There's been one teensy-weensy change," she began. "Something came up and Lois had to go home. To Afton, that is. She had this ride, you see, and she meant to call you, but, anyway, she didn't and she asked me to, and I guess I should of, but anyway, I ended up not calling either. The stuff was all bought and in the fridge so I just figured, what the heck, with you already planning and all, why not just go ahead and enjoy ourselves? I probably would've been the one that had to cook it *anyway*." She hesitated a moment, as if for his approval; and then, as if fearing she might not get it, she leaped up and put a record on the phonograph. He was still stunned, but he recognized the music as the overture to some opera.

Towering above him in her rhinestones and turquoise taffeta, she reached down one shapeless hand, the fingers like pale and puffy sausages, offering to help him up. "Should we?" she asked with a bounce in her voice. For a moment he feared she was asking him to dance around the room with her, but then decided she was taking him toward the table with its carefully folded napkins and shiny goblets. He imagined the warm spaghetti sauce dripping down his icy neck again and he almost collapsed at the table.

"Could I—uh—wash my hands first?" he managed to ask, hoarsely, as she pulled out a chair for him to sit on. She beamed and led him through a doorway to a darkened hall. But as she pushed ahead of him and moved through the partially opened door he became terror-stricken: he had a frightening vision of her accompanying him to the sink and, like some robust and helmeted Athena out of a painting by Rubens, taking charge of the situation—running the water, lathering him amply with soap, then drying him lustily with some mammoth fuzzy towel. Instead, however, she flipped on the light and immediately swept down with a swishing flourish a blur of nylons and other things he tried not to see that had been hanging on the shower curtain rod. She beamed at him, a perceptible pinkness momentarily obscuring her freckles, and then she swooped past him, leaving him leaning against the sink, stunned and drained by the events of the past few minutes, and unable to blink away the fluorescent image of her lingerie.

The whole thing was a joke. He still felt limp and partially numb, but he began to sense that the surrealistic shock of Lois' absence and Phylma's towering presence was wearing off, and he was able to see clearly what had taken place. He was the victim of some mean joke. He gripped the basin and closed his eyes to

shut out the thought. They had played a trick on him. "How can I get out of it?" he imagined Lois wailing, and then he pictured her, her eyes widening as she said, "I know! I just won't be here and *you* can dress up in . . ." It was true. The evening was too grotesque, too bizarre, to be anything but a joke. Perhaps Lois had been in the bedroom watching everything through a crack in the door. He imagined Lois and Phylma both even now, their hands clasped over their mouths to stifle guffaws, retching with laughter in the hall. He felt dizzy and noticed that he still clutched in one hand the box of chocolate-covered raisins tied with a gigantic pink bow. He felt humiliated and he looked for some place to discard it. He finally propped it up on the back of the toilet between the Noxzema and the Clearasil.

He was still weak when he left the bathroom and stepped out into the darkened hall. He had taken a deep breath before opening the door and had decided to announce quite bravely that he could not stay. But he hesitated when he saw the darkness of the front room. Not only had his foot become entangled in the telephone cord, but he also fancied for a moment that the lights might suddenly flash on and Lois would shout "Surprise!" and the nightmare would be over. It was not, however, as dark as it had seemed to him at first. The candles had been lit, and Phylma and her rhinestones glittered in the flickering light. He could smell incense burning, and a gypsy violin whimpered from the phonograph.

Before he could react, she had swept a chair under him, shaken out her napkin, and was ladling steaming onion soup, complete with croutons and shredded cheese, into his bowl. He ate as if in a trance, listening at any opportunity for some sign that Lois was hiding in the bedroom. Phylma herself ate heartily—two helpings of soup, ample proportions of what she announced was *champignons au gratin* and *coq au vin*, and an unaccountable number of twisted, sugared breadsticks—but she never once allowed the conversation to lag: she talked of Goshen, of her family (nine brothers and sisters), of how she wanted to be a nurse then an opera singer and finally just a first-rate wife and mother, of her interest in Rudolph Nureyev and volleyball, of her collection of salt and pepper shakers, of her longing to visit Venice, Italy, and Gallup, New Mexico. But she showed an equal interest in him: what foods did he like, what did he think of Maria Callas, had he ever had a longing to teach school in Pago-Pago?—and dozens of other questions. Finally, as they were eating *pot chocolate au*



*creme*, she dabbed quickly at her mouth with her napkin, swooped off to find her *Treasures of Truth* albums which she showed him at the table, and then ushered him over to the piano where she seated herself and announced, "Lois tells me you like to sing."

He had never regained his strength from the time he had stood on the porch ringing the doorbell almost two hours earlier, and now he felt all of the blood draining from his head. The spaghetti sauce again. But Phylma saved the moment by sweeping across the keys with a music-hall flourish and, in a startling tremulous contralto, breaking into the "Habanera" from *Carmen*. He quickly took the opportunity to sit down on the sofa nearby—partly because his legs seemed rubberized but also because it offered him the role of spectator rather than performer. He felt it his duty to look at her from time to time while she sang, but whenever his eyes met hers with her pale eyelashes surrounded by ample lavender eye shadow, he felt his own eyes twitch away and seek out the cording along the edge of the couch or the tassels on the corners of the satin pillow he found scrunched up in his hands. But when it occurred to him that her voice was dissolving into a whistle, he was compelled to focus his attention on her. It was true. She was whistling. It was a whistle unlike anything he had ever heard. While her shapeless fingers trilled and rolled a grand accompaniment up and down the keys, she whistled the melodies of one tune after another in a low, birdlike warble that reminded him of water filling a plastic dishpan.

It was impossible now to look at her, but he was not sure how long he could go on staring at the pillow in his hand. He finally let his eyes steal a quick glance at the swaying figure looming over the piano by his side. Under pale brows squirming with expression, the lavender eyelids were closed now on the large upward-tilted face as her head rocked dreamily back and forth in time to the music. From her puffing freckled cheeks and the mouth shaped into a tiny O, came the whistled strains of the theme from *Romeo and Juliet*.

He swallowed nervously. It was a joke after all; it had to be. He stared earnestly at the pillow for confirmation. But suddenly the song had ended and he felt one of her hands slip from the keyboard and fall lightly on his knee. His glance ricocheted from the pillow to her face but his stare remained the same. She had removed her hand now and had folded both her hands across the

top of the small piano, her face coming forward to rest on them just a matter of inches away from his own twitching face.

"Delton," she began, her voice frighteningly soft. "I've never said this before to a boy in all my life." He felt his back go suddenly very straight, and he was certain now that the spaghetti sauce was streaming coldly down his spine.

"I feel very oddly moved," she went on, and he thought he saw her chin quiver slightly before his eyes switched back to the pillow. "What I mean is—well—I feel that our—uh—getting together tonight was—somehow—*meant* to be."

He could feel no strength at all in his body. Something ran through his veins that made him feel he was being embalmed.

"I mean," she went on, "God *does* move in mysterious ways."

His own moving was a mystery to him, for the next thing he knew he found himself back in the bathroom leaning against the door, his chest heaving rapidly as though he had run there from a great distance. He could not remember what he had said to excuse himself or how much more she had said, but his mind raced now and his temples throbbed as he tried to think of what must be said when he finally had to go back through that door. His eyes sought the tile walls pressing in on him but they found no window. Instead they rested on the box tied with the pink bow. Maybe he could give her the box of chocolate raisins and leave. It had not been a joke. He almost pitched forward and fell against the sink. Gripping it with both hands, he glared at himself in the mirror. "Delton," he whispered with a hoarse earnestness, "what are you going to do?" He waited for the reflection to answer; but it only stared back at him with a new terror of its own.



# Historian As Entrepreneur: A Personal Essay

Leonard J. Arrington

Wednesday, January 5, 1972. I was planning my lectures for the next day in my office at Utah State University, when the telephone rang. "Hello, Dr. Arrington? This is President Tanner. I would like to see you; when will you next be in Salt Lake City?" I replied that I would come whenever he wished. "How about yesterday?" he asked with a chuckle. We agreed on eleven the next morning.

In recent years I had had several conversations with President N. Eldon Tanner and had been impressed with his grasp of historical perspective and gratified by his encouragement of responsible scholarship. A Canadian, he had served many years as Minister of Lands and Mines in Alberta, and later as president of Trans-Canada Pipelines. He is a person of great personal charm who, as a counselor in the First Presidency, directs the business operations of the LDS Church. A call from him to a Mormon like me was like a call from the president of the United States to a potential cabinet appointee. Several months earlier A. William Lund had died after sixty years of service as assistant Church historian. As I drove that frosty morning the ninety miles to Salt Lake City, I decided President Tanner wanted to ask me the names and qualifications of persons who ought to be considered to replace Brother Lund.

Upon my arrival in the Church Office Building in Salt Lake City, I was immediately ushered into President Tanner's office and seated in the big leather easy chair next to his own. He was friendly, unhurried, and gracious. "Brother Arrington, I'll come straight to the point and not waste our time," he said.

You know that our assistant Church historian, Brother Lund, died last February and we have not replaced him. For the past two years, as you know, Elder Howard Hunter of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles has served as Church Historian. He has been a

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fine administrator, but, as you know, he is not really a historian. Elder Hunter is a lawyer by profession. We would now like to reorganize the Church Historian's Office by establishing a formal Historical Department of the Church. We would like Brother Alvin Dyer [a former member of the Church First Presidency] as managing director; you, Brother Arrington, as Church Historian; and Brother Earl Olson [who has served many years as a librarian-archivist] as Church archivist. Will you accept the position of Church Historian?

Naturally, I accepted. It was a historian's dream. Since 1831 "Church Historian" had been an ecclesiastical office primarily concerned with the preservation of documents and artifacts. In more than 150 years only a handful of trusted Church leaders had had unrestricted access to the Church Archives—one of the most important depositories of Americana in the Mountain West. The new Church Historian was charged with assisting the librarian-archivist in making this preservation archive a working archive. For the first time he was to have a professionally trained staff of researchers and writers to produce articles, monographs, and books of a scholarly nature. Based on original source materials, many previously untouched, these publications were bound to have a significant impact on the understanding not only of Mormon history but also of Western American history.

That was five years ago. From that time, my career as historical administrator has been amply rewarded. Since 1972 staff members of our History Division have published fifteen books, sixty-two articles in professional journals or chapters in scholarly books, twenty-two reviews in professional journals, and seventy-one articles in Church publications. Five books and many more articles are scheduled for publication in 1977.

How did a farm boy from Idaho come to such a position? Certainly it was not from youthful inclinations, for of all subjects in high school and college, I disliked none more than history. Only by a circuitous—and fortuitous—route did I migrate from chicken farmer to agriculture major; from agriculture to economics; from regional economics to Western economic history; and finally from Western history to Mormon studies. In ecclesiastical affairs I evolved from branch president of a North Carolina congregation of Mormons (while working on my doctorate) to a member of the presidency of the Utah State University Stake—a student stake composed of married and single LDS students attending Utah State University.



Born 2 July 1917 in a one-room, frame house on a farm near Twin Falls, Idaho, I was the third of Noah and Edna Corn Arrington's eleven children. At Twin Falls High I participated in debate and Future Farmers of America, eventually serving as Idaho State President and National First Vice-President of the latter organization. At home, I contributed to the family income by raising 2,000 baby chicks, caring for 400 Rhode Island Red laying hens, and helping with the farm.

Attending the University of Idaho was an exciting experience for me. I was active in politics and debate, worked as a reporter for the school newspaper, pitched "gold dust" on the university's dairy farm, and earned the Phi Beta Kappa key when I graduated in general economics.

Actually, it was more my distaste for chemistry than my dislike for manure that induced me to switch from agriculture to economics. Perhaps my interest in economics was first piqued in 1932 when many farmers had given up harvesting their crops because of depressed prices. I was fifteen when my father was selling his No. 1 Idaho baking potatoes for ten cents per hundred pounds. That year, upon my father's encouragement, I included slips of paper in some of the sacks of potatoes. "We are getting ten cents for these potatoes," I wrote. "But we are paying \$1.50 to \$2.70 for them here," came several replies from California. Obviously something was wrong; evidently, not all the manure was in the barnyard. I decided that when I went to college I would study agricultural economics. But the rigid requirement that every graduate of the College of Agriculture must have two full years of chemistry caused me to switch, after one year, to the College of Social Sciences, with a major in general economics.

Graduating from the University of Idaho in 1939, I was offered a Kenan Teaching Fellowship in economics at the University of North Carolina. I was delighted to accept because the university had a good reputation for sound scholarship, and because my ancestors, for many generations, had lived in the Tarheel State. Two years later, I began teaching at North Carolina State University in Raleigh.

It was in my upper class years at the University of Idaho and the two years at Chapel Hill that I read the writers who had the greatest influence on my life. They included novelists as well as economists, philosophers as well as ecclesiastics. I was much attracted to the southern agrarians and their regional and distributist

approach to social problems. (Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Agar, Frank Owsley, and books like *I'll Take My Stand* and *Who Owns America?*, together with Douglas Jerrold, Christopher Dawson, G. K. Chesterton, and George Bernard Shaw in England.) I read most everything they had written, and found myself agreeing with much they said.

When World War II came along, I volunteered for an officer's commission in the Navy but was rejected as being too short—I couldn't quite reach 5'6" even after three weeks of exercises. The Air Force and Marines rejected me for an asthmatic condition. So I obtained a leave of absence from North Carolina State to help in the civilian war effort, working for the North Carolina Office of Price Administration. After six months of setting prices for firewood, laundry service, and dairy products, I was finally drafted into the U. S. Army.

On my last weekend pass from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, I married Grace Fort of Raleigh. I had been courting her for some eighteen months, but she would not consent to marriage until I was about to be shipped overseas. I don't know what that tells about my attractiveness. Our platoon embarked for North Africa in July 1943.

For the first eighteen months we processed Italian prisoners of war in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. I was slated to make the invasion of Southern France until an order came at the last minute to send us to Italy instead. Through a fortunate circumstance, this private first class was inexplicably appointed Allied Controller of the Central Institute of Statistics in Rome, known as "Il Controllore Americano." It was something approaching a sub-cabinet post in the military government—certainly the best job any army PFC could ever hope for. With a personal staff of thirty, including a personal chauffeur, an usher, secretary, errand boy, and others, I had time to survey the Italian economic scene and attend more than fifty operas. I was stationed for eight months in Rome. Assigned to the Committee for Price Control in Milan, I participated in the invasion of northern Italy, arriving in time to see Benito Mussolini and Clara Petacci hanging by their heels in front of a Milanese gas station. Finally, after thirty-three months overseas, I was ready for an honorable discharge.

On 4 January 1946, I was reunited with my weekend bride. We had exchanged more than a thousand letters during my nearly three years absence. Somehow we felt closer than we might have done



had we not been separated. We have had an enjoyable marriage and three children. James is a professional actor; Carl is a staff writer for the *Detroit Free Press*; Susan is a graduate of Utah State University and the wife of the conductor of the symphonic and marching bands there.

During my years in North Carolina, social scientists were re-discovering the South—surveying in depth the economy and culture, and accumulating a mass of statistics which eventually went into Howard Odum's monumental *Southern Regions*. An idea often repeated at that time was that all culture is local culture, all history local history; rather than begin with Greece and Rome, one ought to begin with one's own neighborhood, state, and region. The more one understood the culture in which he lived, the closer he came to understanding humanity.

I was excited about the regional approach to economic analysis. My major professor, Milton S. Heath, encouraged me in these studies, and I felt a "burning in my bones" to participate in doing for the American West what Odum, Vance, Heath, and others had done for the American South. There was no systematic, scholarly appraisal of the Mountain West—nothing equivalent to what had been done and was being done for the South.

So in the summer of 1946, having accepted an offer to teach economics at Utah State University, I went to Salt Lake City to discuss dissertation topics with various people. Dr. John A. Widtsoe, former president of Utah State University and of the University of Utah, and an apostle of the LDS Church, suggested I concentrate on Mormon country, rather than all the western states. He pointed out that there was a common cultural heritage and economic background within this broad community, and there was much that could be done. Teaching at Logan, I would have relatively close access to documents in Salt Lake City, and he thought, if I were politic, I would be given access to the abundant materials in the LDS Archives.

