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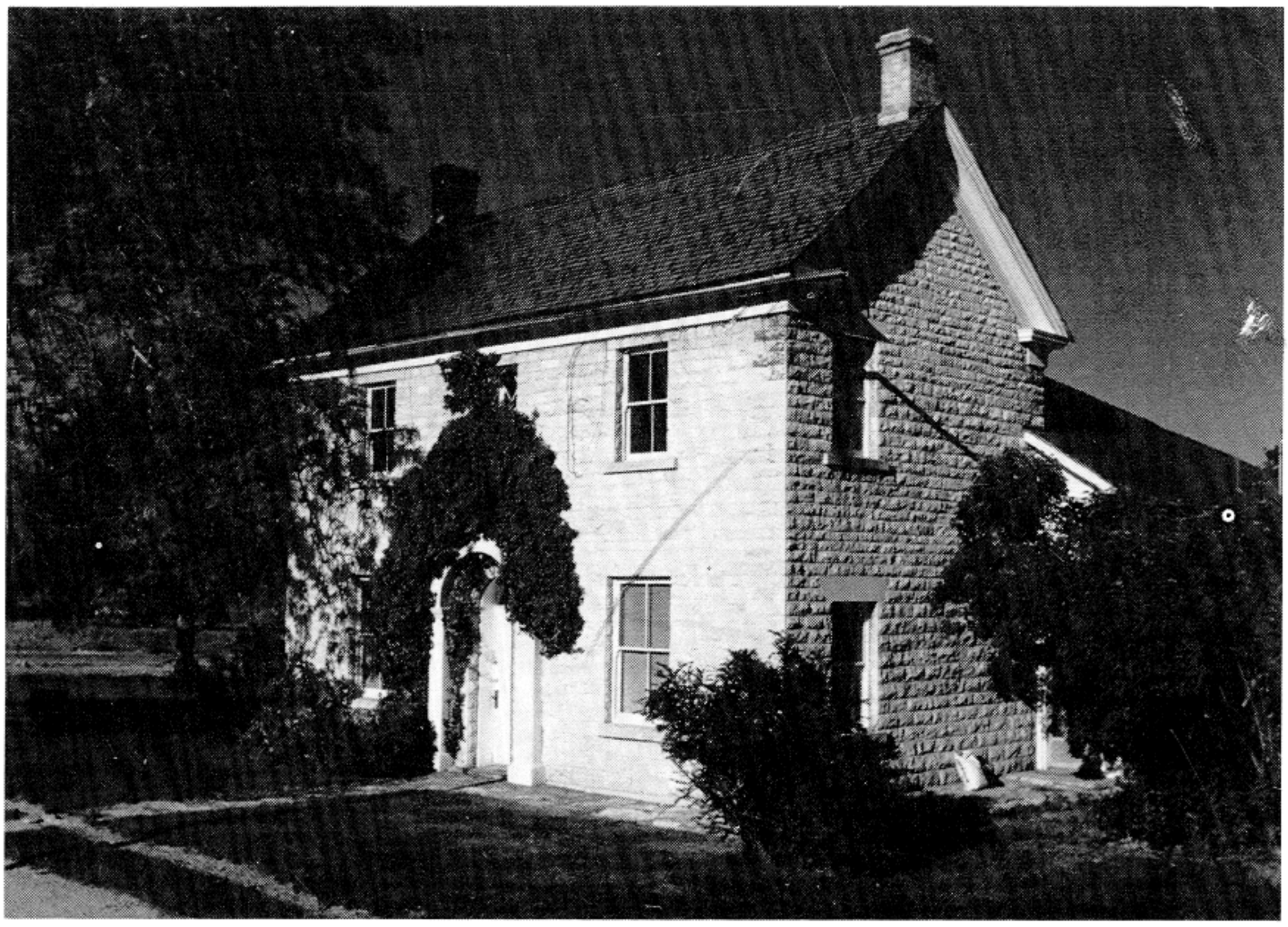

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EARLY MORMON HOME IN MANTI, UTAH. BUILT OF OOLITIC LIMESTONE, THIS CENTRAL-HALL HOUSE HAS A GREEK REVIVAL TOUCH IN THE ROOF'S CORNICE RETURN AND A FEDERAL-STYLE ARCH ENTRY AND LIGHT.

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C O N T

E N T S

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The Current Revolution in Russia

Seweryn Bialer

It is a difficult task to speak about the recent events that have swept through Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. Even those of us who do not know the details can feel that this is a cycle of revolution of truly historic proportions. In today's age of information, our senses are assaulted by pictures of the revolution. Our brains are overloaded by images and facts that test our ability to comprehend what is happening. We are always, now, lagging behind the events.

The revolutionary cycle occurred with astounding swiftness and an immense scope, encompassing so many countries with such enormous changes. Its impact is especially strong because for decades the landscape of those countries was frozen. Most surprising, of course, is the relative peacefulness, so far, of this revolutionary cycle.

The revolution is occurring in Russia and Eastern Europe, but its repercussions are worldwide. And not only in international relations, but also in what is happening in other countries that we would never have thought were connected with events in Russia and Eastern Europe. I am convinced that what is happening in South Africa, for example — the move toward an attempt at reconciliation — is to a large extent influenced by the general spirit of what is happening in Eastern Europe and Russia. I was recently in the Arabian Gulf states, and I was surprised to learn from some people in Saudi Arabia that they are very much worried that America and the Western European countries will no longer tolerate some of their domestic practices now that the Russian danger is declining and a spirit of democratic revolution is sweeping through the communist countries. The structure of the international situation has been changed in a radical way. This change will influence all spheres of our lives in ways we cannot even predict yet. We still live with an inertia, and our imagination is not strong enough to consider things

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This essay was first presented as a Brigham Young University forum address on 27 February 1990.

that may seem unthinkable. Therefore, we don't know what the structure will be ten years from now, but we know what it probably will not be. The key thing, of course, is that the danger of a cataclysmic war has receded, and the possibility of a peaceful solution to world problems has increased. There are enormous dangers still, but the vicious cycle we have experienced for so many decades has been broken, and a positive cycle has set in. I think it is a cycle to which we have enormously contributed with our steadfast opposition to communism.

The revolution in Eastern Europe is important, but I will concentrate only on the Soviet Union because what has happened there is the key to what has happened in Eastern Europe. And what is happening now in the Soviet Union is the key to the future of the whole region, the key to the future of the international system. I intend to discuss two subjects in particular, but first I want to explore what really happened in Russia, and why — and especially why it took the form it took. My first point is that the process of change in Russia, which started as a guided reform, has passed irreversibly into a process of revolution, and that this revolution is accelerating rather than slowing down. My second point has to do with the direction in which the revolution is moving. I think it is possible to make some plausible scenarios predicting middle-range developments, and I think the odds are in favor of the development of some democratic processes in the Soviet Union. At the same time, however, I believe that both the Soviet Union and the United States face an immediate and immense danger, the danger of a crisis in the next year or maybe sooner that will change the situation and lead to developments that are truly unpredictable.

What happened in Russia, and how, is different from what we thought would happen or could happen. We always said — and I think this was not only an expression of faith, but also an intellectual analysis — that the Soviet system was doomed to pass at some point in history. We saw major signs of crisis in the 1970s and '80s — and I wrote about them. But I foresaw two kinds of possible developments that were neither so swift, so comprehensive, nor so peaceful as what has occurred. One possible development, I thought, was the development of Russia in the same direction as that in Hungary after the revolution of 1956, toward what can be called "liberal communism" — an improvement in communism making it more tolerant and tolerable and perhaps in time leading slowly toward a more democratic system. The other possible development seemed to be a revolution, an explosion, a civil war. It now appears that the first line of development failed to happen because the desire for liberal communism passed almost immediately to a revolu-

tionary process. And the explosion didn't come — though it may still come. But what we have seen so far is a revolutionary process without a civil war.

I think that what happened, and how it happened, can be explained by a number of factors, but the basic framework may be provided by saying that what started as a reform for liberal communism is now proceeding as a revolution against communism. A guided reform is a gradual, segmental change in which the basic power configuration is modified but preserved. This type of reform is what happened in Hungary under Kadar and what started to happen in Poland in 1988. A revolution, on the other hand, is not simply to be equated with a *coup d'etat* — with storming the Bastille, or the Winter Palace, or whatever. The more important part of a revolution is the swift process of radical change that is not directed from above (though it may be combined with policy from above and from the existing elite) but involves a change in elites and, most importantly, a spontaneous mass movement, sometimes organized, sometimes not.

What very often happens in history is that the revolution comes after an unsuccessful reform. Indeed, the revolution grows out of unintended consequences of the reforms. The reformers have some intended consequences, but in many cases there is an added value, something unintended that turns out to be destructive of the reform itself. In such a situation, the reformers have two options. First, they can become counterrevolutionaries. This is the option the Chinese leaders chose in Tiananmen Square. (We must remember that reform began in China before it did in Russia, and much of what Gorbachev sought to achieve through *perestroika* was being done in China in the late 1970s.) Second, the reformers have the option of becoming revolutionaries — of trying either to stay ahead of the revolution or to push the reform into a revolution. I believe this is the option Gorbachev is now taking, and I hope he will continue on this course.

(I must say parenthetically that what I am saying about China and Russia cannot be applied in the same way to Eastern Europe. The regimes in Eastern Europe were hollow, kept in place by the power of the Soviet Union, which could preclude radical changes. For the Eastern European revolution, the crucial factor was very simple: it was Gorbachev's decision to permit the disintegration of communism in Eastern Europe and the end of the Soviet empire. This was a conscious decision, made because he saw the alternative as even worse — the end of reform in Russia and the restarting of the Cold War. For this decision alone, Gorbachev will go down in history as a great man.)

There are various theoretical frameworks that might be applied to help us understand the recent events in Russia. One framework I like was developed by a group of professors at Yale and is reflected in Gabriel Almond's book *Crisis, Choice, and Change*. Almond demonstrates, by analyzing historical precedents, that such changes occur because of a deep crisis in the society, in the system. Without such a crisis, such things do not occur. Revolutions are not made because people want a 20-percent raise in their wages. They are made for some very fundamental reason. The crisis that brings on a revolution is a crisis of faith, an existential crisis, not merely a crisis of some institutions. Then comes the question of choice, the response of those who have power to influence the crisis. Through successive choices, they may institute reforms or impose repressive measures. The response of the masses to these measures in its turn influences the crisis and thereby produces other choices. I like this framework because it is not deterministic while at the same time it recognizes what are called the blind forces of history. It provides a very important place for human actions, decisions, and leadership, while not exaggerating the range of options available to leaders.

What, then, was the crisis that made the current revolution possible? We have had a picture of a Soviet Union with enormous military strength, a superpower, and suddenly we see a Soviet Union prostrated. Was it really as strong as it looked before? Is it really as weak as it looks now? I think it is neither, but its strength and stability were based on very shallow foundations. In the 1970s especially, the Soviet Union became internally torn by a deep, multidimensional crisis. In economic terms, it was not simply (as Gorbachev said initially when he came to power in 1985) a decline in growth. It was a crisis not only of the economic system, but of the economy itself. It was a crisis of ecology, of exhaustion of resources, of unbelievable waste. For example, the Soviet Union produces two or three times as many combine harvesters as the United States does, yet there is an agricultural crisis because of a lack of machinery. It produces almost twice as much steel as the United States, yet it has less than 40 percent of the U.S. gross national product. Forty percent of the agricultural production is wasted between the field and the market. Two-thirds of the vegetables produced never reach the consumers.

The crisis was exacerbated by the incredibly low quality of manufactured goods. The Soviet Union produces three or four times as many shoes as the United States, but the Soviet shoes last for perhaps only six to eight weeks. And they are not stylish, so you don't want to wear them. But think of the waste of raw material and labor. Numerous other examples could be cited, but essentially we

are looking at a country where wages and salaries make up only 32 percent of the gross national product, compared to 68 to 75 percent in the United States and other western countries. We are looking at a country where capital investment makes up the highest share of the GNP of any major country in the world, but this investment merely eats up resources without producing them.

This situation was not only an economic crisis; it was also a social crisis. Let me give you some examples of how deep it was. Today one woman in five of childbearing age in the Soviet Union has an abortion every year. One in five, statistically — some have more, some have less. The divorce rate of young couples in some large cities is 80 percent within three years. The countryside has been devastated. If you look at a satellite map of Russia, you can see that hundreds of thousands of square miles, especially in the north, have been denuded. Thirty-five percent of the villages in the north of Russia — that is, north of Moscow — have been abandoned. Thirty-five percent! More than 40 percent of the work force on the collective farms are women over the age of forty. There is also a health crisis. For example, almost half of the hospitals do not have running water.

I could go on and on. When Gorbachev came to power, 20 percent of the state budget of the Soviet Union was being spent on alcohol. Twenty percent on alcohol! This was a moral crisis of emptiness of life, of lying, even of inventing words to define different types of lying. *Vran' yo* is public lying. A mother will teach her child, "You have to say this thing, and you know it's not true, but you have to say it." This lying is *vran' yo*; it is for the outside, what you say in school. But you must not lie to your mother. That would be *lozh'*, private lying. These terms indicate a split personality, public and private. In private, everything is not permissible, stealing, lying, cheating: private people shouldn't do these things. But the public morality eats up the private morality. The private standards were destroyed by the public standards.

The crisis was an ideological crisis. It was also a political crisis of corruption, of inequality, of stagnation in leadership. Can you imagine that in 1985 when Gorbachev came to power there was one minister in the Soviet Union government who had held his post since 1938?

This crisis was cumulative. The system had to bear a greater and greater weight of disintegrative processes, but the problems had existed for so long that people were hardly aware of them. They were felt but not consciously perceived. The elite knew something was wrong but didn't realize how deep the crisis was. Conditions were ripe for change, but a catalyst was needed. This catalyst came

with the succession. Not that Gorbachev fully understood the crisis. At the beginning he said, "If we don't do something, we will have a crisis" — and he was saying it in the midst of the deepest crisis in Soviet history without knowing that he was in the midst of such a crisis! He didn't know then. He knows now. Nevertheless, the succession was the catalyst. In a centralized system when you have a succession of leaders — especially after a leader who has been in office for seventeen years and for the last six or seven was simply non-active, merely a figurehead — when you have an elite with a security of office unprecedented in Soviet history, then a change in leadership that overlaps a generational change, with younger people coming to power, provides a catalyst for reform.

Gorbachev's *perestroika* was such a reform. Gorbachev has responded to charges that it was merely improvising by insisting that he had a plan for reform when he came to power. He is absolutely right. He had a plan at the beginning, and he has a plan every year, but these plans differ widely from one another. The plan he has today is not the plan he had four or five years ago. In fact, they are diametrically opposed in some respects. In the process of editing a volume of Gorbachev's speeches, I have read through about four thousand pages of his writings. As I arranged the material chronologically and by themes, I was astounded by the extent to which his views have changed — and I think they were sincerely held views, not camouflaged. His perception of the crisis has changed. Now he knows that there is a deep systemic crisis, but I think he understood this only in 1988 or 1989.

His prescription for dealing with the crisis has also changed. When he began, his ideas were far less radical than those of a Kadar, Rakowski, or Gomulka — the liberal communists of Eastern Europe. He basically wanted a rejuvenation, a revitalization that would have two elements: greater discipline and a speeding up of technological growth. His goal of greater discipline included a fight against alcoholism without eliminating the source of this alcoholism, which of course is impossible. And his ideas about technological growth were tinged by what one very good Soviet economist calls "technological romanticism." Gorbachev is impressed by the technology of Japan and America, but he doesn't see that their success depends not on what the computers are doing, but on what the people are doing and what the system is doing. In other words, the technological explosion of the West cannot simply be borrowed. Conditions have to be created for it to occur.

This technological romanticism led Gorbachev to do the worst possible thing, which deepened the crisis in the Soviet Union. He diverted investment away from consumer goods, from agriculture,

from development of raw materials, and put it into the machine-building industry, with the goal (still being proclaimed by him as recently as the beginning of 1988) that by the year 1995, 90 percent of the Soviet machine-building industry should produce machines, including computers, equal to the world standard in their class. It required an incredible imagination — or lack of imagination — to make such a statement. So Gorbachev put the money into the machine-building industry — and these investments take enormous time in the Soviet Union. But even then they are a waste of money because the industry will waste material, money, and labor to produce machines that are completely outdated the moment they are produced.

These disastrous measures only deepened the crisis instead of improving it. Then when Gorbachev saw how the system prevents technological innovation, he came to the conclusion that there had to be political change. This change started formally on 9 January 1987 with the plan of *glasnost'*. And this was his most important step, not changes in the political structure, but *glasnost'*, permitting people to start saying and writing what they think. This was the most revolutionary change. He introduced this change as a man who really believes in the superiority of socialism but thinks that socialism was cannibalized by Stalin and his successors. He expected that with *glasnost'* the people would come to find the real faith and the real socialism. This step was fatal for the reform because the people didn't want simply to improve the system; they wanted to change it radically.

And then, of course, things started to unravel. Spontaneity entered — unintended consequences — and things could not be kept within the framework of gradual change Gorbachev had envisioned. And the economic and social crisis deepened. It is sometimes said that leaders initiate reforms too little and too late. In this case, Gorbachev did too much too late: too much in the sense that wanting to preserve a Leninist system was too much. *Glasnost'* and the Leninist system — if one is serious about *glasnost'* — cannot coexist. And the reform came too late because the crisis was too far advanced. I believe that if Gorbachev and his associates, his generation, had not instituted some reforms, by the mid-1990s there would be an explosion and a collapse in the Soviet Union. In other words, if the government had continued without mass terror but in the modified totalitarian way of Gorbachev's predecessors, the economy and social system would have reached such a crisis that they would have been transformed through an explosion, not in the gradual way they are being transformed now.

Where is the system now? I think it has moved into a revolutionary process. Gorbachev has lost control over its dynamics. *Perestroika*, the guided reform, is no longer the core activity in the Soviet Union. The crucial events now occur spontaneously or are organized outside the power structure, against the power structure, against the limits of *perestroika*. Gorbachev responds as a clever politician, a great tactician, sometimes saying, "I am your leader; therefore I will follow you." But he is responding to developments, not directing them. Politically, the situation is out of control, with participation moving completely outside the official structure or destroying from inside the official structure that preserves the party. Ideologically, the attack today is not against Stalinism, as it was in 1985, '86, and even '87. It is not even against Leninism. It is against Marxism. The best analysis I have read of Marxism and its contribution to Soviet ills was published only a few months ago in the Soviet Union. It is better than any analysis I have read in the last few years in the West. And it was published in hundreds of thousands of copies and read and discussed throughout the Soviet Union.

You have a social situation out of control, where the conflict of nationalities is rampant, where class conflict is rampant in an old-fashioned way. There is no economic reform anymore. To speak today, or in the last year, of economic reform in Russia is absolutely wrong. There is no reform. There are decrees about reform; there are laws against reform; there are instructions about reform and discussions about reform. But there is no reform. There is nothing. It is impossible to make a reform in a situation of total economic chaos. There are not even preconditions for reform being created. The whole guided process of '87 and '88 has really been — some say reversed — I would say stopped.

Gorbachev's chief preoccupation in the last year has been not how to improve things, but how *not* to make things worse. He doesn't see a chance of improving the economic situation or the social situation. He is struggling to keep them from sliding deeper. And he is right; they can slide deeper; they can be worse.

Gorbachev has changed in a dramatic way, has become radicalized. By the end of 1988, he crossed what I would call the Leninist parameter. Selectively, at least, he has ceased to be a Leninist. We are speaking here about changes that are really fundamental. We are discussing articles of faith, not of faith as something simply written, but something that was internalized by the individual from the beginning. This man was brought up in the Leninist spirit. He was nurtured by the party apparatus (which today considers him not merely a mistake, but a traitor, and the danger is that he will be assassinated by them). Only a year ago he called the idea of a multi-party system in Russia "rubbish." He had apparently

never questioned in his own mind the idea that the Communist party should rule.

Then there is the "national question," the desire of many nationalities in the Soviet Union for independence. Two-and-a-half years ago, Gorbachev went on television. I was in Russia at the time, and I remember the speech. It was after some disturbances in Kazakhstan, and he began the speech by saying, "Comrades here have to understand — we all know it — the national question in the Soviet Union has been solved once and for all." I am convinced that he deeply believed this was the case. Even today, Gorbachev doesn't fully understand the national question because he was brought up in the idea that the real social emotions are expressed in class warfare and Marxian rationalism, not in the emotion of ethnic dissatisfaction or nationalism. But he recognizes now that the desire for independence is not simply emotion and that it will not pass. When he went to Lithuania in December to try to convince the Lithuanian party and people not to proceed with their plans for secession, he didn't say, "You have no right to secession." He said, "It will harm perestroika; we will all go under if you do it. It is not practical now. We have to create a constitutional mechanism, which means three to four years' time." But he knows Lithuania will be independent. In other words, from a question of faith, it became a question of practicality; from a normative problem, an instrumental problem. And this shift is happening in many areas, though not in the economy. Gorbachev still does not understand that private property doesn't mean exploitation — and that exploitation by state property is a hundred times worse than exploitation by competing private property. He doesn't understand these concepts yet, but I hope he will come to such a realization. There are many people around him who do understand.

The most important change in Gorbachev's ideas over the last three years is in his view of the balance of political institutions in Russia. At the 19th Party Congress in 1988, he still had the idea of an even balance between the party and the citizenship, the elected legislatures. But now the balance has shifted radically in the other direction, and I think Gorbachev is now betting on citizenship, the legislature, and his presidency. I think he now understands that the party cannot be reformed. A Leninist party cannot be reformed; it has to be transformed. When the party was created, Lenin called it the party of a "new type" to distinguish it from the parliamentary parties in the West. The party of the "new type" now has to be transformed into a party of the "old type." It cannot be reformed, and what is happening now will lead to the destruction of the party. I do not know how quickly, but probably quicker than we think since we are not used to the swiftness of these processes.

It is a revolutionary situation, and the question for Gorbachev is whether he can keep up with the revolutionary process and whether the disintegration of the old order will at least be followed at some speed by the creation of a new order. Some of my colleagues in California have written a major article about the creation of a "civil society" in the Soviet Union. I see elements of such a society being created, but this is not the key process at the present time in the Soviet Union. The key process is the disintegration of the old society without the creation of new institutions, and the question is how the gap will be bridged. And here the role of Gorbachev is crucial because new institutions are not simply created by a spontaneous mass movement. There has to be some kind of form that comes from the elite, from the leaders. How quickly the disintegration will be accompanied by the creation of new institutions is the most important question in Russia.

I wanted to discuss the outcomes, but of course I have no time. I don't believe in planned systems, planned economy, and unfortunately, by default, I don't believe in planned lectures, and I always run out of time. I can say only a few words about possible outcomes.

This is not the first time in Russian history that democratic reforms have been attempted. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 was not against a czarist autocratic government; it was against the first democratic government in Russia. The czar was overthrown in February 1917 without the participation of the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks took power in October-November 1917. The revolution of 1917 came after a long period of reform, begun by Stolypin, Bytov, and others after the revolution of 1905. This reform was moving in the direction of a constitutional monarchy and major social reforms. The first Constituent Assembly, the assembly that was to develop a democratic constitution for Russia, was meeting in St. Petersburg when the Bolshevik Revolution interrupted it. The Bolsheviks didn't want this assembly to take place. It was Trotsky who went with his Bolshevik colleagues and dissolved it, destroyed it. There was a great leader of the Social Democrats (the moderate socialists) named Martov, who was very popular among the workers. Martov said to one worker who was with Trotsky, "You will remember when you are old what you did, how you destroyed the future generations, your children and your grandchildren. By what you are doing now, you are destroying it for a century."

And that was the truth. Will events transpire again the same way? Will what is going on now have another October, a return to tyranny? There are those who say a democratic revolution is possible in Russia, and those who are doubtful, who believe that because the past was of a certain nature, the future must be also. Of

course both are right. With such a past, the Russian future is very dim. But that doesn't mean the future has to be a repetition of the past. I believe there is a good chance for democratic processes to develop in Russia. Those who are so pessimistic about Eastern Europe and Russia think too much in terms of ideal types. Whether there will be stable democracies in Eastern Europe and Russia I do not know. Only those who believe that political science is real science (and I hope you don't believe that) can think that one can really predict what will happen in such terms. Maybe there will never be stable democracies there. After all, there are many countries on the verge of totalitarian regimes.

But it is not so much the product but the process that is important — whether these countries will move in a democratic direction and for how long. Every year that they move in this direction, the chances will be better. Every year, the process will take further root. And I think the chances are good that the process can continue. The probability of the restoration of the totalitarian system seems to me very low. A military *coup d' etat* is still possible, but not likely because the military is disintegrating, too. It is no longer the professional military that it was. Given another year, I will be certain that a coup cannot happen.

The best hope, in my view, is that democratic institutions may develop out of the conflict between democratic and authoritarian elements. The conflict will sometimes be very sharp, but on the whole it will move the democratic processes forward. The key phrase here is *democratic institutions*. Democracy cannot occur in a mass movement, a mass society; there have to be institutions. Trade unions are a key institution, democratic trade unions, as are the legislatures, political parties, and professional associations.

A second, less desirable but quite plausible scenario would be a populist development. The current mood in Russia is a populist mood, not a democratic mood. What is the difference between a democratic institution and a populist development? Populism is a quest for justice. Populism is a quest for justice that wants to achieve it through a redistribution of goods. It is a quest for equality. Populism looks for quick solutions and is impatient with democratic procedures. It can also be very nationalistic. Populism lacks institutions. In populism you have a direct relationship between a leader or a group of leaders and the masses — as in Peron's Argentina. You do not have the institutions that make a leader responsible to the people and enable the people to act upon the leader.

A populist development in Russia would be much worse than a democratic development, but it would not mean a return to totalitarianism. If there is an economic catastrophe — and I want to

tell you that such a catastrophe is now on the horizon — it could unleash the populist sentiments currently widespread in Russia. We don't have much time. In half a year, nine months, a year at most, there may be a total collapse of the Soviet economy. Today the deficit is 120 billion rubles. The sum of money in the hands of the population doesn't have a cover in goods — it is double the sum of goods that exist in the market. That is to say, for each ruble's worth of goods in the store, you have two rubles in the hands of the population. This means that not only is there inflation, but there are also no goods. Only a few days ago, I saw a calculation in a Soviet newspaper that thirty-seven million people a day are standing in lines in the big cities. That is equal to the number of people who are working in industry. But the thirty-seven million people don't work — they are standing in lines. The Soviet Union is on the verge of a collapse of the type that occurred in the Weimar Republic after the First World War — or that occurred after the Second World War, but much worse, in Germany and Western Europe before American aid. If such a collapse occurs, a likely development is a conservative managerial regime, where people will vote for the certainties of the low level of the past rather than for hopes for the future. There are very few hopes for the future if the economic crisis continues, and then not from the party, but from managers and a guided administrative system. There may be some pluralism, but pluralism without a multiparty system.

Let me emphasize again that what is happening now is a revolution. The middle-range outcomes are likely to be drawn from among those I have outlined. But this is more than a political or economic revolution. Especially among the Soviet youth, there is a fight for human dignity, for the meaning of life. Where people are looking for the meaning of life, they look to personal redemption — not through an organized church, primarily, but through their own thinking, through their friends, and sometimes through political action. This is the deepest and most profound kind of revolution that can occur in a society, and this is why I say that this revolution cannot be reversed. I don't know what will come of it, but I don't think it can be reversed.

For us in the West, the danger with which we have lived for so many decades has declined, and there is the danger that isolationism will therefore grow. We have no right to turn our backs on what is happening in Eastern Europe and Russia. If we do not participate in the process that is now changing Russia, we will be betraying our ideals, we will be betraying our interests, and in the long run we will be betraying our security and our future.

Moral Choices and Their Outcomes

William R. Swinyard and Thomas J. DeLong

Karl G. Maeser, the first president of Brigham Young University, once said, "I have been asked what I mean by word of honor. I will tell you. Place me behind prison walls — walls of stone ever so high, ever so thick, reaching ever so far into the ground — there is a possibility that in some way or another I may be able to escape; but stand me on the floor and draw a chalk line around me and have me give my word of honor never to cross it. Can I get out of that circle? No, never! I'd die first!"[1]

President Maeser's chalk-line story is a well-known tradition at Brigham Young University, and its message about keeping one's word of honor is inspiring. But we might speculate about how the rest of us would respond to variations of Maeser's hypothetical situation. Suppose we could take a step outside our chalk line and save a child from being crushed by an oncoming truck? Would we do so? If we leave the circle, we will have broken our word. Have we also been unethical?

A vast range of circumstances underlie our moral decisions. Should we always tell the truth or not? What if people intend to do evil with the information? We know it is wrong to steal. But is it ethical to steal to save another's life? What if the theft victim would not be truly damaged? Or irreparably damaged? In short, do our decisions depend on who we believe will be helped and hurt or on an unequivocal application of a moral law?

Studies investigating these situational contingencies typically first present subjects with a moral dilemma (for example, in a lifeboat there is one more person than can be supported by the remaining food), then ask what they would do (for example, should they toss one person overboard or not?), and finally elicit through questions the subjects' moral reasoning. The focus of these studies

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is on moral reasoning, not on the influence of the consequences or on the justification of the behavior.

Moral decisions are influenced by complex motivations, including the circumstances and the outcomes perceived for the moral choice. These perceptions are particularly influenced by our culture. During a year spent in Singapore, one of the authors noticed that the Chinese people base moral choices on cultural values that are quite different from those in the West. Yet the variable of culture has been neglected in studies of moral reasoning. For these reasons, in this study we compared the moral decision making of students from Brigham Young University with that of students from the National University of Singapore.

An investigation of multidimensional moral issues would ordinarily strain and complicate a research methodology. However, for our study we use trade-off analysis, which provides a relaxed fit in this research environment. Trade-off analysis, unique for a study of this type, is a powerful method of analysis gaining wide use in commercial business research. It is most often used to measure the relative importance of one product attribute (such as quality or durability) compared with another (such as price). Most often such attributes are interrelated — higher quality will usually be accompanied by a higher price. In a conventional research approach, subjects would simply be asked to indicate the importance of each attribute. Nothing would stop them from saying that *both* quality and price are important. For example, who would not be attracted to a car that gives terrific gas mileage, high performance, styling, exceptional quality, room for the whole family, and the maneuverability of a sports car — all at a low price?

Trade-off analysis restricts such outcomes. It requires that people ask themselves, "Are some attributes so important to me that I should sacrifice others to get them?" It takes into consideration context and situational contingencies. It also fits comfortably with the requirements of a circumstantial study of moral decision making. For example, suppose little Sally, having broken her smaller brother's toy, is confronted by her mother about the toy. She has some choices. Among them, she can tell the truth (and possibly get a spanking) or blame her brother (and maybe escape punishment). What should she do? This situation suggests the trade-off shown in table 1.

If we asked Sally to indicate which of these combinations would be her most and least preferred choices, she almost certainly would select the cells numbered 1 and 4. That is, she would *most* prefer to tell the truth and also escape punishment, and *least* prefer to lie and blame her brother while also getting punished.

TABLE 1. Sally's Trade-off Table

	OUTCOME	
DECISION	Escape Punishment	Get Punished
Tell the truth	1	
Blame brother		4

But once those two choices have been taken, she has some interesting intermediate choices. What about them? Would she prefer to tell the truth (and be punished) or to escape punishment (and lie)? By telling us the order of her preferences for these two intermediate combinations, Sally would also be telling us something about her view of the importance of telling the truth compared to the importance of escaping punishment. That is, if she preferred telling the truth and getting punished over blaming her brother and escaping punishment, we would know she values telling the truth over escaping punishment. She also would be telling us something about the value she places on obedience to rules or laws (since she has likely been taught to tell the truth) compared with the value placed on the outcome of punishment.

This is a simple situation. We could make it more complicated by expanding the range of her decision alternatives (she could replace the toy, she could humbly apologize, she could "make it up" to her brother, etc.). Or we could expand the range or change the outcomes (her mother could hug and congratulate her for telling the truth, ignore her, scold her, deny privileges, or spank her).

In a trade-off analysis, Sally's preferences would be processed by an algorithm that calculates values, or *utilities*, for both her *decision* variables (telling the truth or blaming her brother) and her *outcome* variables (getting punished or escaping it). These utilities would be expressed by a number. For example, if her decision value were .3 and her outcome value .6, we would know that the outcome was twice as important to her as her moral decision was.

As we indicated, in making her trade-off decisions, Sally would be telling us something about her value for obedience to rules compared with her value for outcomes. Will Sally show herself to be a utilitarian? Or a deontologist? Or a little of both? These are questions of moral philosophy — how one determines what is right.

The utilitarian view holds that a behavior is right if the general good that results is greater than the good that could result from any other behavior. Utilitarianism pays no attention to *rules* of behavior; it is anchored in the *outcomes* of the decision. Thus, the right decision has outcomes that maximize the general good. By contrast, the deontological view is that a behavior is right if it has met certain rules, standards, principles, or credos, generally regardless of outcome. This view is based on Kant's categorical imperative, that every moral decision should be based on a rule or reason which everyone can and should act on. The right decision reflects obedience to strict rules.[2]

Decisions such as the one Sally faced are routine in our moral life. We are regularly bombarded with competing information, values, teachings, and goals. Among the most fundamental of sources for such values is our culture. The Judeo-Christian ethic that predominates in the United States appears to emphasize compliance to moral principles of right and wrong. Its principal religions provide a structure that is relatively unequivocal and noncircumstantial in suggesting what is appropriate in moral choices; it has a deontological — or rule orientation — to moral conduct. Thus, in deciding what is right and what is wrong, we expect that Americans would turn to explicit precepts and let those precepts provide the guide for behavior.

The Singaporean culture is different. The predominant Buddhist, Hindu, and Moslem religions of Singapore appear to emphasize the 'greater good' — the utilitarian value of societal well-being. Singaporeans of Chinese descent (by far the largest cultural group in the country) embrace the cultural values of China. The concept of the family and society is deeply rooted, with the people culturally bound to give precedence in their decisions to family and societal preservation. Thus, in deciding what is right and what is wrong, we expect that Singaporeans would look first at the probable consequences of the moral decisions — particularly the consequences on family and society — and let those consequences guide the decision.

In an effort to test this expectation about cultural influences on moral decision making, we collected data using a pilot study based on a parallel samples design of 568 students — 415 students at Brigham Young University (BYU) and 153 students at the National University of Singapore (NUS).[3] An extensively pretested version of our questionnaire was given in classroom settings to students across both campuses. Fifteen undergraduate classes, chosen by judgment sampling methods, were selected from general education courses on each campus.[4] What we have, then, is not a

sample of Americans and Singaporeans, but an arguable representation of undergraduate students at BYU and NUS.

We presented the students with two scenarios. The first deals with a family business, the second with a real-estate sale. (These two scenarios were chosen after extensive pretesting of many alternative scenarios because the two appeared to best represent the moral issues we were interested in.) Using these scenarios, we collected measures of two fundamental concepts. The first, what we call *moral acceptability*, is evaluated with four measures of the acceptability of each moral-choice scenario. These measures are collected on a seven-point scale that goes from acceptable to unacceptable (seven = acceptable). The measures helped us understand the perceptions of the BYU and NUS students when they are making moral decisions in a vacuum — with no thought about the consequence or outcome of the decisions.

The second measure was of the trade-off preferences themselves. These trade-offs were presented in a two-way table much like the one we discussed in the example of Sally.

Instead of just describing our trade-off scenarios, however, let us reproduce them in full. The first is "The Family Business." Note that the columns in the trade-off table represent *rule-oriented* information while the rows represent *outcome-oriented* information.

THE FAMILY BUSINESS

Suppose your father has been very successful in founding, developing, and nurturing a family-owned business into a prosperous enterprise. A short time ago, when his health began to fail, he passed the management of the business over to you, although it continues to be owned by the entire family.

When you took over the family business, it was extremely profitable. Currently the business is doing badly. You feel a great deal of pressure to make the company successful again. To do so, you immediately need a very large amount of temporary cash. You are absolutely confident that you would repay or return the money in only a month or two.

Sources for the money

Suppose you could get the money from one of the sources listed below. For each source, please check the space which best reflects your personal view of how acceptable or unacceptable you feel that source is. There are no right or wrong answers here — only your honest opinion is important. You could get the money:

Acceptable / Unacceptable

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ A) From a legitimate loan from your bank.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ B) By quietly (without the family's knowledge) selling some assets of the family-owned business.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ C) Through a personal loan from a friend, even though you know your friend really can't afford to part with the money right now.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ D) By temporarily using money that a friend has given you to invest in the stock market for them.

Outcomes for your decision

Suppose that if you get the needed money, the following four possibilities exist for you. The loan, and the success it would bring, would:

1) Be used to help thousands of other people in your community.
2) Be used to help hundreds of other people in your community.
3) Be used to help a few other people in your community.
4) Not affect your ability to help other people in your community.

Now please consider both the four sources for the needed money (A, B, C, and D) and the four personal outcomes (1, 2, 3, and 4) and indicate the order of your preference for each combination by numbering each box from 1 to 16:

Outcome for you	If you got the money from: Loan from bank	Selling family assets	Loan from friend	"Using" friend's money
Help 1000s of people in your community				
Help 100s of people in your community				
Help a few people in your community				
Not affect your ability to help people				

Beside the community circumstances shown above, the students were asked to complete trade-off tables having two other sets of circumstances, one related to *family well-being* and one to *personal wealth and fame*.

The second scenario is "The Real-Estate Sale." Once again, note that the columns in the table represent rule-oriented information and the rows represent outcome-oriented information.