Church Historian Joseph Fielding Smith was somehow persuaded to give the project his blessing, and I began researching my dissertation, "Mormon Economic Policies and Their Implementation on the Western Frontier, 1847-1900." The summers were spent in the Historian's Office reading and taking notes from the five or six hundred volume Journal History and other documents in the archives. I was allowed perfect freedom in using these materials. Elder Widtsoe was right. Perhaps no other part of the world

its size is as completely documented as Utah. Letters, minutes, speeches, sermons, account books, diaries—everything necessary to recreate regional history from original source materials—were available to me.

The historic Mormon community was a complete society—diversified and well-balanced. As early as 1850, for example, eighty-five occupations were being practiced in the territory. Utah's relatively well-rounded economy stood in sharp contrast with that of neighboring states and territories. Called upon to service overlanders, miners, and other Westerners in a number of ways, Mormon communities were essential to the progress of non-Mormon settlement and industry in much of the Mountain West.

I sought to locate other persons interested in Mormon studies, and was very much benefited when a group of three other USU faculty members and their wives—S. George and Maria Ellsworth, Eugene E. and Beth Campbell, and Wendell O. and Pearl Rich—agreed to meet once a month with Grace and me to read original papers by each of us on Mormon culture and history. Some of these papers were subsequently published. I was particularly benefited by attending seminars by George Ellsworth on the sources and literature of history. He was my mentor in historical method.

In 1951 I began publishing some of my findings. Beginning that year some of my articles on Mormon economic programs and activities found their way into *Rural Sociology*, *Journal of Economic History*, *Economic History Review*, *Western Humanities Review*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Business History Review*, and other historical journals, books, and encyclopedias.

Upon the advice of my thesis director, my dissertation, completed in 1952, was submitted to the Committee on Research in Economic History, a standing committee of the Economic History Association funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Following the suggestions of the appointed readers, Arthur H. Cole of Harvard and Lewis Atherton of the University of Missouri, I began to revise the dissertation for publication. In 1956 I received a sabbatical from USU and a six-month fellowship, later extended to a full year, at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, in San Marino, California, where the 700-page manuscript of *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* was completed. After eleven years of research and writing, without the aid of research assistants but with the critical comments and suggestions of George Ellsworth, I finished the book.



It was published in 1958 by Harvard University Press while I was in Italy lecturing to university students as a Fulbright Professor of American Economics. There, with the approval of Professor Edward C. Kirkland and his publishers, I rewrote and adapted his splendid book, *A History of American Economic Life*, to serve as a text for Italians interested in American economic history.

Returning to America in 1959, I found that some of those who had read *Great Basin Kingdom* wanted to know whether I was a Mormon. A number of Mormon students wrote to congratulate me that a non-Mormon had written such a fair book. At the same time some non-Mormon readers wrote to express surprise that a Mormon could produce such an objective work. It was my intention in that book to write an impartial study of the Mormon economic system, and how Brigham Young and his associates and successors managed to preserve some of the more unique aspects of the Mormon economic way. In the preface, I presented the need for, and value of, an objective study of this religious economic system:

The true essence of God's revealed will, if such it be, cannot be apprehended without an understanding of the conditions surrounding the prophetic vision, and the symbolism and verbiage in which it is couched. Surely God does not reveal His will except to those prepared, by intellectual and social experience and by spiritual insight and imagination, to grasp and convey it. A naturalistic discussion of "the people and the times" and of the mind and experience of Latter-day prophets is therefore a perfectly valid aspect of religious history, and, indeed, makes more plausible the truths they attempted to convey. While the discussion of naturalistic causes of revelation does not preclude its claim to be revealed or inspired of God, in practice it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish what is objectively "revealed" from what is subjectively "contributed" by those receiving the revelation.<sup>1</sup>

This still represents my point of view as to the necessity and possibility of "naturalistic" history of religion.

*Great Basin Kingdom*, however, was only a beginning. Much remained to be done. Established for religious purposes, dominated by religious sentiments, and long managed by religious leaders, Mormon country—Utah and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming—is an important laboratory for the study

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. ix.



of religion and its relationship to social development. Utah's history illustrates problems connected with settlement of isolated, mountainous, and semiarid regions. Perhaps more importantly, it demonstrates the possibility and techniques of economic development without outside capital. But a perusal of twelve standard works on American history in 1959 revealed only two which mentioned the Mormons and Utah. Of the eight leading texts on American economic history, I found Mormons mentioned in only one, and that in connection with colonization. In Arnold Toynbee's monumental ten-volume history of civilization, Utah and the Mormons are mentioned three times, each time with one line—once in connection with plural marriage, once regarding the trek west from Nauvoo, and once concerning the Book of Mormon.

I felt that neglect of the Mormon heritage in the general American literature did not necessarily reflect a low opinion of their achievements; Theodore Roosevelt, Richard T. Ely, Thomas Nixon Carver, Ray Stannard Baker, William Smythe, and others had made repeated references to Mormon experiments, and eventually voluntary associations, corporations, and state and federal bureaus frankly adopted policies suggested by the Mormon experience. Moreover, that modern Westerner, Walter Prescott Webb, in planning for his television series of seventy lectures on the history of American civilization, planned for two lectures on the Mormons and invited me to present these, in 1963, at the University of Texas.

It seemed clear to me that the superficial treatment of Utah and Mormon history was due to the lack of good, scholarly monographs on which general history authors might base their work. This, in turn, could be attributed to the attitude held by many Utah Mormons that their history was family history, having no significance for anyone but themselves. Or, if they were devout Latter-day Saints, they found Utah history important only insofar as it contributed to an understanding of the history of their Church.

To help improve this situation I applied in 1959 for a grant from Utah State University to fund summer work on Utah and western economic history. Each summer for thirteen years, according to the terms of the grant, I was able to employ a senior or graduate student to collaborate in researching and writing articles and monographs. This began the broadening of my career. Henceforth I would be not only an individual scholar, but an "historical entrepreneur," organizing large projects and team efforts, and often working in collaboration with graduate students and colleagues.



We began with a study of Utah's defense industry. The state had just become a leader in the missile industry, and with Jon G. Perry, I published an article on the development of "Utah's Spectacular Missiles Industry." Then came a series of ten articles in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* on Utah's defense bases—eight in collaboration with Thomas Alexander, one with Archer L. Durham, and one with Tom Alexander and Eugene Erb. There were also articles and monographs on the economy of the Wasatch Front with George Jensen; the beginnings of commercial mining in Utah, Utah industries established by the Defense Plant Corporation during World War II with Anthony T. Cluff and Tom Alexander; the Horn silver bonanza with Wayne Hinton; and studies of several major federal irrigation projects in Utah.

One of the most significant of these early group studies resulted in the publication in 1963 of *The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950*. Under the USU grant I was able to employ two accounting majors and two other assistants for an entire summer to do a detailed analysis of the occupational census reports for each of the eight western states. These compilations were made in such a way as to compare occupational changes within each state or territory over time, and also to compare states and territories at any given stage of development. Comparisons were also made between the Mountain States as a group and the United States as a whole. This analysis antedated the use of the computer, and foreshadowed the kind of studies which the computer has made possible in recent years. The study has been incorporated in the Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in History and demonstrates the contributions which an economist can make to the study of western history.

While finishing a history of the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company, *Beet Sugar in the West*, I became more involved in projects relating to the intellectual, social, and institutional history of Mormonism, as well as its economic aspects. I became acquainted with scholars at other universities and in a variety of disciplines who were interested in western, Utah, and Mormon studies. We exchanged study group speakers and papers. At historical conventions we made it a point to look up others with similar interests. Then, at the September 1965 meeting of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, a dozen of us agreed to prepare for a formal organization of the Mormon History Association. I was designated temporary chairman, a committee was appointed to pre-



pare a constitution and to nominate a slate of officers. At the December meeting of the American Historical Association in San Francisco approximately fifty persons attended the organizing meeting of the MHA. I was elected president, with Eugene Campbell of Brigham Young University and James L. Clayton of the University of Utah, vice-presidents; Dello G. Dayton of Weber State College was secretary-treasurer, and the following were members of the Council: Robert B. Flanders, Graceland College; Davis Bitton of the University of California at Santa Barbara; Alfred Bush of Princeton; and Merle Wells of the Idaho State Historical Society. (This list included a non-Mormon and a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints as well as Latter-day Saints.) The stated purpose of the organization was the promotion of understanding, scholarship, and publication in the field of Mormon history.

For the first few years the Mormon History Association met in conjunction with the annual American Historical Association convention, and then with the Western History Association. By 1970 membership had increased to around 200 and a separate annual convention was initiated each April in Utah or at a historical Mormon location. The association now has a membership of 750, including nearly all professional LDS historians, many seminary and institute of religion teachers, Reorganized LDS historians, and a few persons from other faiths and fields.

We had intended in 1965 to commence publication of a journal entitled *Latter-day Saint History*, but in discussing such a publication we discovered that Eugene England, Wesley Johnson, Joseph Jeppson, and others at Stanford were about to found a new independent journal under the name *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. They agreed to give special attention to historical articles, and we agreed to submit manuscripts and support their publication. I became an advisory editor for *Dialogue* and organized and edited a special Mormon history issue, "Reappraisals in Mormon History," in 1966.

At that time, I was a visiting professor of history at UCLA, teaching classes in Western American history. Alfred A. Knopf contacted me there, suggesting I write a history of Utah and the Mormons for his company—a history which would, he said, "fill the biggest single gap in western history." To my knowledge this was the first time a national publisher had asked an active Mormon to write a major work on the history of his people. I regarded it as



a significant opportunity to demonstrate that Mormon scholars could write responsibly and professionally about their heritage, and provide an antidote for the works of openly hostile or at least unsympathetic writers.

Such a history could not, however, be written from published accounts alone. Knowing of their desire to improve the Mormon Church's image in the nation's history books, I wrote the First Presidency of the Church requesting access to Church correspondence, diaries, minutes, and other documents heretofore restricted. They soon replied with permission for unrestricted use of materials in the Church Historian's Library and Archives. This was the first time such authorization had been given a professional historian, and paved the way for subsequent developments in the use of Church Archives. Because of my appointment as Church Historian, the Knopf book was delayed, but with the collaboration of Davis Bitton, it is now nearing completion.

When I returned to Utah State in the fall of 1967, George Ellsworth suggested we approach Gaurth Hansen, the new academic vice-president of USU, with the idea that USU sponsor a new *Western Historical Quarterly* under the auspices of the Western History Association. I was then vice-president of the association, and since previous efforts to convert other publications (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, *Arizona and the West*, *Pacific Historical Review*)—into a journal suitable for general WHA circulation had failed, we drew up a proposal, which was accepted, for USU to pay for overhead and editorial work, and the association and its members to pay for printing and distribution.

The following year I was elected president of the association and editor of the quarterly, with George Ellsworth as associate editor. Dr. Ellsworth played a leading role in basic policy decisions, format, and copy. We received some fifty manuscripts and published about sixteen the first year.

In 1971 the American Historical Association formed a committee consisting of the editors of leading historical journals in the nation to study potential cooperative activities. Representing the *Western Historical Quarterly*, I was pleased to discover the esteem this publication had acquired among editors of the *American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, *William and Mary Quarterly*, and *Southern Historical Review*.

In the meantime, with the continued support of the Utah State University Research Council, I still directed research on western,



Utah, and Mormon history and benefited from collaboration with others. A brilliant graduate assistant of mine at UCLA, Jon Haupt, persuaded me to make an intensive study of fictional works relating to Mormons, and generously shared his own expertise in literary criticism by collaborating with me on several articles in this genre. We have other articles in our heads if we can only find time to develop them. Working with Truman Madsen of Brigham Young University, I helped develop plans for an annual Mormon history issue of *BYU Studies*. The first such issue, appearing in 1969, contained articles treating the early Joseph Smith period of Mormon history. Special issues have appeared annually on the Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois periods.

Meanwhile, under the USU grant I directed the preparation of three books: "A History of the First Security Corporation, 1928-1973," which the corporation has chosen not to publish; a biography of David Eccles, published in 1975 by Utah State University Press under the title *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist*; and a biography of a Mormon apostle published in 1974 by Brigham Young University Press under the title *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman*. While I am listed as the author of each of these publications, they really represent the research and writing skills of a large number of undergraduates, graduate students, and colleagues who contributed their time and expertise in return for compensation out of project grant funds. It would not be possible to mention all of their names here, but they are credited in the prefaces of these publications. These books represent an attempt to demonstrate that bright students can get good experience and training in research and writing by working under a historian director—and they can produce a creditable product. The two books which were published have received generally favorable reviews. My most recent books are *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons*, with the collaboration of Feramorz Y. Fox, now deceased, and Dean L. May; and *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley*.

At the time of my call to be Church Historian, President Tanner informed me that he had talked with President Dallin Oaks of Brigham Young University, and that, if I agreed, I was to serve also as Lemuel Hardison Redd Professor of Western History and the inaugural director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at that university. Both positions were made possible by a generous grant from Charles Redd, who made funds available for



research and publication in Western American history, lecturers' fees, research fellowships, travel, and the purchase of rare books and manuscripts. It was decided that I should divide my time between BYU and the Historical Department of the Church, with Tom Alexander assisting as associate director of the Redd Center. I asked James B. Allen of Brigham Young University and Davis Bitton of the University of Utah to serve as the two assistant Church historians. Both divide their time between their respective universities and the Church Historical Department.

The Historical Department as it now stands includes four divisions: the Church Library, consisting of published works about Mormon history; the Church Archives, comprising the unpublished works—letters, diaries, minute books, financial ledgers, photographs, films, and phonograph records and tapes; the Church Curator's Division, with charge of the Church's historic sites and collection of art and artifacts; and the Church History Division, under my direction, in which there are fourteen full-time historians and six secretaries and typists. Our mission is to do in-depth research and compile and write books and articles for Church publication and for professional journals. Eight of our fourteen historians have the Ph.D., while others are working toward that goal. All of us are under the general direction of Elder Joseph Anderson, formerly Secretary to the First Presidency of the Church and now a member of the First Quorum of Seventy.

Our History Division staff in the Historical Department is both professionally trained and personally complementary. James Allen is a talented writer and loyal associate. With an extensive background in American history and a Ph.D. from the University of Southern California, Dr. Allen has had experience in the Church's institute system and at BYU. He is probably the best-informed student of twentieth-century Mormon history among Mormon scholars. Davis Bitton, after receiving the Ph.D. from Princeton, taught Renaissance and Reformation history at the University of Texas and at UCSB before coming to the University of Utah. In the preparation of a monumental bibliography (soon to be published) he has read or supervised the reading of every known Mormon diary of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and he has a marvelous capability for critiquing historical manuscripts. Our editor, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, a Ph.D. in comparative literature from the University of Utah, served as managing editor of the *Western Humanities Review* and taught at the University of Utah

before joining our staff. She is a warm, attractive personality, as well as a skillful literary critic.

The program of research and writing which attracted these professional historians and editors to the new Church Historical Department was initiated by the longtime Church Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith. Elder Smith, serving from 1910 to 1970, had been primarily concerned with the preservation of historical documents and artifacts. He sent Earl Olson, Church archivist, to professional seminars throughout America, where he became acquainted with modern classification and security systems in anticipation of the day when the archives would be more accessible to the general public. After 1967, Brother Olson secured clearance from the First Presidency for several historians in addition to myself to have unrestricted access to the archives for scholarly work. It was when Elder Smith became President of the Church in 1970 that Howard W. Hunter, a Church apostle, was appointed Church Historian. Under his direction the archives were prepared to become a working archive as well as a preservation depository. This was finally realized with the organization of the Historical Department in 1972.

With our own appointments in 1972, we members of the History Division sensed we were on the brink of a new era of Mormon and Western American historiography. And our expectations are being fulfilled. Within the first year of operations we:

1. Inaugurated a sixteen-volume sesquicentennial history of the Latter-day Saints, signing contracts with sixteen Mormon scholars and authors located at various universities throughout the nation.
2. Began a Mormon Heritage series of important edited documents, beginning with Brigham Young's letters to his sons.<sup>2</sup>
3. Discovered and catalogued more than fifty boxes of previously unknown materials containing especially valuable Brigham Young documents.
4. Assisted archivists with the preparation of registers and guides to archive collections.
5. Produced articles for several magazines and professional journals.

In the years since 1973, we have worked on biographies, community and area histories, demographic studies, monographs on

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<sup>2</sup>Dean C. Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974).



special topics, and various in-house historical background reports. We have also conducted an ongoing Oral History Program and have taped more than 2,000 hours with some 800 persons thus far. Our program of work is developed by James B. Allen, Davis Bitton, and myself, in consultation with our professional staff and ecclesiastical supervisors (who have been unfailingly supportive of our efforts). We have also assisted others to do research in our archives by granting a number of \$1,000 fellowships each year. We have also assigned certain book projects to professors at Brigham Young University and elsewhere and have thus involved the entire community of Mormon historians in a systematic program of exploring and publishing materials on Mormon history.

Our stewardship as historical entrepreneurs requires many decisions that scholars working alone seldom face. We must decide how to allocate our research staff time and research monies. Should we be preparing research aids and reference works for other scholars, or should we be supplementing the works of other scholars by writing interpretive essays and monographic treatments? Should we approach the task of research by restricting our efforts to the materials in our own archives, basically those previously unused; or should we work on topics that need treating and supplement our own materials with those at other libraries and archives? Should we produce books and articles primarily for our professional colleagues and a national audience, or primarily for members of our own faith?

There are many related questions which require decisions. Assuming we think a good biography of Brigham Young is needed, should we do a highly detailed biography, which might require as many as six volumes? Or restrict ourselves to a conventional one-volume biography? Should it be directed primarily at our fellow Church members, or should it be a definitive "scholarly" biography submitted for national publication?

There is one problem which may be more characteristic of a Church research center such as ours than of many other historical archives. Under what circumstances are we justified in making confidential materials available to professional historians? There are lodged in our archives many hundreds of letters which were written on a confidential basis to the President of the Church or to other high Church officials. Some of these contain confessions of murder, adultery, fornication, burglary, or other crimes. Are we violating the deceased's right to privacy by making such material

available to scholars? Other documents contain minutes of Church trials, where details of wrongdoing are spelled out. Still other minutes tell of disputes between Church officials and record statements made in the heat of passion which the officials must later have regretted.

Some scholars are anxious to get their hands on such documents and emphasize the public's right to know. Others would like to take the information in them into consideration, but feel no necessity to make public the names of the perpetrators. Still others prefer not to know or make known what was in confidential sources. Whether such material should be made available to outside scholars is one question; whether my colleagues and I should see them is another. And if we should, inadvertently or not, see such materials, to what extent are we justified in using them? These questions face us and our ecclesiastical advisers every day.

That no satisfactory "final" answer is apt to be forthcoming is suggested by the lack of agreement as to whether or not Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein were ethically responsible in their second book on Watergate, *The Final Days*. Other archives housing such records as the files of social workers and marital counselors face a similar dilemma. It requires the wisdom of a Solomon to determine the delicate balance between the individual's right to privacy and the public's right to know. Personally I have no wish to be in the position of suppressing useful and relevant information. On the other hand, it would not be proper for me—nor would I wish—to expose the Church, its leaders, and its members to unfair or sensational disclosures about their personal lives. It is inevitable that in my present position I should occasionally feel like the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*. Not only are the administrative problems weighty; the ethical problems require soul-searching. Fortunately, I am able to counsel with understanding brethren.

Happily, the richness of our archives and the complex, exciting events of Mormon history assure that there are many topics of undeniable importance which are unaffected by such ethical complexities. These occupy most of our research attention. Even in areas where the source material does raise questions of privacy, I am optimistic that we are discovering ways of getting at what we need to see and of using our findings in a responsible way, often by means of a quantitative approach that will provide a good sense of what was going on while avoiding the sensationalism



of individual exposure that is typical of some of the more slick popular magazines.

It is almost imperative that Arrington, Allen, Bitton, and Beecher read every article and book manuscript prepared by our own staff, and often the manuscripts of others who request our review. Handling administrative chores during office hours, I usually spend two or three hours each evening, and most of the weekends, reading manuscripts. I spend one day a week at Brigham Young University on projects associated with the Redd Center for Western Studies. Weekly speaking engagements occupy additional time. Consequently, there is not as much time available for independent research and writing as I should like—nor for football games or dinner parties, or for summer vacations. The long conversations I used to enjoy with colleagues and with our children are now replaced by frequent dictated letters.

Nevertheless, I would not change places with any historian in America; nor, as a Mormon, would I change places with any Church official with a different assignment. I am blessed to have what I regard as the most challenging assignment in the field of history, and the most pleasant and exciting assignment in my Church, and I am proud to add that all my work in the documents of the Church has increased my love for it and my faith in its divine mission.

# Toward Manti

Kathryn R. Ashworth

*My son, peace be unto thy soul. . . .*

Doctrine and Covenants 121:7

Here, where the ripe wheat waves and rustles  
In wide sheets across the valley floor,  
Where winds that cut between the mountains pour  
Rolling light upon the slanting tassels,  
Where our shadows pass across the dust and thistles  
Cooling by the quiet road once more  
As we listen to the wind behind, before,  
And feel the cry of locomotive whistles,

Here the hidden mourning dove pronounces  
Three low tones, and here we rest,  
The wind upon the poplars till they fall,  
The world we measure out in pounds and ounces,  
This world that swings the sun from east to west,  
Pausing when we hear the dove's low call.



# Unarmed Descent: The Achievement of R. D. Laing

Terrell M. Butler

The response to R. D. Laing's innovative psychiatry has been varied. One American colleague of Laing sees him as a "brilliant and sensitive paranoid schizophrenic." Another psychoanalyst who is close to Laing, and familiar with his theoretical and clinical work, believes him to be "perhaps the most original and creative psychiatric thinker since Freud."<sup>1</sup> The intention of this essay is, with special reference to Laing's first book, *The Divided Self*, to shed light on what is original and creative in his work. In particular, I would like to explore the importance of his achievement for three related concerns—psychiatric theory and practice, intellectual history, and literary criticism.

## PSYCHIATRIC THEORY AND PRACTICE

A distinction that Michel Foucault makes in *Madness and Civilization* between two characteristic ways of looking at madness can help us understand Laing's contribution to psychiatric thought. The first interprets the experience of the madman as a form of unreason that, precisely because it *is* unreason, can be meaningful to other members of society. Thus, during the European Middle Ages the madman could be seen as a sign of the Beyond, as a bearer of truth from another world, or as one who pointed in an acceptable way to social and personal folly. What is important in this conception is that the madman was integrated into society at a time when reason and nonreason were coherently related. They existed "for each other, in relation to each other, in the exchange which separate[d] them." The second way of looking at madness emerged in Western culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the dialogue between reason and irrationality was cut off. In contrast to the Middle Ages, the Age of Reason interpreted madness

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<sup>1</sup>James S. Gordon, "Who Is Mad? Who Is Sane?" *The Atlantic* 227 (January 1971):57. In the second quotation, Gordon paraphrases his unnamed source.

as unreason that was without positive or meaningful content. In Foucault's words, madness was seen as a "manifestation of non-being." A crucial step in the rejection of the madman as wholly other, as radically distinct from "normal" individuals, was the categorization of madness as mental illness at the end of the eighteenth century. For Foucault the effect of this view of madness as disease has been to deny the voice of unreason, to silence it invidiously from the perspective of a narrowly conceived rationality, to thrust "into oblivion all those stammered, imperfect words without fixed syntax in which the exchange between madness and reason was made."<sup>2</sup> James Gordon offers convincing testimony that the interpretation of insanity as a sickness which manifests itself in recognizable "symptoms" is predominant among psychiatrists today.<sup>3</sup>

Laing's originality is rooted in his fresh view of madness. He wrote in the preface to *The Divided Self* that the overall purpose of his book was to reopen the dialogue between reason and unreason, and in so doing to "make madness, and the process of going mad, comprehensible. . . . I wanted to convey above all that it was far more possible than is generally supposed to understand people diagnosed as psychotic."<sup>4</sup> Instead of seeing madness in terms of symptoms or as completely other, Laing believes schizophrenia (perhaps the most common form of madness in modern society) to be an extreme, uncontrolled version of an "inward migration" familiar to us all in its milder forms. Faced with a danger situation from which no physical escape is possible—one that might occur, say, in a concentration camp—the normal person might experience something akin to a temporary schizophrenia in his attempt to withdraw into an inner realm that seems safe and at a distance from what threatens him. But in the case of people who are perpetually unsure of themselves as real, alive, whole, or autonomous beings, this dissociation of self is not a temporary, easily reversed reaction to a specific and limited moment of danger. Rather it is an ongoing, too often irreversible way of approaching all situations, because all or nearly all situations are seen as threatening to the very existence and being of such ontologically insecure individuals.

As the ontologically insecure person withdraws into his inner fantasy world, a world that promises to be a realm of transcendence

<sup>2</sup>Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: New American Library, 1967), pp. x, 100.

<sup>3</sup>Gordon, "Who Is Mad?" pp. 50-56. Cf. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Between Existentialism and Marxism*, trans. John Mathews (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 204.

<sup>4</sup>R. D. Laing, *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 9, 11.



and freedom, the "unembodied" self establishes itself as an abstracted, noninvolved observer and repudiates the actions of the outer, false-self system. The inner self comes to regard these actions as a purely mechanical, alien attempt to conform to the demands of the exterior world. But unnourished by outer reality, alone and isolated in an inner nothingness, the unembodied self becomes increasingly infused with fear, hostility, despair, and a sense of its own nonbeing. As a result of the individual's confused need to "come out," to emerge undisguised in the world, and his simultaneous terror of doing so, multiple splits may occur in the already divided self. Ultimately this posture of self-defense proves impossible to maintain. The longer the inner self remains aloof and abstracted in its effort to escape annihilation, the more empty, "phantasticized," and chaotic it becomes. According to Laing, the passage from the sane or schizoid condition, in which the individual has made a temporarily successful adjustment to reality on the basis of this split between inner and outer experience, to the psychotic or schizophrenic state may occur gradually, even imperceptibly. But the transition may also be sudden, dramatic, and shocking. Should the unembodied self begin to want overwhelmingly to "escape from its shut-upness, to end the pretense, to be honest, to reveal and declare and let itself be known without provocation, one may be witness to the onset of an acute psychosis." Though outwardly sane, such a person "has been becoming progressively insane inside."<sup>5</sup>

One of the remarkable features of Laing's phenomenology of madness is the lucidity with which it shows how psychopathology is related to normal, everyday life. As Foucault has reminded us, Freud was a pioneer in his conscious attempt to demonstrate the passage from mental health to psychosis to be a gradual one. He temporarily "restored, in medical thought, the possibility of a dialogue with unreason."<sup>6</sup> But we shall see that Laing lets unreason speak for itself even more clearly and convincingly than Freud did. Beginning with an existential condition (ontological insecurity) and a typical response to it (schizoid withdrawal and playacting) that cannot be completely foreign (and may be all too familiar) to his readers, Laing leads them into the chaotic, anguished world of the schizophrenic. He exposes them to a view of this world, allows them to feel its texture, glimpse its meaning. He lets them grasp the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar and thereby sense the

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<sup>5</sup>Laing, *Divided Self*, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup>Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 162.



links between ordinary, "sane" experience and madness—this in spite of the fact that, as Laing is careful to point out, the heart of the schizophrenic's experience must remain inexplicable to the normal person.<sup>7</sup> *The Divided Self* thus becomes a mirror in which many readers can hardly avoid seeing themselves. The mingled feelings of illumination and uneasiness we are left with after reading Laing's book attest to the effectiveness of his language, categories, and overall approach.

Laing succeeds in reestablishing existential as well as conceptual ties with the madman. In the introductory pages of *The Divided Self*, Laing insists that psychotherapy must be genuinely compassionate. He argues that to view schizophrenics either as configurations of biological "it-processes" or as automata made up of functional parts is fundamentally mistaken. Seeing people as animals or things instead of persons is a reifying approach to psychotherapy which reflects the same contradictory, inhumane conditions, the lack of acceptance, from which the schizophrenic is trying to escape. At best such an approach may prevent the psychiatrist from understanding or helping his patients; at worst it may intensify the patients' fears and frustrations. Psychiatry then becomes *self*-contradictory and *self*-defeating in a very full and destructive sense. Finally this kind of psychiatry reveals itself for what it is—namely, a means of self-protection in the face of perceptions and behavior the analyst is afraid to admit as human and therefore potentially his own. Freud, for Laing "the greatest psychopathologist," used theoretical structures in this self-protective manner. Freud was a "hero" who "descended to the 'Underworld'" and there encountered "stark terrors." But he "carried with him his theory as a Medusa's head which turned these terrors to stone." Laing wants to understand the schizophrenic's universe "without using a theory that is in some measure an instrument of defense." According to Laing, the therapist must learn to see his patients as agents instead of objects—i.e., in terms of their own unique perspective on reality, their fears, hopes, desires, abilities, and limitations. He must try to enter into the world of the schizophrenic and see that world in its unity and richness. Therapy for Laing is a manifestation of love rather than a bludgeon or a set of barriers—a form of empathy in the presence of which the schizophrenic, because he is to a significant degree understood, ceases to be merely a schizophrenic and becomes a special *person*. Often the task of the

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<sup>7</sup>Laing, *Divided Self*, p. 179.



therapist is simply to try to "make contact with the original 'self' of the individual" and nurse it back to life.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Laing's primary goal as a psychoanalyst is to insure that the "voyage of discovery into self" will be a healing process "through which the person may be guided and during which he is guarded."<sup>9</sup> In actual practice Laing's methods have led to a relatively small but significant number of what he calls "microrevolutions" (deep-structure personality changes) in mental hospitals, in individual therapy, and in communal experiments like Kingsley Hall near London.<sup>10</sup>

On the levels of description and analysis, then, as well as on the level of therapy, Laing has tried to be consistent with what might be termed a first-person (as opposed to a third-person or reifying) view of schizophrenia—a view that focuses on the schizophrenic's own experience of himself and the world, and attempts to understand him in terms of his fears, hopes, desires, abilities, and limitations rather than by means of elaborate theoretical models. One result of this first-person approach is a conceptual framework (Laing refuses to call the ideas elaborated in *The Divided Self* a theory) that has greater explanatory power in some respects than Freud's model. The case-study examples in *The Divided Self* show Laing able to come to grips with most if not all classes of psychic phenomena that Freud successfully explained—with neurotic anxiety, dreams, parapraxes, and phobias, for example, as well as with acute psychosis. On the other hand, for Freud (and for contemporary Freudians as well) narcissism always remained problematical and not fully worked into his theory.<sup>11</sup> Toward the end of his life Freud noted that one limitation on the success of his methods was "the form of the illness." He added that narcissism was "unsuitable to a greater or lesser extent" and did not readily lend itself to effective treatment by psychoanalysis.<sup>12</sup> Laing, how-

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-59, 25. Cf. this passage from *The Divided Self*: "The personalities of doctor and psychotic, no less than the personalities of expositor [of a text] and [its] author, do not stand opposed to each other as two external facts that do not meet and cannot be compared. Like the expositor, the therapist must have the plasticity to transpose himself into another strange and even alien view of the world. In this act, he draws on his own psychotic possibilities, without forgoing his sanity. Only thus can he arrive at an understanding of the patient's *existential position*. . . . By 'understanding' I do not mean a purely intellectual process. For understanding one might say love. . . . What is necessary, though not enough, is a capacity to know how the patient is experiencing himself and the world, including oneself" (p. 34).

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in Gordon, "Who Is Mad?" p. 56.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-66. See especially the case of Mary Barnes on pp. 62-64.

<sup>11</sup>Charles Brenner, *An Elementary Textbook of Psychoanalysis* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974), pp. 98-99.

<sup>12</sup>Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1933), p. 155.



ever, argues that excessive self-consciousness grows out of the ontologically insecure person's paradoxical need both to assure himself that he exists by "seeing" himself in the consciousness of another person, and to be aware of himself as always exposed to danger just by virtue of his being looked at by others. Narcissism is often, in Laing's conceptual scheme, a tactic adopted by the schizoid individual to save himself from annihilation.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting that Freud, who tended to analyze patients from afar and from the point of view of symptoms, libido flow, and mechanistic analogies, was unable to give a satisfactory account of this experience of self-absorption that can be shown to be comprehensible in terms of Laing's first-person perspective on madness.