THE REAL-ESTATE SALE

Suppose you work for a small real-estate company. Your assignment has been to show and sell units in a new apartment and condominium (flats) development. Next to the development is a large tract of government-owned vacant land. The use for the land was decided during a private government meeting that was held last night. Earlier today you learned of the outcome of that meeting.

You are now showing the development to people representing a company that is ready to buy six of the condominium apartments, which will be a very large sale for you. You are walking back to your car to take them to your office, where they will sign the final sales contracts, when you are asked what the vacant land will be used for. You know that they might not buy the condominiums if they believe that use of the vacant land will reduce their value.

Although you actually do know what the land will be used for, you know they would be satisfied and would buy the condominiums if you said, "It will be used for a city park." Other answers you might give them could cause you to lose the entire sale.

Possible government decisions:

Some possible government decisions for the land are listed below. For each decision, please check the space that best reflects your personal view of how acceptable or unacceptable it would be for you to tell your clients, "It will be used for a city park." There are no right or wrong answers here — only your honest opinion is important. The government could have decided:

Acceptable						Unacceptable	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A) To convert the land to a beautiful city park.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	B) To leave the land vacant for an indefinite number of years.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	C) To use the land to build a detention or correctional center for youthful lawbreakers.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	D) To convert the land into a much-needed city garbage dump — a refuse landfill.

Outcomes for you

Suppose that if you make the sale and get the money it will provide, the following four possibilities exist for you. The money you make from the sale would:

1) Be used to help thousands of other people in your community.
2) Be used to help hundreds of other people in your community.
3) Be used to help a few other people in your community.
4) Not affect your ability to help other people in your community.

Now please consider both the four sources for the needed money (A, B, C, and D) and the four personal outcomes (1, 2, 3, and 4) and indicate the order of your preference for each combination by numbering each box from 1 to 16:

Outcome for you	You say "it will be used for a park," but the actual decision is to:			
	Convert land to a park	Leave land vacant	Build a detention center	Convert land to a dump
Help 1000s of people in your community				
Help 100s of people in your community				
Help a few people in your community				
Not affect your ability to help people				

As with the first scenario, students again completed trade-off tables which include circumstances related to family well-being and to personal wealth and fame.

As mentioned, each scenario included four measures of moral acceptability — the questions rated acceptable or unacceptable. We found no differences whatever between the ratings of the BYU and NUS students on these measures of moral acceptability for either scenario. As shown in figure 1, the two groups are equivalent on these measures. This equivalence suggests that the trade-off results we are about to see are not a result of one group being more

"moral" than the other. At the same time, across all three sets of circumstances BYU students consistently had higher value for the decisions, while NUS students favored the outcomes.[5]

What do these results mean? Consider for example the community outcomes data for the family-business scenario. The average responses for each of the two groups were as shown in table 2 (in each cell, the BYU data is represented by the top number and the NUS data by the bottom).

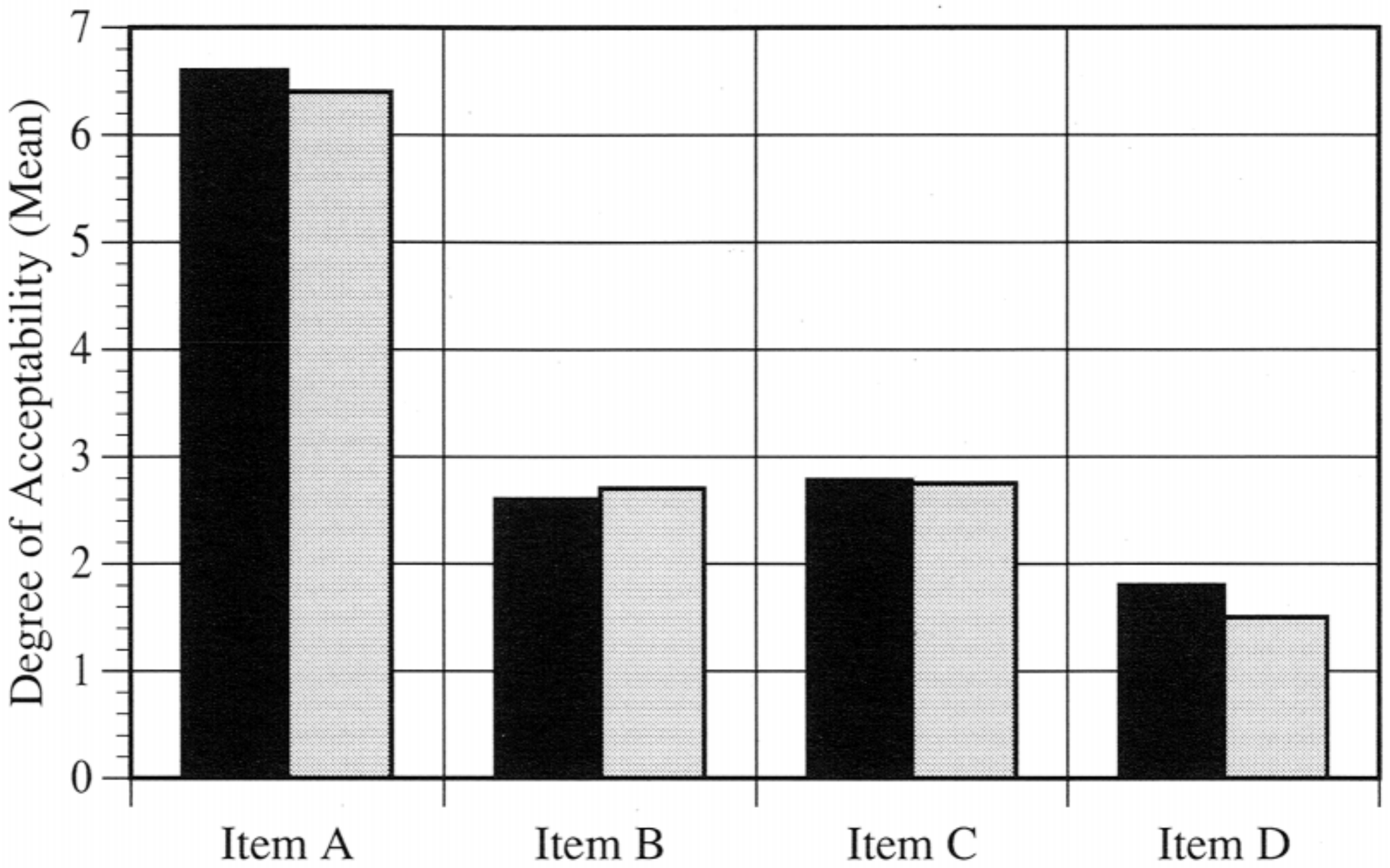
TABLE 2. Average Responses for Community Outcomes

Outcome for you	If you got the money from: Loan from bank	Selling family assets	Loan from friend	"Using" friend's money	
Help 1000s of people in your community	1	5	6	13	BYU
	1	2	4	8	NUS
Help 100s of people in your community	2	7	8	14	BYU
	3	5	7	11	NUS
Help a few people in your community	3	9	10	15	BYU
	6	9	10	13	NUS
Not affect your ability to help people	4	11	12	16	BYU
	12	14	15	16	NUS

We see that the BYU group tended to favor the columns in completing the trade-off tables. Since the columns represent *rules*, the decisions made by the BYU students were apparently most influenced by those students' internal rules of what was right. Thus the first four BYU preferences follow straight down the first column, indicating that these students were more concerned about the legitimacy of the loan than they were about the impact on people. In other words, they showed preference for their decisions over the outcomes.

The NUS students were different. They tended to favor the rows. Since the rows represent *outcomes*, we see that the NUS students' decisions were most influenced by who would be helped

FIGURE 1
MEASURES OF MORAL ACCEPTABILITY



or hurt by the decision. Thus, three of their first four preferences are in the first row, indicating that they were more concerned about helping people than they were about the legitimacy of the loan. In other words, the NUS students showed preference for the outcomes over the decisions.

The calculated utilities from our trade-off analysis (quantitative representations of these row-versus-column preferences) confirm this interpretation. The results are shown in figure 2. The community-outcomes utilities were as shown in table 3.

TABLE 3. Community Outcomes Utilities

	OUTCOMES	
STUDENTS	Family Business	Real-Estate Sale
BYU Students	0.882	0.681
NUS Students	1.271	1.152

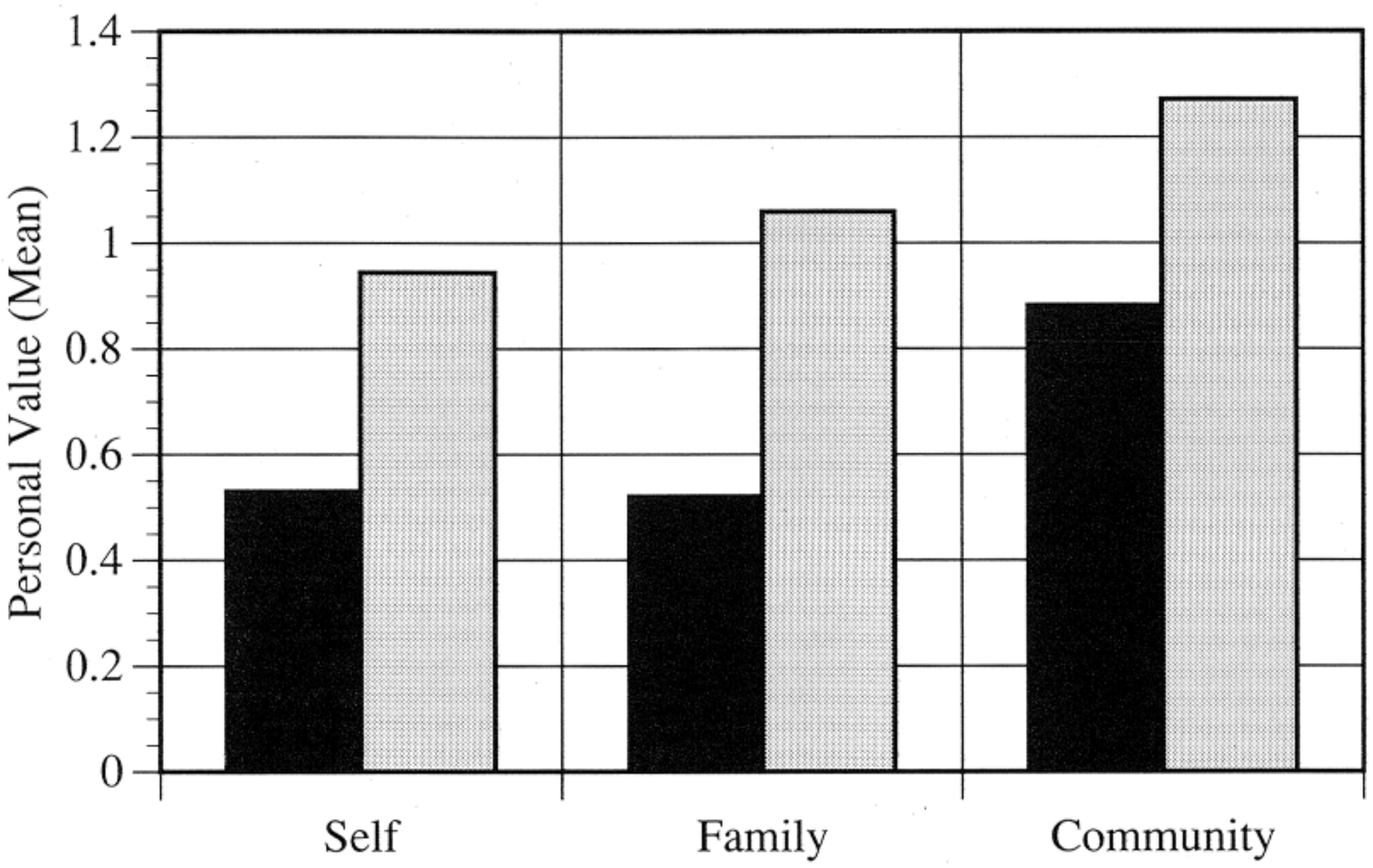
(Differences between the two groups were even greater for the family outcomes and the personal outcomes.) The higher numbers for NUS students show that they have a priority interest in the circumstances underlying their decisions. This finding again shows that, in making a moral decision, students at NUS are more influenced by the consequences of their actions than the BYU group are.

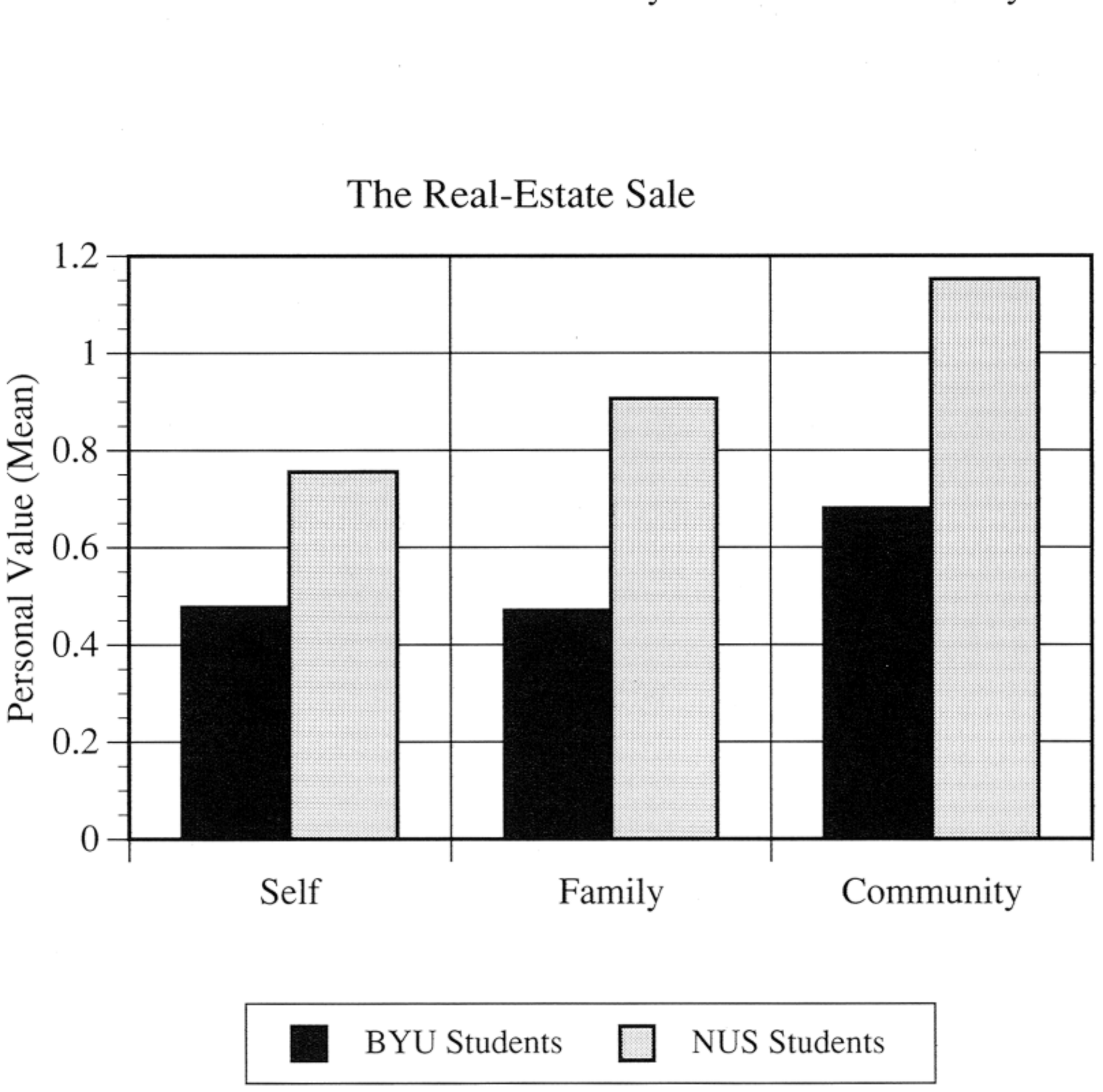
Correspondingly, the utilities for source of the money (in the first scenario) and use of the land (in the second scenario) are also different for the two groups. (See table 4 below.)

TABLE 4. Utilities for Source of Money and Land Use

	DECISIONS	
STUDENTS	Money Source	Land Use
BYU Students	1.332	1.317
NUS Students	0.940	1.020

FIGURE 2
MEASURES OF MORAL ACCEPTABILITY





The higher numbers here for BYU students show that they had a priority interest in the actual decision they were forced to make. That is, in making a moral decision, students at BYU are *less* influenced by the consequences of their action than the NUS group.

When one of the authors was sharing these results with a BYU class recently, the class members were especially intrigued to find that while the BYU students in our study were following moral rules, the NUS students were not. After a lively discussion, a class member voiced what may have been on the minds of many. He said, "Those Singapore students aren't very ethical are they?" To this question another student replied, "What would *they* think of us?"

Here we have members of two cultural groups who, when not considering outcomes, appear equivalent in their view of what is morally acceptable. Yet when outcomes are added, their *decisions* are very different. These differences do not seem to be due to differences in *application* of moral principles, for each group appears true to its own moral principles. The differences are in the principles themselves.

The BYU students seem to be making moral decisions based on fundamental value rules of right and wrong. They seem to be saying, "It is right to tell the truth; it is wrong to lie. Therefore, the moral thing to do is tell the truth and not lie." For example, their responses in the family-business scenario indicated they thought that it is right to get a legitimate loan and wrong to get the money some other way. They appear to see little relativity in their moral choices; what is moral in one situation is also moral in another. Thus, in this study, at least, the BYU group appears quite rule-oriented in its moral decisions.

By contrast, the NUS students seem to be basing moral decisions less on rules and more on the consequences of their moral behavior. They seem to be saying, "While it is generally right to tell the truth and wrong to lie, sometimes the greater good is served by not telling the truth rather than by telling it. In those cases, the more moral thing to do may be to lie." For example, their responses to the real-estate-sale scenario suggest their thinking was, I want to serve the greatest good; if to do this I must use unauthorized funds, then I will do so. Thus, the NUS group seems to be following a utilitarian ethic.

This NUS view is an unusual moral principle to those of us in the Western world and can be difficult for us to grasp. For us, the connection between obedience and morality is tightly woven — maybe more tightly in Utah than elsewhere and maybe still more at BYU. Perhaps we do not always *follow* our moral guides (parental training, interpretations of commandments and scriptures, Church

literature, time-honored precepts, etc.), but, we may argue, at least we know where to find them. We probably feel guilty if we do not follow them. And we might wonder, Can individuals truly be moral when they are not complying with "universal" moral laws?

But is it possible that we sometimes *fail* to act in ethical ways because we become paralyzed by the rightness or wrongness of our decisions rather than respond to the situation or to the consequences of our behavior? We cannot answer that question, of course. But our study implies that the NUS people are obedient to the moral principle of serving the greater good. And insofar as that is their moral principle, they have indeed behaved morally, even sometimes by not telling the truth. And possibly they might ask, Can Westerners truly be moral when they essentially ignore the consequences of their behavior?

Look at, for example, the current Wall Street takeover phenomenon. Most of these takeovers are probably quite legal and even in the best interests of stockholders. But (understandably) the Wall Street firms seem not to take into consideration the impact of their behavior on the general good. They explain their behavior by focusing on what is legally right or wrong, a rule-oriented justification. Amid legal takeovers beset with workers, families, companies, and entire communities thrown into economic chaos through plant closings, we read the comment of the surviving CEOs, who say, "I did nothing wrong." From a rule-oriented perspective they are probably behaving quite morally; from a consequence-oriented perspective they are not moral at all.

In practice, we suspect that many people who claim to act deontologically become more utilitarian in difficult moral dilemmas. When faced with complex moral decisions which have no clear black-and-white resolution — and therefore no right choice clearly guided by a corresponding rule or law — these people probably look to the expected outcomes before deciding what to do. For example, even a normally "obedient" person might reason, My husband will probably be deeply hurt if I tell him what my best friend said about him, so I will not tell him the complete truth if he asks. Or even, To pay my family's medical bills, I desperately need the three hundred dollars that this necessary software program costs, so I will pirate the software until I have the money for it.

Unfortunately, while people in a rule-oriented culture may *behave* as utilitarians, they will likely feel immoral and guilty in doing so: "Because it is for the greater good, I should withhold the truth . . . but that makes me not only dishonest but also untrustworthy. Can I live with myself?" We suspect that this reaction is a particularly strong tendency in our Latter-day Saint culture. Yet

while the Lord gave us rules to be followed, the scriptures reveal that serving the greater good often takes precedence. Serving the greater good, rather than obeying rules, may indeed be quite a moral way to live. This morality is, of course, what utilitarians strive to follow. Utilitarians look at moral dilemmas as problem-solving situations, realizing that their decision to serve the greater good is the moral one.

Stepping back from these data and subsequent results, we see more clearly how hard it can be for an observer to appropriately evaluate the morality of another person. This difficulty is even more evident when different values and cultures are involved. While each of us may operate consistently using a set of moral principles, those principles are not universally shared. Other principles guide other people or cultures, and we should wonder about the appropriateness of judging those principles as wrong just because they are different.

This study emphasizes that other cultures, with their attendant values and behavioral principles, can differ dramatically from our rule-oriented notion of ethics and ethical behavior. One person's moral decisions may be very different than another's. But both decisions can be "moral." Finally, the study suggests that we have much to learn from those individuals or cultures that maintain moral principles very different from our own.

NOTES

[1]Quoted in Emerson West, *Vital Quotations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 167.

[2]This is a simple — some may say simple-minded — view of these two moral philosophies. Volumes have been written on them, discussing their subtleties and variants. We wish merely to point out that two fundamentally different moral frameworks exist — one a rule orientation, the other an outcome orientation.

[3]The National University of Singapore was used (rather than Beijing University or some other) because a colleague there was available to help in the data collection.

[4]General education courses were used because they contain students of virtually all intended major fields of study. We wished to avoid having samples of only business or engineering, etc., students, and this approach minimized that possibility.

[5]Trade-off analysis provides no tests of statistical significance or difference, but we found the trade-off solutions to be stable, to have low "badness of fit" (no more than 6.5 out of 360 comparisons were inconsistent, with 93 percent of the comparisons correct). All in all, our results produced a very good trade-off solution.

Unto Tarshish

But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord.

—Jonah 1:3

I

Here, weeds wrap about my head.
Acid razes my flesh smooth.
I am out of sight—
Far from the presence. . . .
Yet I cannot tell the origins of this strife.
Is it I that chiefly torments myself?

II

Deep in some visceral place
Where dwells the knowledge of my doom,
I realize I shy from light and warmth
As do the creeping things of life
That dwell under stones and rotting logs.
Encapsulated in this tight cell,
I have become ambivalent to all light and sound.

III

In observation of lying vanities,
I am afraid to cry aloud.
Three days and three nights
Under mountains, with the bars of earth around,
Have me questioning the mercy in a belch
When Nineveh has much cattle.

—Laura Hamblin

Building the Kingdom of God: Mormon Architecture before 1847

W. Ray Luce

The first seventeen years of Mormonism — from its organization in 1830 until the entrance of the Mormon pioneers into the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 — have not received the attention they deserve in studies of Mormon architecture and planning. The period produced few "church" buildings, and the two major ecclesiastical buildings constructed during the period, the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples, were functionally very different from later Mormon buildings.[1] Even the plan for the City of Zion in Missouri contained elements foreign to the Mormon village plan used in the colonization of the Great Basin.

In reality, this was a period of tremendous development in Mormon architecture as Church leaders struggled to find how to build the physical kingdom of God. The answers they found incorporated both their former building traditions and current Church doctrines. The period produced a number of buildings that mirrored evolving Church organization and doctrine, a model that became pervasive for nineteenth-century Mormon building, and a theory of architecture, which, while not entirely articulated, has influenced the design of Mormon buildings to the present. Mormon architectural theory and practice changed dramatically during these early years and by 1847 had produced the elements that served as the foundation for later Mormon architecture.

Mormon architecture of the early period reflected several Latter-day Saint beliefs. First, the concept of the gathering. Much Mormon architecture was based on the idea of a central gathering place or places. Buildings were therefore planned at first to accommodate the entire Church. When numbers increased in a locality to a point where division was necessary, buildings were planned for priesthood quorums, not wards or congregations. (Wards, after

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they were first organized in Nauvoo, were primarily temporal units focused on the care of the poor.)

Mormon building and planning during the period also illustrates the fusion of secular and spiritual. Community planning was directed toward spiritual goals. The "Mormon village" was designed to balance the social and spiritual advantages of a community of believers against the evils of large urban areas. Similarly, spiritual and secular functions took place in the same buildings, and Church meetings were held in a variety of locations, many of which were, from outward appearances, secular.

Mormon architecture in Kirtland and Nauvoo was a blend of secular and religious structures. Church meetings were held in private homes or at outdoor meeting sites (some of which, like the stand in Nauvoo, were highly developed, equipped with benches and an elevated stand or pulpit), as well as in public halls.[2] There were, however, three types of buildings constructed during the period primarily for worship services. Together, these structures show the emergence of an interesting Church building pattern.

The first category of Church buildings was designed for general Church meetings and included the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples. The rapid growth of the Church made such structures too small even before they were completed. The Kirtland Temple, for example, could not hold the members who assembled for its dedication.[3] The Nauvoo Temple was almost three times larger but was also too small before it was completed.[4] Joseph Smith was later quoted as saying "that we may build as many houses as we would, and we should never get one big enough to hold the Saints."[5] Church leaders did make one last attempt to build a large general building in 1845 when a canvas tabernacle 250 by 125 feet was approved. This structure had not been completed, however, when the decision was made to leave Nauvoo. The four thousand yards of canvas purchased for the tabernacle were not wasted, but joined the trek west as tents and wagon covers.[6]

The second category of Church buildings, small chapels for outlying areas, came about by necessity and is not discussed as often in contemporary accounts. These chapels were patterned after small church buildings Mormons had known before they joined the LDS church and served as a pattern for chapels built in the West into the late nineteenth century. Such early chapels were built or planned for New Portage, Ohio; Pikesville and Norway, Illinois; Pueblo, Colorado (built by members of the sick detachment of the Mormon Battalion); and perhaps in several other towns as well. Some, such as the chapel in Pueblo, were built without general Church direction, while others, including those in New

Portage and Norway, seem to have been closely supervised by the general Church leadership.[7]

Providing sheltered meeting places in populous communities such as Kirtland and Nauvoo was more difficult, and despite such ambitious projects as the canvas tabernacle, it was apparent that constructing larger and larger buildings could not provide the needed facilities as effectively as could a number of smaller structures. An examination of buildings constructed and planned during the period clearly illustrates that the Saints were beginning to be divided into smaller units for spiritual direction, including worship services. However, the system was based not upon geographical wards but upon priesthood quorums. Sunday worship in Nauvoo, for example, consisted of a general meeting at the open-air stand near the temple, weather permitting.[8] Additional meetings were held in a number of indoor locations ranging from the Masonic Hall and Concert Hall to private homes.[9]

That pattern was changed with the construction of the Seventies Hall, the first example of the third category of Church buildings. The seventies, one of the major priesthood groups or quorums, began to hold Sunday worship services in addition to presidency meetings and meetings of individual quorums. The meetings were often attended by family members although it is not clear whether the meetings were designed to include women and children or were seen primarily as meetings for male quorum members. The meetings were addressed by Apostles as well as members of the seventies presidency.[10] While the seventies and high priests (another priesthood quorum) were soon holding regular Sunday meetings, the wards, which were first organized in Nauvoo, do not appear to have held any sacrament meetings in Nauvoo. A meeting was held in Bishop Hale's house, addressed by Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph Smith's mother, but it was apparently held in the bishop's home because of the building's size rather than because its owner was the head of the ward or the meeting was a ward event.[11]

The Seventies Hall is an unusual Mormon building form, but one that fits easily into early Mormon views of proper ecclesiastical functions and buildings. The high priests in Nauvoo voted unanimously to construct their own hall and were delayed only by an impassioned request from Brigham Young that they finish the temple first.[12] Understanding that priesthood quorums and not wards were viewed as responsible for some Sunday services helps to explain two of the most baffling questions in Mormon architecture: Why were the interiors of the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples designed with multiple pulpits at each end? and Why did Joseph Smith's plan for the City of Zion include provisions for twenty-four "temples" in the center of the city?

The plan of the City of Zion contains what seems to be a plethora of Church structures: three temples for the presidency of the High Priesthood, three for the bishop, three for the high priests, three for the elders, three for the presidency of the Aaronic Priesthood, three for the priests, three for the teachers, and three for the deacons. The explanation accompanying the plan notes that the twenty-four buildings were required "to supply . . . houses of worship, schools, etc."[13] (See fig. 1.) Houses of worship and schools are certainly traditional Mormon buildings, but in Utah they were normally constructed by wards, not priesthood quorums. The number of priesthood halls is also interesting. Why so many? The plan for the City of Zion called for a city population between fifteen and twenty thousand. If each of these halls had a seating capacity of five hundred, together they could seat twelve thousand, which, considering the number of children, potential nonattenders, and multiple use, may have been about right to provide Sunday services for the City of Zion. No indication is given as to who would use the buildings or how, but it is clear that Sunday worship services were to be held in priesthood temples.[14]

The design similarities between the interiors of the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples and the plan for the City of Zion are striking. Each end of the temples contained four pulpits. The designations on the pulpits correspond, in general, with the designations for the temples: M.P.C. (Melchizedek Presiding Council — the Presidency of the Church), P.M.H. (Presiding Melchizedek High Priesthood), M.H.P. (Melchizedek High Priesthood), P.E.M. (Presiding Elder Melchizedek), B.P.A. (Bishop Presiding Aaronic), P.A.P. (Presiding Aaronic Priest), P.T.A. (Presiding Teacher Aaronic), and P.D.A. (Presiding Deacon Aaronic).[15] (See fig. 2.) The Kirtland and Nauvoo temples can therefore be viewed as sophisticated multiple-purpose structures that could provide in one building all the functions later planned for twenty-four temples. The intricate detailing on the pulpits; the ingenious seating system, in which the benches could be moved to face either the Melchizedek Priesthood or Aaronic Priesthood end of the building; and the system of curtains to divide the building and the stands are merely superfluous details unless there was a real need for the priesthood quorums to use the building in ways we do not fully understand today — including, perhaps, Sunday worship.[16]

A vestige of these early priesthood halls is found in two buildings built in Salt Lake City and a third building designed but never built. The seventies in Utah constructed a Seventies Hall that served as a museum and mission home rather than a place to hold Sunday services. Truman O. Angell, architect of many important

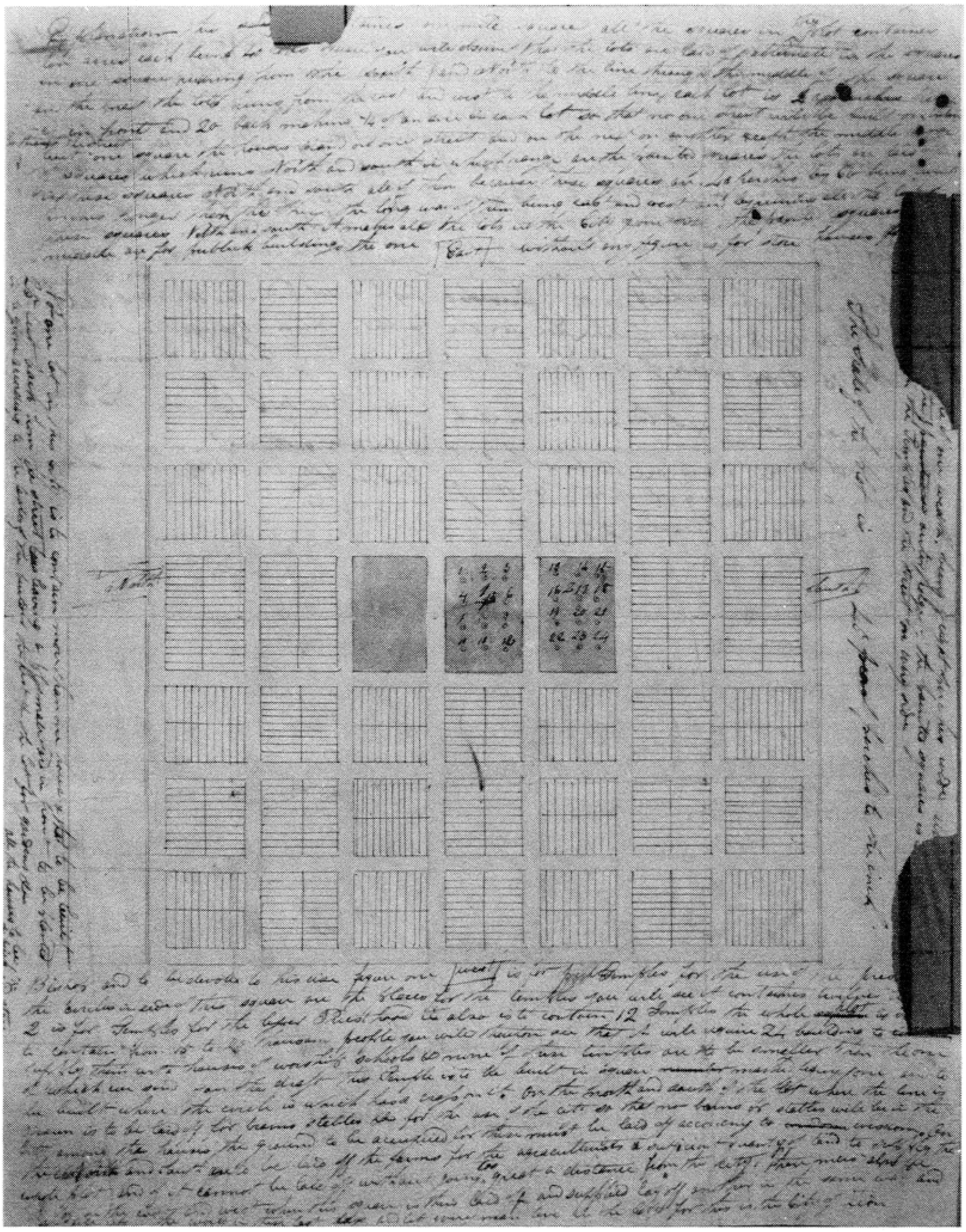

FIGURE 1. The plan for the City of Zion in which Joseph Smith specifies twenty-four priesthood temples for the center of the city. Joseph sent this plan to the brethren in Missouri on 25 June 1833. (Courtesy Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as LDS Historical Department.)

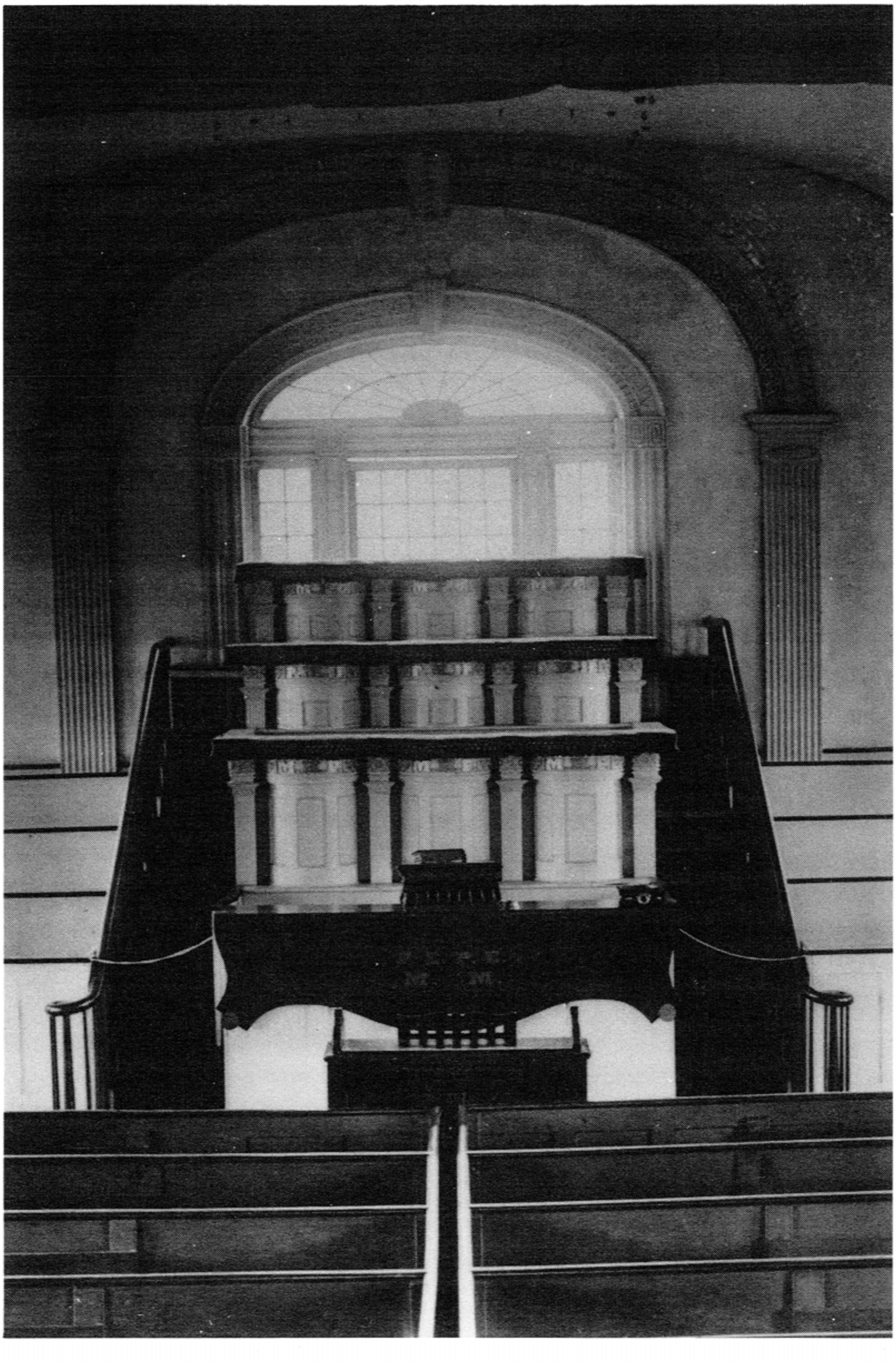

FIGURE 2. A 1908 view of the Melchizedek Priesthood pulpits in the Kirtland Temple. The pulpits are labeled M.P.C. (Melchizedek Presiding Council), P.M.H. (Presiding Melchizedek High Priesthood), M.H.P. (Melchizedek High Priesthood), and P.E.M. (Presiding Elder Melchizedek). Note the curtain for dividing the room. (Courtesy LDS Historical Department.)

Mormon buildings, including the Salt Lake Temple, designed a large Seventies Hall, which apparently was never built, but which, judging from its size and design, appears to have been designed to allow Sunday worship services.[17] The third and final building in this series of priesthood buildings is the Assembly Hall on Temple Square, constructed as a meeting hall for all priesthood quorums in Salt Lake City following the priesthood reorganization of 1877.[18]

Perhaps the major reason for the lack of additional priesthood structures in Utah was a basic change that took place while the Church was enroute to Utah: a redefinition of basic responsibility for providing Sunday worship services. The inherent problems of overlapping quorum and ward responsibilities — especially during the time the two groups did not have corresponding boundaries — increased when the Mormon Battalion took away much of the priesthood leadership and most of the Battalion's five hundred men left families behind. Faced with inadequate care for those who remained, Brigham Young reproved priesthood leaders in December 1846 for their lack of action and instituted reforms that included posting a map of Winter Quarters divided into wards with a list of the bishops and the wards over which they presided. The bishops were to "see that none suffer" and "to have meetings in their several Wards for the men women & children once a week also to . . . have schools in their Wards."[19] It is not clear where the wards met or how faithfully they followed the instructions, but the log tabernacle at Winter Quarters may well have been the first multiward Mormon chapel. The change from quorum to ward responsibility for worship services was thus begun, and with it a new basis for Mormon architecture based on wards.

Perhaps the greatest importance of pre-Utah Mormon architecture, and especially that of Nauvoo, was the pattern it provided for later Mormon cities in the West. Just as the Nauvoo Legion and William Pitt's Brass Band were transferred to Salt Lake City with little change, so the building forms and the city plan of Nauvoo were transferred to the Great Basin. Plans to replicate the temple were quickly made. The ingenious, unbuilt canvas tabernacle planned for Nauvoo quickly became the old tabernacle and a series of boweries constructed on Temple Square. (See fig. 3.) The Mansion House was recast with a beehive on the top while the Masonic Hall, devoid of its fraternal associations, was reincarnated as the Salt Lake Social Hall. The *Deseret News* office was an extension of a continuous string of printing establishments in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Other buildings housed a new tithing office, Church-

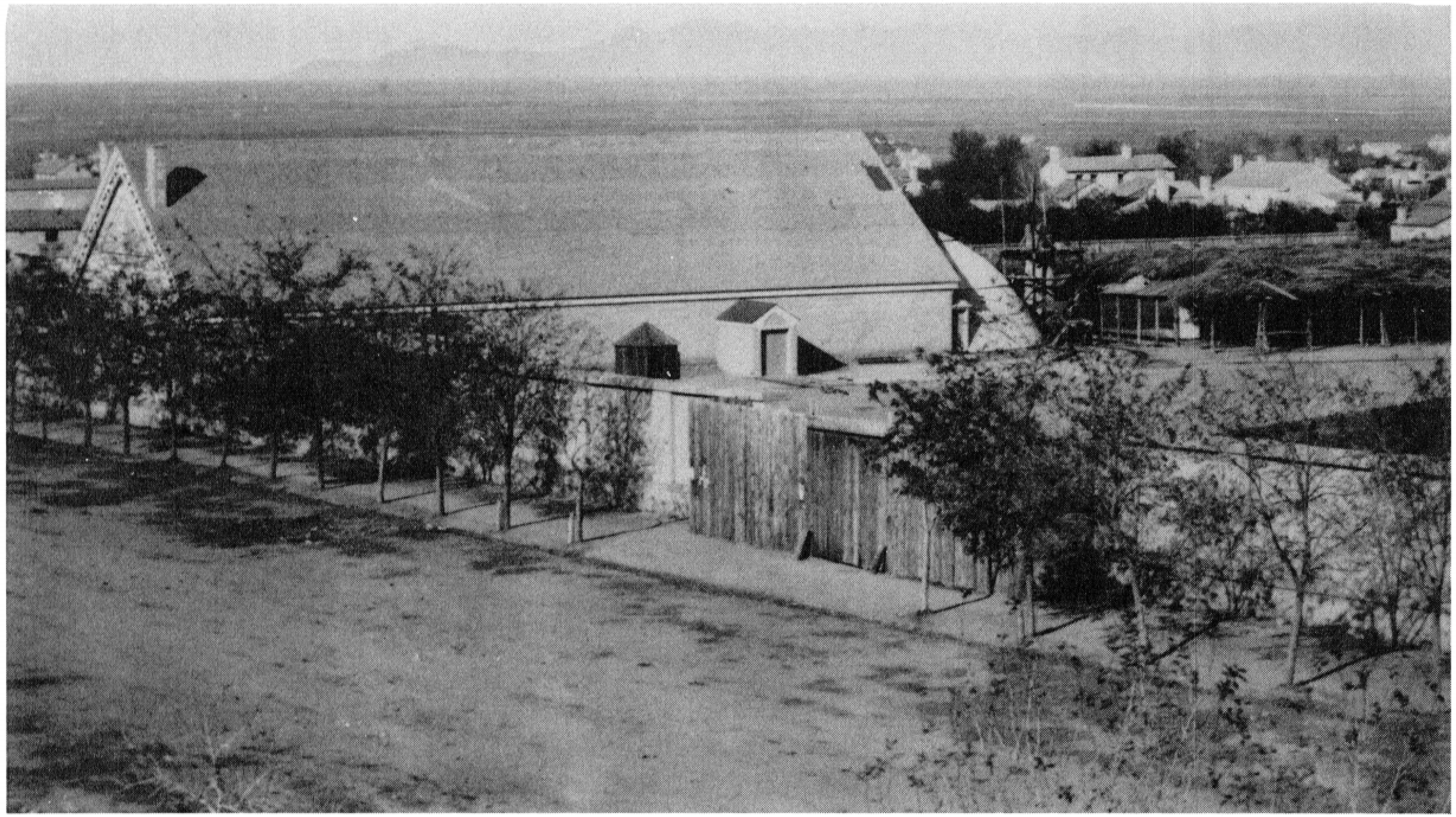

FIGURE 3. The bowery and original tabernacle seen from South Temple Street. These structures are functional descendants of the canvas tabernacle designed in Nauvoo but never built. (Courtesy LDS Historical Department.)

connected mercantile institutions, schools, and even the historian's office. It took a little longer for the Nauvoo Concert Hall to be recreated as the Salt Lake Theatre, and it was not until a new century had been ushered in that plans for the Hotel Utah were approved — justified in part by the Nauvoo House precedent.[20]

The Nauvoo pattern influenced residences as well as public buildings. The central-hall house type, a common midwestern type that appeared farther east much earlier, was used extensively in Nauvoo and became the standard house in the new Great Basin colonies. The house, a marriage of vernacular and more formal styling, has been shown to be closely correlated with Mormon settlement in the West.[21] Usually two stories high with one or two rooms on each side of a central hall, such "Mormon" houses often had a chimney at each gable end and simple Greek Revival detailing. (See front and back covers.) In some parts of the West this house type is known as the Nauvoo house. The building form, often constructed in brick, stone, or adobe, perhaps with a wing added, was pervasive enough in the Mormon colonies to have been used as a major indicator to define the "Mormon landscape."[22]

In addition, the plan of the City of Zion was modified in Nauvoo, and this modified version, rather than the theoretical plan developed for Missouri, became the basis for most Mormon communities in the West. While the original plan for the City of Zion and Nauvoo's city plan have many elements in common, such as the grid street pattern, farms outside the town, and a central location for a temple or temples, the plans were developed to meet different circumstances. The Missouri plan was formulated while the Church was practicing the law of consecration, an economic system in which Church members consecrated their material possessions for the greater good of the whole. Elements of the Missouri plan were designed to facilitate that system.

By the time Nauvoo's plan was implemented, tithing had taken the place of the Law of Consecration. This change in the Church's economic system resulted in greater flexibility in the Nauvoo plan. Nauvoo blocks were all the same size, thus eliminating the string of larger central blocks that not only provided space for the twenty-four temples, but also supplied land for special needs connected with the Law of Consecration, such as bishops' storehouses and central barns and stables. In Nauvoo, blocks were smaller, having four, rather than twenty, half-acre lots per block. Individuals in Nauvoo had greater flexibility in what they could do with their lots. They could, for example, build barns, sell part of their land, or place their house as they wished. In the Missouri plan, houses had to be placed in alternate rows so that no house faced

another. Finally, Nauvoo's plan also allowed greater flexibility for urban growth and design; the city was not limited to one square mile (as was its Missouri counterpart), and a Main Street business district was planned.[23]

It would be hard to overemphasize the importance of Nauvoo as a model for later Mormon architecture and town planning. Its influence resulted from three conditions. First, Nauvoo was the only city developed under the direction of Joseph Smith, who planned several cities but "completed" only Nauvoo. Second, for those who had lived in Nauvoo, the pattern remained clearly in mind even when it deviated from Joseph Smith's plan (deviations occurred in part because few people remembered the details of Joseph's written city plans). Finally, an architectural achievement — the completion of the Nauvoo Temple — changed what might have been a negative experience for Church members into a positive accomplishment. By completing the Nauvoo Temple, Mormons felt that they had finished the city despite opposition from within and without the Church. The Church had shown that it could continue after the death of the Prophet, and, armed with the success of finishing the temple and receiving their endowments, Church members could begin the trek west (psychologically at least) as a result of their own decision — not as banished outcasts.[24] The *Times and Seasons* mirrored this view in one of its last issues. The article referred specifically to museums and libraries but could as easily have been talking about the entire physical kingdom of God: "What has been done can be done again. When they find a place of 'rest' — a Library, a Museum, and a place of Antiquities, will be among the first works of wisdom."[25] The physical pattern for a Mormon community was set and would be repeated across the Intermountain West.

In addition to the above achievements, the early period of Church development also produced theories about domestic and ecclesiastical architecture that are basic to an understanding of later Mormon buildings. The Nauvoo house was a solid yet rather plain structure akin in some ways to the house of a prosperous Quaker. Such houses allowed their owners to have a large, substantial residence that could accommodate a growing family and provide visual witness to the favor of heaven while at the same time avoiding the frivolousness and conspicuous consumption that might suggest pride and avarice more than heavenly favor. These considerations explain in part why the Nauvoo house continued to be built for so many years. All colonists reproduce the architecture they know, but such forms become traditional or vernacular building types only if they fulfill real needs for the next generation. The

Nauvoo house provided a solid large house, sanctioned by history, that avoided the self-indulgence of the more current Victorian architecture. An analysis of current Mormon housing would probably show the same preference for solid rather than showy houses.

The pre-Utah period also saw the beginning of an inherent conflict in Mormon building theory between architecture as art and symbol and architecture as simple shelter. That tension, which has its basis in latter-day scriptures, is one of the central themes of Mormon architecture. The first theme of architecture as art and symbol is based primarily on scriptural discussions of temples that contend nothing is too good for the house of the Lord. Indeed, Doctrine and Covenants 124:26–27 lists gold, silver, precious stones, and "all the precious trees of the earth" when discussing the construction of the Nauvoo Temple. The temples in Kirtland and Nauvoo were clearly planned and executed under that premise and provided architectural symbols as well as meeting places.[26]

The opposite strain is also scriptural: that human beings are more important than an object such as a building, and that if choices between the two have to be made, they must be made in favor of individuals. This strain tends to see worship as a private matter that can be aided by surroundings but is not, and should not be, dependent upon the setting. This concept is clearly exemplified in Mormon 8:37, where Moroni speaks to a later people, people who are lifted up in the pride of their hearts: "For behold, ye do love money and your substance, and your fine apparel, *and the adorning of your churches*, more than ye love the poor and the needy, the sick and the afflicted" (emphasis added). This concept is shown in numerous buildings constructed during the period, from the school house the Saints used for worship in Kirtland to the canvas tabernacle in Nauvoo.[27] The Kirtland school and similar structures built during the early period seem to have been the model for the utilitarian school/chapel plan Brigham Young circulated shortly after arriving in Utah. The emphasis on utility and simplicity has guided the construction of many, if not most, later Mormon chapels. Joseph Smith sanctioned the concept when he told the Saints in New Portage, Ohio, that they should "erect only a temporary or cheap place for meeting in Portage, as that was not to be established as a Stake of Zion at present; and that course would enable them to do more for the House in Kirtland."[28]

The interaction of these two opposing strains explains much about Mormon architecture to the present. There have been some exceptions to this dichotomy, and some buildings, especially tabernacles, have been heir to both strains. Tabernacles did not serve as art and symbol in the same way the temples did, and yet

they were certainly more than simple shelter. The ambivalence about which category these buildings fitted may, in fact, be a major reason why tabernacles became an extinct Mormon building form.

There is still much to be done in the study of pre-Utah Mormon architecture, but enough is known to revise many earlier misconceptions. The period from 1830 to 1847 was one of the most dynamic in Mormon history because during those early years the Saints were struggling to know how building the kingdom of God differed physically from building other communities. The answers they found, often with few guidelines, have had a profound influence on later Mormon architecture.

NOTES

[1]See Laurel Brana Blank Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978). The general attitude toward these two temples is summarized in a thesis on the Kirtland Temple: "The Latter-day Saints feel that it served well its purpose, and was but a stepping stone to greater and more complete temples wherein the sacred ordinances of the priesthood could be administered" (Clarence L. Fields, "History of the Kirtland Temple" [Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963], abstract, 2).

[2]See William G. Hartley, "Mormon Sundays," *Ensign* 8 (January 1978): 20-21. For the variety of meeting places see Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (reprint; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 2:52, 319; 3:XLIII; 5:327, 400–01, 408; 7:274, 310, 352, 364–65, 369–70, 375 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). See also Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 1:22–23, 33, 50 (entries for 23 February 1845, 7 April 1845, and 29 June 1845).

[3]*History of the Church* 2:410–11.

[4]*History of the Church* 7:427, 456.

[5]*Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (reprint; London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–56), 2:360. See also *History of the Church* 5:401.

[6]*History of the Church* 7:427, 482. See also Elden J. Watson, "The Nauvoo Tabernacle," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 416–21.

[7]*History of the Church* 2:25, 7:312; telephone conversation with Warren Winston, Pikesville, Illinois, February 1979; John F. Yurtinus, "A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1975), 1:291, 295.

[8]See Hartley, "Mormon Sundays," 21, or *History of the Church* for almost any Sunday in volumes 5, 6, or 7.

[9]*History of the Church* 5:327, 400–01, 408; 7:274, 310, 352, 364–65, 369–70, 375; Brooks, *Hosea Stout* 1:22–23.

[10]*History of the Church* 7:379; Brooks, *Hosea Stout* 1:8, 9,11, 12 (entries for 3, 10, 24 November and 15, 22 December 1844).

[11]*History of the Church* 7:375; Brooks, *Hosea Stout* 1:22–23 (entry for 23 February 1845). Some meetings were held by wards. Thursday fast-day meetings were held in wards on 15 May 1845 for "donations . . . to the bishops . . . to supply the wants of the poor until harvest" *(History of the Church* 7:411). The bishops also met with members of the Aaronic Priesthood but not on Sundays (*History of the Church* 7:317, 325, 327–28, 351). In at least one instance, the quorum and ward designations were combined in a meeting of the high priests of the Fifth Ward on a Thursday (*History of the Church* 7:325).

[12]*History of the Church* 7:364.

[13]*History of the Church* 1:358–59.

[14]*History of the Church* 1:358–59.

[15]Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 160.

[16]The relationship of the Kirtland Temple and the plan of Zion is shown in the chronology of the two designs. On 3 June 1833, a conference of high priests discussed the size of the Kirtland Temple and

appointed a committee to obtain a draft for the interior (*History of the Church* 1:352). Twenty-two days later, Joseph Smith sent a plan for the City of Zion to Missouri with an explanation of the twenty-four temples and a detailed description of the first temple to be built (*History of the Church*, 357–62). The interior of that temple is very similar to the interior of the Kirtland Temple.

[17]Levi Edgar Young, "The Spirit of the Pioneers," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 18–20; James N. Baumgarten, "The Role and Function of the Seventies in LDS Church History" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960), 46–48; Andrew Jenson, comp., *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899), 52 (entry for 25 December 1854).

[18]William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 22.

[19]Brooks, *Hosea Stout* 1:217–18.

[20]James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 468–69.

[21]Richard V. Francaviglia, "Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61 (March 1971): 65–71.

[22]Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers* 2 (1970): 59–61; Richard V. Francaviglia, "The City of Zion in the Mountain West," *Improvement Era* 72 (December 1969): 10–11, 14–15.

[23]*History of the Church* 1:357–59; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 42–43.

[24]Brigham Young voiced this feeling in a general epistle to the Church dated 23 December 1847. After discussing the exodus from Nauvoo, he added, "The Temple of the Lord is left solitary in the midst of our enemies, an enduring monument of the diligence and integrity of the Saints" (James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1833–1964*, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965], 1:325).

[25]*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 January 1846): 1078.

[26]Joseph Smith wrote in a letter to the Twelve in October 1840 that the Nauvoo Temple would "be considerably larger than the . . . Kirtland and on a more magnificent scale . . . which will undoubtedly attract the attention of the great men of the earth" *(History of the Church* 4:229).

[27]*History of the Church* 2:142; 3:XLIII.

[28]*History of the Church* 2:25.

A Gathering Storm

He, with dried-apple skin
crouched in serious expression,
pointed to where the Henry Mountains nicked the sky;

bibbed, faded-blue, in jeans,
with no great intentions.

Hands the color of rich soil, sunbaked, trembled.
And from the end of his fingertip, I studied the horizon.

His hip gnawed: the divine gift of prophecy,
or just an old man's curse
to know the future, as still life as the past.

But whether from God or sapless bones,
he spoke his vision: of toads
anchoring their smooth, fat bellies to the mud,
as clouds, angrier than the spindle of a tornado,
clutched distance across the sky—
bleeding color from the land;

a wind to steal your breath,
as from a child's face dangled out a speeding car,

and rain beating down slender stalks,
their green age driven to the ground;

of corn swept from fields . . . bobbing
in the rush of muddy waste;

the cries of mothers clutching children,
and of homeless men with lost dreams.

I listened, a nervous disciple
tightroping the field's bloodline
while he inspected:

a small town prophet,
occasionally spitting out a down-breeze stringer;
spinning revelation, as I, young at summer's edge,
kept a helpless eye on the blue wash of the horizon.

—R. Blain Andrus

The Social Origins of the Kirtland Mormons

Mark R. Grandstaff and Milton V. Backman, Jr.

Early in the spring of 1831, members of a new religious movement entered Ohio's scenic Western Reserve and settled in the town of Kirtland:

> They came, men, women, and children, in every conceivable manner, some with horses, oxen, and vehicles rough and rude, while others had walked all or part of the distance. The future "City of the Saints" appeared like one besieged. Every available house, shop, hut, or barn was filled to its utmost capacity. Even boxes were roughly extemporized and used for shelter until something more permanent could be secured.[1]

The major force that influenced this migration to Geauga County was the people's conversion to a new religious movement and their subsequent belief that the Lord, through a latter-day prophet, had called them to "gather" in that region (D&C 37:3, 38:32). This conversion to a new pattern of thinking and behavior was a fundamental difference between the Latter-day Saint immigrants and other Americans in the decades before the Civil War.

Scholars have advanced many different theories regarding the background of converts to Mormonism, including their social origins. Whitney R. Cross, for example, contended that early converts to the Latter-day Saint faith were steeped in the sectarian revivalism that emanated from the "Burned-over District," a region of western New York that was habitually revivalistic. After plotting the location of Latter-day Saint converts in western New York, Cross concluded that these converts were not living on the frontier of the state but in settled communities.[2] A later historian, Mario de Pillis, insisted that Cross's research on Latter-day Saint settlement patterns was faulty and some of his conclusions flawed. De Pillis associated Latter-day Saint social origins with the "disorientation

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of values associated with migration to and within backwoods" America. He argued that the migratory nature of these converts prepared them for the "authoritative message of Mormonism."[3]

Cross and De Pillis introduced a subject that has continued to be a focus of attention. Agreeing with some of De Pillis's views, Marvin S. Hill suggested that Latter-day Saint converts were "transients, seeking a stopping place and life style."[4] In a work comparing Mormon, Shaker, and Oneida communities, Lawrence Foster reasoned that the far-reaching changes produced by an unprecedented economic and geographical expansion had significant effects on individuals and the family. "Many displaced New Englanders," he explained, settled in the Burned-over District, where they were "attracted to an extraordinary range of crusades aimed at the perfection of mankind and the achievement of millennial happiness." An "atmosphere of intense religious rivalry and competing claims to truth led to great internal tensions in sensitive individuals who desired a secure religious faith." Foster sees these tensions in Joseph Smith's description of the religious situation during his youth: "So great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong."[5] Foster proposed that after Joseph Smith resolved his own religious questions, he organized a religious community that in part responded to the subversion of the patriarchal household and the dissolution of kinship bonds in the changing New York environment.[6]

Studies on revivalism and conversions indicate that tensions and stress are major forces that stimulate changing patterns of behavior.[7] According to this theory, developments that disorient people and create unusual tensions (such as disruptions due to migrations, rapid economic changes, and unusual social dislocations) foster conversions, promote social change, and stimulate new movements.[8]

Many scholars have elaborated on changes in western New York in the early nineteenth century that provided a climate favorable to religious reform. The completion of the Erie Canal broke down corporate family structure and thereby undermined both self-sufficient farming and household manufacturing (such as the production of cloth and woolens).[9] The small farmers' lifestyle was jeopardized by the specialization and commercialization of farming. Products previously made and sold in the farm household could now be made on a larger scale, shipped to distant markets, and sold for less than the farmer could manufacture similar products. As land became scarce and unproductive, second-generation sons and

daughters of New York's farmers began moving to towns and cities to find employment and occupational stability. Chaotic winds of social dislocation penetrated many sections of America, including the Burned-over District. Many traditions were being replaced by a different way of life.[10]

During the Second Great Awakening, a major revival that began in the new nation about 1800 and reached a peak during the 1830s and 1840s, many individuals expressed dissatisfaction with sectarian religions that concentrated on election and predestination and that tended to support the intellectual and economic elite. Consequently, according to one theory, revivals in the early nineteenth century increasingly became a means of assuring common folk of their uniqueness as individuals and of a place in society.[11] In the opinion of William McLoughlin, revivalism not only solidified relationships among those who had experienced dislocations, but also served as a means to assimilate its participants into America's changing culture.[12]

The problem of determining the actual cause of conversion is compounded by many factors, not the least of which is the tendency of modern scholars to explain powerful religious experiences in terms of secular theories without reference to divine intervention. Although the impact of supernatural forces is beyond the scope of social history, an understanding of the social processes in conversion does not negate the possibility of divine influences. Those who believe in an omnipotent God should be able to understand that he is capable of working through social processes and environmental influences that would appear natural to the detached social scientist or historian.[13] An additional difficulty is that historians work with limited information and draw conclusions based on incomplete data. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish causation from consequences. Similar forces do not always produce similar results. Motives for religious affiliation are as varied and complex as the individuals who espouse belief. Nevertheless, the identification of forces leading to conversion provides an additional dimension to an understanding of the past.

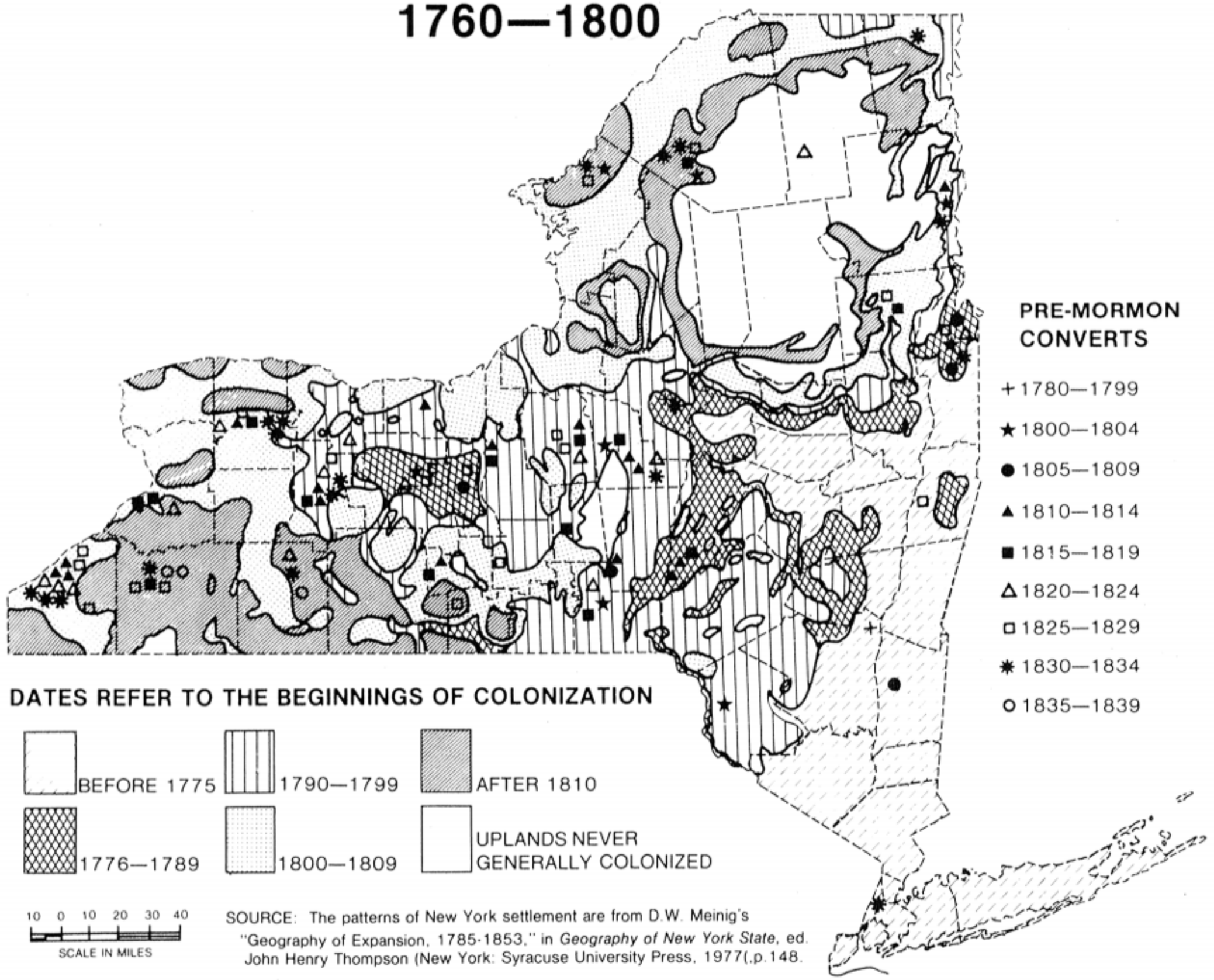
Some theories on the social origins of Latter-day Saints have been advanced without a thorough investigation of the background of these people, including migration patterns preceding conversions. The first step in a study of their social origins is to identify the places of birth of the Kirtland Saints. Information on 602 adults who settled in Kirtland before 1839 discloses that 50 percent were born in New England and another 31 percent in New York. Of the non-Mormons who migrated to Kirtland before 1831, 73 percent were born in New England and 13 percent in New York. Although

relatively few records have been located that identify the places of birth of non-Mormons who settled in Kirtland between 1831 and 1839, information that is available (for 49 adults) indicates that 41 percent were born in New England and 51 percent in New York. Data available on all non-Mormons who settled there before 1839 reveals that 88.5 percent were born in New York or one of the New England states. (See table 1.)

A second step in identifying Latter-day Saint social origins is to examine their migration patterns prior to their conversions and move to Kirtland. Two major forces motivated American pioneers to move westward: pressures that influenced them to leave their former homes and forces that attracted them to another region. The shortage of good farm land, frequent frosts, and reports of better conditions in the West caused many to leave their homes in the Northeast. By 1810, for example, many children of the first major wave of settlers of Vermont were in the same position as their fathers had been thirty years earlier. They were forced to choose between staying on a family farm, subdividing it until all children would have inadequate acreage, or moving to a new region. Newspapers reported that just fifty to one hundred miles distant in New York was timbered land more fertile than the land in Vermont. As land prices rose in Vermont and conditions became more crowded because of natural increase and continued immigration, out-migration increased.[14] Between 1790 and 1830, successive waves of settlers made their way into New York. This westward movement, for pre-Latter-day Saint converts and others, was not a symmetrical wave rolling along a broad front, but, as D. M. Meinig explained, "a highly selective, uneven, fragmented pattern of advance." The main body of early migrants traveled through the Mohawk Valley, which was accessible to overlanders from New England. A second gateway into New York was across the northern edge of the Adirondacks from Vermont. Yet another influx came from Pennsylvania, flowing up the Susquehannah River and eventually pushing into the Finger Lake region.[15]

Of those who immigrated to Kirtland, a few had moved to New York from Pennsylvania prior to becoming Latter-day Saints. A larger number in their pre-Mormon days had followed the major paths from New England to New York. Of those who joined the Church in New York, about half emigrated from New England before 1820 and located their homes in settled communities rather than in the frontier regions. Within the next decade, the other half of these families were living near the western border of New York. As the frontier expanded, the initial pre-Mormon move was closer to New York's western border. Consequently, the postconversion move to Kirtland was a shorter distance than the earlier moves from New England to New York. (See map and table 2.)

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS WITHIN NEW YORK
1760—1800



PRE-MORMON CONVERTS

+ 1780—1799
★ 1800—1804
● 1805—1809
▲ 1810—1814
■ 1815—1819
△ 1820—1824
□ 1825—1829
✱ 1830—1834
○ 1835—1839

DATES REFER TO THE BEGINNINGS OF COLONIZATION

BEFORE 1775
1790—1799
AFTER 1810
1776—1789
1800—1809
UPLANDS NEVER GENERALLY COLONIZED

10 0 10 20 30 40
SCALE IN MILES

SOURCE: The patterns of New York settlement are from D.W. Meinig's "Geography of Expansion, 1785-1853," in *Geography of New York State*, ed. John Henry Thompson (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977(,p.148.

TABLE 1. Birth Places of Early Kirtland Residents

Arrivals Prior to 1839

	LDS	Percent	Non-LDS	Percent
ME	16	2.7	5	3.8
VT	85	14.1	4	3.1
NH	54	9.0	6	4.6
MA	94	15.6	36	27.5
CT	49	8.1	28	21.4
RI	7	1.2	1	0.8
Total NE	305	50.7	80	61.1
NY	188	31.2	36	27.5
Total NE + NY	493	81.9	116	88.5
PA	18	3.0	2	1.5
OH	23	3.8	12	9.2
Other	68	11.3	1	0.8

Sources: Information on births of Latter-day Saints has been obtained from LDS family group records in the Family History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; similar information on non-Mormons is located in a collection on early residents of Kirtland at the Lake County Historical Society, Kirtland Hills, Ohio.

TABLE 2. Migration from New York to Kirtland

Years of Settlement	Number	Mean Coordinates	Median Coordinates	Median Miles
1810-1824	12	9.3	8.5	246
1825-1829	19	8.4	8.0	239
1830-1834	44	5.8	5.0	171

If anything could be classified as unusual, it would be the Mormons' remarkable geographic stability. Before their conversions, Mormons who moved to Kirtland were not transients. Approximately 95 percent of the Latter-day Saint immigrants to Kirtland had moved two times or less, 80 percent moved one time or less, and 51 percent did not move between the birth of their first child and their move to Kirtland. (See table 3.) Using the child-ladder method of measuring the frequency of and duration between moves (determined by examining records that identify birth dates and places of children), the average number of years of stable residence prior to moving to Kirtland was 7.3 years (the median was 11.7).[16]

TABLE 3. Number of Moves by Family within the New England and New York Areas, 1798-1839

Number of Moves	Number	Percent
0	97	51
1	55	29
2	28	15
3+	10	05
Totals	190	100

Thus future Mormon converts were neither transients nor frontiersmen, but stable members of their communities whether in New England or New York. In contrast, recent work on other American families during the period demonstrates a difference in migration patterns and geographic mobility. For instance, 80 percent of those who traveled on the Overland Trail moved before heading west.[17] Mormons were different. Fifty percent did not move prior to their migrating to Kirtland. This suggests that their move to Kirtland was not motivated by a desire for monetary gain, but was a response to what they believed was a divine decree.

If a profile of the typical Mormon convert does emerge, his or her conversion would be linked to a reaction to the unusual stresses tearing way at the foundations of society. Like most Americans, many pre-Mormons were affected by the rapid socioeconomic changes occurring in Jacksonian America. Means and modes of transportation blossomed. Communication in the form of news-

papers and books became available on an unprecedented scale. Commercial trade routes spread throughout the land and began to transform old mercantilist ways into capitalistic enterprises. What was once reserved for the elite now became available to the masses. Democracy wedded to laissez-faire capitalism became in time a powerful civil-religious theme. This combination also disrupted the earlier vision of an agrarian republic based on civic virtue — the sacrifice of oneself for the common good.

The sheer social and geographic movement was unsettling. People struck out for parts unknown in search of better land and a better stake in life. Many became victims of a fledgling capitalist economy that seemed to bring out the worst in people. The shifting ideology was exhibited in an increased materialism and competition that put American society at odds with its colonial heritage. Class lines hardened. Business contended against business, priest against priest, neighbor against neighbor. Alcoholism was rampant.[18] Revivalism, reform movements, and associations attempted to stem the tide of these changes that seemed to cut deep into the very fabric of the culture, but many such movements only reinforced the changes. Even such an event as the Second Great Awakening emphasized the disparity between previous conceptions and current realities. Ministers taught that conversion was a solitary act — one that took place between the communicant and God. Salvation was not collective nor universal salvation, but individualized. People chose to be saved. The Jacksonian American was thus the quintessential individual — potentially rich, powerful, and saved on his own merits.[19]

Most antebellum Americans experienced the stresses and anxieties accompanying such momentous changes and chose various means to displace their insecurities and to assimilate the changing culture. Others turned to associations and reform movements. In contrast, pre-Mormon converts looked toward a restoration of traditional beliefs and values. This search led many to a further dissatisfaction with the pluralism of an expanding secular society and caused them to seek an ordered society free from the upheavals that plagued Jacksonian America. Mormonism, with its emphasis on divine authority, exclusivity, and continual revelation, provided fellowship for such seekers.

While geographic stability was an important factor in the backgrounds of Mormon converts, there were others. The converts were young (their mean age was twenty-nine with more than 50 percent under thirty — see table 4). Many shared a common surname. Most had a common school education and had little

TABLE 4. Age at Baptism		
Age Cohort	Number	Percent
15-19	13	15.0
20-24	22	25.6
25-29	12	14.0
30-34	14	16.3
35-39	9	10.5
40+	16	18.6
Totals	86	100.0

TABLE 5. Wealth of Converts		
Wealth Level*	Number	Percent
Poor	21	50.0
Moderate	12	28.6
Affluent	8	21.4
Totals	42	100.0

*Due to the lack of actual dollar estimates of pre-Mormon wealth, the measurement is subjective. If converts indicated in their diaries that their early lives were impoverished, they were categorized as "poor." If they indicated that their families were wealthy, they were categorized as "affluent." Those who indicated neither extreme wealth nor poverty were classified as moderate.

money. (See table 5.) Few had migrated often after marriage, nor had they changed their religion with much frequency. Although most adhered to the occupational status of their fathers (semiskilled sons tended to follow in the steps of semiskilled fathers), about 32 percent secured work in occupations different from their fathers'. (See table 6.) Twenty-three percent did not work as rural laborers, reflecting the movement from the farm to more urban areas.[20]

A majority of converts adhered to their fathers' religious affiliation as well. Unchurched fathers had unchurched sons. It is evident, however, that more of the fathers belonged to major denominations than did their sons. (See table 7.) This small disparity in religious backgrounds is no doubt a product of the fathers'

TABLE 6. Occupations of Converts and Their Fathers

	Father		Convert	
Occupation	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Farmer	38	80.9	43	58.1
Miller	5	10.6	6	8.1
Shoemaker	2	4.3	1	1.2
Sailor	1	2.1	0	0.0
Other*	1	2.1	24	32.5
Totals	47	100.0	74	100.0

*"Other" includes teacher, hatter, tanner, carpenter, lawyer, clerk, doctor, merchant, and minister.