A further result of his first-person approach is what it reveals about the ideological function of conventional psychoanalysis. (I am using "ideology" here in the sense given the concept by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology*, where they define it as a rationalization or series of rationalizations which represent the *dominant* interests in society as the *common* interests. According to Marx and Engels, the prevailing class will "give its ideas the form of universality and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones."<sup>14</sup> In particular, ideas or life-styles that threaten established society by exposing its weaknesses are not recognized as either rational or meaningful by dominant groups.) For Laing most contemporary psychiatry fills an ideological role. It isolates individuals who cannot adjust to the existing social order in mental hospitals where conditions are often intolerable, and reintegrates mental patients into society by imposing on them accepted social values. "Psychiatry," says Laing, "could be, and some psychiatrists are, on the side of transcendence, of genuine freedom, and of true human growth." But, he continues,

psychiatry can so easily be a technique of brainwashing, of inducing behavior that is adjusted, by (preferably) non-injurious torture. . . . I would wish to emphasize that our "normal" "adjusted" state is too often the abdication of ecstasy, the betrayal of our true potentialities, that many of us are only too successful in acquiring a false-self system to adapt to false realities.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Laing, *Divided Self*, pp. 108-12. Although Laing denies that schizoid self-scrutiny is narcissistic, autoeroticism is a prominent feature of self-scrutiny in the clinical examples he discusses. See especially the cases of Mrs. R., David, and Peter in *Divided Self*, pp. 111, 57, 72-73, 123.

<sup>14</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, From *The German Ideology*, in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, ed. and trans. Loyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), p. 439.

<sup>15</sup>Laing, *Divided Self*, p. 12.



What he is saying here is that psychiatry, by denying the truth of the schizophrenic's inner experience and requiring outward compliance with existing conditions, merely reinforces or reinstitutes the original schizoid split. Psychiatric rehabilitation is a means of orienting people to and maintaining the status quo in a nightmarish manner. This is a judgment in which Edmund Leach, for one, concurs:

We claim, of course, that our mental hospitals and our approved schools are intended to cure the sick and delinquent, but "cure" in this context simply means compelling the unorthodox to conform to conventional notions of normality. Cure is the imposition of discipline by force; it is the maintenance of the values of the existing order against threats which arise from its own internal contradictions.<sup>16</sup>

Understood this way, the wisdom of psychiatry turns into a form of unwisdom. Indeed, Laing's thought leads to a reversal of old values in which "mad" implies something more sane and real than "normal"—more sane because the schizoid experience is at least initially true to human needs and hopes in its instinctive withdrawal from what is perceived as a hostile outer reality; and more real because madness grants special value to a private, inner world too often either neglected in psychiatric treatment and/or forced into artificial compliance with exterior requirements.

Here I would like to offer a criticism of this aspect of Laing's argument. For Laing as for Foucault, conventional psychiatry is an ideological means of categorizing certain individuals and experiences as "sick," "insane," or "unreal," and thereby rejecting them without having understood them. But Laing's thought, to the degree that it lacks conceptual tools for adequately analyzing contemporary society, is like the ideology he opposes in at least one important sense. In *The Divided Self* and *The Politics of Experience*, he is willing to say that in many respects modern society is itself sick, mad, and grotesquely untrue to human needs: "We are born into a world where alienation awaits us. We are potentially men but are in an alienated state, and this state is not simply a natural system. Alienation as our present destiny is achieved only by outrageous violence perpetuated by human beings on human beings."<sup>17</sup> Yet although he tries in other books to document the sources of schizophrenia in the

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<sup>16</sup>Edmund Leach, *A Runaway World?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 35-36.

<sup>17</sup>R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), p. 13.



family and in interpersonal relations (*Sanity, Madness and the Family, Self and Others, and Knots*), his interpretive framework is sociologically weak. It is not up to a theoretically satisfying or conceptually interesting critique of social institutions and their relationship to madness. What he does seem to be able to say in this area is that there are "schizophrenogenic" families and interpersonal situations in which confused, conflicting, and hostile expectations threaten some persons drastically and ultimately bring about radical dissociations of self.<sup>18</sup> But beyond this Laing gives us no idea of what might be the exact nature and source of social pathology in today's world, or of structural changes that could be made to overcome modern man's alienation. Instead we are left with variations on a theme—the accusation that society has somehow gone mad.

#### INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

But we have seen that Laing succeeds brilliantly in other dimensions of his project. I would like to conclude by briefly discussing some implications of his work for intellectual history and literary analysis. What then are some of the uses of *The Divided Self* in the study of other thinkers? Many of Laing's ideas are similar to those of major thinkers who are at times less immediately clear than Laing. He thus provides us with tools for understanding their thought. Jean-Paul Sartre's conceptual universe, in *Being and Nothingness* for example, is far more abstract, his argument more dense than Laing's. But Sartre, like Laing, describes a world of alienation in which the consciousness of the Other is experienced as a paralyzing death ray, a world in which there is a dichotomy between an external viscous reality (for Sartre the *en soi*) and an inward realm of negative freedom and transcendence (the *pour soi*). In my experience with *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre's universe was more comprehensible after I had read *The Divided Self* than before.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Laing, *Divided Self*, p. 190.

<sup>19</sup>As the following passage from *Between Existentialism and Marxism* illustrates, Sartre seems aware of the affinity between his philosophy and Laing's psychiatry: "Psychoanalysis can explain the motivation of someone who 'acts out' his drama, but the acting itself, which interiorises, surpasses and preserves the morbid motivations within the unity of a tactic, the act which gives a meaning to the meaning conferred on us—hitherto psychoanalysts have not bothered to take account of this. Why not? Because it would mean reintroducing the notion of the subject. [But in England and Italy] a new generation of psychiatrists are seeking to establish a bond of reciprocity between themselves and those they are treating. Without abandoning anything of the immense gains of psychoanalytic knowledge, they respect above all, in each patient, their mislaid freedom to act—as subjects and as agents" (pp. 204-05).



Another thinker whose ideas Laing can help clarify is Emile Durkheim. Durkheim is convincing in his treatment of the structural causes of pathology in modern society; as we might expect, he is more sketchy in his discussion of the psychological manifestations of social breakdown. We have seen that Laing's strength is his ability to map the abnormal personality in depth. But Durkheim devotes several pages of *Suicide* to his model of the psychology of egoistic suicide. What is interesting is that this model is strikingly similar to Laing's description of the schizoid split between inner and outer experience, as the following passage from *Suicide* shows:

In revulsion from its surroundings consciousness becomes self-preoccupied . . . and undertakes as its main task self-observation. . . . If it [consciousness] individualizes beyond a certain point, if it separates itself too radically from other beings, men or things, it finds itself unable to communicate with the very essence of its normal nourishment and no longer has anything to which it can apply itself. . . . Its only remaining object of thought is its inner nothingness and the resulting melancholy.<sup>20</sup>

Here *The Divided Self* can help us grasp certain of Durkheim's ideas that are important to his argument but which he does not develop extensively.

Laing may also prove useful to intellectual historians in the same way Freud has. For example, *The Divided Self* might serve as the basis for a psychobiographical study of a key thinker, in this case Soren Kierkegaard. Walter Lowrie has shown that Kierkegaard was driven further and further into inwardness by the demands of a severe Protestant upbringing and by repeated rebuffs from other people. At one point Lowrie argues that Kierkegaard's various pseudonyms might be the expression of a fragmented self that developed in response to overwhelming tensions and frustrations.<sup>21</sup> But Lowrie's analysis is incomplete; at best it suggests questions that might be profitably answered from Laing's point of view. What, for example, were the dynamics of Kierkegaard's attempt at inner transcendence? In what ways did his inwardness develop in response to perceived threats from without? Could "schizophrenogenic" childhood experience be found partially to explain this process? What, as precisely as possible, was the relationship between Kierkegaard's inward retreat and his broken love affair with

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<sup>20</sup>Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951), p. 279.

<sup>21</sup>Walter Lowrie, *Kierkegaard*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), 1:286-90, 212, 218, 19-27.



Regina or the attack on him in the comic newspaper *Corsair*? To what extent was his thought an attempt to regain a lost immediacy? Kierkegaard rejected the Danish church, for example, because he believed it to be the institutionalized essence of falseness and externality. In what sense were crises in his life expressions of a need to escape an inner nothingness? The primary reason why Laing seems so well suited for use in a psychobiographical study focusing on these and similar questions is that his main categories—ontological insecurity, inwardness, the repudiation of a false external reality, and despair—closely resemble many of the major themes of Kierkegaard's own life and thought.

#### LITERARY CRITICISM

But the area in which I find Laing most suggestive is literary criticism. On the one hand, I find that he helps me articulate my intuitions about the modern literature I read in terms of a unified, adequately-nuanced conceptual scheme. On the other hand, he sharpens my awareness of key aspects of character and situation I might otherwise have neglected or overlooked. One instance of a work to which a Laingian analysis could profitably be applied is Sartre's short story "The Wall"; a more obvious and difficult example is Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Notes from Underground*.

In the first, faced with what Karl Jaspers has called a *Grenzsituation* (here execution by a firing squad), the three main characters react to the threat of death by attempting to "lose" themselves in an inner transcendence. They become abstracted, hyperconscious, preoccupied with watching from a distance. They watch themselves, each other, and the stupid Belgian doctor who comes to observe them in the hours just before they are to be executed. In the words of the first-person narrator Pablo Ibbieta, the condemned men become "three bloodless shadows," drained of life and substance, disoriented, and alienated from everything outside themselves. From this inner perspective, their own bodies seem strange, unreal to them: "Tom . . . put out his hand and touched the wood [bench] cautiously as if he were afraid of something, then drew back his hand quickly and shuddered. . . . I too found that objects had a funny look . . . my body, I saw with its eyes, I heard with its ears, but it was no longer me. . . ." <sup>22</sup>

In the second, Dostoevsky's underground man is, more patho-

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<sup>22</sup>Jean-Paul Sartre, "The Wall," in *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre*, ed. Walter Kaufmann (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956), p. 235.



logically, unable to establish any meaningful relationship with himself or other people. His experience is split between his daydreams in which he is a hero "on a white horse . . . wearing a laurel wreath," and his slavish efforts to conform outwardly to social conventions: "I merged fervently with the common pattern, and with all my heart I feared any eccentricity in myself." What he presents to the world is not his "true" self but a series of deliberate disguises. As his hypocritical rejection of the prostitute, Lisa, reveals, his inner isolation is tragic and final. His melodramatic, cliché-ridden attempt to shame her into respectability ("Love! Why, don't you see that it's everything, it's a jewel, a maiden's treasure, that's what love is!") turns into a vicious repudiation of this posture of concern (" . . . I want you to know that I was laughing at you. . . . And I'm laughing at you now."). According to the underground man, this incident shows "how I ruined my life because of moral decay in a corner, lack of proper surroundings, estrangement from living things, and self-centered nastiness in the underground. . . ." Like many of the people described in *The Divided Self*, he is completely and finally unable to realize himself, to trust others enough to "come out" and create a consistent, honest identity: "I not only did not manage to become nasty, but I did not manage to become anything at all, not nasty, not nice, not crooked, not honest, not a hero, not an insect."<sup>23</sup>

In conclusion, I have argued that the key to Laing's contribution is his consistent first-person approach to the problem of schizophrenia. Insisting that schizophrenics be accepted as persons to be listened to and understood instead of seen as objects to be manipulated, Laing has illuminated the subterranean depths of madness in ways that have resulted in concrete gains for psychiatry as well as other disciplines. He himself has likened this confrontation with madness to an unarmed descent into an Underworld filled with terrors that must be faced to be comprehended. Seen in this light, *The Divided Self* is more than a contribution to thought; it is something of an heroic achievement as well.

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<sup>23</sup>Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Notes from Underground*, trans. Serge Shishkoff and ed. Robert G. Durgy (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), pp. 5, 124, 116, 42, 54. For Laing's incisive analysis of the psychology of dream, fantasy, imagination, and memory in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, see R. D. Laing, *Self and Others* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), pp. 46-52, 145-53.

# The Old Philosopher

Linda Sillitoe

It is worth the coin in pain to wrench my head,  
confronting the repeated noise of bird  
that interrupts internal tedium.

There. Upon that slanting post a red  
smudge between dark wings, a robin's word  
to anyone, "here I am, I am,"

is the second thing I like. The first is this:  
my cell is three doors past the delivery room  
and every child drenched in sudden air  
who finds his toes unraveled from his hair,  
hands flapping no boundaries, the womb  
well lost, wails his knowledge, I exist!

*My numbed and stricken wife, for my pleading  
blinked one eye to affirm identity  
true as one Indian intricately beading  
a bricklayer slapping strophe after strophe  
like a typewriter bleed blow breath  
build brick whack blood death*

These thoughts unlatch the joinings of the walls  
which float away. The sounds of bird and squalling  
infant keen the idiom of skies—  
not of stars, but of unseen thinkers differing  
as star from star. One like a comet falls  
in wingless flight, a newborn human cries.

My voice is mine, my hands grope loosening air,  
within my brain a heart, within an ear  
which hears another voice. Know that I  
am Alpha and Omega, Lord of sky  
and Earth, beginning and end, exalt and damn.

*The robin spoke the word: Ego, I am.*

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# The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan

Richard H Jackson

As settlement in the United States progressed beyond the Appalachians, establishment of cities became the focus of intense speculative activity. From the 1790s until the land had been settled there was a "city-mania" among Americans, contemporary observers noting that nearly every person in the Ohio-Mississippi Valley had in his pocket a grandiose plan for a city that he wanted to sell in whole or part.<sup>1</sup> The claims for these newly established, proposed, or imagined cities were eloquent.<sup>2</sup> All maintained the advantages of city life with its opportunities for education and social interaction. Some of these cities—Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, Pitts-

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A paper read at the symposium on "The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West," November 13-14, 1975.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Claims by city promoters in newspapers led to a certain degree of cynicism concerning them as early as the 1820s, as may be seen in the following advertisement for the city of Skunksburgh, published in a Cincinnati paper in the fall of 1819: "This charming place, better known as Log-Hall, heretofore the residence of Fiddler Billy, is situated in Wilks county, not far from the junction of Pickett's main spring branch, and a Western fork, called the Slough, which runs in the rainy season, and washes the confines of Farnsworth's lower hog pens. This noble stream, by the use of proper and sufficient means, may be made navigable to the sea. It abounds in delicate minnows, a variety of terrapins, and . . . frogs, which, in size, voice, and movement, are inferior to none. . . . A noble bluff of 18 inches commands the harbor, and affords a most advantageous situation for defensive military works. This bluff slopes off into nearly a level, diversified only by the gentle undulations of surface, as will give a sufficient elevation for the principal public edifices. Commodious and picturesque positions will be therefore reserved for the Exchange and City hall, a church, one Gymnastic and Polytechnic foundation, one Olympic and two Dramatic theatres, an Equestrian circus, an observatory, two marine and two Foundling Hospitals, and in the most commercial part of the city will be a reservation for seventeen banks, to each of which may be attached a lunatic Hospital. . . . The future advantages of this situation is now impossible to calculate; but already it is the emporium of all the water mellons, ground pease, and suck collars, and all the brooms, chickens, and baskets, that are bought and sold among the before mentioned places, in the course of commerce. To mercantile men, however, a mere statement of its geographical position is deemed sufficient, without comment. It stands on about the middle ground between Baltimore and Orleans, Charleston and Nickajak, Savannah and Coweta, Knoxville and St. Mary's, Salisbury and Cusseta, and between Little Heil on the Altamaha, and Telfico block house. A line of Velocipede stages will be immediately established from Skunksburgh straight through the O-ke-fin-o-cau Swamp, to the southernmost

burgh—prospered. Others, such as the Town of America, New Lisbon, Port Lawrence, and Palermo, were not so fortunate.