TABLE 7. Religious Affiliation of Converts and Their Fathers

	Father		Convert	
Affiliation	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Unchurched	10	15.2	21	26.9
Methodist	20	30.3	15	19.2
Presbyterian	11	16.7	8	10.3
Baptist	10	15.2	10	12.8
Reformed Baptist	0	0.0	11	14.1
Reformed Methodist	1	1.5	4	5.1
Campbellite	0	0.0	2	2.6
Universalist	3	4.5	2	2.6
Dutch Reformed	2	3.0	2	2.6
Congregationalist	5	7.6	2	2.6
Other*	4	6.0	1	1.3
Totals	66	100.0	78	100.1

*"Other" includes Episcopal and Lutheran.

colonial heritage and increasing sectarianism. As New Englanders ventured westward, many lost contact with formalized religion but remained faithful to previous affiliations. Moreover, following the American Revolution, religious liberty became constitutionalized. Many itinerant preachers of both mainstream and new faiths sought to bring Americans into their fold. Revivalists plunged into a fertile field, and vast numbers of Americans launched a quest for religious truth. About 1819 a second phase of the Second Great Awakening commenced. This time there were many new religious denominations to choose from. This democratization of religion continued for the next sixteen years amidst a powerful surge of revivalism. One of the fruits of this religious quickening was a dramatic increase in church membership and attendance. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the proportion of Protestant church members in the population increased from 7 to 17 percent.[21]

One of the most important characteristics of Mormon converts was their dissatisfaction with major Christian faiths and their belief in the need to restore the power, organization, and doctrinal purity of New Testament Christianity. Of the fifty-eight Kirtland Mormons whose writings were examined, approximately half indicated that prior to their conversions they were searching for the authority of the New Testament church, including its plainness of doctrine. Another 14 percent emphasized their search for the spiritual power manifest among the early Christians. Still another 30 percent recorded that they were converted by reading the Book of Mormon. Some of these might have been influenced by this book because of an earlier search for a restoration. (See table 8.)

A significant proportion of the Mormon converts had held restorationist views before joining the LDS church. Almost a third of these "restorationists" were unchurched, a third aligned with reformed faiths, and another third were members of the three largest religious denominations (Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian). Many of the unchurched, however, held deep religious convictions. Even though they did not join an organized religion, they generally believed in God and Christ and in the historical accuracy of the Old and New Testaments. (See table 9.)

Selections from writings of early Latter-day Saints, especially descriptions of their backgrounds, including their stresses and quests, aptly disclose some of the most dominant characteristics of these people. Joel Hills Johnson was the eldest of sixteen children born to Ezekial and Julia Hills Johnson and was the first in his family to join Mormonism. He reported that his mother instructed him frequently on the subject of religion during his youth. On many occasions, he thought about the nature of God and

TABLE 8. Reasons for Conversion as Written in Diary or Autobiography of Convert		
Reason	Number	Percent
Authority* (New Testament Christianity)	27	46.6
Book of Mormon	17	29.3
Spiritual Manifestations	8	13.7
Plainness of Doctrine**	1	1.7
Primitive Simplicity	2	3.5
Impressed with Missionaries	3	5.2
Totals	58	100.0

*Those who indicated in their writings that they joined the Church because of its divine authority.
**Those who recorded that they were convinced of the Church's authority because the doctrine could be easily understood.

TABLE 9. Restorationists' Religious Affiliation		
Affiliation	Number	Percent
Unchurched	16	30.2
Methodist	6	11.3
Presbyterian	4	7.5
Baptist	7	13.2
Reformed Baptist	11	20.8
Reformed Methodist	3	5.7
Campbellite	2	3.8
Other*	4	7.5
Totals	53	100.0

*"Other" includes Episcopal and Universalist.

wept bitterly because he believed he was a sinner in the eyes of God. On one such occasion, after being scolded by his parents, he considered committing suicide. His teenage years were filled with anxiety about finding the "faith that was once delivered to the [ancient] saints."

Although Joel gained peace while attending various Protestant services, the eighteen-year-old boy was not fully satisfied with the churches located in his neighborhood. He became concerned because he had not been baptized for the remission of sins or received the gift of the Holy Ghost as practiced in the ancient Christian church. This concern was partly resolved when he decided to be baptized and united with a Free Will Baptist society located near Pomfret, Chautauqua County, New York.

Shortly after he became a Baptist, Joel's attempt to gain economic security crumbled. After purchasing a farm adjoining property owned by his parents, he built a sawmill. However, faulty planning resulted in the collapse of this mill and the loss of his farm to creditors. In an attempt to recuperate from this loss, Joel invented and patented a machine that cut shingles. But misfortune struck again. Claiming that he was the original inventor of this machine, he insisted that he was "swindled" by others and was not able to profit from that accomplishment. Discouraged, he decided to leave the home of his youth and "seek an asylum among strangers." After moving to Amherst, Ohio, he learned about the restoration of the ancient Church through a latter-day prophet. Teachings of this new movement harmonized with beliefs he had embraced as a youth, and he was baptized and confirmed by Latter-day Saint elders.[22]

Meanwhile, mounting problems plagued his father's family. Farmland was becoming increasingly unproductive, the need for cloth and wool declined, and the price of many products the family purchased increased.[23] As economic problems intensified, many residents of Pomfret emigrated. According to the New York state census, from 1825 to 1835 persistence in the area was only about 18.6 percent. Of the 18.6 percent who stayed, 81.6 percent were among the wealthiest settlers. Although Ezekial Johnson owned fifty-five acres (which placed him in the upper third of land owners — see table 10), the family, because of its size, lived in what Joel referred to as a state of poverty.[24]

The response to organized religion by Ezekial and his wife, Julia, was very different. While living in Pomfret, Ezekial did not participate in formal Sunday worship, showed no interest in organized religion, and drank heavily, which in the opinion of many Protestants of that age was a serious transgression. Julia seemed to be the antithesis of her husband. A devout Presbyterian and

dedicated mother, she trained her sixteen children with apparently little formal help from her husband. When Ezekial's addiction to alcohol interfered with his daily work habits, Julia began directing work on their farm.[25] Apparently in an attempt to regain social respectability and resolve some of his personal problems, Ezekial left Pomfret and searched for land further west. Amid changing socioeconomic conditions in western New York, Julia struggled as she continued to raise her many children and manage their farm.[26]

TABLE 10. Wealth Distribution of Pomfret, 1825		
Wealth Distribution (acres of land)	Number	Percent
0	93	17.2
1-9	155	28.5
10-19	103	19.0
20-49	147	27.1
50-99	35	6.5
100-199	9	1.6
200+	0	0.0
Totals	542	99.9

Source: New York state census, Chautauqua County, 1825.

Julia and most of her children learned about the new restoration movement from Joel, who returned to New York from Ohio as a Latter-day Saint missionary. After responding favorably to the message unfolded by her son, Julia and her children decided to gather with other converts to Kirtland, Ohio, a new "City of the Saints." Even though Ezekial also moved to Kirtland in the mid-1830s, he lived apart from his family because of "his continued unbelief . . . and intemperance." While reflecting on the conflicts which occurred in his home, Benjamin F. Johnson, another son of Ezekial and Julia, wrote:

> [T]he fiend of unhappiness had entered our home to break the bonds of union between our parents and to destroy the happiness of their children. In looking back over my childhood it almost seems that I was born to be a child of sorrow, for such was my love for both my

> parents that because of the troubles and unhappiness my heart at times would seem almost ready to burst with sorrow and grief, and a feeling always seemed with me to wish that I had died at my birth, or that I never had been born.[27]

Benjamin Brown, another convert to Mormonism from Pomfret, recalled that prior to learning about the Restoration, he was searching for religious authority and received several visions. When he told one of the local ministers of his spiritual experiences and his desire to worship in harmony with "the ancient gospel," the preacher told Brown that both his visions and desires were "of the Devil." Undaunted, Brown continued his search for New Testament Christianity until he met the Latter-day Saint missionaries.[28]

Joseph Bates Noble experienced a similar quest, launching a search for religious truth during his early years. Like Benjamin Brown, he wanted to belong to the "ancient Church." Because of the poverty of his family, he left home at fourteen and supported himself by working for others. Throughout his teenage years, he was burdened by a belief that he needed approval from a forgiving God. "I was a person," he recalled, "that thought much about the things of God and often . . . asked myself this question: where is the people of God?" After changing jobs and learning the milling trade, he met Latter-day Saint missionaries who were preaching religious authority. He believed Jesus Christ's second coming was soon at hand, and he wanted to be a part of Christ's kingdom where equality and justice could prevail. In the fall of 1832, after listening to three Latter-day Saint elders, Brigham Young, Joseph Young, and Heber C. Kimball, "I said in my heart, 'that is truth according to the spirit that was in me.' "[29]

Brigham Young, a future president of the Church, recalled that when he was seventeen (following an impoverished childhood) he "quit the country" and moved to Auburn, New York, to seek better employment. Auburn was located along the Seneca Turnpike and was a boomtown in 1817 with new stores and houses being erected almost overnight. Hundreds of newcomers found work in small shops, stores, taverns, or mills located along or near the main street.[30] This initial move did not lead to the economic success he was seeking. Probably because he could not find sufficient work to sustain himself as a carpenter, painter, or glazier, Brigham Young moved in the early 1820s to Port Byron, a nearby town situated on the recently constructed Erie Canal. In 1828 he moved again, this time to Oswego, New York, and less than one year later, in the spring of 1829, relocated to Mendon, south of Rochester, where his father, John Young, and his brother Phineas and their families had settled. Meanwhile, he struggled financially

to support his wife, Miriam Works (a resident of Aurelius whom he married in 1824), and his two children. After becoming an invalid and suffering for years from chronic tuberculosis, Miriam died on 8 September 1832, less than five months after Brigham had been baptized a member of the Latter-day Saint Church (then called the "Church of Christ").[31] Brigham Young recognized the poverty of his early years as an important influence on his development and his philosophy of life:

> I know how to economise [*sic*], for my father had to do it. . . . I have been a poor boy and a poor man, and my parents were poor. I was poor during childhood, and grew up to manhood poor and destitute; and I am acquainted with the various styles of living, and with the different customs, habits, and practices of people; and I do know, by my own experience, that there is no necessity for people being so very poor, if they have judgment, and will rightly use it.[32]

Although Brigham Young was brought up in a strict Methodist home, he did not profess a religious experience until he was twenty-three, and then he said it was more of a confession to satisfy his peers than a profound conviction. There were times when he considered himself an "infidel" because he could not accept the teachings of any of the religious societies he investigated. "In my youth . . . I would have freely given all the gold and silver I ever could possess," he recalled, "to have met with one individual who could show me anything about God, heaven, or the plan of salvation, so that I could pursue the path that leads to the kingdom of heaven."[33] Not only was he troubled because of his dissatisfaction with the churches of that age, but he frequently felt "cast down, gloomy, and despondent . . . lonesome and bad." The trials of life created "a dark shade, like the shade of the valley of death." He was also vexed with a strong sense of guilt:

> The Evil One would whisper to me that I had done this, that, or some other thing wrong, and inquire whether that looked like a Christian act, and remark, "You have missed it; you have not done right, and you know it; you did not do as well in such a thing as you might; and are you not ashamed of yourself in saying you are a Christian?[34]

There were times when he became sick, tired, and disgusted with people because he observed so much "sorrow, wretchedness, death, misery, disappointment, anguish, pain of heart" prevailing in the world.[35]

In the summer of 1830, Joseph Smith's brother Samuel left several copies of the Book of Mormon with John Young's family. One of these copies subsequently was delivered to Brigham Young. His reading of that book began his serious investigation of

Mormonism; especially appealing to him were its "universality" and its harmony with biblical teachings. "Were you to ask me how it was that I embraced 'Mormonism,' " he declared,

> I should answer, for the simple reason that it embraces all truth in heaven and on earth, in the earth, under the earth, and in hell, if there be any truth there. There is no truth outside of it . . . for, wherever these principles are found among all the creations of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and his order and Priesthood, embrace them.[36]

On another occasion, he said that when he commenced preaching forty years earlier, the main message he unfolded to others was "believe the Bible," for he taught that those who embrace the Bible will accept the Book of Mormon. After asking the question, "What are the doctrines of the Book of Mormon?" he responded, "The same as those of the Bible."[37] He further stated that he would not have united with the Latter-day Saints if he had not received a witness that Joseph Smith was truly called of God.[38]

Brigham Young was not the only member of his family who joined the Latter-day Saints and migrated to Kirtland. His father and all his children and their families were baptized, including Brigham Young's wife, Miriam. Three of Brigham's brothers, Phineas, John, Jr., and Joseph, were ordained Methodist ministers prior to their conversions and emigration. His sister Rhoda's husband, John P. Greene, was also a Methodist preacher before his conversion to Mormonism and move to Kirtland. Many of Brigham Young's cousins, uncles, and aunts also joined the Church.[39]

The early life of another early Saint, Luman Shurtliff, also included periods of doubt and confusion. Although his family supported different Protestant faiths, Luman could not decide which church he should join. He claimed that he "was a Christian . . . but kept it entirely" to himself. Meanwhile, he prayed "continually, hoping the time would come soon when I could join some church." After Luman's family moved to Ohio in 1819, his father, through a series of unfortunate land transactions, lost all his property in Ohio and Massachusetts and was reduced to a state of poverty. Subsequently, Luman secured employment as a teacher but decided he was not qualified to instruct others. Discouraged, he became ill and suffered for several years from a nervous or emotional disorder. Recalling this series of misfortunes, he wrote:

> Wales [a brother] was now twenty-seven years old and all he saved out of his hard labor was one hundred and twenty dollars in property. I was twenty and worth forty dollars. . . . Father was sixty-two years old, stripped of all, not even a horse to ride. He was broken and discouraged, his energy and ambition seemed to ease. Thus with all our hard labor for years we were forced to begin anew.

Shortly after this economic crisis, a revival erupted in the neighborhood where he lived. "We were all stirred up in this reformation," he remembered, "and all got religion." After his conversion, Luman became a shoemaker and helped his family recover from their economic loss. Nevertheless, he was temporarily embittered because of the problems which had befallen his family. Prior to meeting Latter-day Saint missionaries, Luman attended Baptist services, but this faith did not fully satisfy his quest for truth. He investigated the beliefs of Alexander Campbell but was not convinced that Campbell was restoring the ancient Christian order. His quest was eventually satisfied after he completed his exploration of Mormonism.[40]

Many Americans experienced social dislocation and rapid change during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Most chose mainstream solutions — revivals, reform, or associations — in order to dispel confusion and anxiety. Those who would become Mormons, on the other hand, rejected these forms of community. Rather than attempting to reform society, they sought to redefine it. Even though they were relatively stable socially, neither moving nor changing their religion often, they found the existing society lacking and were looking for an alternative society that promoted stability. Hence, some of the most important factors that attracted converts to Mormonism and thus to Kirtland were the promise of divine sanction, the assurance of status, and an ordered lifestyle in the undeviating restored kingdom of God. In short, the new church met their needs.

NOTES

[1]*History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio* (Evansville, Ind.: Unigraphics Inc., 1973), 248.

[2]Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), 3–109, 138–50.

[3]Mario S. De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 61–72 (article runs from 50–79); Mario S. De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 68–88.

[4]Marvin S. Hill, "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-Over District: Another View," *New York History* 41 (October 1980): 426.

[5]Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (reprint; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 1:3–4.

[6]Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 12–13, 128–29.

[7]Religious historians have long maintained that agrarian areas were breeding grounds for sectarianism and revivalism and hence a catalyst for Mormonism. Some recent publications challenge this theory. Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1832* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 15–61, and Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826–1868," *Labor History* 15 (Summer 1974): 367–94, emphasize that revivalism had little to do with rural maturation or agrarianism.

Both see revivalism as a tool employed by an urban ruling elite to maintain supervision and insure an orderly and efficient working class. For additional alternatives to the rural thesis, see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 60–104; Glen C. Altshuler and Jan M. Saitzgaber, *Revivalism, Social Conscience, and Community in the Burned-over District: The Trial of Rhoda Beman* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), 15–77, 143–69.

[8]Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780–1830," in *Religion in American History: Interpretive Essays*, eds. John M. Mulder and John F. Wilson (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 202–07. The thrust of Mathews's article is that although "no one is really sure just how the Second Great Awakening began or why it continued over so long a period of time, the Awakening was "an organizing process that helped to give meaning and direction to people suffering in various degrees." It was characterized by *unity* and *organization* and "demonstrated the dynamics of a *movement*." For example, through Methodist and Baptist organizations, the Awakening helped "give social and religious direction to those disaffected from the establishment" (202–03, 213).

[9]Hill, "Rise of Mormonism," 420.

[10]See Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 41 (October 1980): 361–65; Lawrence Foster, "Between Heaven and Earth," *Sunstone* 7 (July–August, 1982): 7; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 7–17, 54–59, 72, 102; Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 95–115.

[11]Wood, "Evangelical America," 363–67.

[12]William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 21; Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780–1830: An Hypothesis," *American Quarterly* 21 (Spring 1969): 27.

[13]See David O. Moberg, *The Church as a Social Institution* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 421–44.

[14]Walter Nugent, *Structures of American Social History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), 70.

[15]D. W. Meinig, "Geography of Expansion, 1785–1855," in *Geography of New York State*, ed. John Henry Thompson (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977), 144–45.

[16]The child-ladder method was introduced by Barnes Lathrop in his study, *Migration into East Texas, 1835–1860: A Study from the United States Census* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1949). See in particular chapter 2, "The Child-Ladder Method." Grandstaff has determined the migration of pre-Mormon converts by examining the dates and places of birth of children prior to the first birth in Kirtland.

[17]Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 96; see also John M. Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 4–22.

[18]See Ian R. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), especially chapter 1.

[19]For an irreplaceable work on the Jacksonian legacy, see Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957).

[20]For an excellent work dealing with the effect of the Industrial Revolution on occupational and social mobility, see Franklin F. Mendels, "Social Mobility and Phases of Industrialization," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (Autumn 1976): 193–216.

[21]Milton V. Backman, Jr., *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970), 283, 291–92, 308; Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 48, 50–51.

[22]Joel Hills Johnson, Journal, 1–7, typescript, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Historical Department).

[23]According to the Chautauqua County Census of 1840, 53 percent of the labor force in the Pomfret area was involved in commerce or manufacturing. Furthermore, approximately 60 percent less homespun cloth was produced in 1845 than in 1825 (George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* [New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1951], 211–20).

[24]Joel Hills Johnson, Journal, 2–3.

[25]Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, Miss.: Zion's Printing Co., 1947), 8–12; Joel Hills Johnson, Journal, 2. Benjamin recalled that previous to the arrival of Mormon missionaries in Pomfret, Ezekial was working as a carpenter in the village of Fredonia, located in the northeast section of Pomfret, thereby implying that Julia and the children cared for their fifty-five acre farm.

[26]Benjamin Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 13–15. Prior to Ezekial's leaving and against his desires, Julia and some of her older children were baptized by Mormon elders.

[27]Benjamin Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 8, 20.

[28]Benjamin Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 2–4, 8–13.

[29]Joseph Bates Noble, Journal, 3, typescript of holograph (in which the spelling errors were corrected), Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[30]Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 25 (1863): 423; Henry Hall, *History of Auburn* (Auburn, N.Y., 1869), 120–22; Richard F. Palmer and Karl D. Butler, *Brigham Young: The New York Years* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1982), 11–40; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 7–14.

[31]Palmer and Butler, *Brigham Young*, 16–20, 27–30, 67.

[32]Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–86), 5:97; 4:312; hereafter cited as *JD*.

[33]*JD* 9:248.

[34]*JD* 7:6.

[35]*JD* 6:39.

[36]Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 28. On another occasion, Brigham Young declared that "'Mormonism' embraces all truth that is revealed and that is unrevealed, whether religious, political, scientific, or philosophical" (*JD* 9:149).

[37]*JD* 13:174–75.

[38]*JD* 9:365.

[39]Palmer and Butler, *Brigham Young*, 32–39, 65–68; Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 29–30.

[40]Luman A. Shurtliff, Journal, 7–25, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Lower Goshen: Archaeology of a Mormon Pioneer Town

Dale L. Berge

Lower Goshen, a Mormon community settled in 1860 and abandoned in 1868, is located in Goshen Valley, Utah County, three miles northwest of the present town of Goshen (fig. 1). Its occupation, though short, was extensive, and the town remained undisturbed by construction or agriculture for 120 years following its settlement.

Possibly the first question that arises about the archaeological investigation of Lower Goshen is Why expend all the time, money, and energy on a remote community, certainly not of national significance, dating to 120 years ago? Aside from the obvious answers — that archaeology is fun, exciting, or interesting to watch or has some other romantic appeal — the best reason is that excavation provides information not available in books, diaries, records, or other historical documents; it represents an added dimension to the study of the history of this old town and early Mormon culture. For example, how large were the log houses? How did residents build their dugouts? What type of local ceramic or glasswares did the settlers use in their homes? What kinds of domestic items did they make themselves? Archaeology can help answer many of these questions as well as those relating to human habits and the ways these pioneers coped with life on this remote edge of the American frontier. Not only do the artifacts indicate what was used, but they also suggest certain vital information about the occupants, such as whether they were better off than others in a similar situation or how industrious and innovative they were. The artifacts can also demonstrate the degree of craftsmanship and concern individuals had for their work. Bones, seeds, and other plant materials provide insights into the diet of specific households.

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In addition, artifacts may help to identify ethnic origins of these pioneer households. Indeed, many clues to the lives of the Lower Goshen inhabitants remain entombed in the ruins.

In 1856 Phineas Cook, a resident of Payson, Utah, supposedly ventured into Goshen Valley while looking for stray animals. Though he found good farmland and water, he had no desire to settle because he already owned twenty acres several miles away in Spanish Fork. Soon afterward he learned that his title to this Spanish Fork land was invalid and could not be made legal. The same year, with permission from both his bishop and Brigham Young, Cook and twenty-five other men built a dam across Salt Creek (now Currant Creek) and settled in Goshen Valley. Because of disagreements on where to settle, blowing sand, and unhealthy conditions such as a high water table, which caused saturated ground, the pioneers were forced to move their settlement three times.[1] In the fall of 1860, they selected and surveyed their third site, Lower Goshen.

The Journal History of the Church refers to Lower Goshen several times, calling it "Goshen" (apparently named after Goshen, Connecticut, the birthplace of Phineas Cook). Lower Goshen seems to have been a relatively typical town. William W. Smith built a grist mill three miles up Salt Creek. On 18 May 1863, Brigham Young visited the town on his way back to Salt Lake City from southern towns in the territory and advised the residents to build a road up the canyon into Juab Valley to reduce the miles needed to circle the ranges between Nephi to the south and Goshen. On 1 July 1863, people from Goshen, Santaquin, and Nephi started work on the road and finished it before the end of the month.

Lower Goshen also had its share of problems. A report in the Journal History dated 13 June 1863 described an attempted Indian attack on Goshen. Several Indians who lived along Salt Creek in Juab Valley, led by a man called Shaocook and armed with a few guns, bows, and arrows, were heading toward Goshen. The report indicates only that they were stopped. Another common Utah problem arose in 1866 when the people of Gardnersville, a newly developed settlement south of Lower Goshen, disputed the use of water from Goshen dam and the choice of a townsite.

Regarding everyday life in the town, one inhabitant of Lower Goshen described his first home as "a dugout facing the west, with a single window in the east and an entrance by means of steps into the ground: it had a fireplace and chimney."[2] A large log room built in 1864 to be used as a school, church, and social hall "had a large fireplace in one end, the door in the other, and window on each side. There was no floor and the roof was of white clay."[3]

Like other forts and townsites in Goshen Valley, Lower Goshen had to be abandoned, but this time because of soil conditions. The soil around the community was primarily Lake Bonneville clay, which allowed water to run off rapidly, and the ground was full of what the pioneers called "saleratus," or alkali.[4] When dry, it is hard and firm, but when wet, it becomes plastic and sticky. Significantly, in the immediate area of Lower Goshen there are no trees, only wild grasses and sagebrush. The combination of clay and saleratus, the latter causing the plants to turn yellow and dry up, deterred the pioneer families from growing gardens and shade trees near their homes although they did cultivate the same fields and grazed their livestock in the same open areas throughout all the relocations of their townsites.[5] (Their primary crops were wheat, potatoes, and corn while domestic livestock included cattle, sheep, and horses.[6])

In 1867 Brigham Young selected a new townsite for the residents of Lower Goshen. In a letter to Franklin D. Richards on 18 October 1867, Brigham Young wrote, "I have just returned from a visit to Goshen whither I have been for the purpose of locating a new site for their city. A place was selected at the head of their farming lands, east and south of Gardnersville, a small village lying south of Goshen proper."[7] Lower Goshen residents made the move to "Newtown," as they wanted to call it, in the fall of 1868. Because there was already a town by that name in Cache Valley, the relocated settlement became present-day Goshen. By March of 1869, most residents of Lower Goshen had moved to the new location, the rest planning to follow soon. Initially, the new townsite was mostly dugouts, but many structures from Lower Goshen were moved to the new Goshen. By 2 November 1869, all the settlers except one, Thomas Job, had moved to the new townsite.

The excavations at Lower Goshen have produced some interesting insights into Mormon pioneer settlement. Even before the initial settlement, the community was well organized and well planned for growth. The townsite was founded on the western edge of a delta marsh located at the south shore of Utah Lake. The gently sloping alluvial plain on which the remnants of the town are located drains eastward from the East Tintic Mountains. The southern shore of Utah Lake, a remnant of ancient Lake Bonneville of terminal Pleistocene times, can be seen approximately three miles to the northeast.

The town plan described for the settlement of Lower Goshen was to be laid out in forty blocks: four families to each block, with home and garden plots for 160 families. This basic grid came from the City of Zion plan proposed by Joseph Smith, Jr., in 1833. The

plan ideally consisted of streets running north-south and east-west, lots of one size with one family per lot, public buildings in the middle of town, no barns or stables in the city, farms away from the city, all streets of one width, one house per lot set back twenty-five feet, and all houses of brick and stone.[8] Although the original town plan featured forty blocks with four families per block, survey thus far indicates that between twenty and twenty-five blocks were actually occupied during the eight-year history of the town.

During the first field season, both aerial photographs of the site and a ground surface survey were taken to determine possible locations of individual foundations of former structures. The survey revealed a total of 121 components (individual homesites) in the townsite, consisting of rock foundations of cabins, dugout depressions, and artifact scatters. The aerial photographs of the site reveal linear areas where vegetation was sparse or absent (fig. 2). These lines, running north-south and east-west, are probably the town's streets. These blocks turned out to be four hundred feet square, the exact size of city blocks in Provo, which was established in 1849. An overlay of the ground survey map and the aerial photograph reveals that almost all the structures are situated along the streets (fig. 3).

So far three homesites have been completely unearthed and five partially excavated. Each of these eight ruins consisted of a stone foundation, a depression or dugout, and surface artifact scatters. Excavations to locate outbuildings or other outlying features have not taken place beyond these main structures.

There is no naturally occurring stone in the Bonneville clays of the actual townsite. For footings for their cabins, settlers probably collected and hauled by wagon creek cobbles of igneous rock eroded from East Tintic Mountains five miles to the west, the nearest source for these rocks. At present, the closest locations of timber for walls and bark for roofs, which had to be cut and hauled, are the higher elevations of the East Tintic Mountains, approximately twelve miles southwest of Lower Goshen, and the Wasatch Mountains, an equal distance or farther to the east.

Apparently, according to evidence examined so far, few adobe bricks were used in building the structures; only a limited number have been found, and no foundation stones were found with clay accumulated on top or around them from eroding bricks. These data, along with historical information, suggest that most of the structures were log houses. Wood samples excavated include juniper, ponderosa pine, piñon pine, oak, possible white oak, other species of pine, and some unknown species. Juniper logs, most likely too small for the cabin walls, may have been used for the

roofs of the log houses and dugouts. Juniper trees, although not abundant in the valley today, could have been cut in the nearby mountains west of Lower Goshen. The cabin walls were probably constructed of larger logs, such as ponderosa pine or even Douglas fir — long, straight trees available in the Wasatch Mountains. Residents would have had to travel a long distance to obtain ponderosa pine for logs. Piñon pine could have been used for roof framing. Other floral materials found at the site include peach pits, squash (cucurbita) seeds, and juniper seeds. Possibly the peaches were grown locally within Goshen Valley.

An example of a relatively typical homesite structure is Component 18. The basic structure of this pioneer home had three, possibly four rooms, identified by igneous stone on or close to the ground surfaces (fig. 4). Rooms 1 and 2 represent the initial construction of Structure 1, the log house (the lack of brick, mortar, adobe, or stone suggests that this was a log home; historical data also support this conclusion). The foundation stones between the two rooms abut the inside of the exterior walls, indicating that the wall between the two rooms was a partition rather than part of the outside walls. Room 1 measured 17 1/2 feet square, while Room 2 measured 17 1/2 feet by 10 feet. The south wall of Room 1 contained the footing of a fireplace, 6 feet by 3 feet.

Room 3 represents a somewhat later addition since the foundation was laid against the outside walls of Rooms 1 and 2 and was not an integral part of the initial construction. This room, also with a fireplace in the south wall, is 13 feet by 10 feet. Part of the west wall had been destroyed, possibly by stone removal. None of these rooms showed any evidence of floor joists; however, loose dirt accumulation associated with artifacts seems to suggest a plank floor rather than a dirt floor (which would leave a thin layer of hard-packed soil).

Room 4, which may not have been a room but possibly a porch, consisted of an alignment of stone 6 1/2 feet long and 8 feet from and parallel to the north wall of Structure 1. It was probably not a separate room but was associated with Structure 1 because two adobe brick footings or possibly joist supports extend in the direction of Structure 1.

Structure 2 may have been an outside kitchen. It was small, 12 feet by 10 feet, with a large fireplace, which was full of ash, extending 3 feet deep into the wall. The floor was constructed of flat stone slabs, while the north wall and possibly the east wall were made of igneous rock. The west and south walls were constructed of adobe bricks 6 inches wide and 10 inches long. Outside the south wall were several flat stones, perhaps the threshold to the structure.

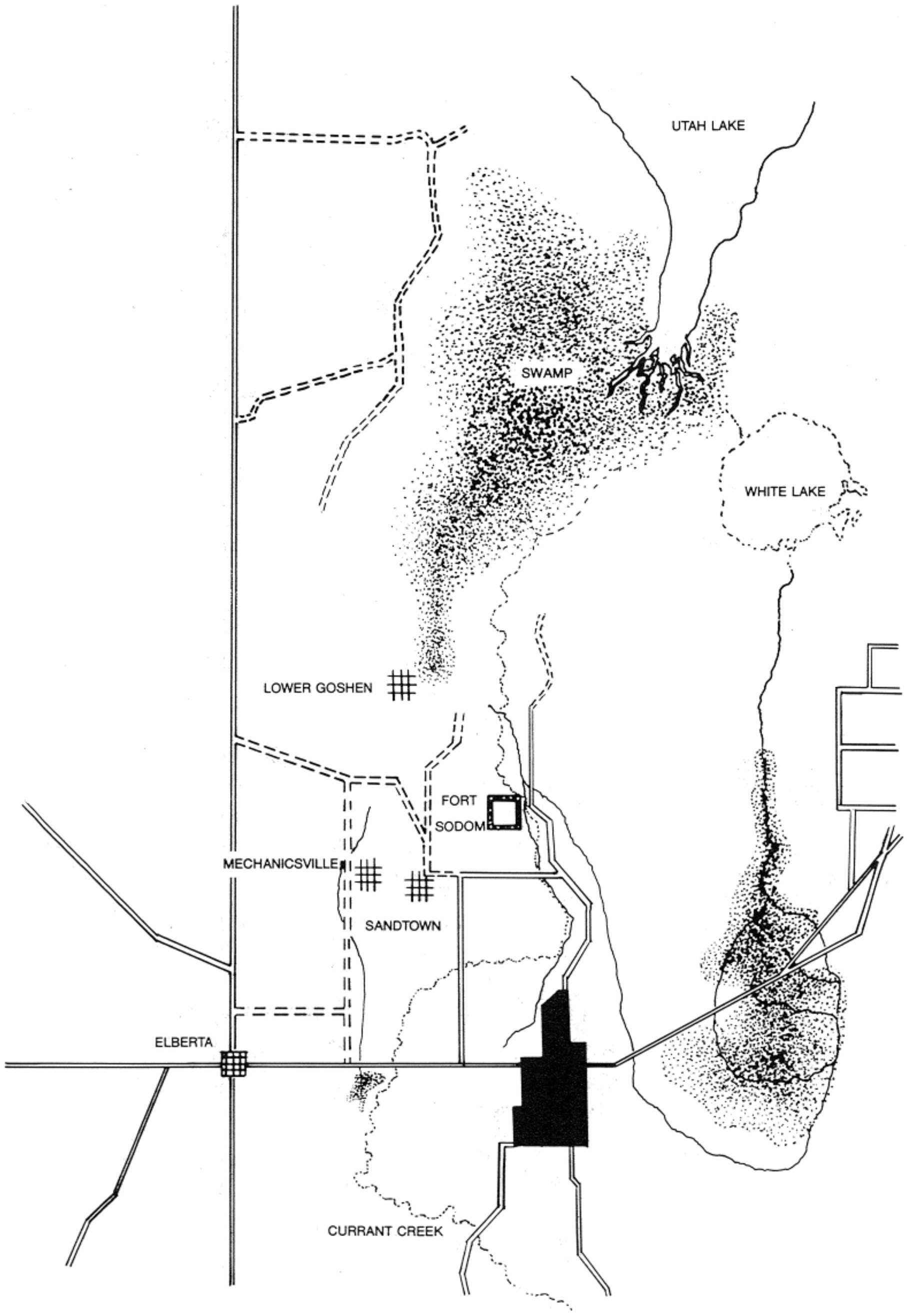
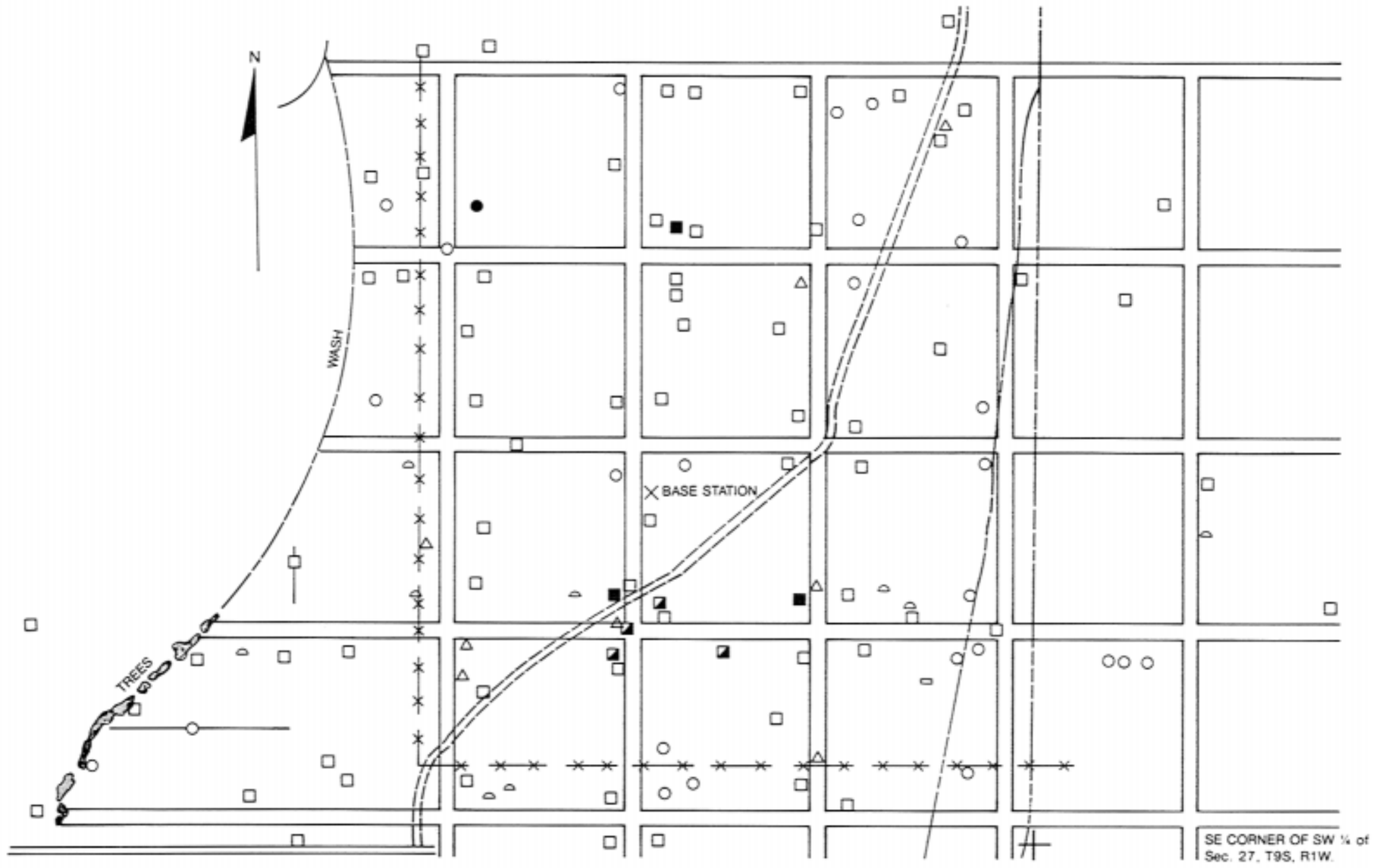


Figure 1
Map of pioneer settlements in Goshen Valley.

Figure 2
Aerial view of Lower Goshen
showing street alignments.



Legend

△ TRASH AREA

▭ ASH DUMP

⌓ UNKNOWN

□ STONE FOUNDATION UNEXCAVATED

◪ STONE FOUNDATION PARTIALLY EXCAVATED

■ STONE FOUNDATION EXCAVATED

○ DUGOUTS UNEXCAVATED

● DUGOUTS EXCAVATED

_ _ _ CURRENT ROAD

×⟷× FENCE

—— _ _ _ DITCH

Figure 3
Map of foundations (components)
found at Lower Goshen.

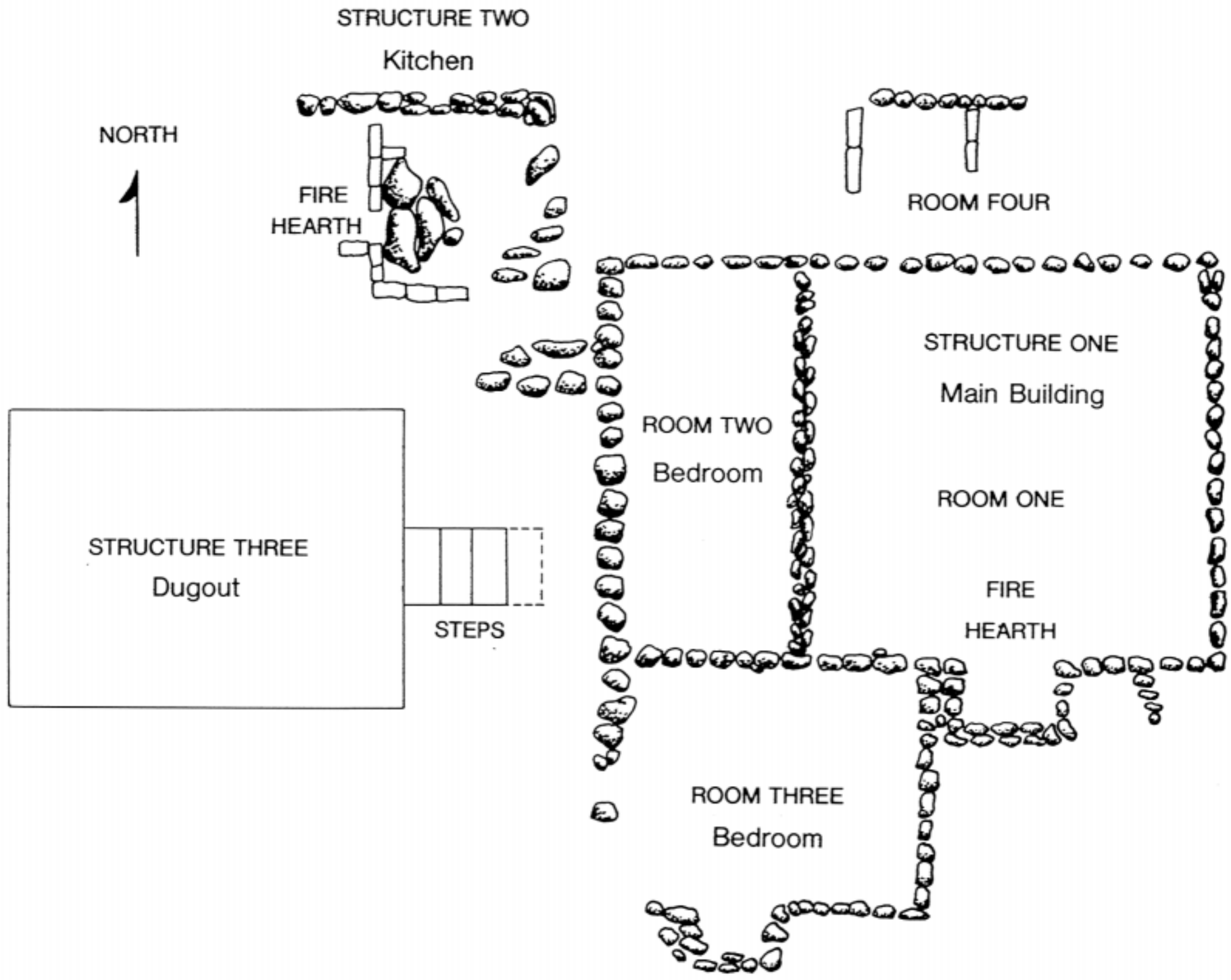
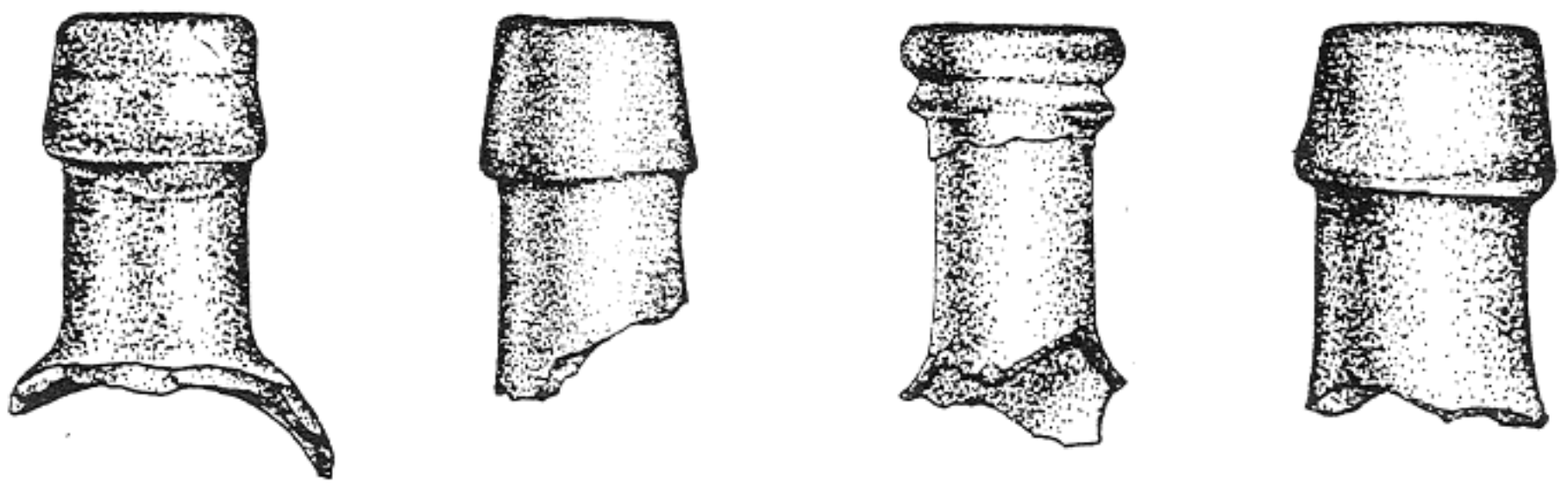
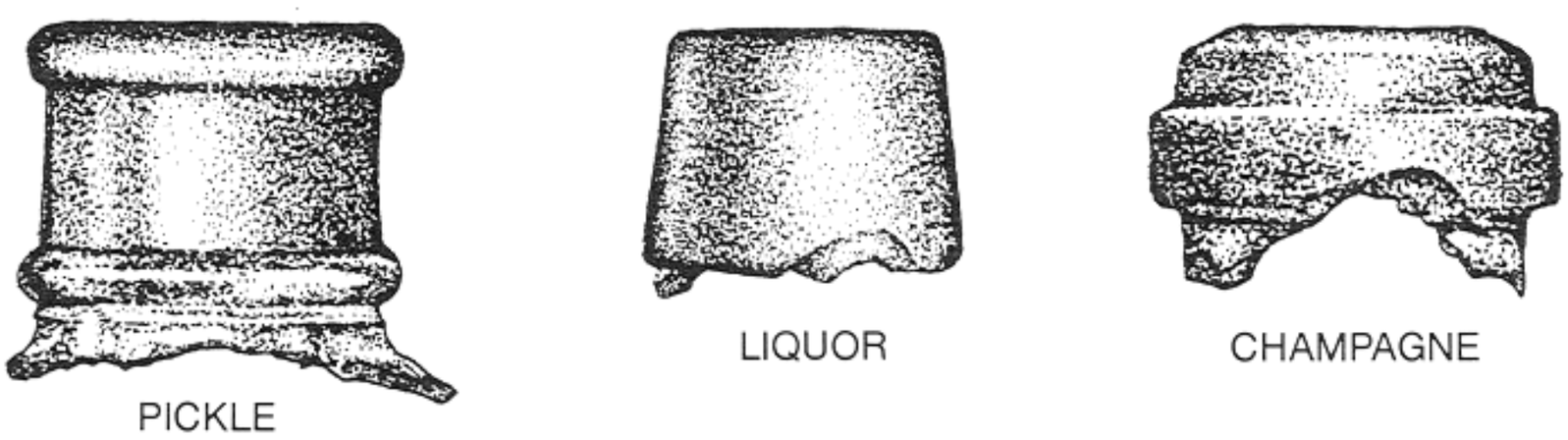


Figure 4
Component 18, Lower Goshen.



CONDIMENT BOTTLES



PICKLE

LIQUOR

CHAMPAGNE

Figure 5
Bottle finishes.

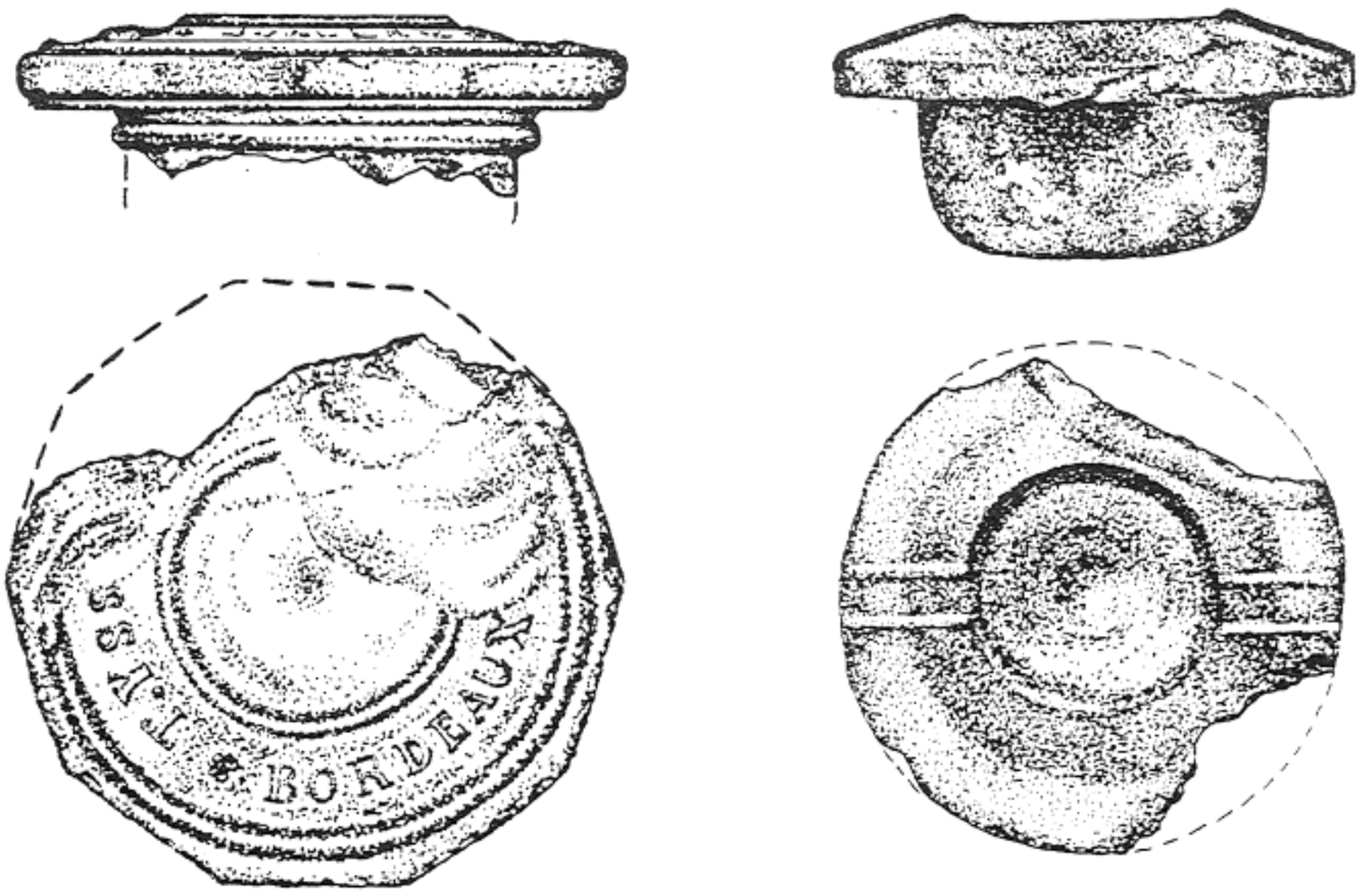
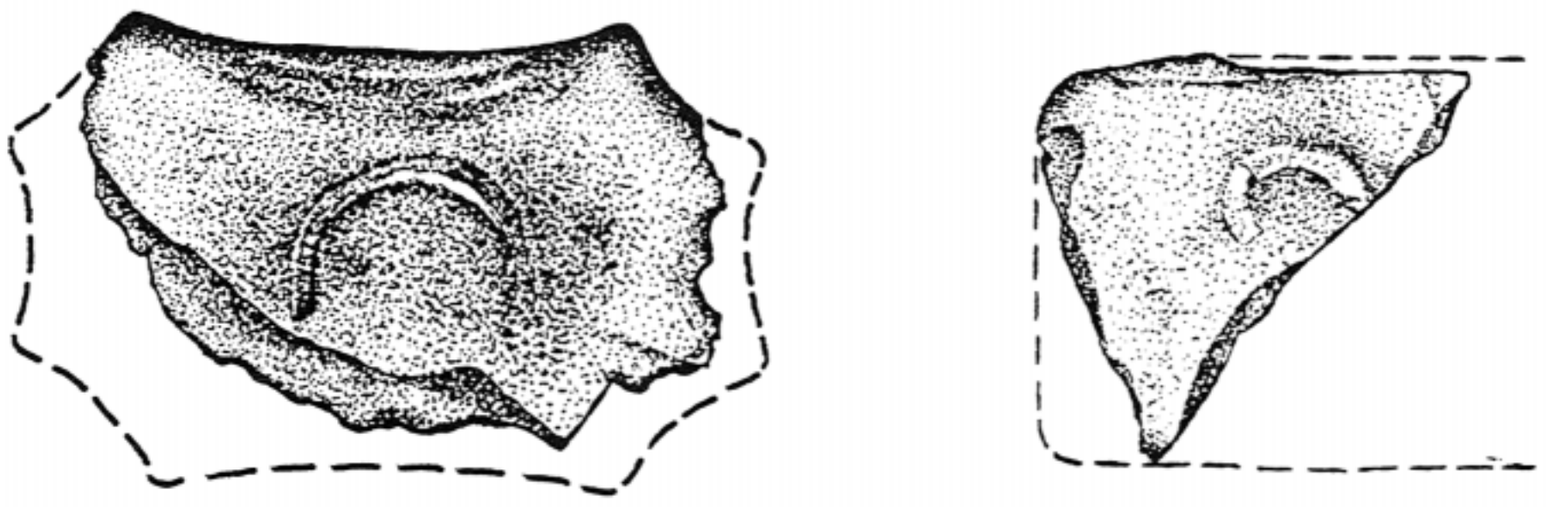
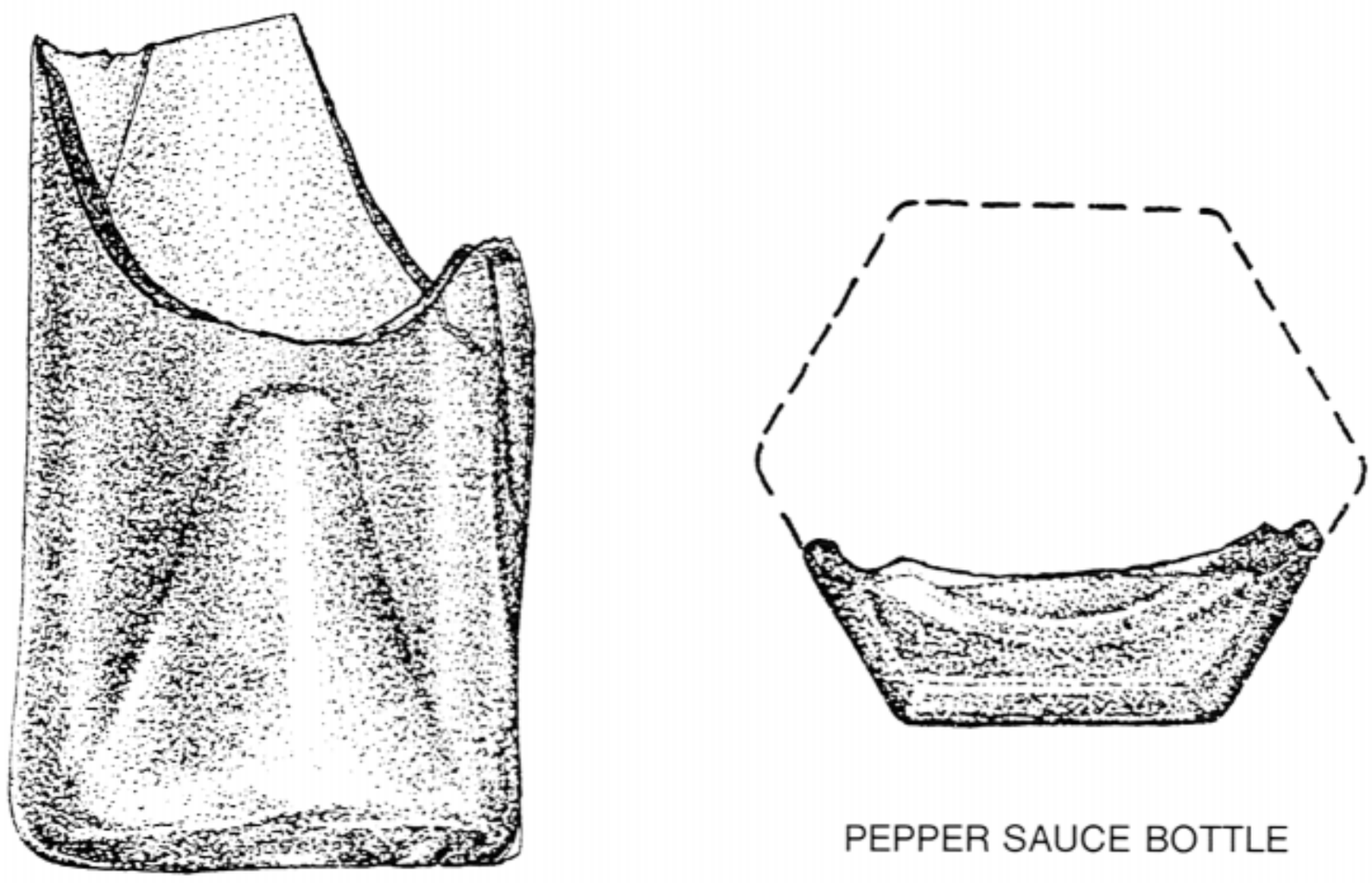


Figure 6
Bottle stoppers.

CONDIMENT BOTTLES WITH PONTIL SCARS



PATENT MEDICINE BOTTLE

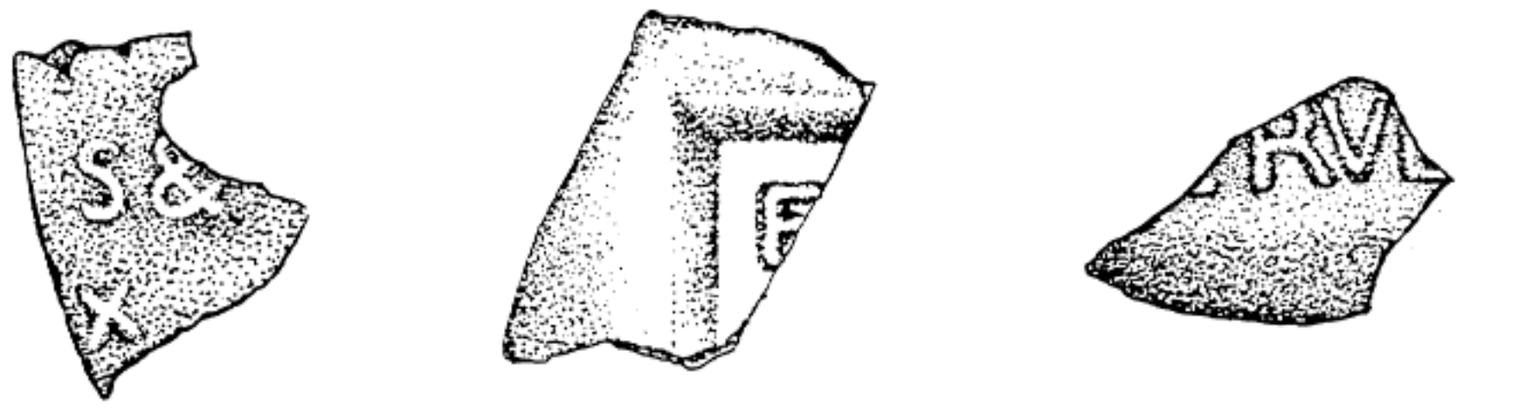


WINE BOTTLE

PEPPER SAUCE BOTTLE

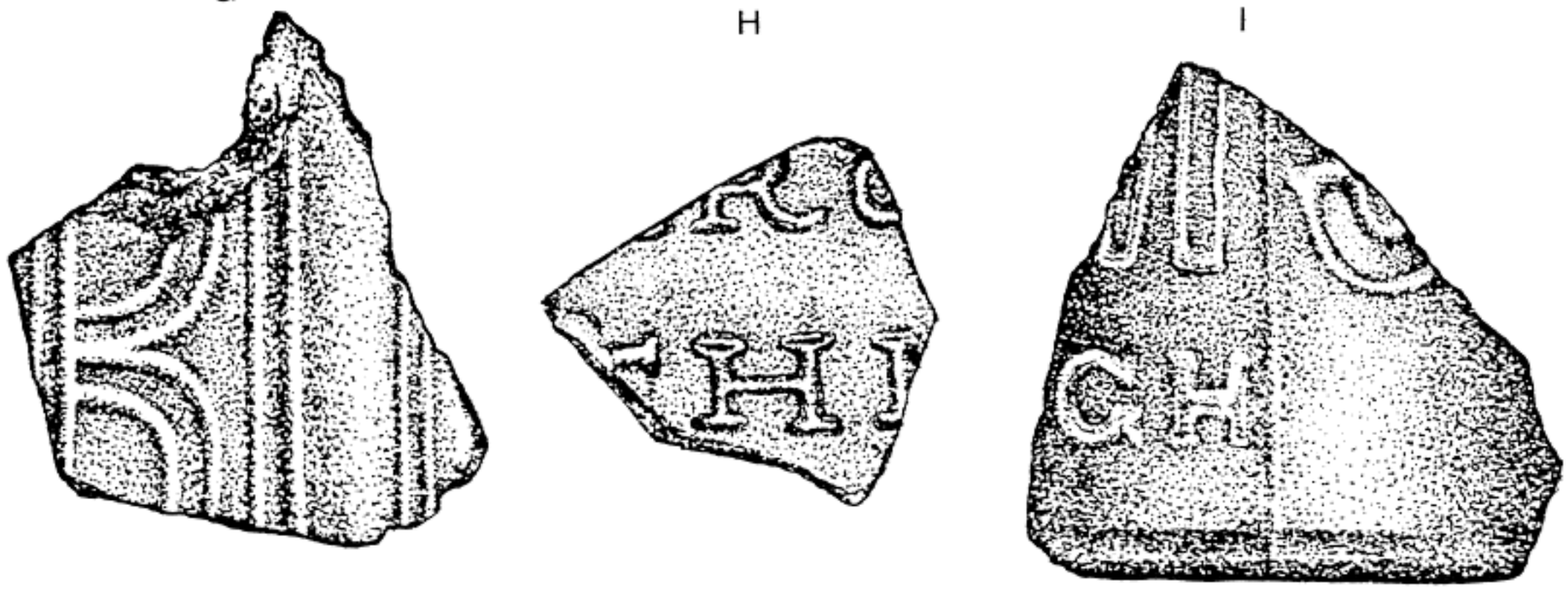
Figure 7
Bottle bases.

A B C



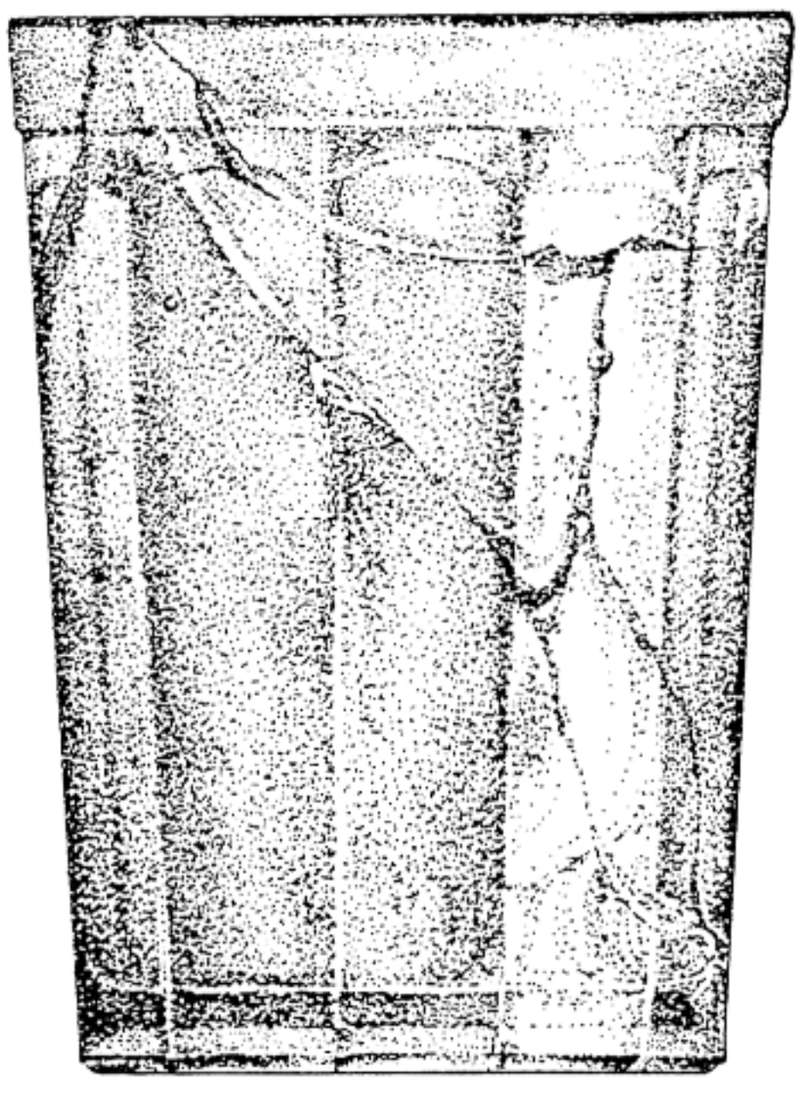
D E F

G H I

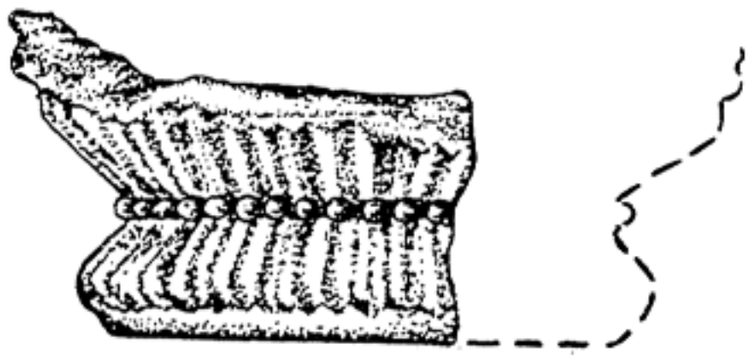


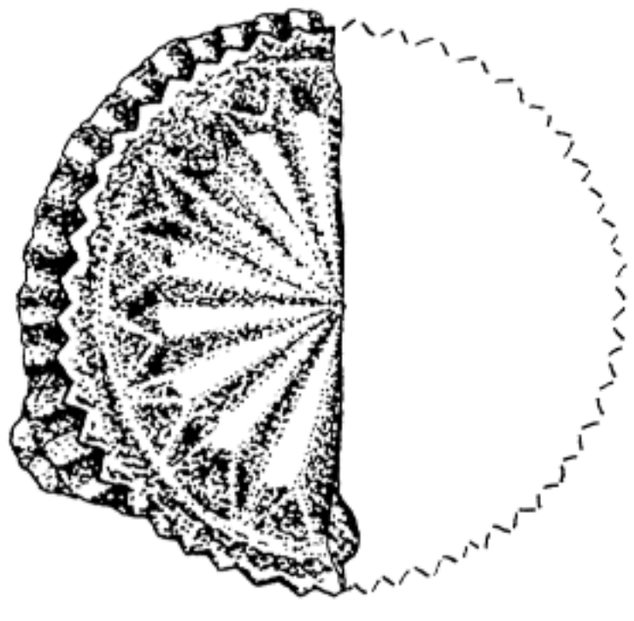
J K L

Figure 8
Embossed bottle bodies.
(A-F, PATENT MEDICINES, G-L BITTERS BOTTLES)



TUMBLER

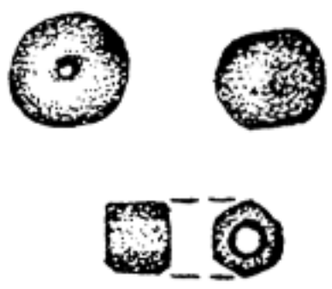




PRESSED GLASS CANDY DISH

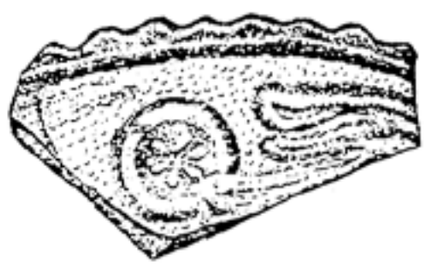
SALT SHAKER

STOPPER



BEADS

TUMBLER



GLASS DISH

GLASS DISH

Figure 9
Miscellaneous glass objects.

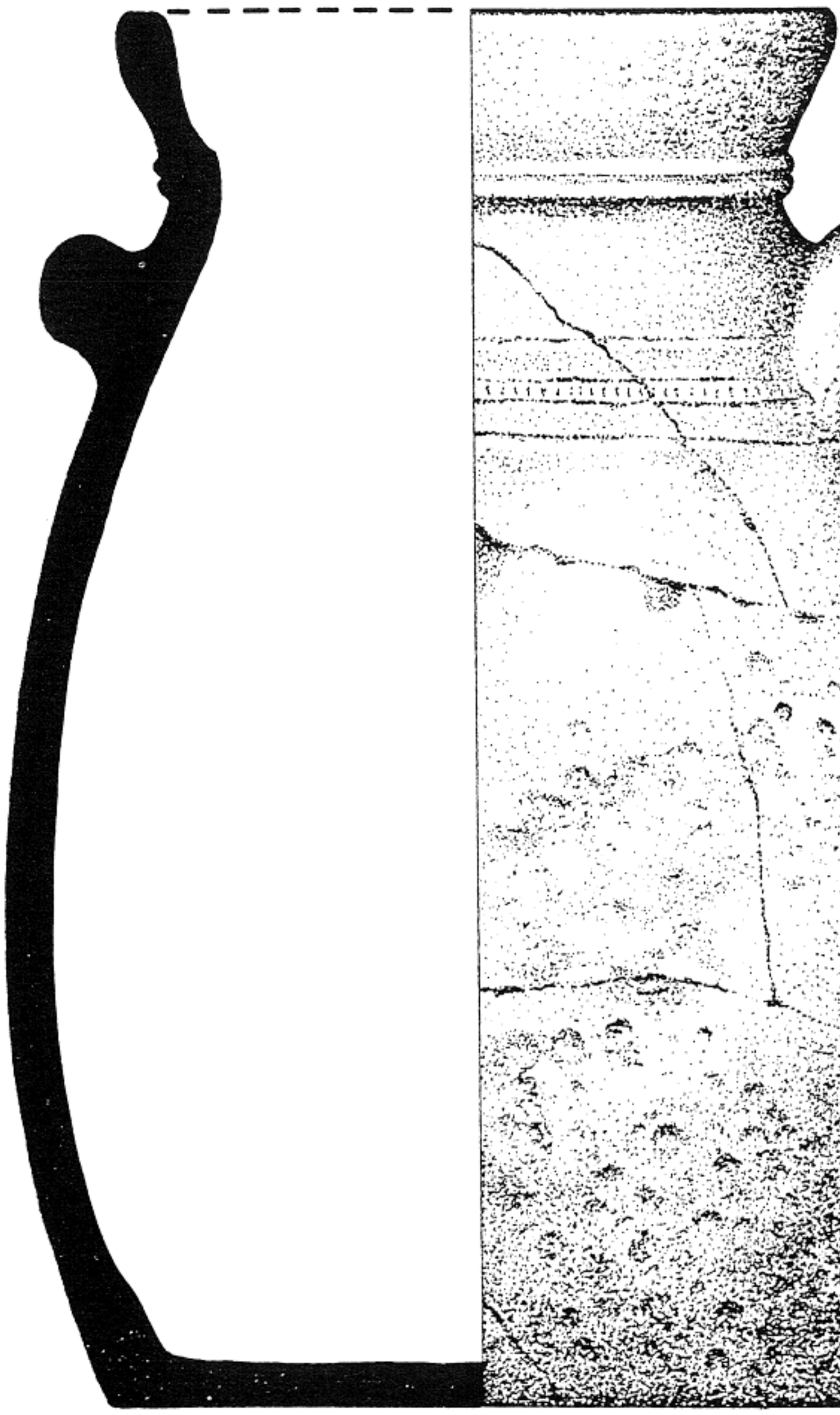


Figure 10
Earthenware butter churn.

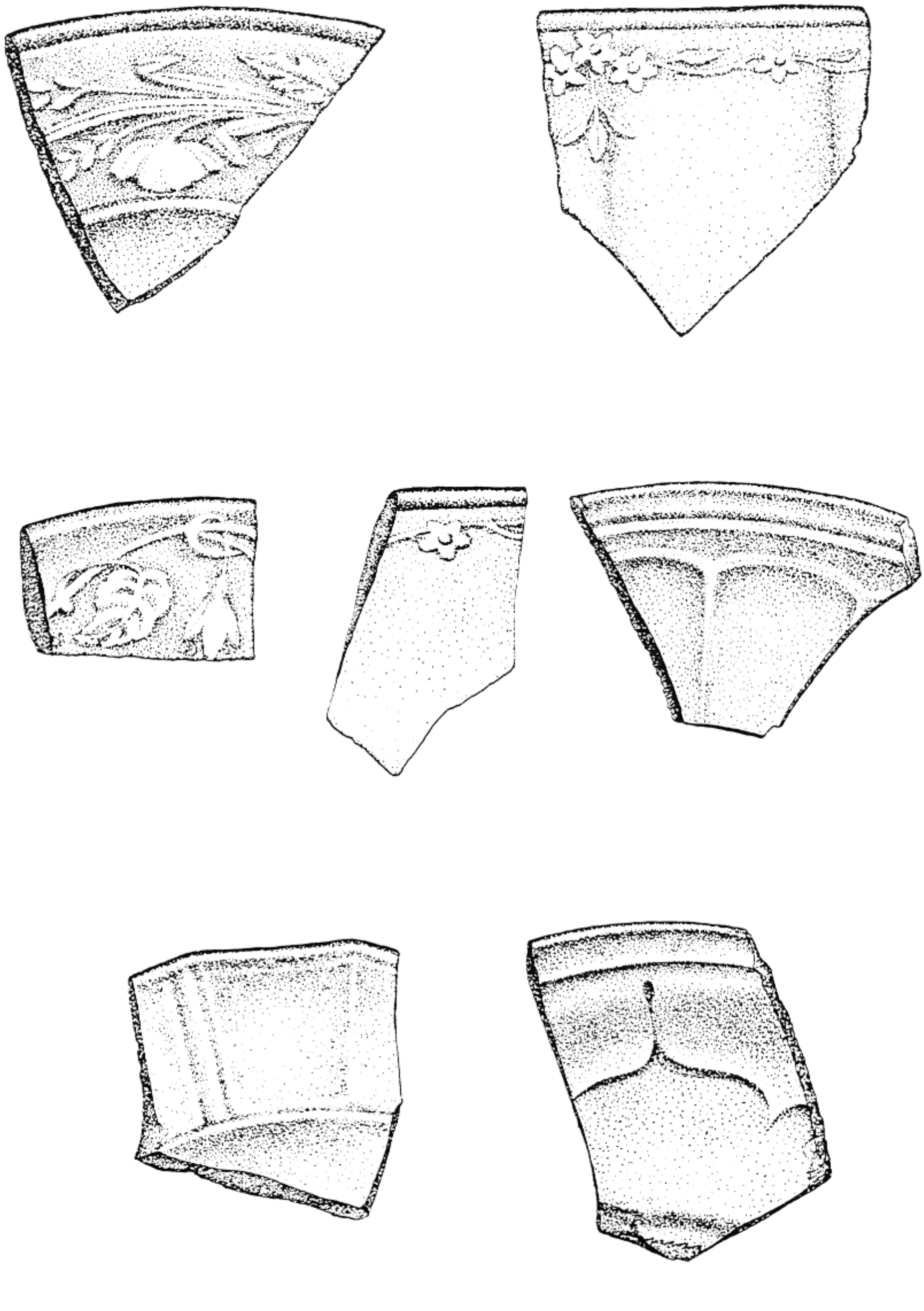


Figure 11
Whiteware plate sherds with relief designs.