The cities and towns which were founded during this period were remarkably similar. With the exception of Circleville, Ohio, most town plats consisted of a regular grid pattern with straight streets crossing at right angles.<sup>3</sup> The pattern of America's cityscape was not random, for although the initial settlements of New England had an irregular pattern, the vast majority of all cities of the United States were laid out according to a definite plan. Early examples of planned cities include Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1683), Savannah, Georgia (1733), and Washington, D. C. (1791). These and nearly all others were based on a rectangular grid pattern, normally modeled after that of Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup>

Out of this milieu, Joseph Smith proposed the City of Zion plan. The basis for the City of Zion plan is unclear; sent to the brethren in Missouri on 25 June 1833, it is nowhere given the status of a revelation, though it is possible that it was in part inspired by descriptions of the New Jerusalem in Revelations 21 or Ezekiel 48. In general, however, the grid pattern layout and the reasons given for establishing the city in its prescribed form vary but little from those used elsewhere in the trans-Appalachian region.

General instructions relative to the city plan were included in marginal notes:

Explanation—This plot contains one mile square all the squares in the plot contains ten acres each being 40 rods square you will observe that the lots are laid off alternate in the squares in one square running from the south and North to the line through the middle of the square and the next the lots runs from the east and west to the middle line each lot is 4 perches in front and 20 back

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point of the Florida peninsula; and, as soon as a canal shall be cut through the rocky mountains, there will be direct communication with the Columbia river, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. Then opens a theatre of trade bounded only by the Universe!

Andrew Aircastle  
Theory M'Vision  
M. L. Moonlight, Jr., & Co.  
Proprietors

(*Liberty Hall Cincinnati*, 1 October 1819, as cited in Wade, *The Urban Frontier*, pp. 32-33.)

<sup>3</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of town plots in the United States, see John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

<sup>4</sup>William I. Goodman, ed., *Principles and Practices of Urban Planning* (Washington, D. C.: International City Managers' Association, 1968), p. 9, notes that Philadelphia was widely copied as towns sprang up in the United States. Wade, *The Urban Frontier*, and Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, contain numerous examples of the influence of Philadelphia on urban form in the United States.



making  $\frac{1}{4}$  [an error, it makes  $\frac{1}{2}$ ] of an acre in each lot so that no one street will be built on inturly through the street but one square the houses stand on one street and on the next on another except the middle range of squares which runs North and south in which range are the painted squares the lots are laid off in these squares North and south all of them because these squares are 40 perches by 60 perches being twenty perches longer than the others the long way of them being east and west and by runing all the lots in these squares North and south it makes all the lots in the City of one size the painted squares in the middle are for publick buildings the one without any figures is for store houses for the Bishop and to be devoted to his use figure one is for Temples for the use of the presidency the circles inside of this square are the places for the temples you will see it contains twelve figures Figure 2 is for the Temples for the lesser Priesthood<sup>5</sup> it also is to contain 12 Temples the whole plot is supposed to contain from 15 to 20 thousand people you will therefore see that it will require 24 buildings to supply them with houses of worship schools & none of these temples are to be smaller than the one of which we send you the draft<sup>6</sup> this Temple is to be built in square marked figure one and and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it. On the north and south of the lot where the line is drawn is to be laid off for barns stables etc for the use of the city so that no barns or stables will be in the City among the houses the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom. On the North and South are to be laid off the farms for the agriculturists a sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot and if it cannot be laid off without going too great a distance from the city there must also be laid off on the east and west when this square is thus laid off and supplied lay off another in the same way and so fill up the world in these last days and let every man live in the City for this is the City of Zion.

All the streets are of one width being eight perches wide also the space round the outer edge of the painted squares is to be eight perches (rods) between the Temple and the street on every side.

The scale of the plot is 40 perches to the inch.

No one lot in this City is to contain more than one house & that is to be built 25 feet back from the street leaving a small yard in front to be planted in a grove according to the taste of the builder the rest of the lot for gardens & all the houses to be of brick & stone.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The two squares with numbers in them are labeled one and two.

<sup>6</sup>These temples were apparently meant to be multipurpose buildings used for worship, education, and other public functions.

<sup>7</sup>Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902-1932), 1:357-59 (hereafter cited as *HC*), and B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), 1:311-12. Neither of these transcriptions coincides exactly with the wording found on the margins of the plat, although that in *HC* differs in only a few words



If you let in the water it is to contain more than one ounce & 1/2 lb to be built  
 no last back more the chest has being a 1/2 ounce rise in water to be 1/2 lb  
 in a quantity to the water the number of lbs to the water 1/2 lb  
 all the houses to be  
 at 1/2 lb

[illegible]

*See page 200 of the book*

1/2 in. stone

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The important features of the proposed city are its uniform grid system, location of houses on alternate sides of the blocks, uniform setback and construction material for houses, separate district for public buildings from which residences were barred, and location of farmlands and animals outside the residential section. This plan was utopian in nature, apparently not completely thought out, and never fully implemented. The city's proposed population, for instance, suggests a lack of careful planning. According to the marginal notes, the city would contain 15,000 or 20,000 people. Simple calculation reveals that there are 42 blocks, each containing 20 lots set aside for residential use, and 4 larger blocks each containing 32 lots. This means that 16 people would have to reside on each lot if the population were 15,000 and 21 people would have to live on each lot if there were 20,000. Moreover, this density was to be achieved with "but one house on a lot."<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to compare the proposed City of Zion with other cities of the United States at that time. It differed in all respects from the New England village, with its irregular blocks and narrow streets, but is remarkably similar to Philadelphia and other cities of the Ohio Valley established in the early 1800s. Philadelphia, like the City of Zion, consists of a regular gridiron street pattern, with open land for public buildings, uniform spacing and setback for all buildings, a central square of ten acres, and major streets of 100-foot width.<sup>9</sup>

Wide streets have been emphasized as being a unique aspect of the City of Zion plat, but many other communities established in the 1810-1830 period have street widths as wide or even wider. For example, Waverly, Ohio (1831) had a main street 215 feet wide; Sandusky, Ohio, (1830) had streets 125 feet wide; Fremont, Ohio (1816) had main streets 132 feet wide; and Bellevue, Clyde, and Woodville, Ohio, all had streets 120 feet wide.<sup>10</sup> Numerous other examples could be given, but the significant point is that communities in the area where Joseph Smith lived and visited had street widths comparable to those of the City of Zion plat. Street widths do become an important distinguisher of

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and phrases. The original plat, from which my transcription was made, is located in the Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>8</sup>HC, 1:358-59. The only other explanation for the apparent miscalculation in population is that the Prophet was thinking of polygamous families at this early date. Average family size of the time never approached this figure.

<sup>9</sup>Goodman, *Urban Planning*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup>Information obtained through personal correspondence with records offices of the respective communities.

the Mormon village in the Great Basin settlements, however, as will be discussed later.

The requirement for locating barns outside of town in the City of Zion plat reflects life in other communities of the time in which the problem of livestock odor and waste disposal was one of the central concerns of all communities.<sup>11</sup> The concept of small farms outside the town was found in most communities in New England and in the trans-Appalachian settlements. When Cincinnati was established in 1789, lands around the town were divided into four-acre farms, while at Lexington, Kentucky (1781) they were divided into five- and ten-acre plots.<sup>12</sup> The only factor which was unique to the City of Zion plat of Joseph Smith was the *uniform* width of the streets. Other communities established during the era had wide main streets, but the side streets rarely exceeded 99 feet in width. The significant point which emerges when the City of Zion plat is compared with contemporary American towns is the similarity of the City of Zion to the other towns.

None of the later Mormon settlements founded under the Prophet's direction followed the City of Zion plan exactly, although Kirtland, Ohio, surveyed shortly after the plat for the City of Zion was developed, followed it most closely. The blocks of Kirtland were square, with 20 lots per block, alternate blocks having their lots oriented differently (see figure 2). Kirtland does not have a center tier of larger blocks as did the proposed City of Zion, but resembles it otherwise.

The later communities developed under Joseph Smith's leadership departed radically from his proposed City of Zion but have characteristics which do fall within the range found in communities in the trans-Appalachian west. The Mormons laid out a city at Far West, Missouri, in 1836 which was dissimilar in many respects to the City of Zion. Four large streets, each 132 feet wide, bordered a central square and extended through the city. The other streets in Far West were 82½ feet wide, and the blocks were 396 feet square and were divided into 4 equal size lots, each lot being approximately 100 feet square. The plan of Far West is identical to other cities of the Midwest (see figure 3). The layout of Nauvoo (1840) also differed from the City of Zion plat; the streets were narrow, all being 50 feet wide, and the blocks were the same size and

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<sup>11</sup>Wade, *The Urban Frontier*, p. 21, for example, notes the efforts of the citizens of Lexington, Kentucky, to keep sheep and hogs off the streets.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 24.



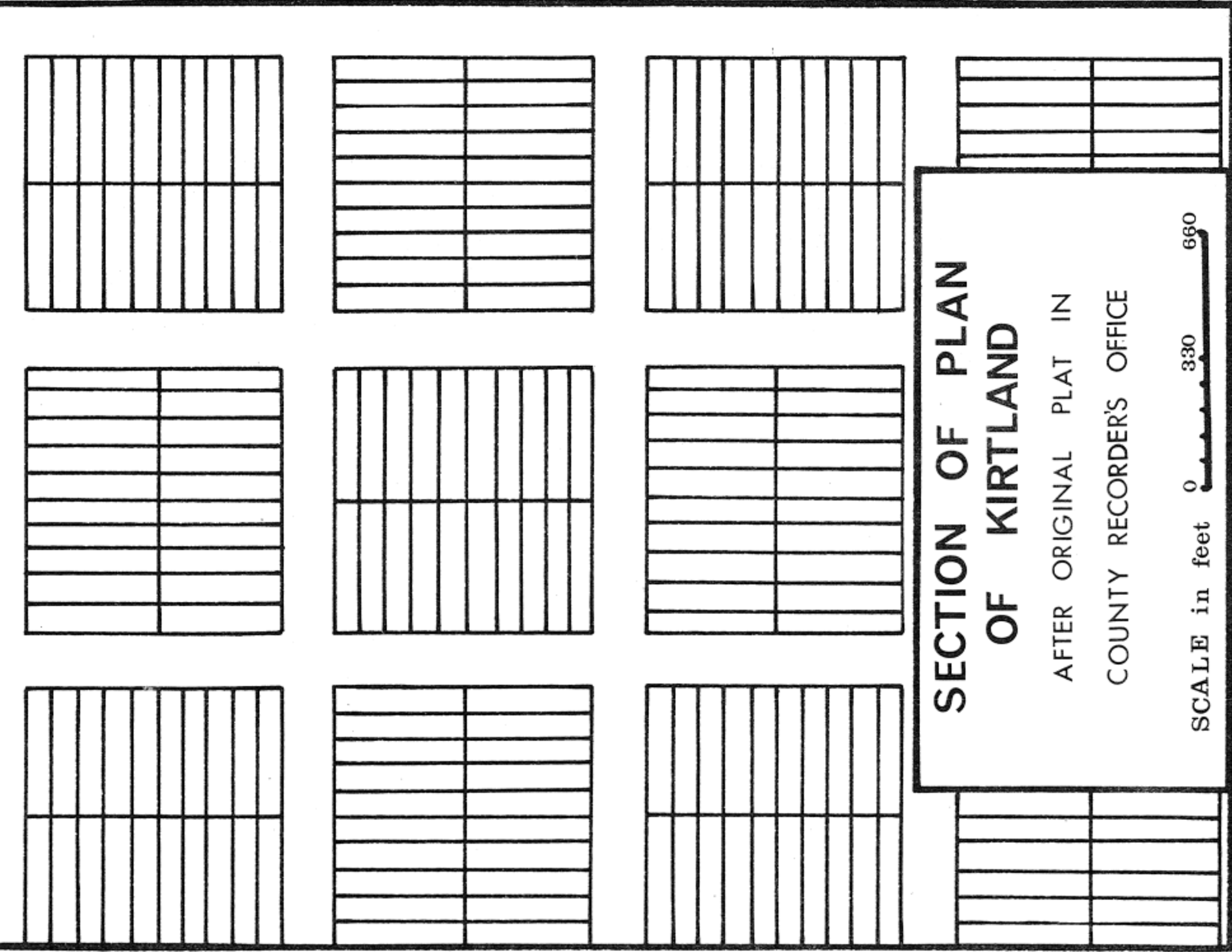


Figure 2

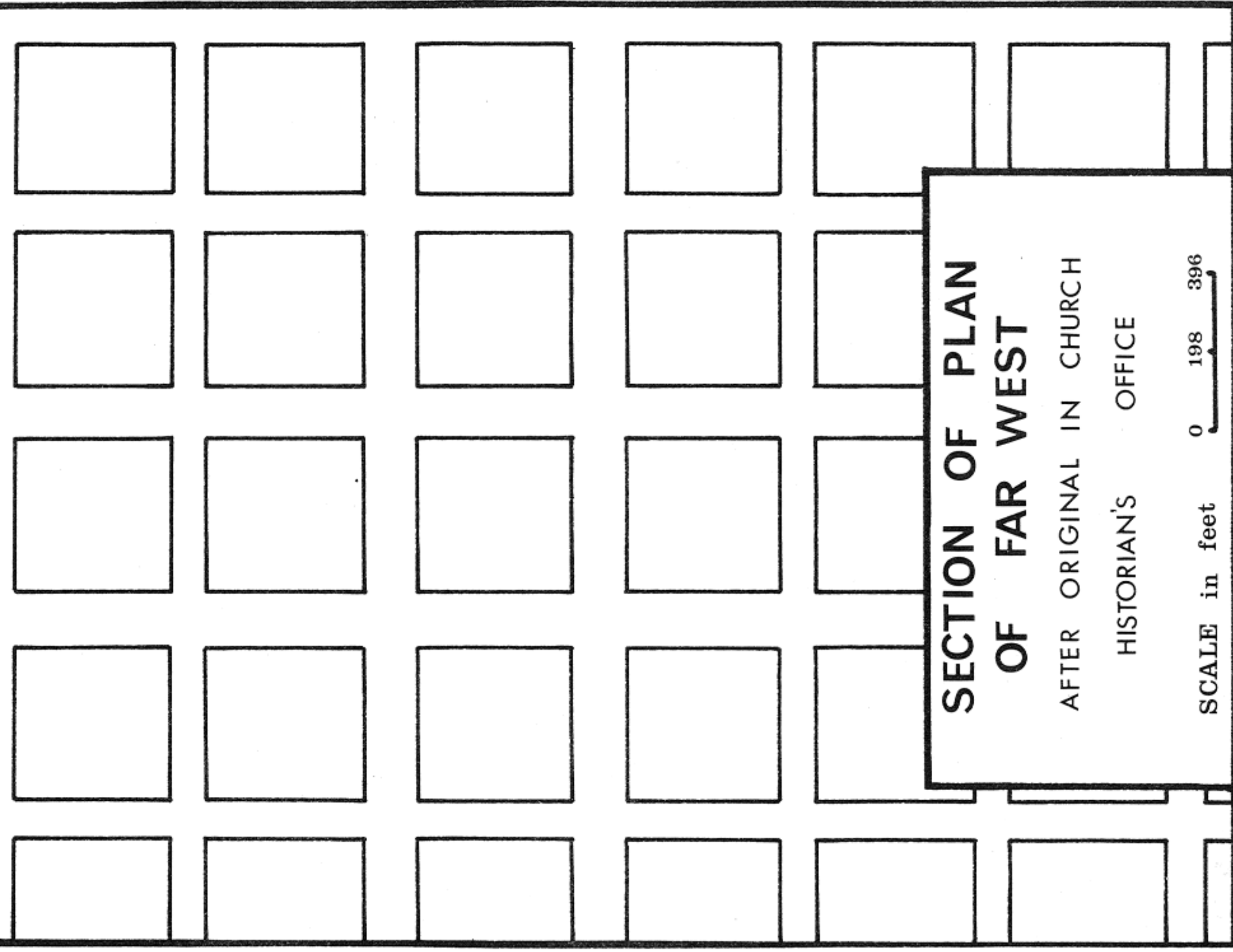


Figure 3

division as those at Far West (see figure 4). Indeed, the only resemblance to the original City of Zion plat was the adherence to the grid pattern common to most settlements at that time.