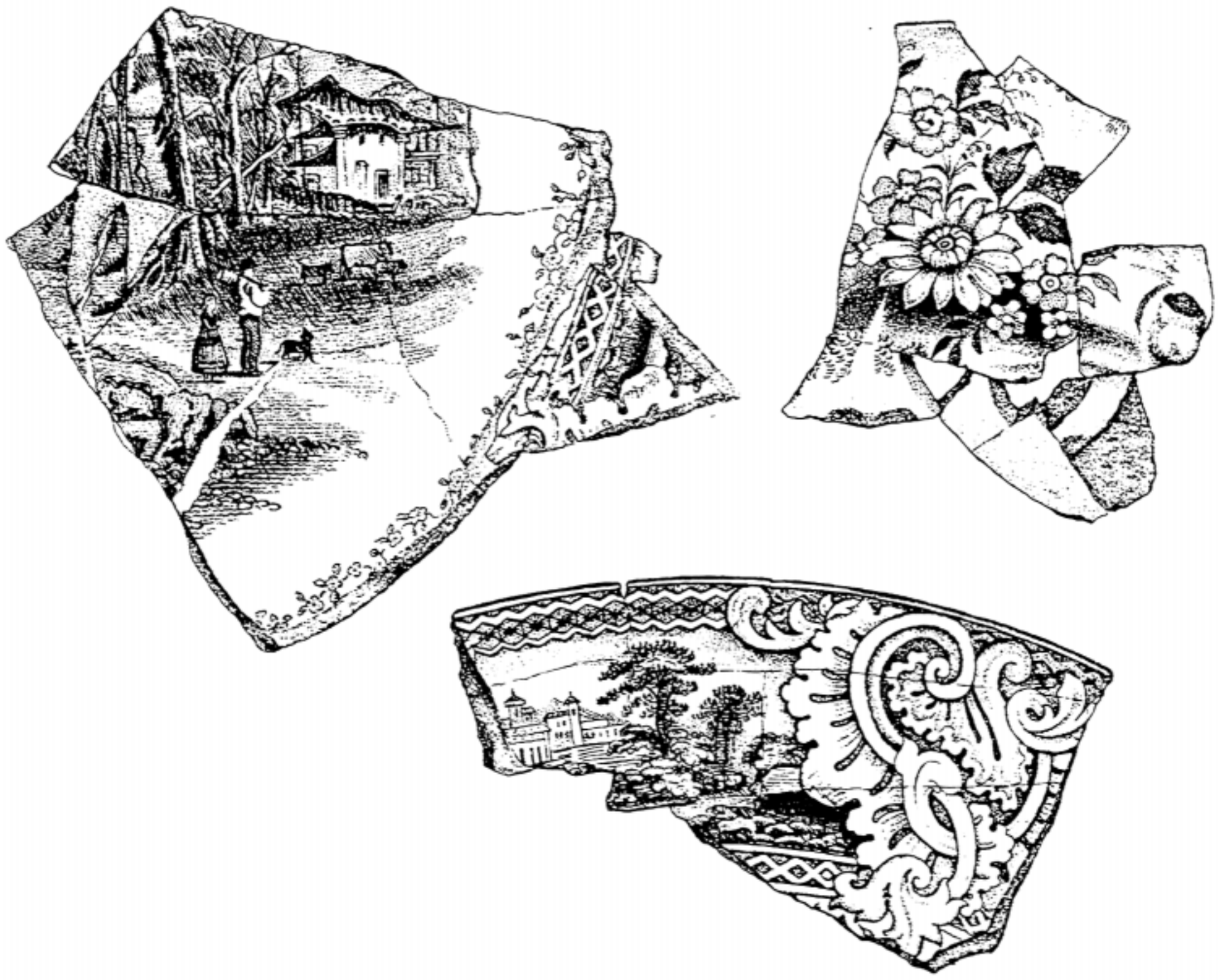


Figure 12
Transferprinted plate sherds.

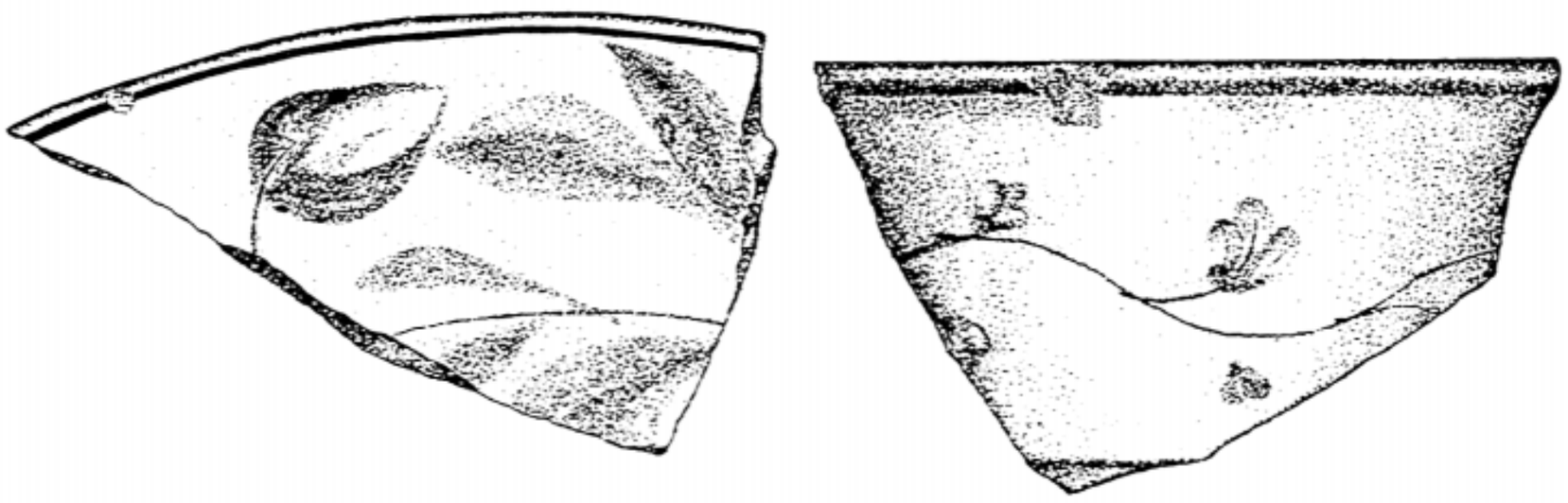
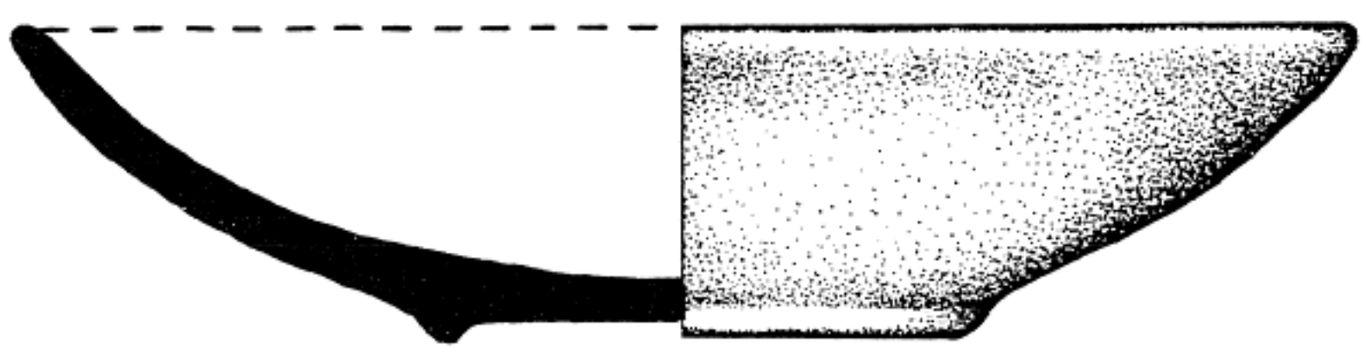
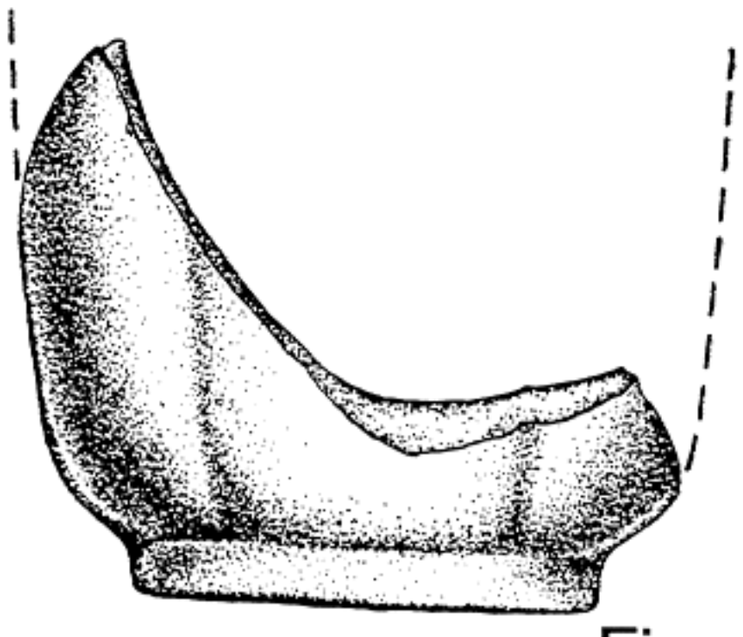


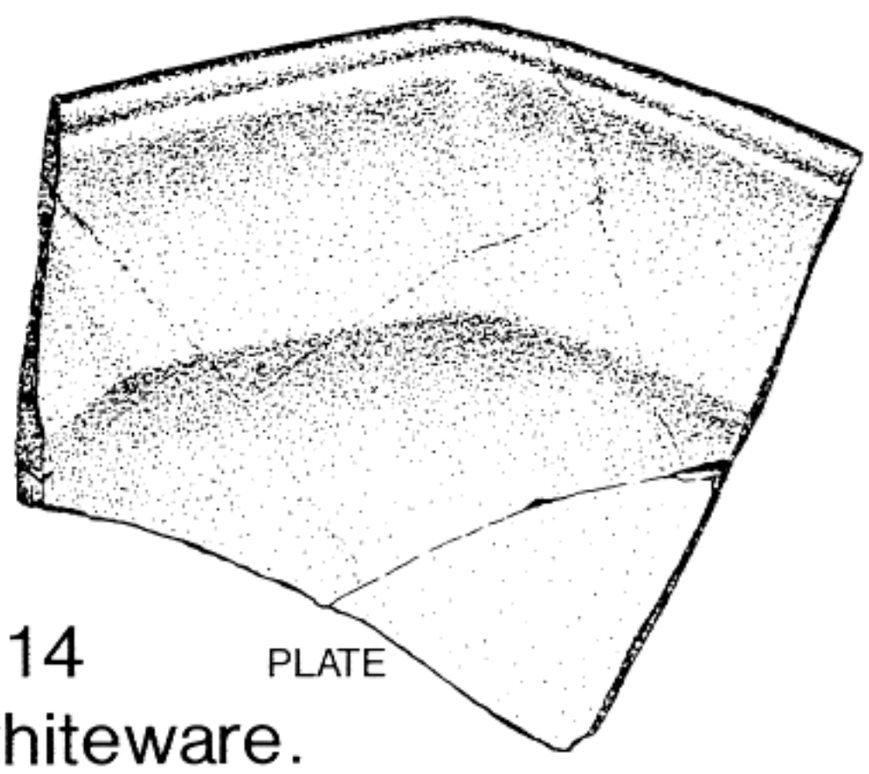
Figure 13
Hand-painted bowl sherds.



SAUCER



CUP



PLATE

Figure 14
Plain whiteware.

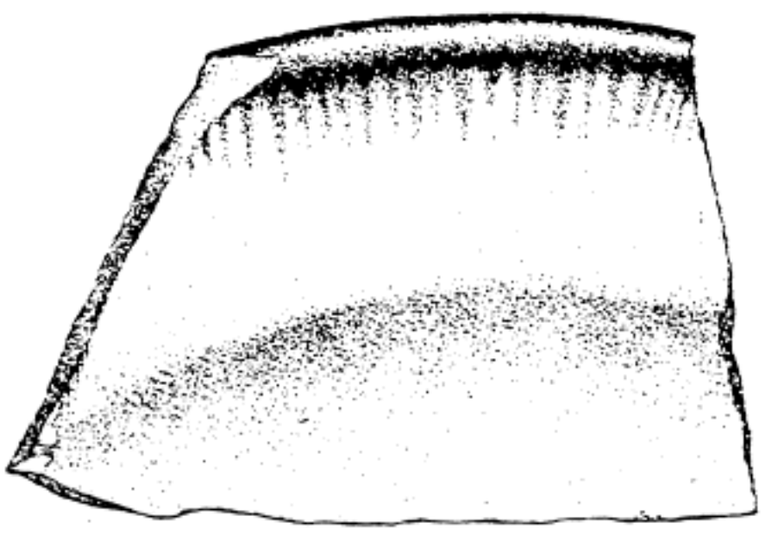


Figure 15
Featheredge plate sherd.

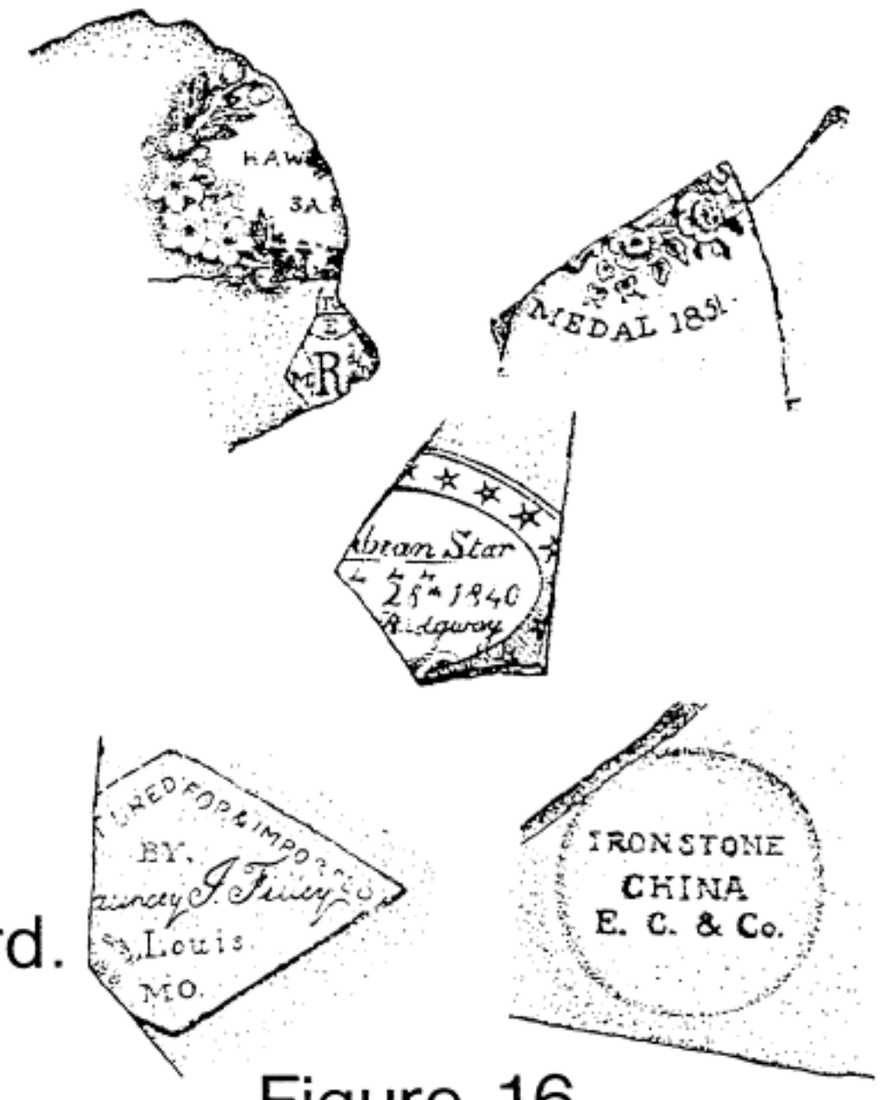


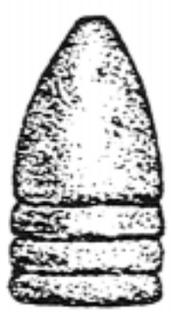
Figure 16
Hallmarks.

THIMBLE

STRAIGHT PINS

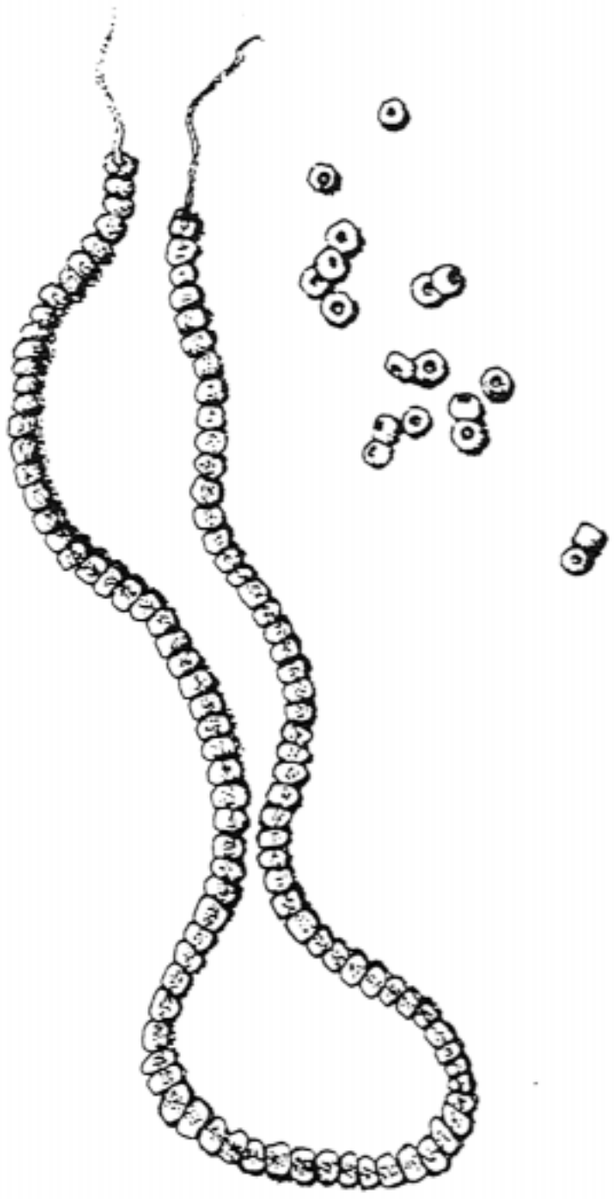
CLOTHES HOOKS

JEWELRY RING

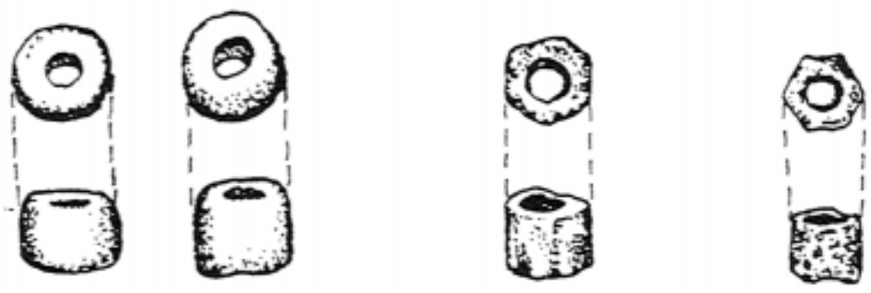


MUSKET BALL

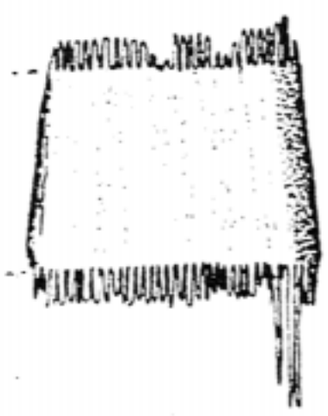
MINI-BALL BULLET



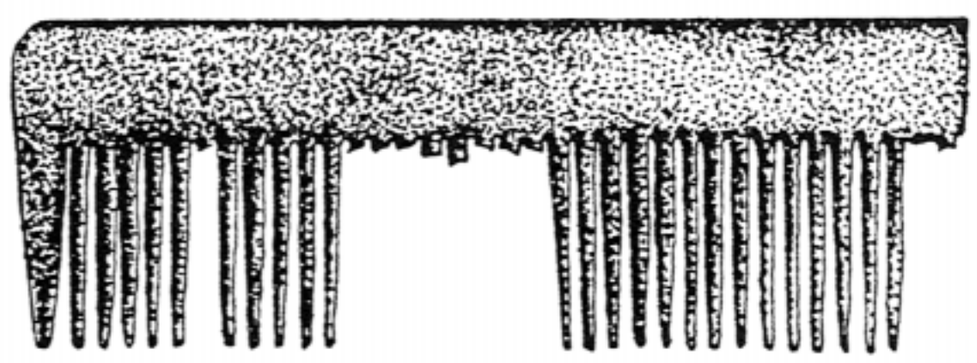
BLUE-GLASS BEAD NECKLACE



BROOCH

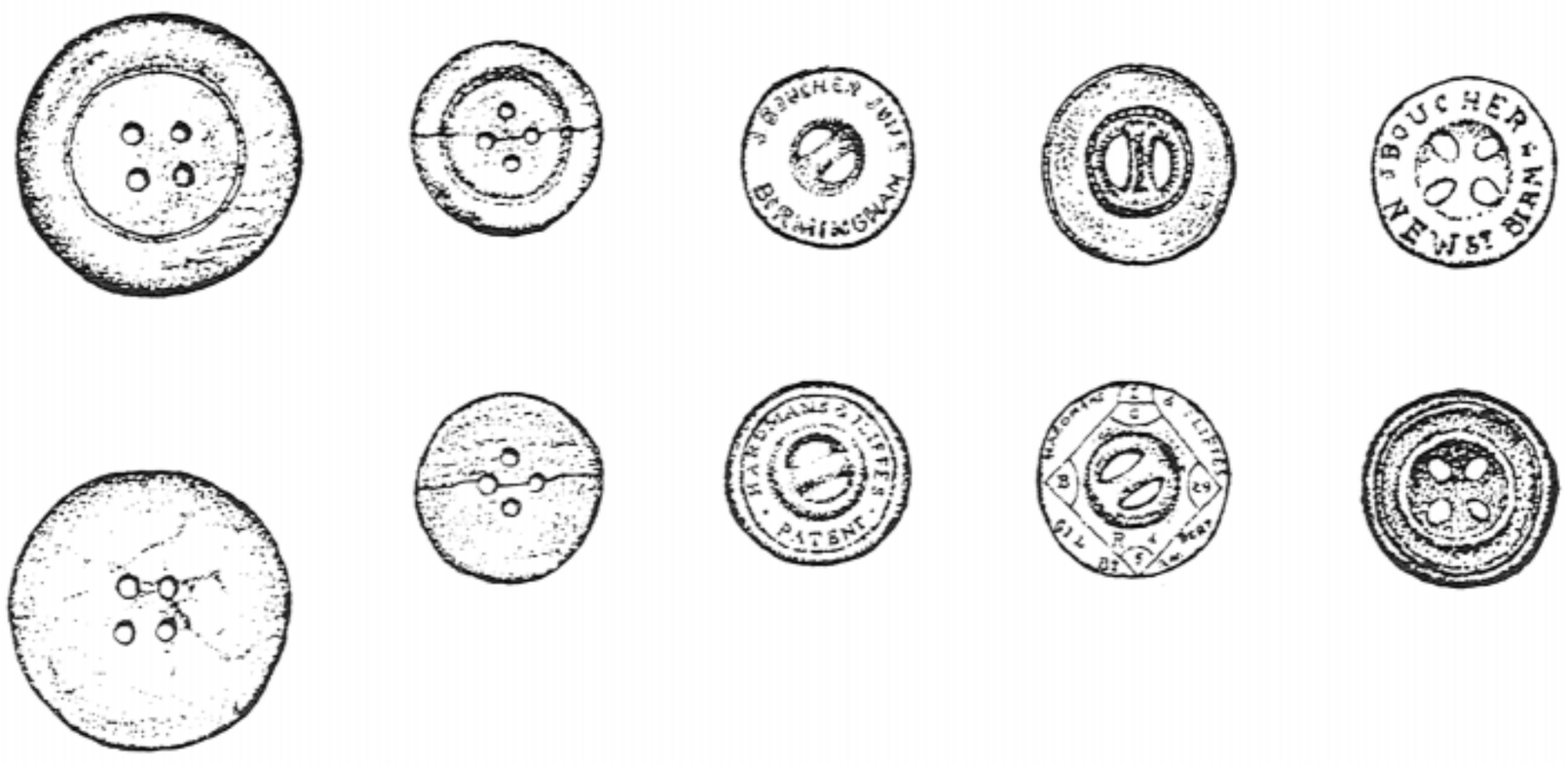


MUSTACHE COMB



HAIR COMB

Figure 17
Miscellaneous artifacts.

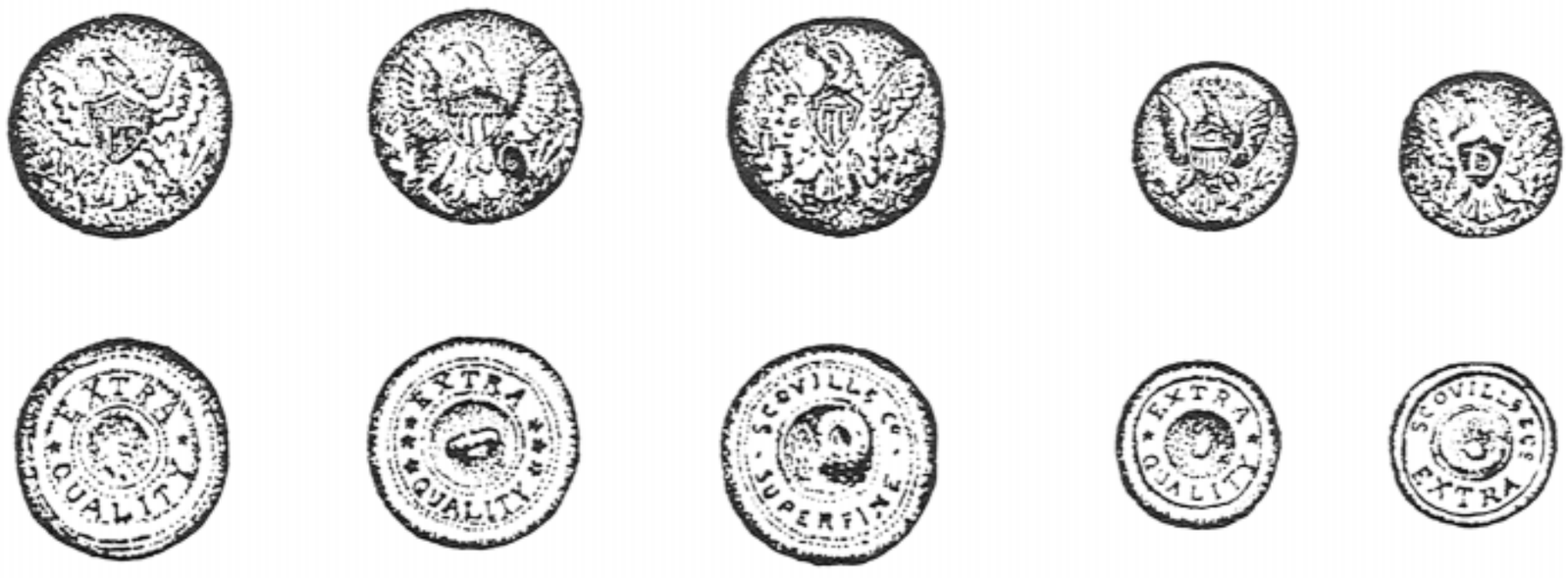


BONE BUTTONS

METAL BUTTONS

CAMEO BUTTON

PANT BUTTON



MILITARY BUTTONS

Figure 18
Buttons.

Structure 3 was a dugout. The excavated dirt side walls of the dugout were 8 1/2 feet by 10 1/2 feet and 4 feet deep. The stratigraphy of the pit (from bottom to top) consisted of 1 foot of clay and charcoal with a considerable number of artifacts — shoe soles, glass, ceramics, and animal bones. The numerous artifacts in this level represent the occupation period. The next layer was 7 inches of ash and charcoal, with fewer of the type of artifacts found in the lower level and more of other types of artifacts, plus a large cedar log (possibly a roofing beam). This layer was a postoccupation level formed by the settlers dumping ash and charcoal, possibly from stoves, into the pit. The last or upper level is a clay fill washed in over the years and containing relatively no artifacts.

In the center of the east wall are steps for entrance into the dugout; they are 2 1/2 feet long, 1 1/2 feet wide, and 8 inches high. The front of each step was faced with a plank 1/2 inch wide. These boards were held in place by two wood stakes near the outer edges or one about 4 inches from each end. Three steps remained of an original four or possibly five steps. The east wall of the dugout was 9 feet from the outside of the west stone foundation of Structure 1.

Thousands of artifacts have been recovered from the house components excavated thus far at the townsite. All the objects are fragmented and include glass, ceramics, metal, buttons, leather, and a variety of miscellaneous objects.[9]

Most of the glass found was window or flat glass, ranging from a light to a dark aqua blue in color. The glass artifacts next in quantity were bottle fragments. No whole bottles were unearthed, although there was a wide variety of glass colors: clear, aqua blue, shades of olive green (including a very dark olive green known as black glass), cobalt blue, brown, and light green. The bottle fragments, such as finishes (a finish is a bottle top, including the pouring lip and threads — fig. 5), stoppers (fig. 6), bases (fig. 7), and embossed bodies (fig. 8) suggest that round, as well as rectangular, panel bottles were commonly used. Bottle bases included both those with and without pontil scars (a pontil scar is a jagged edge of glass made by attaching a glass rod to the bottom of a bottle in order to finish the top). Other glass fragments were originally derived from drinking tumblers and pressed glass objects (fig. 9).

The primary types of ceramics found at Lower Goshen were earthenware (coarse pottery with a red paste and crude glaze), whiteware (fine pottery with a white body and usually decorated with transferprints or with hand-painted or molded relief designs and a clear glaze), and porcelain (very fine, translucent ceramics, often imported from China or Japan). Earthenware (fig. 10) includes all vessels with natural clay-colored paste: redware,

buffware, and grayware. Almost all the earthenware was of the redware type with a great variety of glaze colors, such as yellow, orange, green, brown, and combinations of these colors. Many were mottled to form intricate designs. There were also salt glazes, lead glazes, and clear glazes. Earthenware vessels were most likely locally manufactured.

In the category of whiteware are the pieces with essentially white pastes, such as pearlware (fig. 11); transferware (fig. 12); hand-painted ware (fig. 13); sponge, banded, and plain whiteware (fig. 14); and featheredge types (fig. 15). At Component 18, where extensive excavation was conducted, nearly 87 percent of the sherds belonged to the whiteware type; within this type, 60 percent were pearlware.

Transferprinted sherds had patterns decorated in blue, red, green, and brown. Although not all patterns were recognizable, blue willow was by far the most common. Dark blue was the most common transfer color, followed closely by flown blue. Hand-painted sherds were usually decorated with large flowers, primarily in dark red or maroon and green. The sponge types were decorated in blue blotted on with a sponge-like object. The banded sherds had narrow lines of black and white on a wide blue band, usually of a pearlware vessel. All these ceramics were popular types used by Americans all over the country, mainly by middle-class citizens.

Porcelain was found during the surface survey in very limited quantities, less than 10 percent of the ceramics found. All the porcelain fragments are of the hard-paste type, and the majority are plain. Decorated sherds include green-painted or relief-molded types. Company hallmarks (fig. 16), when present, provide the most accurate means of dating ceramic types.

A wide variety of metal artifacts were recovered, including iron, copper, and lead (fig. 17). Iron objects included nails, bolts, rods, straps, wagon hubs, a file, and many other unidentifiable, badly oxidized pieces. Copper objects included more delicate items, such as thimbles, straight pins, clothing hooks, jewelry, coins, a purse frame, and several buttons. Lead objects were in the form of round musket balls and Minie balls (cone-shaped bullets).

Among miscellaneous items discovered were a wide range of button types (fig. 18): bone, shell, rubber, covered metal, calico glass, lead, metal with cameo, military, clear glass, white glass, solid-color glass, and wood. The metal and wood buttons were covered with cloth. Almost all the leather found was parts of shoes, primarily soles and heels, and cutting scraps. One complete shoe was also unearthed. Many sizes were represented, from children's to adults'. A brooch, a wood comb, black rubber combs, slate

pencils, and clay marbles were also found. Most beads were small, round, and dark blue glass.

An interesting pattern of artifacts and distribution is emerging. The general array and quantity of artifacts do not suggest a poor community but rather a community of middle-class Americans using objects fashionable to the entire country — from the East to the western frontier.

Excavation at Lower Goshen presents a unique opportunity to study a pioneer settlement that has not been disturbed since the day it was abandoned in 1868. Scientifically, the research goals for this project are to infer Mormon pioneer behavior from the distribution of material culture. Because accidental or intentional discard of any cultural object directly reflects human activity, the pattern of distribution presents clues about the cultural system that occupied the site. Patterns found in individual components may reflect patterns for the entire town and even other Mormon sites.

The distribution of the broad range of artifacts used by the Mormons who lived at Lower Goshen was carefully established during field excavations by horizontal and vertical stratigraphic techniques. The recovered specimens were then classified by their various physical attributes into types, varieties, and chronological context. Qualitative patterns relating to their function, origin, date of manufacture, and dispersion are interpreted for this site through analysis of house-to-house findings. In this way, patterns of room functions can be generated. For example, specific artifacts or groups of artifacts may have been used in the bedroom, others in the living room, kitchen, and so on. Room comparisons from house to house may produce intrasite and eventually intersite patterns.

Room comparisons at Lower Goshen disclose that almost all of the peach pits came from the main living area, either on the floor or outside the front door, where they may have been thrown out the door; but peach pits were not in the rooms interpreted as sleeping quarters. Bottle glass also came primarily from the main structures; window glass was concentrated around and in the main structures as well as around other rooms. Also, a high percentage of redware (utilitarian pottery) was distributed around the living area, with few sherds found in the adjoining rooms or structures. The initial distribution of these artifacts indicates that much of the food preparation, and possibly consumption, took place in the largest room at each component. This room always had a central fire hearth, such as illustrated in Component 18, Structure 1, Room 1.

By means of the intersite functional comparisons, sites can also be classified by whether they were used for domestic, commercial, military, political, religious, or other purposes. In time a

pattern reflecting pioneer Mormon cultural patterns could emerge. This pattern could then be compared with the American cultural pattern in which it participated where similarities and contrasts could be studied.

At present the key research problem is obtaining fundamental data through excavation and laboratory analysis. Detailed identification and study of the artifacts in general use as well as those uniquely Mormon will likely provide precise information of everyday Mormon pioneer life not found in historical documents.

After the quantity and types of technological items have been determined, library research will add data helpful in identifying and dating each individual item or group of artifacts. The history of technology in Utah and the United States during the 1850s and 1860s should shed considerable light on the manufactured objects excavated. Historical documents will aid in separating items made locally from those imported. The data obtained by the artifact analysis and library research will ultimately provide the basis for the interpretation of economic and social questions — the basic goal of the project.

Why archaeology in Lower Goshen? The answer is that the objects excavated — the facts from the ground — make a significant contribution to our knowledge and appreciation of a people who lived on the American frontier one hundred and twenty years ago and that the events that occurred there play a small but integral part in American history, particularly in the westward movement of our country.

NOTES

[1]See Dale L. Berge, "Lower Goshen: The Unearthing of a Mormon Community in Central Utah," in *Forgotten Places and Things: Archaeological Perspectives on American History*, ed. and comp. Albert E. Ward (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1983), 173–84; Louie S. Jensen, *Goshen Centennial History 1857–1957* (Goshen, Utah: privately published, 1957), 3–19.

[2]Joseph A. Nelson, "A Short Life Sketch of Lars Nelsen and Martha Bandtsen," 4, ms., copy on file at the Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[3]Emma H. Huff, comp., *Memories that Live* (Springville, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 485.

[4]Harold J. Bissell, "Lake Bonneville: Geology of Southern Utah Valley, Utah," *Geological Survey Professional Paper 257-B* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 110.

[5]See Jensen, *Goshen Centennial History*, 18; Huff, *Memories that Live*, 485.

[6]Raymond Duane Steele, *Goshen Valley History* (Goshen, Utah: privately published, 1960), 13–16.

[7]Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 18 October 1867, Brigham Young Collection, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

[8]Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (reprint; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 1:357–59.

[9]For a detailed description of other Utah artifacts see Dale L. Berge, *1980 Simpson Springs Station: Historical Archaeology in Western Utah*, Cultural Resource Series Monographs, no. 6 (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Land Management, 1980).

Subduction Zone

The continents collide
like Sumo wrestlers,
groaning with cumbrous movement
of mountains raised, until

one subducts: one,
crushed beneath the foot of the other,
slips into the inferno
of inner earth and dissembles—
black to less black,
heavy to light—
then rises,
to live again
in clouds of ash.