The first city established under Brigham Young's direction was at Winter Quarters, at what is now a suburb of Omaha. This community was laid out with blocks 20 by 40 rods (330 by 660 feet) divided into lots 4 rods by 10 (66 by 165 feet). We have no record of street width in Winter Quarters.

#### ADVANTAGE OF NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

Though later Mormon settlements were unlike the City of Zion in physical details, their morphology often grew out of the same theological and philosophical concepts as inspired the City of Zion plan. In a letter accompanying his plan, Joseph Smith listed the benefits of nucleated settlements:

The farmer and his family, therefore, will enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and can surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker or professional man.<sup>13</sup>

The advantages of village life described by the Prophet are an extension of the milieu of the New England village of the 1700s, and reflect an attitude common among occupants of the Ohio Valley settlements in the early 1800s. More than a decade prior to Smith's statement quoted above, for example, an observer noted that among the residents of individual farms "neither schools, nor churches, can without difficulty be either built by the planters or supported" since "persons who live on scattered plantations are in a great measure cut off from that daily intercourse, which softens and polishes man." The opposite of this was found in the villages where "all the people are neighbors: social beings; converse; feel; sympathize; mingle minds; cherish sentiments and are subjects of at least some degree of refinements."<sup>14</sup>

One of the themes of the New England milieu which was particularly emphasized in the settlements west of the Appalachians was education for all people. This ideal was common to all of the

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<sup>13</sup>In Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:312.

<sup>14</sup>Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Timothy Dwight, 1821-22), 1:335-38.



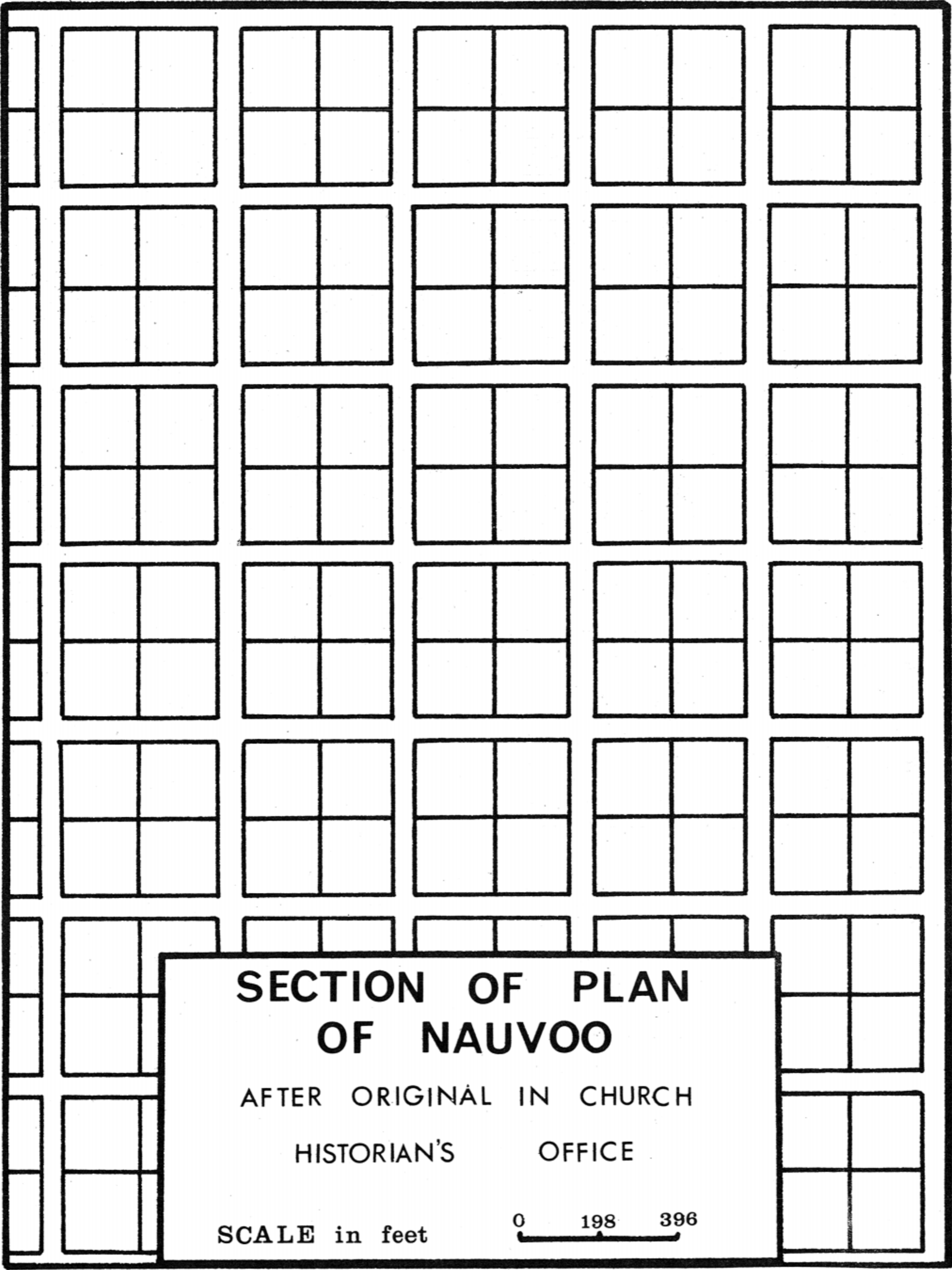


Figure 4

Eastern seaboard where prior to the American revolution "an abiding faith in the value of widespread education possessed all townsmen."<sup>15</sup> The lack of educational opportunities for rural dwellers on the Eastern seaboard in the 1700s led farmers to send their children to boarding schools. Boston, for example, attracted boarding students from all over New England, even to elementary schools. Evening classes provided educational opportunities for adults or apprentices who had to work in the day.<sup>16</sup>

The New England emphasis on education is similar to Mormon Church leaders' explanations of why it was necessary to bring the Saints together into communities. Since "the glory of God is intelligence," Saints were continually urged to gather together into cities so that they could be educated about religious and secular matters, as may be seen in the following 1838 message to the Saints from the First Presidency:

In order that the object for which the saints are gathered together in the last days, as spoken of by all the holy prophets since the world began may be obtained, it is essentially necessary, that they should all be gathered into the Cities appointed for that purpose; as it will be much better for them all, in order that they may be in a situation to have the necessary instruction. . . .

The advantages of so doing are numerous while the disadvantages are few, if any. As intelligence is the great object of our holy religion, it is of all things important, that we should place ourselves in the best situation possible to obtain it. And we wish it to be deeply impressed on the minds of all, that to obtain all the knowledge which the circumstances of man will admit of, is one of the principle objects the saints have in gathering together. Intelligence is the result of education, and education can only be obtained by living in compact society; so compact, that schools of all kinds can be supported, and that while we are supporting schools, we without any exception, can be benefited thereby.

It matters not how advanced many who embrace the gospel, be in life, the true object of their calling, is to increase their intelligence; to give them knowledge and understanding in all things which pertain to their happiness and peace, both here and hereafter.—And it is therefore required, that they place themselves in a situation accordingly. . . .

One of the principal objects then, of our coming together, is to obtain the advantages of education; and in order to do this, compact society is absolutely necessary.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 172.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>17</sup>*Elders Journal* (Far West, Missouri), August 1838, p. 53.



The emphasis on advantages of city life given by the Mormon leaders mirror the statements of political leaders, philanthropists, and developers of the period.<sup>18</sup>

There can be little doubt that the desire to educate and refine the members was the underlying motivation which led the leaders to emphasize the need to live in a compact group. This desire, coupled with the need for cooperative effort in establishing viable settlements in the Great Basin, led to the use of the village as the settlement form in Utah. Observers have long maintained that the plan for *all* of these villages was an outgrowth of the City of Zion plan presented by Joseph Smith, and that they were all alike, but careful analysis suggests otherwise.<sup>19</sup> Although most settlements in Utah were nucleated, gridiron settlements (for reasons of education and socialization), they deviated widely from the particulars of the City of Zion plat and differed a great deal from each other as well.

#### SETTLEMENTS IN THE GREAT BASIN

Shortly after the Mormons' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, plans for a city were proposed by Brigham Young. The plan for

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<sup>18</sup>Wade, *The Urban Frontier*, provides a useful overview of prevailing ideas as to the advantages of city life as viewed in the early 1800s. Specific statements mirroring Mormon comments can be found in most books relating to urban development in America, and in newspapers and other accounts of the period.

<sup>19</sup>The widespread acceptance that the Mormon settlements were all the same is found in most works. Representative examples include: Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), p. 38 states that all the villages of Utah were based on the plan presented by Joseph Smith; Jan O. M. Broek and John W. Webb, *A Geography of Mankind* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 354 states that all Mormon villages are alike, having square blocks with four lots per block; Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), p. 362 states that they were all laid out following the pattern of Salt Lake City; Milton R. Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1959), p. 346, states that all of the cities were built on the same plan with ten acre blocks in all; Reys, *Making of Urban America*, p. 48, says that while the villages may have varied slightly from one another, they are essentially uniform; P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), p. 111 maintains that all of the Mormon communities were planned on the basis of the plan of Joseph Smith.

Nearly any book which mentions the Mormon villages in Utah states that they were based on the City of Zion plat. As an example, Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, p. 38, states that the plan for the City of Zion was the guide for all the villages of Utah, and Reys, *The Making of Urban America*, p. 472, states that "While not all of them [Mormon villages] adhered to the strict prescriptions of Joseph Smith, they were all planned in the spirit of his original conceptions." Others inform the reader that all Mormon communities were laid out exactly like Salt Lake City. "Located in Millard County, Utah, the town of Fillmore was laid out in 1851 according to the plat *universally* followed in building Mormon communities. The land was first divided into blocks of ten acres each, which in turn were sub-divided into eight equal lots." R. Baily, ed. "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on his March in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," *Arizona and the West*, 7(Winter 1965):333. Italics added.



Salt Lake City resembled that of the City of Zion in some respects. The blocks were each 10 acres in size as proposed by Joseph Smith, but instead of 20 1/2-acre lots, there were 8 1 1/4-acre lots on each block. The streets were all 8 rods wide, just as in the plot for the City of Zion. In lieu of a center tier of large blocks, as proposed by the Prophet, Brigham Young had one superblock of 40 acres to be used for one, not twelve, temples.<sup>20</sup> President Young also added forty feet to the street width so that a sidewalk 20 feet wide could be located on each side. Each house was to be set back 20 feet from the line and in the center of the lot. (According to Church leaders, centering the houses would minimize the danger to the city should fire break out at any one point.) The houses on alternate blocks were built on only two sides of the block.

Upon every alternate block four houses were to be built on the east, and four on the west sides of the square, but none on the north and south sides. But the blocks intervening were to have four houses on the north and four on the south, but none on the east and west sides. In this plan there will be no houses fronting each other on the opposite sides of the streets, while those on the same side will be about eight rods apart having gardens running back twenty rods to the center of the block.<sup>21</sup>

This plan was apparently conceived as a way to provide an illusion of the privacy found in isolated farmsteads by providing each residence with physical and visual territory unimpeded by other residences. The plan was abandoned within a few decades, however, as the influx of people led to subdivision of the larger lots, the erection of more than one house per lot, and the construction of homes on all sides of the blocks. Another variation from the City of Zion plat, of course, was the location of barns and stables, which were located on the same lots as the houses rather than outside the city.

Perhaps the greatest departure from the City of Zion plan was in the size of the city. It had been the Prophet's plan to limit the size of each city to one square mile in area and to a population of 15,000 to 20,000. It is unclear whether Brigham Young originally planned to limit the city's size, but the number of immigrants forced rapid expansion of the surveyed city. When originally surveyed in 1847, the city contained 135 blocks. The following year an ad-

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<sup>20</sup>The 40-acre temple block was reduced to 10 acres when the city was surveyed in the first weeks of August 1847.

<sup>21</sup>Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 28 July 1847, as cited in Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 3:280.



ditional 63 blocks were surveyed, and in 1849 another 85 blocks were added.<sup>22</sup> Thus Salt Lake City was not an embodiment of the proposed City of Zion, which would have been limited in size and surrounded by agricultural lands. A brief look at data concerning Mormon villages indicates that there was no consistency in the plan of other communities (see table 1). The wide variety of city plans indicates that the Mormon settlers did not rely on the City of Zion plan in laying out their communities, and indeed seemed to have little concern for the morphology of their communities at the time they were established.

A typical experience is related by the settlers of Cache Valley. They report that in 1860 an emissary from President Young arrived and informed them it would be advisable to lay out a city plot. "President Maughn and Jesse Fox and Several other Bretherren came and layed before us the necessity of having a City plot laid off and Jesse W. Fox had been instructed by President Young to come up and lay of Cities."<sup>23</sup> The settlers accepted this decision and the city was surveyed. The results of this survey created additional labor for the settlers since they had to move their homes to comply with the surveyed lots. "The Servayors commenced to lay off the City plot, the most of the houses and yards had to be moved."<sup>24</sup> As this passage points out, the first settlers were not concerned about formally laying out a community and only did so at a later date at Brigham Young's insistence.

It is doubtful that the City of Zion plat served as a specific blueprint to lay out any Mormon settlements. It is apparent that in the majority of cases the group settling a site laid out a city whose features were determined in public meeting by the settlers themselves. In order to ensure fairness in the distribution of city lots, a public lottery was used. This required dividing the city into equal-sized lots, and a grid pattern provided the simplest method of doing so.<sup>25</sup> The need for uniform lot size, coupled with the settlers' previous experience as residents of gridiron communities seems to be the basis for the regular, rectangular Mormon survey.

Although there is great variation from village to village, there is sufficient similarity to have caused casual observers to presume they were all laid out according to some master plan. And although

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<sup>22</sup>Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 3:282.

<sup>23</sup>Journal of Henry Ballard, 11 March 1860, manuscript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 12 March.

<sup>25</sup>Journal of John D. Lee, 2 February 1851, manuscript, Utah State Historical Society. Lee gives an interesting account of how the lots were divided and distributed.

TABLE 1 CITY OF ZION PLAN COMPARED TO REPRESENTATIVE COMMUNITIES ESTABLISHED BY MORMONS

	Date Established	City Size	Block Size	Lot Size in Acres	Street Width	Setback of Houses	Building Materials	Agricultural Land	Location of Barns and Livestock
City of Zion Plan	proposed 1833	maximum of 20,000	10 acres and 15 acres	.5	132 feet and 132 feet	25 feet	brick and stone	all outside city limits	all outside city limits
Far West, Missouri	1836	unspecified	4 acres	1.0	82.5 feet	unspecified	unspecified	data not available	data not available
Nauvoo, Illinois	1840	unspecified	4 acres	1.0	50 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Salt Lake City, Utah	1847	unspecified	10 acres	1.25	172 feet	20 feet	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Provo, Utah	1849	unspecified	4 acres	.5	132 feet and 82.5 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Ogden, Utah	1849	unspecified	10 acres	1.0	132 feet and 66 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Holladay, Utah	1852	unspecified	10 acres	.5	82.5 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Millcreek, Utah	1852	unspecified	8 acres	.7	99 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
St. George, Utah	1862	unspecified	6 acres	.8	92 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots
Alpine, Utah	1862	unspecified	5 acres	.35	66 feet	unspecified	unspecified	gardens on city plot	barns and livestock on city lots



there seems not to have been a master plan, still there are some similarities which do set the Mormon village apart as a unique settlement form in the West. Observers have long characterized the Mormon village as having wide streets, for example, but until now no serious study has been undertaken to confirm this observation.

COMPARISON OF MORMON AND NON-MORMON  
SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST

To compare the morphology of Mormon and non-Mormon towns, information was obtained on street widths (main and side), and lot and block size (see tables 2, 3, and 4) for 313 non-Mormon towns in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada, and compared with that for 94 Mormon settlements in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming.