—Dianna Black

Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting

Gordon A. Madsen

Since the subject of the 1826 trial of Joseph Smith has been extensively reported and commented upon, one quite rightly wonders what else is new or old to be said about that blip in Mormon history. However, none of the reports and few of the commentaries have tried to put the trial in the legal context of that day and examined the applicable statutory, procedural, and case law in force in New York in 1826. This essay will attempt to do just that and then reexamine the conclusions drawn by earlier writers.

In March 1826, upon the sworn complaint of one Peter Bridgeman, Joseph Smith was brought before Justice of the Peace Albert Neely in South Bainbridge, New York, on the charge of being a "disorderly person." No account of the trial was published at or near the time it occurred. The earliest known reference to the trial appeared in an article written in 1831 by A. W. Benton.[1] Forty-one years later, William D. Purple claimed to have generated his version from notes and memory, having been asked to act as scribe by Judge Neely.[2] The accounts by Charles Marshall and Daniel S. Tuttle were derived from some pages purportedly severed from Judge Neely's docket book by his niece, Miss Emily Pearsall.[3] The disparities and inconsistencies among these accounts were later commented upon by Brodie, Kirkham, and Nibley, the latter two expressing skepticism about their authenticity.[4] Then the Reverend Wesley P. Walters discovered two bills in the basement of the Chenango County Jail in Norwich, New York, sometime in the summer of 1971.[5] The first was the bill of Justice Neely to Chenango County for his services for a series of trials he conducted in 1826. There are seven trials listed, running from some time prior to 20 March through 9 November 1826. The page is age-worn and illegible in part, but the following is a reproduction with some names approximated:

Gordon A. Madsen is an attorney practicing in Salt Lake City.

Chenango County to Albert Neely, Jr.
People — Assault & Battery
vs.
——— Brazee [?]
Trial at G.A. Leadbetter's [?]

Same — Justices
vs. — James Humphrey
Peter Brazee [?] — Zechariah Tarbil [Tarble?]
Albert Neely

Same — To my fees in trial
vs. — of above cause 3.68
John Sherman [?]

People — Assault & Battery
vs. — To my fees in the cause 1.99
Samuel May
March 22, 1826

Same — Misdemeanor
vs.
Joseph Smith
The Glass Looker — To my fees in examination
March 20, 1826 — of the above cause 2.68

Same — Champerty
vs. — To examination of above cause 2.18
Newel Evans [?]
Sept. 2, 1826

Same — Assault & Battery
vs. — To my fees in above cause —1.46
Josiah Evans

Same — Petit Larceny
vs. — To fees in above cause —— 1.85
Robert Darnell [?]
October 3, 1826

Same — Assault & Battery
vs.
Ira Church — to fees in above cause ——2.53

Nov 9, 1826 — Albert Neely, Just. of Peace $16.37[6]

The other bill was that of the constable in the case, Philip De Zeng, which states only the year 1826 and lists thirty plus lines of billed services, presumably rendered during that year. The relevant passage states as follows:

> Serving Warrant on Joseph Smith & travel. . . 1.25
> Subpoenaing 12 Witnesses & travel. 2.50
> Attendance with Prisoner two days &
> 1 night. 1.75
> Notifying two Justices . . . . . 1.—
> 10 miles travel with Mittimus to take him . . 1.—[7]

Before considering these bills and what Reverend Walters (their discoverer) claims they tell us vis-à-vis the accounts of the trial previously published, let us first consider the law in force in New York in 1826.

THE CHARGE

With what exactly was Joseph Smith charged? Oliver Cowdery wrote that Joseph Smith was charged with being a "disorderly person."[8] Benton agreed but characterized the basis for the charge as "sponging his living from their [the public's] earnings."[9] Purple claimed that Joseph was charged with being a "vagrant, without visible means of livelihood."[10] Marshall and Tuttle called him a "disorderly person and an imposter."[11]

The statute that would seem to apply, enacted in 1813 by the New York State Legislature, provides as follows:

> That all persons who threaten to run away and leave their wives or children to the city or town, and all persons who shall unlawfully return to the city or town from whence they shall respectively have been legally removed by order of two justices of the peace, without bringing a certificate from the city or town whereto they respectively belong; *and also all persons who not having wherewith to maintain themselves, live idle without employment,* and also all persons who go about from door to door, or place themselves in the streets, highways or passages, to beg in the cities or towns where they respectively dwell, and all jugglers, and all persons pretending to have skill in physiognomy, palmistry, or like crafty science, or pretending to tell fortunes, *or to discover where lost goods may be found;* and all persons who run away and leave their wives and children whereby they respectively become chargeable to any city or town; and all persons wandering abroad and lodging in taverns, beer-houses, out-houses, market-places, or barns, or in the open air, and not giving a good account of themselves, and all persons wandering abroad and begging, and all idle persons not having visible means of livelihood, and all common prostitutes, *shall be deemed and adjudged disorderly persons.*[12]

The first italicized passage is the classic definition of a *vagrant;* however, in this statute vagrants are not classed separately, but are rather included with all the other collection of people to be "adjudged disorderly persons."

The two bills, however, provide no help beyond specifying that the offense was a *misdemeanor*. The judge, on his bill, identifies Joseph as "the Glass Looker." That entry is below Joseph's name rather than opposite where "Misdemeanor" appears, and in each of the other cases itemized, the offense is also listed opposite the accused's name rather than below it. Since this bill was a summary of fees for seven trials, the last of which is dated 9 November 1826, it was undoubtedly written some time after Joseph Smith's trial. Moreover, there was no statutory or common law crime of "glass looking" then on the books. Therefore, "Glass Looker" is likely a phrase of identification rather than the statement of a criminal charge. Similarly, "Imposter" did not describe any criminal offense. So we are left with the charges disorderly person and vagrant.

As Marvin Hill has pointed out, all accounts agree that Joseph was employed by Josiah Stowell, which largely precludes a charge of vagrancy ("not having wherewith to maintain themselves, live without employment"). Hill continues:

> A "misdemeanor" might be many things, as the term simply designates a minor offense. Was the charge vagrancy, disorderliness, being an "imposter," or was it deliberately left vague because treasure hunting, as Joseph practiced it with Stowell, did not violate any specific New York law? It is generally known among historians that digging was common in western New York in this period. How many such persons were held accountable, and to what law? These are questions that need answering before any fair assessment of the trial can be made.[13]

The heading "Misdemeanor" and the disparate identifying of the charge also show that the would-be reporters/witnesses were not all that conversant with early New York jurisprudence or criminal law. That should not be taken as too heavy an indictment on either the court or the observers. The very problem Hill raises is addressed in a *practice commentary* appearing in the current New York Penal Code under the present-day statute titled "Disorderly Conduct":

> This section partially replaces the former Penal Law's "disorderly conduct" statue [provisions cited]. . . . For a thorough understanding of the revised section and others contained in this Article, some familiarity with the former statutory law of this general area is required.
>
> The former Penal Law and the Code of Criminal Procedure defined a host of minor offenses, most not amounting to "crimes,"

> penalizing miscellaneous types of conduct tending to create public disorder, offensive conditions and petty annoyances to individuals. Most of these appeared in three multisubdivisioned statutes bearing the labels of, or known as, "disorderly conduct" (Penal Law §722), vagrancy (Code Crim. Proc. §887) and disorderly persons (*id.* §899). Many of the Criminal Code provisions in particular, defining status offenses such as being a drunkard, a pauper and the like, were distinctly archaic and probably unconstitutional. One of the defects of the Penal Law's disorderly conduct statute was that much of the conduct proscribed, such as begging and loitering for immoral purposes, did not have the "breach of the peace" character essential to that offense (§722 [6]-[11]), thus rendering conviction in such cases extremely difficult and sometimes impossible [cases cited].[14]

THE COURT

Walters infers from the item in Constable De Zeng's bill listed as "'notifying two justices'" that the trial was conducted before a "'Court of Special Sessions.'"[15] This brings us to an examination of the court system that existed in New York in the 1820s. Without detailing the overlapping and appellate jurisdictions of courts of common pleas, chancery, and oyer and terminer; courts of appeal; supreme court; and city courts of New York, we will note the three courts relevant to our purposes: justice courts, courts of special sessions, and courts of general sessions.

Justice courts, or courts presided over by a single justice of the peace, were then (as they generally are today) the bottom rung on the legal ladder. Justices of the peace were not generally trained in law, but were appointed or elected from the more affluent gentlemen of a community and had limited original jurisdiction in criminal matters to literally "keep the peace" — to hear cases regarding trespass against persons and property, breaches of the peace, and misdemeanors (including vagrancy and disorderly persons). In criminal matters, justices of the peace could sentence offenders to the house of correction "until the next general sessions of the peace," or a maximum of six months, with the proviso that any two justices (one being the committing justice) could discharge any offender if "they see cause."[16] The phrase "general sessions of the peace" meant the next convening of the court of general sessions discussed hereafter. They were also empowered to conduct bail hearings or in some instances preliminary examinations or preliminary hearings in certain felony cases and, where appropriate cause justified, to *bind over* such accused felons to the court of general sessions to stand trial.

On the next rung up were the courts of special sessions comprising three justices of the peace sitting as one court. The statutes of 1813 redefined the jurisdiction of these courts and

granted them power to try criminal offenses "under the degree of grand larceny," except where the accused posted bail within forty-eight hours of being charged and elected to be tried at the next session of the court of general sessions in the county. Special sessions courts could impose fines not exceeding twenty-five dollars and jail terms not exceeding six months.[17]

These limited jurisdiction notions are corroborated by a widely used treatise titled *The Justice' s Manual*, first published in 1825. As its title page advertises, it is "A Summary of the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace, in the State of New York Comprising a Variety of Practical Forms, Adapted to Cases Civil and Criminal."[18] *The Justice' s Manual* says regarding courts of special sessions:

> This court is composed of three Justices, associated for the particular purpose of trying some person accused of an offence under the degree of grand larceny.
>
> The jurisdiction of this court is limited, by the statute, to cases of "petty larceny, misdemeanor, breach of the peace, or other criminal offence under the degree of grand larceny." The only point of difficulty, relative to jurisdiction, is, in determining what offences are under the degree of grand larceny. And I know of no rule by which the different degrees of criminality may be determined, except by the punishments directed. I therefore conclude that this court has not jurisdiction of any offence the punishment whereof *may be* imprisonment in the state prison; nor, where the term of imprisonment in the common gaol [jail] is fixed to exceed six months; nor where a fine is fixed to exceed $25. . . . If this rule be correct, the jurisdiction of a court of special sessions may be readily determined, in any supposable case, by reference to the punishment prescribed for the offence in question.[19]

The third kind of court in issue here is the court of general sessions, sometimes called county court. These courts were the general professional courts of the state, presided over by trained, full-time judges. They tried felony cases and reviewed and retried those cases appealed from either justice-of-the-peace courts or courts of special sessions.

Now, returning to Justice Neely's bill, we see that the first item listed concerned a court of special sessions and the other two justices were James Humphry and Zechariah Tarbil. It was an "Assault & Battery" case, involving three defendants, two named Brazee, and a Sherman. Special-session court jurisdiction was probably invoked because the case involved multiple defendants and was a misdemeanor "under the degree of grand larceny."

The provision that follows after the definition of the offense (spelled offence in the statute and in the *Manual)* in the disorderly persons statute states:

> And it shall and may be lawful for *any* justice of the peace to commit such disorderly persons (being thereof convicted before *him* by *his* own view, or by the confession of such offenders, respectively, or by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses) to the bridewell or house of correction, of such city or town, there to be kept at hard labour, for any time not exceeding sixty days, or until the next general sessions of the peace to be holden in and for the city or county in which such offence shall happen.[20]

The Justice' s Manual, like the statute, in discussing disorderly persons prosecutions, speaks in the singular case as well — "*a* justice of the peace *is* authorized to commit to the bridewell" — and the forms to be used that follow are all couched in first person singular and provide for a single signature.[21] Conversely the forms suggested by the *Manual* to be used by courts of special sessions speak in the plural and require three signatures.[22] Since the statute limits the sentence to sixty days and speaks of the matter being tried before "him," and since the Neely bill shows no additional justices listed under "Misdemeanor" similar to their listing in the first case itemized on the bill, it follows that the Joseph Smith case was tried by Neely alone.

In light of the above, what is the meaning of the De Zeng entry "Notifying two Justices"? I frankly do not know. Perhaps De Zeng confused this case with the earlier three-justice court of special sessions. Or perhaps Neely first thought the Joseph Smith case needed to be heard by three justices and later changed his mind. In any event, the record is clear that no other justices are mentioned in the Joseph Smith trial either in the Neely bill or in the Pearsall notes or the Purple account. Moreover, there is no indication that a jury trial was either requested or waived, nor any fee billed for summoning or swearing a jury.

At the end of the Marshall rendering of the Pearsall notes, the Neely bill of $2.68 in the Joseph Smith case is itemized as follows: "Costs: Warrant, 19c. Complaint upon oath, 25 1/2 c. Seven witnesses, 87 1/2c. Recognisances [*sic*], 25c. Mittimus, 19c. Recognisances of witnesses, 75c. Subpoena, 18c.—$2.68."[23] There is no hint in that itemization of a jury or additional justices.

THE MEANING OF THE TERM *RECOGNIZANCE*

Recognizance or *recognize* was used interchangeably with *examination* or *examine* in the early 1800s, in much the same synonymous fashion as were the words *warrant* and *mittimus*. *To recognize* meant then (and sometimes even today) "to try; to *examine* in order to determine the truth of a matter."[24] On the other hand, the plural *recognizances* referred to types of bonds or undertakings, or

sometimes bail used by the courts of the time to guarantee attendance at court at a later time or more frequently used by justices of the peace to bond or "recognize" someone to keep the peace or to maintain good behavior. Walters in his analysis of the trial relies upon this meaning of the word. But *recognizance* or *recognize* meant "to examine." Indeed, other justice-of-the-peace bills scrutinized by Walters refer to "recognizing two witnesses 0.50" (meaning a fifty-cent fee for examining two witnesses) or "recognizing three witnesses 0.75."[25]

Walters assumes that "Recognizance 25" on the Neely itemization refers to the fee for an appearance bond by Joseph Smith guaranteeing his coming to court and that "Recognisances of witnesses, 75c." refers to the fee for putting three witnesses under similar bond or recognizance to also appear at the future trial. Since by Walters's own reckoning the trial supposedly took place the very next day (the De Zeng entry states, "Attendance with Prisoner two days & 1 night"), there would be little need to bond witnesses for twenty-four hours and no opportunity for the prisoner to be "recognized" in the bail sense of the word.

It seems more reasonable to assume, therefore, that *recognizance* in Neely's bill refers to the fees for the examination of the defendant and witnesses. This is further corroborated by *The Justice's Manual*, which specifies the forms of such recognizances and requires that the accused and two sureties sign the same, that a transcript or summary of the testimony be reduced to writing, and that additional orders of transmittal to the next session of the court of general session be executed.[26] No such bonds or recognizances with additional signatures, or at least the naming of co-signing sureties, appear in the record.

None of the reports hints that the proceeding against Joseph Smith was a preliminary examination for a felony or other offense beyond Justice Neely's jurisdiction, and Neely's bill fits a fact situation suggesting he tried the matter himself. Therefore, "recognizance" as used in the bill must mean "examining" the witnesses and defendant, rather than binding them over for a trial to be conducted in a court of general sessions at a later time.

THE TRIAL

Walters reconstructs the trial in these terms:

> When Joseph was arrested on the warrant issued by Albert Neely, he would have been brought before Neely for a preliminary examination to determine whether he should be released as innocent of the charges or, if the evidence seemed sufficient, brought to trial.

> During the examination Joseph's statement would be taken (probably not under oath), and witnesses for and against the accused were sworn and examined. Both before and during the examination Joseph remained under guard, with Constable De Zeng in "attendance with Prisoner two days & 1 night," referring to the day of examination and the day and night preceding. Since the evidence appeared sufficient to show that Smith was guilty as charged, he was ordered held for trial. In such situations, if the defendant could not post bail the justice at his discretion could either order the arresting officer to continue to keep the prisoner in his custody, or he could commit him to jail on a warrant of "commitment for want of bail," sometimes referred to as a "mittimus." The latter appears to have been the fate of young Joseph since De Zeng's bill records "10 miles travel with Mittimus to take him" — and the wording should probably be completed by adding "to gaol." Shortly after this Joseph's bail was posted as the entry "recognizance 25" cents would indicate. The material witnesses, three in this instance, were meanwhile also put under recognizances to appear at the forth-coming Court of Special Sessions (Neely's "recognizances of witnesses 75" cents). The Court was summoned to meet by Justice Neely through Constable De Zeng's "notifying two Justices." At this point the course of events becomes somewhat difficult to trace, mainly because we lack the other two justices' bills which might clarify the trial proceedings. Probably what happened was that the Court of Special Sessions found young Smith guilty, as Neely records, but instead of imposing sentence, since he was a minor "he was designedly allowed to escape," as the Benton article expresses it. Perhaps an off-the-record proposition was made giving Joseph the option of leaving the area shortly or face sentencing, and it would explain why no reference appears in the official record to the sentencing of the prisoner. Another possibility, of course, is that Joseph jumped bail and when the Court of Special Sessions met they may have decided not to pursue the matter further, hoping the youth had learned his lesson. Dr. Purple, in any event, carried away the impression that "the prisoner was discharged, and in a few weeks left the town."[27]

In this reconstruction, Walters assumes a number of unsupported or unwarranted facts and procedures. First, he posits a preliminary hearing *and* a trial having taken place in two successive days, the first before Justice Neely and the second before Neely and two unnamed additional justices. We have already identified at least five reasons to reject that possibility:

1) The court of special sessions' jurisdictional prerogatives exceeded the sentence limit prescribed by the Disorderly Persons statute, suggesting that such cases were rather tried by single justices of the peace.

2) As noted above, the Disorderly Persons statute speaks of a trial in language of a single justice. This is corroborated by the language in *The Justice's Manual* prescribing the forms to be used, for example from the warrant form: "command you to take the said

John Stiles, and him bring before *me*, to be dealt with in the premises"; from the record of proceedings form: "the John Stiles . . . is duly convicted, before *me,* the under-named Justice of the Peace"; from the commitment form: "Whereas John Stiles . . . has been duly convicted, *before me,* the under-named Justice of the Peace."[28] No room in that language for a three-justice court.

3) Both Dr. Purple and whoever made the notes ultimately delivered by Miss Pearsall to Marshall and Tuttle refer to one hearing only, and none of them suggests multiple justices sitting to hear the matter. Nor is there any purported transcript or notes of a second hearing.

4) No additional justices of the peace are noted in the Neely bill opposite the Joseph Smith heading, as they were in the first assault-and-battery case.

5) Courts of special session were to try those cases coming before them to a jury unless that right was waived by the accused. There is no hint in the bills, notes, or commentaries that a jury was either empaneled or waived.

Further, there is no basis for Walters's assumption that Neely found that "since the evidence appeared sufficient to show that Smith was guilty as charged, he was ordered held for trial," or for his assumption that "Recognizance 25" meant bail, posted after Joseph was first jailed. We have already discussed Walters's dubious equation of the "recognizance" to a bail bond posted after delivery to jail ("to gaol" — the English spelling, which Walters tacks on to De Zeng's "to take prisoner"). In a footnote, Walters himself appears to abandon that jail-and-bail notion by noting that the fee for constables to take prisoners to court was nineteen cents and to take them to jail was twenty-five cents. Constable De Zeng in this instance billed nineteen cents.[29] It should here be observed that the phrase *to take* then as now meant "to arrest" or "to capture"; hence, "to take prisoner" could more probably mean the act of arresting rather than transporting him somewhere, especially since no somewhere is mentioned.

Walters assumes that the three witnesses were first examined and then put under "recognizance" to appear later at the supposed second hearing. But as we have noted, if that theory were to be reflected in Justice Neely's bill, there would be a charge for examining the witnesses *and* a charge for taking their bond to appear at a future time for trial. Only one such charge of twenty-five cents for the defendant and seventy-five cents for the three witnesses is listed. Also missing is any reference to the minimal bonds or recognizance forms signed either by the witnesses or by witnesses and their sureties. The far safer conclusion, as I maintain, is

that "recognizance" as used in Neely's bill means "examining" defendant and witnesses.

From this point on, Walters's "reconstruction" is all admittedly supposition. He admits the "course of events becomes somewhat difficult to trace," largely, he speculates, because the "other two justices' bills" are missing. Missing, as we have shown above, because there were no other justices.

Notwithstanding Walters's claim that the Pearsall notes were originally written by Purple and his acknowledgment that Purple's published account states that Smith was "discharged," he nonetheless declares that Joseph Smith was "probably" found guilty "as Neely records." Thereafter, he continues, the "youth" (Joseph was at the time nine months from his twenty-first birthday) was either "designedly" allowed to escape because of his youth or given an "off-the-record" invitation to leave the county, or he jumped bail. And when the three justices convened a special session court, they forgot the whole matter, recognizance bonds and all, hoping the boy had "learned his lesson." This chain of unsupported hypotheses stretches credulity further at every link.[30]

THE STATUS OF THE PEARSALL AND PURPLE NOTES

What really happened? What can we draw from the statutory and case law, the bills, the admittedly incomplete and inconsistent "reports" of the notetakers, and the even more inconsistent conclusions of the commentators? Let us first resort to *The Justice's Manual* as a basis for judging the reliability of the Pearsall and Purple notes and their pretensions at being official. Purple claimed that Justice Neely was his friend and asked him to make notes of the trial. He also admitted telling the story repeatedly over the more than forty years before he submitted his article to the *Chenango Union* in May 1877.[31] Miss Pearsall, according to Tuttle, had torn her notes from her Uncle Albert Neely's docket book.[32] How close does either come to meeting the requirements of a transcript of testimony required of a justice of the peace at that time?

The statute provides that

> in all cases where any conviction shall be had before any court of special sessions, in pursuance of the act hereby amended, it shall be the duty of the justices holding such court of special sessions, to make a certificate of such conviction, *under their hands and seals,* in which shall be briefly stated the offence, conviction and judgment thereon; and the said justices shall within forty days after such conviction had, cause such certificate to be filed in the office of the clerk of the county in which the offender shall be convicted, and such certificate, *under the hands and seals of such justices,* or any two of them, and so filed,

> or the exemplification thereof by such clerk, under his seal of office, shall be good and legal evidence in any court in this state, to prove the facts contained in such certificate or exemplification.[33]

The Justice's Manual states that in implementing this statute

> upon this judgment, the court are required to make a certificate of the conviction, under their hands and seals, "in which shall be briefly stated the offence, conviction and judgment thereon"; and within 40 days thereafter cause this certificate to be filed in the office of the clerk of the county.

The *Manual* then adds this significant language:

> "Before the passing of this act, the record of conviction, before a court of special sessions, was required to be drawn with much particularity and precision; to show not only the jurisdiction of the court, but also the regularity of their proceedings."[34]

In the margin are noted two New York Supreme Court cases giving rise to the quoted paragraph. They are *Powers against The People* and *The People against Miller*.[35] Both cases involved three-justice courts, and because the record of the proceedings was not "with particularity and precision" drawn when transmitted to the appellate court, both were quashed or dismissed. The language of the *Powers* case, however, seems germane here because it is broad enough to apply to single-justice courts as well as to courts of special sessions:

> It ought, then, to have appeared, that she had not given bail after being apprehended, and that she had 48 hours to procure such bail; (Laws of N.Y. 24 sess. c. 70. s. 11.) but the complaint was made on the 10th March, and she was summoned to appear before the justices, and did appear, and was tried on the same day. . . . It is a salutory rule, with respect to *inferior courts,* that the cause of which *they* take cognizance, should appear to be within their jurisdiction. These objections are fatal, and the conviction must, therefore, be quashed.[36]

The reference to the right to bail is in the statute prescribing duties of individual justices of the peace as well as three-justice courts.

So if Walters is correct, and a court of special sessions convened, and the Pearsall notes were "The Official Trial Record" (as he maintains), where is the certification "under their hands and seals" wherein is "briefly stated the offence, conviction and judgment thereon"? The Purple notes are equally lacking such certification. On the other hand, if (as I maintain) Justice Neely alone tried the matter, and if a conviction resulted, far more particularity would have been needed in such notes demonstrating jurisdiction, the regularity of the proceedings, the conviction, and the sentence. In

either event, the record of conviction would have needed to be filed with the county clerk within forty days. No such record has to date been unearthed in the office of the Clerk of Chenango County.

But what can be learned from the two accounts? Both suggest that some sort of proceeding took place. The Pearsall account lists Peter Bridgman as complainant; the Purple notes say the complainants were Josiah Stowell's "sons." Both accounts begin with Joseph Smith being examined. Purple's account is a first-person narrative with observations interspersed. The Pearsall notes purport to be summaries of testimony. Two witnesses, Josiah Stowell and Jonathan Thompson, together with the accused, are common to both accounts. Purple adds Joseph Smith, Sr., and Pearsall adds Horace Stowell, Arad Stowell, and a Mr. McMaster as witnesses. Since the Neely itemization at the end of the Pearsall account notes the presence of the defendant and "three witnesses," we are left to conjecture as to who testified besides Joseph Smith, Josiah Stowell, and Jonathan Thompson.[37]

Clearly, then, the Purple and Pearsall accounts do not pass muster as reproductions of court transcripts of testimony. Moreover, there are several inconsistencies and discrepancies between them. Is there anything in them that might help clarify the charge of disorderly person? What were the elements of proof that Justice Neely would have to find in order to rule Joseph Smith guilty?

THE ELEMENTS OF THE CRIME

From the common law, or accumulated "case law," as it sometimes is called, there are some fundamental elements required in any criminal prosecution. The case law is comprised of opinions of appellate courts, and one would not expect to find a large number of disorderly person convictions reaching the Supreme Court of New York, or other appellate courts, for that matter, for the simple reason that the class of people charged with this offense are unlikely to be able to pay for appeals. Even so, cases of a related nature do appear in the early New York casebooks, called *Reports,* that do shed some light on the subject.

For example, the 1810 case of *People against Babcock* has some relevance.[38] In that case, the accused obtained by false pretenses from one Rufus Brown a release of an eighteen-dollar judgment on the representation that he would pay ten dollars cash and give his promissory note for the remaining eight dollars. Having received the release, he absconded without paying the cash or giving his note. The trial court convicted him of the crime of "Cheat." The Supreme Court of New York reversed the conviction.

The court said:

> Lord Kenyon said that the case of the *King v. Wheatley* (2 Burr. 1125) established the true boundary between frauds that were, and those that were not indictable at common law. That case required such a fraud as would affect the *public;* such a deception that common prudence and care were not sufficient to guard against it as the using of false weights and measures, or false tokens, or where there was a conspiracy to cheat.[39]

This case was repeatedly cited in later New York rulings and stood for the proposition that private frauds were not criminally indictable.[40] That rule, incidentally, was expressly repeated in *The Justice's Manual:*

> *Fraud* is an offence at common law. To constitute this offence, however, the act done must effect the public — and be such an act as common prudence would not be sufficient to guard against; as the using of false weights and measures, or false tokens, or where there has been a conspiracy to cheat.[41]

An earlier and equally often cited case, *People v. C. & L. Sands,* establishes another principle.[42] In this case the accused were charged with being a nuisance for keeping fifty barrels of gunpowder in a certain building near the dwelling houses of "diverse good citizens, and near a certain public street," and also of "transporting 10 casks of gunpowder through the streets of Brooklyn in a cart." After conviction in the court below, the defendants appealed. The Supreme Court reversed the decision and adopted the holding of an English case that ruled "a powder magazine was not itself a nuisance, but that to render it such, there must be 'apparent danger or mischief already done.'"[43]

Another relevant principle is familiar to most judges and attorneys under the Latin phrase *mens rea,* meaning "criminal state of mind." This principle is succinctly stated in *The Justice's Manual* also: "To constitute a crime against human laws, there must be, first, a vicious [*sic*] will; and, secondly, *an unlawful act* consequent upon such vicious will."[44]

Applying the principles of the cases just cited, then, Justice Neely was obliged to find that some public rather than private fraud or harm had taken place; that implicit in Joseph Smith's activities there was either some apparent danger or mischief already done; and that the acts complained of were willful or done with a "vicious" or criminal state of mind.

With that measure, what did the evidence show? Joseph Smith was reputed to be able to look into a stone and discover lost treasure. Let us assume for argument's sake that this is close enough to come

within the statute's reference to "where lost or stolen goods may be found." The Pearsall notes state that

> at Palmyra he had frequently ascertained in that way where lost property was, of various kinds; that he has occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for three years, but of late had pretty much given it up on account [of] its injuring his health, especially his eyes — made them sore; that he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having anything to do with this business.[45]

Purple quotes no testimony directly but rather gives a lengthy recital of how Joseph obtained his stone. He claims Joseph exhibited the stone to the court. Earlier in his narrative, he alludes to Joseph's use of the stone as a means of bilking Stowell and others, but it is far from clear that those remarks pretend to be a summary of Joseph Smith's testimony. Indeed Purple separates them from his claimed summary of testimony and makes them a sort of preamble.[46]

The pivotal testimony, in my view, was that of Josiah Stowell. Both accounts agree on the critical facts. The Pearsall account states: "[Joseph] had been employed by him [Stowell] to work on farm part of time; . . . that he positively knew that the prisoner could tell, and professed the art of seeing those valuable treasures through the medium of said stone."[47] The Purple account states:

> Justice Neely soberly looked at the witness and in a solemn, dignified voice, said, "Deacon Stowell, do I understand you as swearing before God, under the solemn oath you have taken, that you *believe* the prisoner can see by the aid of the stone fifty feet below the surface of the earth, as plainly as you can see what is on my table?" "Do I *believe* it ?" says Deacon Stowell, "do I believe it? No, it is not a matter of belief. I positively know it to be true."[48]

From the array of the other witnesses there was no testimony that any of them parted with any money or other thing of value to Joseph Smith. Only Josiah Stowell did so, and then for part-time work on his farm in addition to services rendered in pursuit of treasure. More to the point, he emphatically denied that he had been deceived or defrauded. On the contrary, he "positively" knew the accused could discern the whereabouts of subterranean objects. In short, only Josiah Stowell had any legal basis to complain, *and he was not complaining*. Hence Purple's concluding comment: "It is hardly necessary to say that, as the testimony of Deacon Stowell could not be impeached, the prisoner was discharged, and in a few weeks he left the town."[49] Indeed Justice Neely had no other choice.

It could be argued that Justice Neely may well have had no training in law and therefore that the precedents and principles I have advanced were not part of his training or experience. Even if

that were so, and all he had as a minimum were the statutes under which the charge was tried together with *The Justice' s Manual*, the same result would have been mandated.

As noted above, the statute required the justice upon conviction to commit the defendant "to the bridewell, or house of correction, of such city or town, there to be kept at hard labour, for any time not exceeding sixty days, or until the next general sessions of the peace to be holden in and for the city or county in which such offence shall happen." And, as also noted above, such a sentencing would have needed to be certified by Judge Neely and filed in the county clerk's office within forty days. Moreover, Neely's bill requesting payment would have had an additional item under a heading of "Warrant for commitment — $1.00," which is not there, and Constable De Zeng's bill for taking Joseph to jail would have been increased by twenty-five cents. There is additional statutory language following that last quoted that places a continuing duty on the justice to discharge convicted disorderly persons from the house of corrections earlier than the maximum sixty days. So unless Judge Neely did, in fact, discharge the prisoner, he had a continuing responsibility regarding him, about which the record is silent. Indeed, an argument could be advanced that the absence of the many formalities shows that Justice Neely, knowing that he acquitted the prisoner, also knew that there was no need to formalize a record.

Against these strong indications that Joseph must have been acquitted, there remains only the concluding statement of the Pearsall record, "And thereupon the Court finds the defendant guilty." I believe this statement is an afterthought supplied by whoever subsequently handled the notes and is not a reflection of what occurred at the trial. This view is buttressed by the curious fact that all through the Pearsall notes, Joseph Smith is referred to only as the "prisoner." Then for the first time in this final sentence he is called "defendant."[50]

The foregoing considerations lead me to conclude that in 1826 Joseph Smith was indeed charged and tried for being a disorderly person and that he was acquitted. Such a conclusion does nothing to "prove" or disprove the claim that he was reputed to be a "glass-looker." It simply means that he was found guilty of no crime.

While it is comparatively easy for any of us to be subjected to labels and name-calling — and in fulfillment of prophecy, Joseph Smith received a remarkable quota of both — it is quite another thing to be convicted in a court of law, even in the court of a justice of the peace. The evidence thus far available about the 1826 trial before Justice Neely leads to the inescapable conclusion that Joseph Smith was acquitted.

Indeed, perhaps Oliver Cowdery, who was trained in the law and practiced that profession from 1837 until his death in 1848, had it just about right. He wrote in 1835, "While in that country, some very officious person complained of him as a disorderly person, and brought him before the authorities of the county; but there being no cause of action he was honorably acquitted."[51]

NOTES

[1]A. W. Benton, "Mormonites," *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* 2 (9 April 1831).

[2]W. D. Purple, "Joseph Smith, The Originator of Mormonism Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton," *The Chenango Union,* 3 May 1877, as quoted in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon,* 2 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1959), 2:364.

[3]C[harles] M[arshall], "The Original Prophet," *Fraser's Magazine* 7 (February 1873): 225–35 (published in London); republished in New York in *Eclectic Magazine,* 17 (April 1873): 479–88, and again in the *Utah Christian Advocate,* January 1886. See Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:474. The Tuttle account was first published in 1883 in *Schaaf-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* 2:1576–77.

[4]Kirkham, *New Witness* 1:475–92; 2:354–68, 370–500; Hugh Nibley, *The Myth Makers* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 139–58.

[5]W[esley] P. Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials," *The Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (Winter 1974):123; Marvin S. Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties," *BYU Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 224.

[6]Photostat of original in possession of author.

[7]Photostat of original in possession of author.

[8]Oliver Cowdery, "Letter VIII to W. W. Phelps," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 201.

[9]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:467.

[10]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:364.

[11]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:360.

[12]*Revised Laws of New York* (1813), 1:114, sec. I; italics added.

[13]Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial," 228.

[14]*New York Penal Code,* Title N, sec. 240.20, Part 3, 262–63.

[15]Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge Trials," 133.

[16]*Revised Laws of New York* (1813), 1:114–15, secs. I and II.

[17]*Revised Laws of New York* (1813), 2:507–08, sec. IV.

[18]Thomas Gladsby Waterman, *The Justice's Manual or, A Summary of the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace in the State of New-York* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Morgan and Cannoll, 1825), title page.

[19]*The Justice's Manual,* 200–01; italics in original.

[20]*Revised Laws of New York* (1813), 1:114, sec. I; italics added.

[21]*The Justice's Manual, 116–20; italics added.*

[22]*The Justice's Manual, 203–08.*

[23]C[harles] M[arshall], "The Original Prophet," 230.

[24]John Bouvier, *Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia*, 8th ed. by Francis Rawle (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1914), 3:2842; italics added.

[25]Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge Trials," 138, n. 28.

[26]*The Justice's Manual,* 190–95.

[27]Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge Trials," 139–41.

[28]*The Justice's Manual,* 117–18; italics added.

[29]Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge Trials," 140, n. 36.

[30]For example, it makes no sense whatever that Joseph would appear in Bainbridge within a matter of months of the trial to have Squire Tarbill marry him to Emma Hale on 18 January 1827 if, as Walters posits, Tarbill was one of the judges who gave Joseph "the option of leaving the area shortly or face sentencing." It makes even less sense if, as alternately suggested, Joseph "jumped bail."

[31]Quoted in Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:362–64.

[32]Quoted in Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge Trials," 134.

[33]*Laws of New York, Forty-third Session* (1820), 235–36, sec. II; italics added.

[34]*The Justice's Manual,* 204–05.

[35]4 *Johnson's Reports,* 292 (1809); 14 *Johnson's Reports* 371 (1817).
[36]4 *Johnson's Reports,* 292 (1809); *Revised Laws of New York* (1813), 2:507, sec. IV; italics added; *Laws of New York, Forty-third Session* (1820), 236, sec. II.
[37]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:361, 365.
[38]7 *Johnson's Reports,* 201–05 (1810).
[39]7 *Johnson's Reports,* 204; italics added.
[40]See, for example, *People vs. Miller,* 14 *Johnson's Reports,* 371 (1817).
[41]*The Justice's Manual,* 175.
[42]1 *Johnson's Reports,* 78–90 (1806).
[43]1 *Johnson's Reports,* 85 (1806).
[44]*The Justice's Manual,* 167; italics in original.
[45]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:360.
[46]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:364–65.
[47]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:360.
[48]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:366.
[49]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:368.
[50]Kirkham, *New Witness* 2:360–62.
[51]*Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 201.

Book Reviews

ROBERT L. MILLET, ed. *Joseph Smith: Selected Sermons and Writings*. New York: Paulist Press, 1989. 266 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Davis Bitton, professor of history at the University of Utah.

Before looking at some details, we should pause to celebrate. A respected series, Sources of American Spirituality, has included the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith. Readers and those who use libraries possessing the series will now discover not only Horace Bushnell, Elizabeth Seton, Charles Hodge, Henry Alline, Josiah Royce, and others, all seen as possessing a genuine "spirituality," but also Joseph Smith. Only someone from outer space, unaware of the mixture of ignorance, contempt, and amusement in the stock treatment of Joseph Smith and his successors, can fail to be astounded. Both the editor of the series and the editor of the volume should be congratulated.

From the point of view of editorial standards, a person could quite possibly drop the ball when offering the supposed works of Joseph Smith. Tempting but treacherous would be the procedure of simply making selections from six of the volumes of the *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, for on the face of it, this work is *by* the Prophet himself. A few hours with a felt-tipped pen would allow one to go through these pages, turn the copy over to a printer, add a short introduction, and publish the selected passages under some such title as *The Journal of Joseph* — not an imaginary example.

To his credit, Robert Millet draws his selections either from canonized scriptures or, wherever possible, from the exemplary work of Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Although acknowledgement is given, I wish it had been more lavish, for in a sense the present work rides piggyback on Jessee's painstaking project of many years, and in spite of what Millet hopes, the average reader will *not* "readily realize" this work's indebtedness (4). Incidentally, Jessee's monumental work continues. *Personal Writings* has now been followed by volume one of *The Papers of Joseph Smith*. Readers scrupulous for every detail,

wishing to know which scribal hands wrote what and where insertions were made, will still wish to consult Jessee, for Millet has not reproduced the documents with total fidelity. Considering his purpose, I do not quarrel with the procedure.

The selections included in the work under review fall into six categories: personal reflections, letters, sermons, revelations, translations, and prayers. Generally, one must applaud the selections. Given space limitations, Millet serves up a resplendent array of the Prophet's production. Some of my own favorite passages are here: Joseph's reactions to New York City in 1832, the letters from Liberty Jail (now in D&C 121–123), the warm welcome of the returning penitent William W. Phelps, the Wentworth letter, and even the letter to Nancy Rigdon on "Happiness is the object and design of our existence" (109).

With sermons a bit of confusion arises. The introductory paragraph explains the background of the School of the Prophets, where lectures were given. As Millet explains, "It appears that Joseph Smith and perhaps some of the leaders of the Church (e.g. Signey [sic] Rigdon, William W. Phelps) prepared seven theological lectures . . . and this material came to be known as the 'Lectures on Faith'" (115). It may be unimportant just who contributed what, or perhaps we will never know exactly, but we are scarcely entitled to such editorial comments as "In the third lecture, Joseph explained . . ." (128). I would prefer to see a statement to the effect that the lectures were very early attributed to Joseph Smith and that, even if he did not actually pen them, he certainly approved of them, and thus they can be taken as statements of his views.

After three numbered excerpts from the Lectures on Faith, we come to sermon number 4, the 1844 King Follett discourse, an amalgamation prepared in 1983 by Donald Q. Cannon and Larry E. Dahl from versions recorded by different scribes.

In the section "Revelations" are sixteen sections from the Doctrine and Covenants in this order: 1, 19, 25, 46, 49, 76, 83, 87, 89, 91, 93, 137, 110, 132 (verses 1–50), and 133. There is one previously unpublished revelation from the collections of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University. One might regret the omission of other possibilities, for example sections 20, 58, 59, and 88, but, in light of space limitations and the facts that the Liberty Jail letters are included in the previous section and sections 65 and 109 appear under "Prayers," the selection deserves high marks. It gives a very good idea of the Prophet's range, versatility, and ability to tap into a source of inspiration beyond the ordinary.

I am especially elated at the decision to include a section entitled "Translations." Scholars working with such materials are

familiar with the predictable catcalls from both sides. From believers with a certain cast of mind comes the criticism that these are translations, thus not *by* Joseph Smith, and therefore not properly included in a selection of his writings. From the other side comes the jeer that these are by no means translations and therefore must be excluded or somehow labeled as spurious. To the credit of both editors, the decision was made to ignore such complaints, decidedly the wise thing to do, for, whatever the process, all of the alleged "translations" passed through the Prophet's mind. The result is one of the richest sections of the book and one that should provide a delightful surprise to those unfamiliar with Joseph Smith. From the Book of Mormon we read 1 Nephi 1 and 11, 2 Nephi 9, and 3 Nephi 11 and 27. From the Pearl of Great Price come Moses 1 and 7 and Abraham 1 and 2. From the Joseph Smith Translation we read Genesis 14 and 50 and Matthew 7 and 24 (also in the Pearl of Great Price). Others might choose differently, but again I think we should credit the editor with intelligent selection.

The bibliography lists under "Latter-day Saint Scriptures" the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, Bible, and Pearl of Great Price, each with a Salt Lake City publication date, and Holy Scriptures, Inspired Version (Joseph Smith Translation), with an Independence, Missouri, publication date. It would be helpful to the novice — we have to remember those who pick up a book like this without any background at all — to indicate at least the date of original publication. The remaining four pages of the bibliography list "Historical and Doctrinal Sources." The "outside" reader will be introduced to many titles not generally known away from the Wasatch Front. I do have to wonder at the thinking that would include Ivan J. Barrett's book on Joseph Smith but omit Donna Hill's. Since Benjamin F. Johnson's letter to George A. Gibbs has been published, we do not need to refer only to a typescript in the Lee Library. William E. McLellin's 1877 letter, apparently not published, should be given a more complete citation indicating its archival location. However, some of these bibliographical details turn up in footnotes.

Realizing the need of all readers, especially those new to the subject, for some framework and for explanation of details, Millet has provided an introduction and numbered endnotes for the individual documents. The notes are relatively few and generally do about what they should.

The fifty-page introduction has its frustrations. Never is the concept of spirituality brought into focus, defined in such a way as to connect it, if only for comparison, to the general Christian (or panreligious) concept. The idealized reminiscences of the Prophet

compiled by Hyrum and Helen Andrus, most of them recorded many years after the fact, are cited without so much as a *soupçon* of their reliability. Sometimes serving as documentation for the thought of Joseph Smith are references, not to the Prophet himself, but to nineteenth- and even twentieth-century Church leaders — as in "Joseph Smith and his successors." We even encounter the practice of referring to the Prophet by his given name, Joseph, jargon among the Saints which is obtrusive in this context. And so on.

But such peccadillos should not obscure an important achievement. The introduction does introduce Joseph Smith by discussing in straightforward fashion the following: backgrounds/ the religious climate, beginnings/Joseph Smith's first vision, the expanding canon, Zion/the quest for the City of God, and (coming closest to the accepted understanding of spirituality) Joseph Smith and devotional life. Parley P. Pratt's ringing proclamation of 1845 finishes the essay: "He has kindled a fire. — We will fan the flame" (55). Remembering the useful references to books and articles in the footnotes, one must confess that this is not a bad achievement. The general reader unfamiliar with Mormon history will learn a good deal about Joseph Smith and Mormonism.

The general series editor, John Farina, is dead right, of course, when he observes that Millet's introduction and notes "are without the kind of critical distance that would facilitate an interpretation of the writings of Joseph Smith" (2). It is to Farina's credit that he recognizes the value of what *is* here. Works with so-called critical distance are already available, and others will continue to appear. What this book does is more fundamental: it provides a platform from which Joseph Smith can make his own statement and an introduction showing how a disciple views him. All too often, dismissive value judgments are pronounced without the basic information here provided.

To reiterate, the publication of this work in a series that will assure its dissemination is a major achievement. All quibbles aside, the Prophet Joseph Smith is here allowed to speak for himself. He was seldom allowed as much during his lifetime. He would not, I think, expect anything more.

ROBERT L. MILLET. *By Grace Are We Saved.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989. viii; 128 pp. $9.95.

Reviewed by Joseph B. Romney, professor of religion and associate director of the honors program at Ricks College.

Few subjects are more significant than that addressed by this book. Anyone who makes a serious attempt to deal with salvation and grace is to be praised. The preface, introduction, and closing testimony clearly express the author's "appreciation for our Lord and for what he has done for mankind" (3) and declare that "because of him, our minds are at peace. Our souls may rest" (111). These quotations provide the theme of the book.

The introduction describes an unsettling encounter between the author and a young lady who failed to appreciate the role of the Savior in the process of repentance. In that encounter, Millet tried to make her understand the significance of Christ in her quest for salvation. The book seems to be an extension of the series of interviews with her and is best understood as the author's personal testimony that the grace of Christ is an essential component of our eternal progress.

The first four chapters emphasize the necessity of grace: salvation is free and grace is required because all have sinned, so we must rely wholly upon the merits of Christ and acknowledge his hand in all things. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 indicate that we must do our share in this process, through repenting, thus allowing our progress from grace to grace, a process that can then lead to justification and sanctification. Chapter 8 asserts that a balance is required between grace and works. The four closing chapters indicate that if we do our part and are blessed with the grace of Christ, we will receive the desires of our hearts; perfection is possible when we draw strength from Christ, and joy will be the result.

The author frequently cites and quotes at length from the standard works as well as from both LDS and non-LDS writers. The book includes a bibliography and index in addition to its 111 pages of text.

Millet indicates that many Latter-day Saints, to whom this book is principally addressed, and others outside of the Church, fail to understand grace and works. He writes that Latter-day Saints often reach conclusions that "not only are unnecessary and theologically misleading, but also are potentially damaging to our spiritual well-being" (vii), and that others are confused and uncertain regarding "the Latter-day Saints' view of Jesus Christ and the work of redemption" (61). I believe this assessment is accurate.

Because this misunderstanding exists and the concepts of salvation and grace have received so much attention both within and without the Church, a successful treatment of them requires especial clarity. Millet's approach appears to be to reach the desired appreciation of Christ and personal peace after understanding the relevant doctrines. The author's personal testimony emerges throughout the book, most expressly in "A Note of Testimony" that concludes the work. Unfortunately, however, the teachings involved are not presented in sufficient clarity to provide a sound doctrinal understanding upon which one can build his or her own personal testimony. Put another way: that the author has a firm testimony of the necessity of the grace of Christ is beyond doubt; that the text provides the basis for a similar testimony for others is doubtful.

In the first place, the broad organization of the book, which I reconstructed earlier in this review, is not readily apparent from the book itself. While the eighth chapter proclaims the essential balance between grace and works, the first chapter announces categorically, "Salvation is Free," and in the first two paragraphs asserts that "salvation, which is exaltation, which is eternal life, is free" (7) and that "free salvation is salvation by grace" (8). On the next page Millet quotes Bruce R. McConkie saying that salvation comes "by grace without works" (9). Taken at their face value, these statements are inconsistent with the assertions in chapter 8 and elsewhere. If a balance is required, it is not clear as the book begins.

These first pages present another difficulty that crops up throughout the text. When a point is being made, the text or supporting material often says things that do not substantiate the point, or at least confuse the issue. For example, the sentence that claims that "salvation is free, freely available, freely to be found" continues, "by those who seek and inquire and obey" (8). The necessity of "works" is thus inserted in the midst of a section making the point that salvation "is by grace without works" (9). And in a section emphasizing the nothingness of man, that "man has no power to transform a fallen soul" (16), Millet quotes passages indicating that one must stand "steadfastly in the faith" and "walk uprightly" (18). The competing claims are not irreconcilable, but the text does not adequately help us make a reconciliation.

Since "grace" is an essential concept, what is meant by it should receive precise attention. If it is a word describing a single concept, that should be explained, or if it encompasses several concepts, they should be described and related. But the book contains at least six diverse statements that appear to be definitions of grace (on pages 4, 8, 72, 74, 94, 100, 105) and numerous uses of the term in contexts where the sense in which it is being used is

unclear. It is not that the various usages are inherently inconsistent, only that the reader is left to make the necessary synthesis without clear guidance from the author.

Closely related to this problem is the challenge presented in explaining and relating many other doctrines and words connected to salvation and grace. The book does devote a chapter each to justification and sanctification, albeit with some of the limitations I am describing. Doctrines of the fall and atonement, and words such as *wholly, free,* and *alone* need attention similar to that given to the word *perfection,* where "finite" and "infinite" perfection are distinguished (84-86), and to the phrase "necessary and sufficient conditions" (70). This latter distinction, found in the chapter on "The Essential Balance," is at the heart of what is being discussed in the book and could well serve as the logical framework for the entire work. But although this analytical tool is appropriately introduced, it is not adequately developed or broadly applied.

The way in which authoritative and illustrative material is used also causes difficulty. A major problem is created by the use of non-LDS sources, including C. S. Lewis, John MacArthur, Leon Morris, and Paul Tillich. If these writers are a source of doctrine, some effort should be made to establish their credibility. The notion that God may inspire people of all creeds throughout the world is introduced to indicate that the divine role should be acknowledged in all things (27), and later to show that "we should not be surprised to find meaningful truths elsewhere in the religious world" (63), but in both cases no direct application is made to the non-LDS sources used in the book. Moreover, any such sources should comport with basic LDS doctrine. For example, although citing C. S. Lewis is quite in vogue these days, I am not certain his orthodoxy is necessarily our orthodoxy. Consider, for example, his claim that "we now need God's help in order to do something which God, in his own nature, never does at all — to surrender, to suffer, to submit, to die. . . . But supposing God became a man — suppose our human nature which can suffer and die was amalgamated with God's nature in one person — then that person could help us" (36).

There are also problems with the use of citations and quotations. First, the form of citations is inconsistent. Express permission to use is cited for some sources and not others; full citations are not always given in first entries, and subsequent references are not uniformly treated. Second, the author quotes from his own earlier works, in one case with inadequate citation to what was his and what was quoted in the earlier writing (105). The whole process of an author quoting himself seems to me to be somewhat presumptuous. I see the model of Elder McConkie, who started his doctrinal library

with the teachings of President Joseph Fielding Smith as a foundation, but in Millet's case the foundation is not laid on a recognized doctrinal authority. Third, the excessive use of quotation entangled with commentary often makes it difficult to follow the intended thought, especially when the quoted material includes extraneous information, as I have mentioned.

The internal consistency of the discussion is damaged by failure to correlate a subject when it appears several times in the text. The same subject may well apply to various topics, but the text often indicates no awareness that the subject has been previously treated, sometimes with the same apparent purpose. For example, the concept that we can retain a remission of sins from day to day appears in a discussion that all have sinned (17-18), in a discussion of justification (46), and in relation to singing a song of redeeming love (106). Each time the same scriptural source is used, but the teaching is presented as if it were being newly introduced to the reader. In another case, the teaching that we must not unduly focus upon ourselves seems to be the theme of both chapters 4 and 11.

In summary, then, Millet's book reflects a strong personal testimony by a devoted disciple of Christ that the Savior plays an indispensable role in our eternal progress. It engenders in the reader a feeling of love for Christ and provides a strong reminder that we must look to him as a necessary condition of our salvation. Parts of the text are helpful for doctrinal understanding, but it fails to present the pertinent teachings in sufficient clarity to be of significant general value.

PARIS ANDERSON. *Waiting for the Flash*. [Orem, Utah]: Scotlin, 1988. 133 pp. $7.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Gladys C. Farmer, an English instructor at Brigham Young University.

Waiting for the Flash, a novella by Paris Anderson, is a mature, engaging look at the LDS mission experience. The story is told through the eyes of Elder Ron Say, a twenty-year-old "tough guy" called to serve in the Mexico Torreon Mission.

The format of the book — daily journal entries — is an approach that wouldn't work for most missionary stories. The ordinary mission primarily contains dull, routine days punctuated only occasionally by memorable highs and lows. The journal format works well here, though, for three reasons. First, Elder Say

is *not* a typical missionary. He abounds in paradoxes: tough, yet gentle; sweet, yet crude; insightful, yet confused; a repentant sinner, yet one who can't forgive himself; a genuinely Christian person, yet one who can't become the idealized straight Mormon missionary. Second, the settings cover three distinct areas, each containing vivid, astute observations and social commentary: the Missionary Training Center in Provo, the California Los Angeles Mission (where the missionaries wait for their visas), and the Mexico Torreon Mission. Finally, Elder Say's mission gets shortened by eight months because of medical problems. One doesn't have to read 730 journal entries! In fact, the least absorbing parts of the book are those few weeks when Elder Say is at peace with himself and his companions and when several investigators are responding well to their message. Although many investigators are mentioned, the reader never gets to know these people well enough to become emotionally involved with them because the focus of this book is Elder Say.

Despite this one-dimensional approach, *Waiting for the Flash* is remarkably compelling. In fact, I enjoyed it as much as any literary piece I have read describing the Mormon missionary experience. I enjoyed its frequent, sometimes raucous humor and appreciated its insights and honesty. The hurt, the pain, the introspection, the hope, the faith, the growth, and the implied judgments of the system are real — and important to understand.

In his prefatory note, Anderson comments that he "wrote this book with the hope of helping readers understand themselves and the foe missionaries face" (iii). I had to ask myself, "What is that foe?" I'm not sure, but as delineated in the book, it could be either external or internal forces. It could be the missionary system itself. The seriousness of the charge to preach the gospel to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people has created a mind-set and a regimentation that causes incredible pressure, frustration, and guilt for any "free spirits" who come to devote two years of their lives to the cause. This predicament is vividly characterized in the difficulties of Elder Say and his friends, who struggle through the MTC unwittingly "break[ing] rules I never even knew existed" and who long to "go somewhere where I couldn't get in trouble for everything I do" (20). Once Elder Say leaves the MTC, he is genuinely surprised to find that his first, "nonconformist" companion is still one of the top baptizers in the mission and marvels that one can have fun and still have success. But such moments of feeling that "it's OK to be human" are quickly negated by the comments and actions of later, more rigid senior companions and mission leaders who make him feel "incompetent and weak" (43).

A second foe could be the self-righteousness and lack of compassion of those involved in the system. At the time of his mental breakdown, Elder Say is fortunate to be with a kind, older companion who is also an experienced social worker. But even this elder doesn't see and appreciate Elder Say's valor until he takes the liberty to read Elder Say's journal.

After his healing and the arrival of his visa, Elder Say finally has the opportunity to proselyte where he had received his call. One day, in Gomez, Mexico, Elder Say and a native companion have a vivid experience of feeling the presence of Satan in one of their tracting areas. With great soberness, Elder Say reflects on the significance of missionary work and begins to understand the intensity of his teachers at the MTC and the driving dedication of a few of the missionaries. He cannot though — and rightfully so — equate this passion with the power hunger and unkindness he sees in many of the missionaries. This book gives a penetrating commentary on missionaries "giddy with their authority" (13) who treat fellow missionaries and contacts alike with a sense of superiority.

Another foe might be the insecurity or impotence in the missionary himself — whether caused by sin, unresolved conflicts, lack of faith, or simply social and emotional deficiencies common to youth. Many missionaries, feeling the heavy weight of their responsibility, try earnestly to get in touch with themselves and the Spirit. Such intense introspection sometimes leaves them, as it does Elder Say, feeling unworthy of God's grace.

An overwhelming message of Mormonism is "by their works ye shall know them," and success in the mission field is usually measured by numbers. It is thus difficult for struggling missionaries like Elder Say to understand that our Savior's love is unconditional, that we are sufficient just as we are, that our love and faith are more important to God than what we have achieved. This truth is one of the important messages of *Waiting for the Flash* and one that applies to more than missionaries. I fear, though, that this book may not reach the audience it merits. In fact, it has the potential of offending many: those who have never served a mission or heard one described in such honest terms, those too far from the experience to remember the pain involved, and those who are too caught up in "looking good" to see the genuineness and value in those who are struggling.

The mission ranks (and the Church) are full of the likes of Elder Say: "human" people trying to mature, repentant sinners trying to stay straight, guilt-laden people trying to accept the message they are teaching. Their actions often belie a genuine love of God and an intense personal struggle to find and serve him. Anderson skillfully and touchingly reminds us of that truth. For this reason alone, *Waiting for the Flash* ought to be read and pondered.

EUGENE ENGLAND and DENNIS CLARK, eds. *Harvest: Contemporary Mormon Poems*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989. 316 pp. $14.95, paperback.

Reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, professor of English and chair of the American Studies program at Brigham Young University.

For the Latter-day Saint who keeps one eye peeled for the Millennium and the other fixed on the encroachments of Babylon, the publication of *Harvest: Contemporary Mormon Poems* is both a satisfaction and a consternation: a satisfying confirmation that many (middle-aged) Latter-day Saint poets are beginning to harvest a literature commensurate with their vision of the Restoration and at least as good as the writing of their Gentile counterparts; and a consternation, a storm warning that at least some (younger) Mormon poets, while achieving significantly as artists, seem to have replaced their Urim and Thummims with self-reflecting spectacles that essentially make these artists no different from other contemporary poets. *Harvest* is nonetheless a significant gleaning and harbinger, the happy result of editorial collaboration of two accomplished LDS poets and scholars. A respectable but bifurcated, two-toned book, *Harvest* gleans the best from fifty-eight poets, including five respected Gentiles and ex-Mormons, "Friends and Relations," whose inclusion underscores the comparatively remarkable accomplishment of Latter-day Saint poets.

The poets included in the first half of the book speak deeply, often movingly, in a variety of voices and visions about life as experienced by men and women deeply rooted in Mormon soil: a *Mormon* (though not institutional) poetry. The other half of the book speaks, also movingly and with similar variety and poetic skill, about human life rooted in a universal soil. Many of these later poems could have been written anywhere in Western culture and raise the question, Why are they included in a collection of *Mormon poems* as opposed to a volume of poems *by* Mormons? The difference is significant for the future of Mormon literature and the future of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Eugene England, primarily responsible for the selection of poems written by poets born between 1901 and 1939 (called, collectively, the "New Tradition"), notes in his editor's comment that contemporary LDS poets

> are generally university-trained, . . . and therefore interested in formal skill and experimentation. . . . Yet, like their Mormon predecessors, they care deeply about ideas and values, even some extremely specific ones that they claim to know through religious

> experience, and they act with energy to communicate those ideas in confidence that they will be understood, at least by fellow Mormons (285).

England rightly asserts (at least about the poets born prior to 1939) that contemporary Mormon poets demonstrate "an unusually healthy integration of skillful form with significant content" (286) and praises Clinton F. Larson as the planter who cultivated a poetry "that was both Mormon and honestly reflective of personal feelings" (287). Thanks to Larson's liberating influence, says England, Mormon poets have written and continue to write "in a diversity of voices, but all of them in their own way Mormon" (288).

England makes no attempt to replow Mormon literary history and begins his selection with three decidedly Mormon poems by Helen Candland Stark, including "Winds (World War II)," published in *The Improvement Era* in 1943. With the inclusion of Stark and Veneta Leatham Nielsen, the editors thus represent and omit such poets of the *Relief Society Magazine* school as Alice Morrey Bailey, Christie Lund Coles, Vesta Pierce Crawford, Zara Sabin, and Ezra T. Poulsen — poets who often wrote well, variously resisting their readers' demands for more message than the post–T. S. Eliot literary world finds comfortable. Uncompromisingly New Critical (and blessedly non–Post Structural), England's selections, like his vision of the universe, are whole and absolute — with beginnings, middles, and ends — though he avoids inclusion of any humorous poetry (such poems are admittedly sparse, but there are some good ones) or any of the late Elder S. Dilworth Young's roughshod and decidedly non–New Tradition gems. Nor does he include even *one* section of *A Certain Testimony*, R. Paul Cracroft's impressive contribution to Mormon letters via the epic — a form into which Elder Orson F. Whitney and Alfred Osmond had ventured earlier but with considerably less success. For these omissions the compilers will have to answer to a Higher Editor.

Nevertheless, the selection is rich and admirably inclusive. The best are there — from Arthur Henry King, Marden J. Clark, Edward L. Hart, Iris Parker Corry, and Clinton F. Larson to Emma Lou Thayne, John S. Harris, Donnell Hunter, Marilyn McMeen Brown, Vernice Wineera Pere, Carol Lynn Pearson, and Sally T. Taylor. The first half of the volume is replete with well-crafted and *Mormon* poems reflecting the vision of men and women who have, in various ways, looked intensely at the world through the eyes of the spirit and attempted, with consummate skill, to communicate the ineffable.

Typical of such efforts is the moving "My Kinsman," by Eugene England (who apologizes needlessly for including his own

verse [and Clark's] in a harvest that his efforts as founding editor of *Dialogue* did so much to prosper), which describes a father, young son by his side, kneeling amidst his southern Idaho crop, and crying to the Lord,

> "Thou art the Prince who holds my heart
> And gives my body power to make.
> The fruit is thine: this wheat, this boy;
> Protect the yield that we may live!"
>
> And fear thrilled me on that hushed ground,
> So that I grew beyond the wheat
> And watched my father take his hold
> On what endures behind the veil.
>
> (78-79)

Reflecting the faith of *a believing people*, then, most of the poems of the New Tradition center, as a Latter-day Saint artist's stewardship should, in a deep-felt awareness of mankind's indebtedness to the redemption freely proffered by Christ and of the power God has granted his children to sanctify themselves by overcoming the world. In such a reality Latter-day Saints live, move, and have their being; it is their meat and drink; and it is this covenant theology that has moved Saints, from 1830 to the present, to flee Babylon, sacrifice the world, and cross the spiritual plains to Zion, forging enroute an evolving latter-day mythos that becomes the soil — not merely a sprayed-on nutrient — for the Latter-day Saint poet.

In replowing the Mormon-Christian myth in the soil that nourished them, Mormon artists use poetry as what Brewster Ghiselin calls "an instrument of knowledge"[1] to confront and render the world. If they are honest, they cannot write otherwise. Aware of the charge to plumb microcosmic truths for macrocosmic Truths, the Mormon poet probes the symbolic in the startling language and images of poetry, creating disciplined, crafted poems that outdo the worldly poets while expressing the innateness and immediacy of the Divine. As Elouise Bell concludes in "This Do in Remembrance of Me," "Every symbol has two halves./ But to us falls the matching" (95).

A far different purpose seems to inform the selections of the second half of the volume, made primarily by Dennis Clark from the works of Mormon poets born after 1939, a selection he entitles "New Directions." In his editor's comment, Clark explains his theoretical differences with coeditor England, differences at least partially responsible for the clear-cut tonal bifurcation of the volume. Addressing the tired, head-in-sand question, "Is there a Mormon poetry?" (instead of the more pertinent question, "*What* is a Mormon poem?"), Clark poses another question, "Is there a

Mormon audience for poetry?" (289). Then he reveals his own rooting in the humus of recondite and not-very-fertile Structuralism (he evokes the neuroanatomical arguments of Frederick Turner and Ernst Pöppel and the work on syntactical subordination by Noam Chomsky), by claiming that "*the audience of a poem determines, to a greater extent than its author, what a poem means*" (291; Clark's italics). Most important to such audiences, he insists, is not the *irrelevant message* of the poem, but its *sounds*. Thus he insists, with more than a touch of dogmatism, "The only criterion of less value to me than subject matter in determining the quality of a poem is message, and the two are wed" (291). The result of Clark's standpoint is the confession — in a book subtitled *Contemporary Mormon Poems* — that "not all" of the poems he has selected are "related to Mormon experience" (290).

In fact, the poems Clark has selected as representative of New Directions in Mormon poetry (some of them, I would suspect, over England's raised eyebrows) seem to spring less from the spiritual and mythic roots of Mormonism than from the self-fascination of much contemporary poetry. Thus we read, deeply moved, Margaret Rampton Munk's universally appealing, well-honed lines as she unblinkingly charts her course toward death from cancer — but they are certainly not a *Mormon* response to life and death. Neither is Kathy Evans's beautiful revery, "Midnight Reassembled," rooted in the Mormon ethos in any way that I can discern:

> Somewhere, out there
> in the immensity of night
> a swan glides across
> the surface of its own image,
> wings touching wings on the water.
> We touch the world this way.
>
> (172)

Indeed, we find only occasionally among the poets born after 1939 that distinctively Latter-day Saint voice, the sensibility of the believing poet. Whether it is because Clark has "privileged" the poems because of their sound or because they reflect a faltering spiritual vision among younger Mormon poets, these poems are testimonials to how the educated modern Mormon poet has assimilated the secular culture and modes of poetry, repressing and replacing soaring spirituality with earth-bound humanism.

Fortunately, there are notable exceptions, making it possible to hope that Clark's criteria for selection may have distorted the representativeness of the poems selected. Linda Sillitoe, for example, is represented not only by several decidedly non-LDS poems, but also by "Song of Creation," lovely, feminist lines about

the Mother and the Father sharing in the creation of the world; and by "Letter to a four-year-old daughter," about a child's discovery of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. And there is rich spiritual depth in Randall L. Hall's "Passover: A Mirrored Epiphany," in which the Christ, on the cross, suddenly realizes a truth that "Took his breath, / Stunned Him suddenly with knowledge" that "the blood / Once painted on the lintels and the door posts / Was his own" (183). We are similarly moved by Colin B. Douglas's sweet canticles, "Take, Eat," and his "Adoni: Cover Me with Thy Robe"; by the back-handed evocation of Mormonness in Karen Marguerite Moloney's refreshing, "The Truant Officer Recalls Sweet Maggie" (about an ex-wife whose Mormon perfections intimidate her puzzled Gentile husband); by Bruce W. Jorgensen's quatrain, "Weight of Glory," and his moving folk-ballad about Joseph Smith, "The Light Come Down." All of these speak humanly from spiritual roots. But more typical of these poets, when they begin to approach Mormon subjects, is Lance Larsen's "Passing the Sacrament at Eastgate Nursing Home," a portrayal of routine and sterile Aaronic Priesthood service in which the sacred ritual never rises beyond the "bikini splendor, of the Hunsaker twins" or "the lady in 243 who wore her breasts at her waist" (237). There is no hint of transcendence or greening spirituality; it is a competent, earth-bound (non-Mormon) poem.

Despite — or perhaps because of — the questions this volume raises about the nature of contemporary Mormon poetry as a spiritual thermometer of a people, *Harvest* should lie, dog-eared, on every reading Mormon's nightstand. Virtually all of the poems would compare favorably with anyone's selection of modern poems. Many of them go beyond — to reveal a balance of spiritual vision and painstaking craftsmanship that portrays an admirable present literary reality and the promise of a distinctive, distinguished, and *Mormon* art in which faithful stewards of the word achieve an artistry based in vision and "*achieve vision through artistry*," as Bruce W. Jorgensen has written, while "we fulfill our innate godhood through the discipline of experience."[2]

NOTES

[1]Brewster Ghiselin, Foreword to *Modern Poetry of Western America*, eds. Clinton F. Larson and William Stafford (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), xvii.

[2]Bruce W. Jorgensen, "Imperceptive Hands: Some Recent Mormon Verse," *Dialogue* 5 (Winter 1970): 34. (Italics in original.)

EMMA LOU THAYNE. *As for Me and My House*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989. xii; 115 pp. $8.95.

Reviewed by Lowell L. Bennion, retired, formerly director of the Salt Lake LDS Institute of Religion, associate dean of students and professor of sociology at the University of Utah, and executive director of the Community Services Council.

A more accurate title for this interesting book would be its subtitle, *Meditations on Living and Loving*. The primary emphasis is not on the house or housekeeping but on the people who lived in the house and on their relationships.

Emma Lou's mother, Grace Richards Warner, was a meticulous housekeeper who trained her only daughter well and without a distaste for cleaning, dusting, and washing. Housekeeping in fact has been a pleasure to the author throughout the years but not a major preoccupation. She learned from her mother to do things well, to clean up the kitchen as she prepared dinner, to drop everything to meet a crisis in the house, and to do the dishes after the party, no matter what the hour or state of fatigue.

The reader will not find in this book any systematic guides to housekeeping or homemaking. The book is a collection of sixteen short essays on living that grew out of family experience. They are stimulating, authentic, born of reflection on what is important in life. References to the house are there to illustrate human values.

The author enjoyed a happy family life as a child. She loved her mother and Grandmother Richards, who lived with the Warners for fifteen years. A great lover of books, her grandmother stimulated Emma Lou's interest in reading and writing as well as developed a warm relationship. Her father, Homer "Pug" Warner, loved sports, coached basketball, and promoted sports in schools and in the Church. He was a happy person and created a very positive view of life. Emma Lou had three brothers with whom she has maintained pleasant and meaningful relationships through the years. Growing up with her father and brothers, she developed a keen interest and participation in sports, particularly in tennis and skiing. Because of these warm family relationships, she gladly helped her mother meet the tangible needs of the male members of the family.

In her book, we see how she has coped with life, how she has responded to its joys and tragedies. Her reporting is not didactic, logical, or moralizing. Instead she relates her experience and leaves it to the reader to evaluate and draw conclusions. She draws a vivid picture of how one thoughtful, sensitive person views and shapes the human scene.

Emma Lou and her husband, Mel Thayne, had five daughters to whom they were devoted. When the youngest was in school full time,

Emma Lou fulfilled a dream and a plan by returning to the University of Utah to study creative writing, but she has maintained a close relationship with her daughters by cultivating traditions. Every Thursday, she has met with those in town for lunch. Every year she and they have gone away somewhere for four or five days — away from husbands and children to renew their relationship with each other. Our author has developed a similar tradition with her grandchildren. On his or her birthday, Grandma has a date with each one, goes shopping, buys an unusual present, and develops rapport.

Relationships come first with Emma Lou. They reach through the family to friends and to people everywhere. On a tour in Russia, she made friends with a Russian teacher of English and arranged for her to come to the University of Utah, stay in their home, and experience American hospitality. In her forties, Emma Lou decided "ultimately the thing I really have to give is a happy person, not as a mood but as a mode, to make me someone eligible for someone else's wanting to be with — or hear from" (46).

While lying in the hospital for thirty-one days after a back operation, unable to read or write or think clearly, she discovered one value that had been missing in her life: a person's need for privacy, solitude, time for meditation. It had been absent from the rich life of work and love which she enjoyed with Mel and the girls. She talked things over with her family, and they agreed that she should take Wednesday day and evening for herself, leave home, do as she pleased, and leave her husband and daughters to themselves. This arrangement was not easy to carry out but gave balance to her life. She studied creative writing and began as never before to write creatively. Without neglecting her family but with new insights to share as a student along with her daughters, she found life became even more exciting. Between her study, her Wednesday evenings alone, and her love at home, she became the happy, vibrant person she is and has been for a long time.

As for Me and My House is the unique account of a person who has learned to accept herself, to rejoice in countless experiences of life, even difficult and tragic ones, to write vividly and originally, and to savor her relations with family, friends, and humankind. It illustrates how a person can live a full intellectual and public life without sacrificing loving relations at home. Her book I commend to fathers and mothers and anyone who would like to review his or her own life anew.

Wyoming

Rain insisted at the edges of the cloth flapping
At the hungry ribs. The trail passed through the swollen
Wagon howling at its exit like a half-born child.
Wet, brown calico glued the woman
To the wooden seat, her neck a blue vase,
Thin, delft. Her baby was a troubled poem
Sleeping on the floor. She felt like rain, she was
Becoming drops of water, the drops were streaming
Through her flesh. Oxen held the water
On contracting backs. She felt the left front
Wheel slip on wet rock she'd seen
Glistening ahead. The left rear hoof
Of the left ox slipped on the rounded edge
Of the rock and his haunches dropped as the hoof scraped
Down the glinting surface. The baby cried.

[In this space there are no words,
Only wind and rain and edges,
An infinity of edges, of planes
That overlap and slide across each other.
They are the color of the desert.]

And then the world stopped.
The rocks beneath the wheels softened then disappeared.
The wagon became a boat on smooth water
As the falling ox floated up then forward.

She felt her milk come in,
Felt the hard fullness contract,
Felt the milk mix with rainwater
In the fabric of her brown dress.
The rain running through her slowed then stopped
As her flesh came together.

She drug her wet skirt over the seat
Into the back of the wagon.
She unbuttoned the backwards dress
And the baby climbed into her lap.

II

The night before, they'd stopped the wagons early.
She'd unyoked the oxen, washed clothes,
And eaten breakfast biscuits.
She and the baby had gone to bed in the wagon box
While hunched clouds simmered in the west.
Now morning light rubbed their fretted surface,
Fabric on a washboard.
Yellow clover, newer for the rain,
Fed on ground assumed by other wheels.
She held the baby on her lap
And pulled the smooth black shoe.
She hooked the five buttons,
The baby's flesh crowning
The top of the shoe at the final closure.
They stood.
She had never felt so tall.
Not even the mountains were taller.

—Kathryn R. Ashworth

The Hardy Lectureship

ANNOUNCEMENT AND CALL FOR PAPERS

The Department of Psychology at Brigham Young University announces the establishment of the Hardy Lectureship in LDS perspectives and the behavioral sciences. It invites papers to be submitted for the first lectureship, to be given October 16, 1990. The lectureship is designed

(1) to promote scholarly efforts to shed light on harmonies between the teachings of the restored gospel and the research findings or perspectives of the behavioral sciences, especially psychology

(2) to report on the use of methods and concepts from the behavioral sciences as a tool to further the mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

(3) to explore the implications of gospel truths about humankind for understanding and ameliorating the human condition and human life.

The endowment of the lectureship is provided by Kenneth and Mary Hardy. It is rooted in the faith that there is a set of truths about humankind represented in the gospel, only partially understood at present; that the behavioral sciences also gradually approach some of those same truths; and that ultimately there will be a rapprochement between the two sets of concepts leading to a unified understanding of the Truth. The lectureship seeks to facilitate the process toward that rapprochement.

The awards committee solicits papers which would serve as the basis for the lecture. The deadline for submission of such papers is September 1, 1990. Announcement of the lecturer will be given by September 15, 1990, for whom there will be an honorarium.

Papers should be submitted to

The chairman, Department of Psychology, Brigham Young University, 1001 SWKT, Provo, Utah, 84602, (801) 378-4287, who will also answer inquiries about the lectureship.

BYU Studies
Brigham Young University
1102 JKHB
Provo, Utah 84602

COURTESY G.B. PETERSON, PHOTOGEOGRAPHICS

A TYPICAL NAUVOO-STYLE HOUSE BUILT ABOUT 1865 IN SPRING CITY, UTAH. HOME OF ORSON AND MARY ANN HYDE, THE BUILDING HAS GREEK REVIVAL DETAILING IN THE PORCH.