*Street widths.* Comparison of street widths reveals that there is a general tendency for main streets of Mormon towns to be wider than those of non-Mormon towns in the West (see table 2). Only 25 percent of non-Mormon towns examined had main streets 90 feet or wider, but 72 percent of Mormon towns had them. Nearly 20 percent of Mormon towns had main streets of 130 feet or greater, but no non-Mormon towns had such wide streets. Comparison of side street widths reveals that there is a much wider range of side street widths in non-Mormon towns than in Mormon towns, but a general tendency for wider side streets in Mormon towns. Sixty-four percent of Mormon towns had side streets 80

TABLE 2  
COMPARISON OF STREET WIDTHS IN MORMON AND NON-MORMON  
TOWNS IN THE WESTERN UNITED STATES

Width in Feet	Side Streets		Main Streets	
	Non-Mormon	Mormon	Non-Mormon	Mormon
Under 40	5%	0	0	0
40-49	8%	0	2%	0
50-59	10%	2%	5%	1%
60-69	53%	30%	16%	13%
70-79	6%	1%	11%	1%
80-89	16%	17%	38%	13%
90-99	2%	51%	2%	52%
100-109	1%	0	23%	0
110-119	0	0	1%	0
120-129	0	0	1%	1%
130 and over	0	0	0	19%

TABLE 3  
DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS BY BLOCK SIZE IN MORMON AND NON-MORMON TOWNS

Type of Town	Less Than 1 acre	1-1.9 acres	2-2.9 acres	3-3.9 acres	4-4.9 acres	5-5.9 acres	6-7.9 acres	8-9.9 acres	10 acres
Non-Mormon	1%	17%	64%	12%	0	4%	1%	0	0
Mormon	0	0	0	0	30%	11%	27%	12%	21%

TABLE 4  
PERCENT OF TOWNS WITH INDICATED LOT SIZE IN MORMON AND NON-MORMON TOWNS

Type of Town	Lots of Less Than $\frac{1}{4}$ Acre Size						Lots of $\frac{1}{4}$ Acre or Larger						
	Under 2500	2501-4000	4001-5500	5501-7000	7001-8500	8501-10000	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2
Non-Mormon	5%	34%	14%	31%	10%	2%	2%	1%	.3%	0	0	0	0
Mormon	0	0	0	0	0	0	2%	9%	9%	38%	19%	0	3%



feet or wider, but only 19 percent of non-Mormon towns have side streets as wide. Nearly 25 percent of non-Mormon towns, but only 2 percent of Mormon towns, have side streets narrower than 60 feet. Mormon towns generally have side streets of 66 or 99 feet and main streets of 99 feet, and usually have side and main streets of uniform width. Fewer than 20 percent of the Mormon towns had any variation in size between main and side streets, but 80 percent of non-Mormon communities had side streets narrower than main streets. There is thus a general trend for Mormon towns to have wider main and side streets than non-Mormon towns.

*Block Size.* When block sizes of Mormon and non-Mormon towns are compared, the Mormon towns are quite distinct (see table 3). Less than 6 percent of non-Mormon towns in the West have blocks 4 acres or larger in size, but all Mormon communities have such large blocks. Approximately 1 percent of non-Mormon towns have 6-acre or larger blocks, compared to 60 percent of Mormon towns. The existence of such large blocks is more definitive in recognizing a Mormon town than wide streets since large blocks are almost exclusively a characteristic of the Mormon settlements.

*Lot Size.* Large lots are also essentially unique to Mormon settlements (see table 4). Less than 4 percent of non-Mormon towns sampled reported lots  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre or larger, but all of the communities founded by Mormons had lots exceeding this size. More distinctively, 80 percent of Mormon communities had lots of one acre in size or larger, but no non-Mormon settlement had lots this large. Lot sizes in Mormon towns were uniform throughout the town, with no provision for a commercial area. In the non-Mormon towns examined there was nearly always a commercial section with extremely small lots, and the balance of the town plat included somewhat larger lots. It should be noted that large city lots were not used in the City of Zion plat and represent a distinctive development after the Mormons arrived in the West. The large lots provided the basis for subsistence economy in which each household obtained its meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, and fruit from its town lot.

#### CONCLUSION

The original Mormon settlements emerge as a distinctive type in the West, but not one of uniformity based on the City of Zion master plan. There was a great deal of variation in the morphology

of Mormon communities, but in general terms, the following characteristics combined to create a readily identifiable settlement type in the Mormon culture region of the western United States.

1. Regular grid pattern oriented as close to north and south as the settlers could manage with the crude instruments in their possession.
2. Streets which are generally wider than those found in non-Mormon towns.
3. Main streets and side streets which are usually of the same width.
4. Lots which dwarf typical lots in non-Mormon towns.

The combination of these factors made the original Mormon settlements distinctive in the West. In rural areas of the Mormon cultural region these characteristics remain evident today, creating the recognizable Mormon village. The Mormon village thus emerges as unique in the West, but certainly dissimilar to the City of Zion plan of Joseph Smith.



## Book Reviews

ALLEN, JAMES B. and GLEN M. LEONARD. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. Published in Collaboration with the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976. 722 pp. \$9.95.

Reviewed by S. George Ellsworth, professor of history, Utah State University, and editor of the *Western Historical Quarterly*.

The publication of this one-volume survey history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is an event of some moment, long-awaited. No doubt the book will be of influence in the long line of Mormon historiography. The amount of work required for such a coverage is enormous, the task of synthesis is overwhelming, and there are more difficulties for the historian than any reader or writer of monographic history can imagine.

Basically a narrative history, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* attempts to cover essential themes from before 1830 to 1976. Four purposes for writing the book are listed by Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington: "to prepare a history that might serve the same needs that [Joseph Fielding Smith's] *Essentials in Church History* had provided for so many years" (p. vii); to use the "much new material" acquired by the Church Archives; to record the important events that have taken place in recent years" (p. vii), and to offer, principally in narrative form, "a compact, introductory overview" (p. ix). There are also four outstanding themes in Mormon history named which may also be special interpretations: (1) the Latter-day Saints were a religious people, not "motivated largely by personal economic or political considerations"; (2) "the Church was always influenced to some degree by the events of the world around it"; (3) the Church "as a religious body" expanded "to claim an international membership," hence the how and why of its worldwide expansion; and (4) the "dynamics of change" exist within the Church, hence an interest in the how and why of new programs, the operations of "continuing revelation," as well as the "things that have remained constant" (pp. ix-x). The first and second themes are surely present in the book; the third is touched upon only lightly; the fourth shows up from time to time.

The authors "bear primary responsibility for their interpretation" (pp. vii-viii) and we presume for the body of the work as well. Yet a special debt is paid to readers and editor (p. xi). The authors acknowledge "the valuable help" of eleven other persons, "under assignment of the Church Historian," who "assisted us by providing research material and preliminary drafts in selected areas" (p. xi). With such a group getting into the act, it is a little difficult to refer to "the authors" with precision.

What sources were used? Notwithstanding the emphasis on "new material" in the Church Archives as a *raison d'être* for the book (pp. vii, ix) and a 62-page bibliography of the "principal sources we consulted" (p. ix), there is no indication in the bibliography that the authors took advantage of any "new material," or for that matter, any old material in the Church Archives. There is no description of the Archives or groups of material there. Nor is there any indication of their having used blocks of materials, even the ready helps in the form of the "Journal History" or the innumerable manuscript histories of branches, wards, stakes, missions, and special topics. Direct quotations of length in the text are footnoted and indicate a decent use of primary source materials. But if the bibliography adequately indicates "the principal sources we consulted," then we must conclude that the book is based mainly on secondary sources: published books, periodical articles, theses and dissertations, few diaries, and few Church periodicals or official publications. This cannot be altogether true, for they and their helpers must have used archival materials.

The book is divided into five parts and each part is introduced by a short essay that usually gives sound generalizations and identifies significances. The chapters cover an average of eight years, and each is divided into sections with headings, some meaningless ("Brighter Prospects," "Four Important Years"), some much better ("Zion's Camp," "The Martyrdom").

The historical narrative is standard for the period before 1847, while the period from 1847 to 1896 is chronicled in a manner reminiscent of general histories of Utah. In the treatment of the twentieth century significant new ground is broken, a period for which the historian has to gather his own straw, dig his own clay, and make his own bricks.

As to emphasis in the narrative, of the 159 sections in the chapters, the scene of action for 77 percent of them is Church headquarters, wherever that may have been, and 62 percent of those 159 sec-



tions narrate the activities of Church leaders. Hence, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* is, for the most part, the story not of the Latter-day Saints and their activities, but of Church leaders at Church headquarters. A tabulation of the subject matter of the sections indicates that 64 percent deal with general Church developments, and 36 percent deal with the following subjects: Church doctrine, theology, teachings (17 pages, 2.7 percent); missionary activities, mission history, and the gathering (66 pages, 10.3 percent); the settlement of the Mountain West (15 pages, 2.4 percent); economic matters (30 pages, 4.7 percent); and political affairs (36 pages, 5.6 percent). No space is devoted to biographical data or character analysis and description of persons except in the case of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his family and the Prophet's religious experiences prior to 1830.

The physical makeup of the book is attractive and the type readable. Some 144 photographs (some old, some new) and illustrations are interspersed. Many newer photographs could have been chosen. The printing of the illustrations is of uneven quality. Ten maps are simply drawn, helpful as reference, though the decoration tends to detract from the instructional value.

The story is a contribution in many ways. Here is an essay, based upon the use of a large body of diverse monographic literature on Mormon doctrine, practice, and history. We are given an extensive bibliography of much of that literature. It has brought us closer to the reality of the Mormon past, as bits of folklore and myth are dissolved and a truer picture is presented. It has given us for the first time, in this perspective, an account of general historical activities in this century. New information, new views, new interpretations enrich the telling of the story. It is a worthy *apologia*.

The book was written by Latter-day Saints for Latter-day Saints. And while it does well in educating the reader to a broader and truer view of the Latter-day Saint past, yet the treatment has been softened to accommodate delicate feelings. Many accounts fall short of telling the whole truth, and subjects controversial in some minds are handled with tact and a certain gentleness, softened rather frequently with concluding expressions of confidence, faith, and moral lessons to be drawn from the telling.

The book is a decided advance in Mormon historiography, showing the divine operative in human affairs while fearing not the human element in religious history. Perhaps the authors had to write with imagined faces looking over their shoulders.



There is too much fear among us that should a Church leader be found to be human, that might suggest a lack of inspiration. But the truer history of the Church can make the Latter-day Saints live more happily with their religion and their leaders. Of a score of Church friends of wide range of education who have talked with me about the book, all have voiced delight with the book and its approaches.

Notwithstanding the decided "passing grade" given the book, it falls short of our higher expectations. There is little by way of description, analysis, or explanation. There is a failure to show causes sufficiently, interrelationships of events, impacts of major world events on Church affairs (in detail). There is seldom an attempt to explain the hows and whys. The event is named and then commented upon. There is no buildup from certain developments to a climax, even to a speech, or a declaration of importance. Apparently each event reported just happened.

There is always a problem of balance in a broad survey such as this, but a strict structural plan of the whole would have saved all sorts of troubles. Drawing the plan might take as much time as doing the research or the writing, and it would have needed to be revised from time to time to meet the problems of creating the final essay. While this book has a general plan (history determined that), it is obvious that the details were not planned against the available space. How are we to account for such a small portion of the book devoted to Church doctrine and teaching? For instance, Mormon revelation is discussed most fully in the paragraphs defending the Manifesto as a revelation. Does not the visitation of Moses, Elias, and Elijah in the Kirtland Temple deserve more than one sentence (p. 101, repeated on p. 166)?

The authors seem not to know quite what to do with religion, Church institutions, and practices. Treatments of these subjects are tacked onto other discussions. There is little or no disposition toward theological exposition. There is no delineation of the Mormon faith, as a whole, or as fundamental beliefs and practices were enlarged from time to time as the Restoration proceeded. There is little attempt at anything like a history of institutions. Nor is there any particular attempt to get inside the religious practice and life of the Latter-day Saints at any period—the worship, Church services, and Church activities.

"The growth of the Church from an obscure religion to one of worldwide magnitude is one of the themes of this volume"



(p. 3). But it is a minor theme in this book. The coverage of missions is inadequate, often inaccurate and misleading. Besides failure to know the areas of the world proselytized, from the beginning through the years, missions are treated from a Salt Lake City point of view. It would be a great step forward if historians could realize that the Church exists in other lands, and its life and practice and experiences in those lands deserve equal space with any other phase of Church history. After all, if Church history does not deal with people in church and in the practice of their religion, what is it all about? The authors are still thinking of the Church in its Utah and America political, economic, and social development.

The bibliography raises some questions. As mentioned above, it very nearly misses altogether mentioning primary sources. There is frequent mention of books written by non-Mormons and apostates, which makes us wonder to what extent they were really consulted; for example, the works of Inez Smith Davis, T. B. H. Stenhouse, William A. Linn, Wallace Turner, M. R. Werner (cited as Norris R. Werner, p. 651). Even forthcoming books are cited! One is a little disturbed to read the bibliography decry lack of study of some subjects when titles on those subjects come to mind. The bibliography appears to be an exercise in diplomacy—include everyone, deserving or not, used or not, believed or not, trusted or not.

While the book shows the consistent hand of the copy editor, the text is faulted by too many editorial errors. We believe it is baptism for the dead, not baptism of the dead (p. 99); it is San Luis Rey, not San Louis Rey (p. 232); it is William McGorty, not McGorty (p. 342); appointees would have been better than appointments (p. 356); it is Struble, not Strubble (p. 413); it should have been liberal, not literal (p. 443); and Remy is correct without an accent (p. 715).

There is a problem of handling the written language. There is the bad habit of *telling about* an event rather than *telling the event*; this is subtle, but it is there (pp. 51-52, 99, 366-70, for examples). The essay lacks clear, direct narrative style which teaches by narrating the events themselves. Introductions to parts and to chapters (topic paragraphs) too frequently tell the end at the beginning, rather than leading the reader into the essay (pp. 103-04, 137-38, 173, 217-20, 295-96, for examples). Instead of creating suspense, we are told too early how it all turned out. For the most part, the language is colorless and pictureless. The

essay is devoid of those vibrant quotations that clearly characterize the depth of the human experience. The dramatic in Mormon history is often rendered neutral. In short, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* is a good first draft, ready to be polished by authors and editors.

ARRINGTON, LEONARD J., FERAMORZ Y. FOX, and DEAN L. MAY. *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976. xiii + 497 pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed by J. R. T. Hughes, professor of economics at Northwestern University.

Classic Mormon economic practices might be seen as exotic species by the non-Mormon historian. The deed of consecration in which the Trustee-in-Trust regranted land ownership rights for a lifetime stewardship was a radical departure from the American fee simple, and also in apparent violation of the principles of *Quia Emptores Terrarum*, the ancient English land law which ruled in colonial America (except in Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania), and became the rule in federal America. The Mormons appeared to be recreating a feudal land-ownership chain, with tenure given for services, and the heirs barred from direct inheritance. Alternately, one might imagine in his deed the transformation of Zion's entire domain into glebeland, or perhaps an entire region of the USA turned into a "use," except that the trustee did not agree to support the heirs of the original owner. But then Zion itself seemed to be contrary to the spirit of the First Amendment, that the states should not establish a religion. It could of course be argued that in the case of the Mormons, a religion appeared to be establishing a state.

There were other peculiarities and social artifacts. To move from one Mormon ward to another required a "recommend," sent by the bishop. This practice is similar to the seventeenth century English laws of settlement. When the early Mormon villages farmed with common fields and herd boys, the outsider might have thought he was seeing a European medieval village reincarnate. The community of Sanpete finally divided its common meadow into strips three rods wide and *two miles* long. Such a division, they argued, "more justly" divided up the better and the poorer lands,



and the gentile historian might see in this a reaffirmation of what most scholars consider to have been the classic justification of strip farming in early medieval practice. In the communal enterprises of the United Order were all the utopian "socialist" ideals of Jacksonian America and beyond, back to Jan Hus, back to the fifteenth century Taborite uprising in Bohemia where they had "all things in common," and beyond that to the Bible itself.

These are of course but a few of the "peculiar" economic and social practices associated with the Mormon phenomenon that might excite the interest of the outside observer. However, he might well see the Mormons as a puzzling oddment within the overall mosaic of nineteenth century American nation-building, but definitely out of the mainstream. Mormons and Mormonism were bizarre, worth a feature story in an Eastern or English newspaper, a fit subject for a world traveller like Sir Richard Burton, or perhaps a native humorist like Mark Twain. But to the Mormons themselves their faith was the universe itself. The peculiar economic and social practices were expressions of a vital religion in which there was no division between the faith and everyday life. It was a nineteenth century American religious experience that recalled the seventeenth century settlers on the Massachusetts shore. A hundred years after 1620 the Puritan experience was mainly a memory. Nearly a century and a half after 1830 the Mormon experience remains a vital and growing one. For that reason alone those early beliefs and practices fascinate the historical imagination. So one can but welcome the publication of *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons*.

This book is vintage stuff. As Professor Arrington explains in his preface, the late Feramorz Fox had written a substantial manuscript on these topics in the 1930s which was never published. Arrington's own work, in several published articles and in his famous book, *Great Basin Kingdom*, had traversed much of this terrain. The Fox manuscript now forms part of this new study, and Arrington and Dean L. May are responsible for the rest, all presented in a single integrated account. The book bears Arrington's characteristic stamp, careful scholarship, extensive reliance on primary information sources, illuminating quotations, solid writing style, balanced judgment.

Even to an outside scholar with more than a passing interest in Mormon history the achievement of this book is stunning. It is a

model of microhistory, and it is a story truly retrieved from the edge of oblivion by the methods of modern historical scholarship. What we are given is a rich tapestry of economic and social experiment from the Kirtland days through the nineteenth century extended down to the modern LDS social system. It is a tradition of thinking, sacrifice, and achievement of which the Mormon people can be justly proud.

It must be remembered that nineteenth century America was a place of novelty and experiment. The forms and structures of economic life which now are taken for granted by Americans did not then exist; for example general-purpose corporate charters, labor unions, a uniform national currency, settled usages in banking and commerce, regulated industries and antitrust law—these and many more institutions were inchoate and developing in the age of classical Mormonism (from 1830 to 1887, i.e., from the founding to the amended Edmunds-Tucker Act). The Mormon experiments, however exotic they may seem today, were part of the American search for viable social institutions. In the Mormon communities the search embraced a problem of singular difficulty, for the Saints tried to find a way to exploit nature, labor, and capital, in ways not repugnant to the axioms of a largely utopian religious gospel. Modern Israel, even the socialist states of Europe and Asia, illustrate that such a task is nearly impossible, even if the utopias are secular dreams. To remove exploitation of man by man, to produce justice, equity, and charity in the distribution of income and wealth without destroying the incentive to produce, these have proved to be problems of almost infinite difficulty.

One cannot say now that the Mormon communitarian efforts were in some sense doomed to failure in the original circumstances in which they were conceived—substantial independence and isolation from the developing mainstream American market economy. Those circumstances vanished. Brigham Young's Mormonism was no match for the growing economic power and influence of Modern America. Yet in their efforts, now given their fullest public demonstration in *Building the City of God*, we can see why the old-fashioned Mormons created a sense of community upon which their religion survived and modern Mormons could build. Sense of cohesion and community are lost by neglect, not by failure energetically pursued. Hence, as our authors note, the memory and the moral force of these Mormon experiments remained strongest where the failures were most painfully evident.



Even for Mormon readers this book will be a revelation. One knew about ZCMI, probably about Orderville, perhaps of the cooperative origins of Brigham City. But how many Mormon scholars ever heard of the efforts to form United Orders in places like Paris, Idaho; Hyrum, Utah; or in Cave Valley, New Mexico? How many know that the Mormon cooperative movement was inspired via returned missionaries, directly from the English experiment at Rochdale? With a wealth of detail, guided by their sure knowledge of classical Mormon principles, and the impact of differing personalities in Church leadership (even down to the level of individual wards) these authors have restored the fabric of Mormon historical reality for Mormon readers, and for non-Mormon readers provided a fascinating introduction to a rich and largely unknown epoch in American social history.

The last chapters are concerned with the modern Mormon welfare system. Here the authors deal briskly with modern misconceptions; for example, that no Mormons were on public relief during the 1930s, or that the system has now removed Mormons from the grasp of state and federal programs. By one measure of historiographical achievement this book is a rare success: Leopold von Ranke's statement that the historian's central purpose is to discover "how it really was." One rarely experiences so vivid an evocation of the historical past as *Building the City of God*. There were not all that many Mormons in Brigham Young's Zion. Yet, like the Massachusetts Puritans, the Mormon frontiersmen and women seemed to be ingenious in the creation of social innovation. It is a story that should not be forgotten. In this book a valuable lesson is found that adversity has its positive uses, failures of one generation can inspire another.

FRANCIS, RELL G. *Cyrus E. Dallin: Let Justice Be Done*. Provo, Utah: Published for the Springville Museum of Art, Springville, Utah, in cooperation with the Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976. 262 pp. \$13.95.

Reviewed by Robert S. Olpin, associate professor of art history and chairman, Department of Art, University of Utah.

Radical stylistic changes in late nineteenth and twentieth century art and accompanying accommodations in taste have for many years

resulted in frequently undeserved scorn for more traditionally inclined or "academic" works of art from the same period. In the case of sculpture of the type, in fact, such attitudes have caused a virtual banishment of many fine and expressive pieces from public view to basement or attic storage areas (dependent upon their weight, one would suppose) or, even worse, into oblivion. Indeed, it was not before the late 1960s and 1970s that an effective countering of this broadly-based critical tendency began to make significant progress. Today, such art historians and museum curators as Wayne Craven, William H. Gerds, John Dryfhout, and now Rell G. Francis in his concise, but somehow very full, study of Cryus E. Dallin's life and works, seek successfully to fill an informational and critical gap that has existed since the early writings of Lorado Taft and Chandler Post.

Mr. Francis states that the purpose of his study is "to introduce, interpret, and identify rather than evaluate," and establish "a factual basis upon which historians and art critics may build . . ." (p. xiv). Additionally, the author hopes his book "will help establish . . . Dallin in the position he deserves as one of the foremost American sculptors of the past century" (p. xv). Exceeding his first two objectives, Francis has written a book that is often very moving in its collected insights regarding the sculptor's triumphs, tribulations, and character.

However, it seems obvious from further reading in the volume that what the writer feels to be Dallin's deserved position *may not* correspond totally to the actual place in American art that is due him. For instance, a comparison made early-on by Francis and Frederic Remington (p. xiii), seems to finally imply that the cowboy-loving Remington (short-lived and "reared in the East") was able to establish a *lasting* reputation, while the Indian-loving Dallin (long-lived and born and raised in the West) was not, this based somehow upon their cowboy and Indian subject matter. The fact of the matter is, of course, that while Dallin was most often the designer of larger "monumental" forms possessing great dignity and believability, Remington was both the painter and sculptor of vivid and often remarkably convincing works expressive of compelling action on a scale more easily related to by more people over the years. Also, as both Francis and John C. Ewers (who provided the foreword to this volume) point out (p. xiv), people tend to be aware of and even admire "monuments" (quotations marks mine) without knowing the names of the artists who created them, while



tabletop sculpture and easel painting tend to be identified *by* the artist.

Yet Francis is correct in his belief that Dallin should be better known and understood than he is, and this book (if it is generally read) goes far to bring that about. It is excellently organized into two main parts and nine chapters with an epilogue and offers clear statements and careful documentation concerning: (1) Dallin's early struggles over his well-known Paul Revere monument; (2) the artist's Indian subjects (my own favorite chapter); (3) "Mormon Church Themes" (perhaps the weakest treatment in the book); (4) "Public Figures"; (5) "Ideal Subjects, Portraits, . . . and Other Works"; (6) "The 'Pioneer Mother' Controversy" (questionable as a subject deserving of a separate section); and then, regarding a second, more purely biographical part, chapters concerning (7) the man Dallin; (8) his "Family and Friends" (not as rewarding a study as it could have been, I think); and (9) a "Vindication" in connection with his almost lifelong struggle (called "Dallin's obsession") to get the *Revere* set into place in Boston.

The epilogue then gets the reader quickly through Dallin's death, memorial services, burial, and, finally, the most recent tributes paid to the artist by the people of Arlington Heights, Massachusetts (an elementary school was named after him there in 1957), and Springville, Utah (bicentennial activities in both Springville and Arlington Heights, the former town's events including not only publication of the Francis book, but a fine exhibition of Dallin's works). The study also includes extensive and informative "Notes," and an "Appendices" section contains listings of: (a) "Known Works" categorized, located (or unlocated), and dated; (b) "Brief Chronology"; (c) a "Partial List" of Gorham statuettes; (d) "Paintings" (thirty-eight landscapes); (e) "Awards, Degrees, and Honors"; and (f) "Major Exhibits." Further, a telling selected bibliography and a good, workable index conclude the publication.

Profusely illustrated in black and white, the Francis book makes use of a tremendous variety of well-placed reproductions including a multitude of old photographs of lost works. The number of these "location unknown" pieces creates a sad commentary indeed upon the neglect that Dallin's work has suffered to date.

Finally, as a result of reading this engrossing and surprisingly comprehensive study, both the student of American sculpture and the layman *will*, I think, discover that Dallin was a more sensitive

and profound and prolific artist, a more expansive mind, and, generally, a much richer and more complex personality than most of us had known him to be.

SIMMONDS, A. J. *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley: A Study of the Logan Apostasies of 1874 and the Establishment of Non-Mormon Churches in Cache Valley, 1873-1913* Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1976. xiv. 143 pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, professor of history and associate director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University.

Since the pioneering work of Robert J. Dwyer, historians, including Helen Papanikolas and T. Edgar Lyon, have taken an interest in the non-Mormon population of the Beehive State. Like Papanikolas, Simmonds has studied the development of a gentile community within a single region of Utah.

Simmonds' book begins with a description of Cache Valley in 1873 and moves to a discussion of the creation of a gentile enclave within the Mormon community. Unlike either Carbon County or Salt Lake City gentiles, the Cache County non-Mormons were largely apostates who had originally gathered as converts to Zion. This insight is undoubtedly the significant aspect of Simmonds' study. One suspects that the gentile population of most cities and towns in the Mormon domain were more like those in Cache County than those in Carbon and Salt Lake counties, where the gentile community consisted principally of outsiders with a sprinkling of apostates.

Simmonds assigns essentially four reasons for the apostasies which led to the establishment of the gentile community: (1) the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Logan, which became possible following the relatively easy access provided by the Utah and Northern Railroad; (2) the lynching of Charles Benson, son of the late Apostle Ezra Taft Benson; (3) the development of the cooperative movement; and (4) the construction of the Logan Tabernacle.

The evidence of the effect of the cooperative movement and the construction of the Logan Tabernacle seem to this reviewer conclusive. The missionary and school efforts of the Episcopal and other churches seem also to have had an effect. Most tenuous,



however, is the connection between the Benson lynching and the apostasies. Here, the evidence is largely post hoc with no causal connection shown.

From a discussion of the causes, the study proceeds to a consideration of the effects and the eventual resolution of the conflicts. Battles over land together with the establishment of Protestant mission schools in a number of Cache Valley communities are studied most closely. The study then deals with the success in the efforts to "Americanize" Cache Valley, followed by a consideration of the reconciliation of the Mormon and gentile communities after statehood. The final two-fifths of the book is biographical, consisting of sketches of some of the prominent gentiles.

The book is marred by some minor factual errors, such as the assertion (p. 61) that John A. Rawlins was the Republican and Frank J. Cannon the Democratic candidate for congressional delegate in 1892, but the major difficulty with the book seems to have been in its conceptualization. The gentiles are studied only as they relate to the Mormons. There is little effort to consider the unique aspects as Papanikolas did with the Greeks of Carbon County. Why, for instance, did some who converted from Mormonism become evangelical and some liturgical Protestants? Simmonds seems to be unaware of the differences between the two types of denominations. What customs and activities developed within the gentile community? Were there significant differences in the lives of those living in various portions of the gentile community? A study entitled *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* ought to have given some consideration to these questions.

Nevertheless, this book is a fine beginning. The major insight into the makeup of the gentile population is sufficient to warrant scholarly and popular attention. It is hoped that Simmonds and other scholars will attempt to answer the questions raised above, and above all, that studies will be made of other gentile communities in Mormon areas.

## Notes and Comments

### THE ASSOCIATION FOR MORMON LETTERS

The Association for Mormon Letters was organized on 4 October 1976 when a group of about ninety interested scholars, writers, and observers met at the Hotel Utah to hear papers and discussion of Mormon literature, to elect officers, and to adopt a constitution. This last provides for an annual meeting and points the association in the general direction of encouraging and recognizing good writing and informative scholarship as well as fostering a better appreciation for what has already been written by and about Mormons. This year's meeting will be held 8 October 1977 in Salt Lake City (place and time to be announced later). One session of the symposium will be open to general Mormon letters topics, and the other will deal with personal literature of the Latter-day Saints—letters, diaries, and reminiscences. Anyone who would like to join the association and be included on its mailing list should write to:

The Association for Mormon Letters  
1346 South 1800 East  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84108

The membership fee is \$4.00 per year.

Neal E. Lambert  
First Vice-President  
Association for Mormon Letters

### THE ARTICLES OF FAITH

Much has been written of late relative to the origin, history, and importance of the Articles of Faith,<sup>1</sup> but one item, which is worthy of a note, has been left untreated: the changing of the wording of the fourth Article from how Joseph Smith had published it in 1842.

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<sup>1</sup>Of particular significance is an excellent treatise by Edward J. Brandt entitled "The Articles of Faith: Origin and Importance," *Proceedings: Pearl of Great Price Symposium* (Provo: College of Religious Instruction, 1975), pp. 69-77. See also James R. Clark, "Our Pearl of Great Price: From Mission Pamphlet to Standard Work," *Ensign* 6 (August 1976):12-17; and T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn: 1839-1846," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975):435-56.



The Articles of Faith were written as a simple attempt to summarize for non-Mormons the LDS position on contemporary religious issues. For sixty years (1842-1902) the wording of the fourth Article remained unchanged by those who printed it.

The fourth Article of Faith, with its original wording, had served as an explanation for the third Article, which stands unchanged, and which reads: "We believe that through the Atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and *ordinances* of the Gospel" (Pearl of Great Price; italics added).

The fourth Article enumerated what those ordinances were: "We believe that these ordinances are First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; Second, Repentance; Third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; Fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the fourth Article of Faith categorized faith, repentance, baptism, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost as all being ordinances.

On 29 November 1893, James E. Talmage, who was then directing and teaching a special theological class in connection with the LDS College in Salt Lake City,<sup>3</sup> met with President Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, and three of the Quorum of the Twelve in the Salt Lake Temple to discuss, among other things, the changing of the wording of the fourth Article.

In his journal for 29 November 1893 Talmage writes:

I brought before the Presidency, asking for rulings, the following subjects: 1. The changing of Article 4 of the Articles of Faith from the old form:

4. We believe that these ordinances are: First, Faith in the Lord, Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

so as to designate faith and repentance in some other way than as ordinances which they are not. The following form was adopted [and authorized to be taught].

4. We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: (1) Faith in the Lord Jesus

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<sup>2</sup>*The Pearl of Great Price: Being a Selection from the Revelations, Translations, and Narrations of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Latter-day Saint Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1878), p. 63.

<sup>3</sup>James R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), pp. 155-57. James E. Talmage was not yet a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Christ; (2) Repentance; (3) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; (4) Laying on of Hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup>

The change was first published in the 1902 edition of the Pearl of Great Price, and inasmuch as Brother Talmage had already been assigned to divide the Pearl of Great Price into chapters and verses and to add cross-references, the body of scripture was presented in its new form, including the new wording of the fourth Article for a sustaining vote in April Conference of 1902.

Whether or not faith and repentance are ordinances or principles or both presents an interesting problem. It may be that they could be considered both. For instance, Joseph Smith declared in the *History of the Church* that faith, repentance, baptism, and the laying on of hands were *principles*,<sup>5</sup> but in the *Times and Seasons* he indicated that all four of them were *ordinances*.<sup>6</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* attests an 1842 usage of the word *ordinance* under which faith and repentance could appropriately be called ordinances,<sup>7</sup> but apparently by 1893 such usage was ambiguous and the change was authorized and made.

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<sup>4</sup>James E. Talmage, Journal, 1893, p. 105, handwritten manuscript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:57.

<sup>6</sup>*Times and Seasons* 3 (1 March 1842):709.

<sup>7</sup>*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "ordinance," def. 5b.



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