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Contents

EDITORIAL

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Editor

It is with great pleasure that I open another issue of the *International Journal of Mormon Studies* (IJMS). With its aim of being an internationally focussed journal of Mormonism, this issue brings together a combination of scholars from different parts of the world and academic disciplines. Drawn from Mormon and non-Mormon perspectives, the articles herein provide an interesting insight to aspects of international Mormonism, encouraging further attention and examination. Following on from the successful *European Mormon Studies Association* (EMSA) conference in Finland (2008) we have published here many of those papers that were presented during that conference.

As we look forward to the EMSA conference in Torino, Italy, it is an increasingly exciting time to see the scholarly study of Mormonism continue to expand into the international arena, not only from established scholars, but also up-and-coming scholars of different disciplines and nationalities.

JOSEPH SMITH AS A CREATIVE INTERPRETER OF THE BIBLE

Heikki Räisänen

My involvement in biblical studies has also awakened in me an interest in other holy books. Early on I had the opportunity to do some work on the Qur'an, a fascinating combination of things familiar and unfamiliar for a biblical scholar. I had a vague hunch that, in a somewhat similar way, the Book of Mormon might make exciting reading, but a contact with that book and its study came to be established quite accidentally. During a sabbatical in Tübingen in the early eighties I came across a review of the volume *Reflections on Mormonism: Judeo-Christian Parallels*, edited by Truman G. Madsen, which had appeared in 1978.[1] I got hold of the book in the wonderful University library, started reading, and after a while found myself engaged in a modest investigation of my own of Joseph Smith's legacy.[2] In this talk I shall try to explain what it is that fascinates me in this legacy as a biblical scholar (as an outsider both to Mormonism and to the study of Mormonism).

Reflections on Mormonism consists of papers given by top theologians of the mainstream churches at a conference held at Brigham Young University. From an exegetical point of view, I found most fascinating the contribution of Krister Stendahl, a leading New Testament scholar who passed away just a few months ago. In an article that anyone interested in our topic should read he compares Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew with its counterpart in the Book

[1] Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.

[2] See H. Räisänen, "Joseph Smith und die Bibel. Die Leistung des mormonischen Propheten in neuer Beleuchtung", *ThLZ*, vol. 109 (1984), 81–92 and idem., "A Bible-Believer Improves the Bible: Joseph Smith's Contribution to Exegesis" in H. Räisänen, *Marcion, Muhammad and the Mahatma: Exegetical Perspectives on the Encounter of Cultures and Faiths* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 153–169.

of Mormon.[3] In 3 Nephi the risen Jesus preaches to the Nephites in America a sermon which is largely similar to Matthew 5–7. Stendahl applies to the 3 Nephi sermon the redaction-critical method developed in biblical studies: he compares it with the Sermon on the Mount in the King James Version (KJV; the translation of the Bible known to Joseph Smith and his environment) and points out new emphases found in the Book of Mormon account.

Matthew and 3 Nephi

The Sermon on the Mount opens with a series of 'beatitudes': blessed are the poor in spirit, blessed are they that mourn, etc. The 3 Nephi sermon does so, too, but it starts with 'extra' beatitudes not found in Matthew. In them, the significance of faith (and baptism) is stressed: 'blessed are ye if ye shall believe in me and be baptised... more blessed are they who believe in your words...' (3 Nephi 12:1–2). In Matthew's sermon there is no talk about faith in Jesus and in his words.

Another characteristic enlargement is the addition to Matt 5:6 (3 Nephi 12:6). The Gospel of Matthew in the KJV here reads: 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.' 3 Nephi adds: they shall be filled 'with the Holy Ghost'.

Stendahl points out that amplifications of this kind are well known from the early history of the Bible. They are formally similar to changes made to the biblical texts in the Targums, the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible. They are also comparable to the recasting of biblical material in what is called pseudepigrahic literature (works later written in the name of biblical characters which did not become part of the Bible itself, e.g., the books of Enoch). Stendahl writes: 'The targumic tendencies are those of clarifying and actualizing translations, usually by expansion and more specific application to the need and situation of the community. The pseudepigraphic ... tend to fill out the

[3] "The Sermon on the Mount and Third Nephi", in Madsen (ed.), *Reflections on Mormonism*, 139–154; reprinted in K. Stendahl, *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 99–113.

gaps in our knowledge ... the Book of Mormon stands within both of these traditions if considered as a phenomenon of religious texts.'[4]

In terms of content, the additions to the Sermon on the Mount in 3 Nephi could be labelled Christianising or spiritualising. To be more precise, the 3 Nephi sermon with its tendency to centre upon faith in Jesus gives Matthew's sermon a Johannine stamp. (On the whole in Matthew, Jesus presents a religio-ethical message about the Kingdom of Heaven which includes a reinterpretation of the Jewish Torah, whereas in the Gospel of John he himself stands in the centre of his own message.) Elsewhere in 3 Nephi, too, the image of Jesus 'is that of a Revealer, stressing faith "in me" rather than what is right according to God's will'.[5] Indeed the sermon in question is followed in 3 Nephi by speeches which take up themes known from the Gospel of John (3 Nephi 15–16).[6]

A redaction-critical analysis of the Book of Mormon thus produces a major surprise to a conventional mainstream-Christian mind: it reveals that 3 Nephi is at central points 'more Christian' than is the Sermon in Matthew - more Christian, that is, if conventional doctrinal theology of the mainstream churches is taken as a criterion of what is 'Christian'. Both in standard Christian proclamation and in the 3 Nephi sermon the person of Jesus acquires a salvific significance which it lacks in Matthew's sermon - and largely in the gospel of Matthew as a whole, where the main function of Jesus seems to be 'to make possible a life in obedience to God'.[7] From a mainstream Christian point of view, there is nothing peculiar in the fact that the Sermon on the Mount is viewed through Johannine spectacles. On the contrary, the Book of Mormon is quite conventional at this point. For it has been typical of doctrinal Christian thought at large to interpret the Synoptic Gospels

[4] Stendahl, "Sermon", 152.
[5] Stendahl, "Sermon", 151.
[6] Cf. D.J. Davies, *An Introduction to Mormonism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 47.
[7] Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven*: A Study on the Structure of Matthew's View' of Salvation, WUNT/2 101 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 285.

(Matthew, Mark and Luke) from a Johannine (or Pauline) point of view. But whereas others have been content to explain the Sermon on the Mount from an Christological view-point extraneous to the Sermon itself, the Book of Mormon includes the explanations within the Sermon.

As was already mentioned, precedents for this way of handling biblical texts are found in the Targums and in the Pseudepigrapha. Not just there, however. We should go further and note that the alteration of earlier texts, often for theological reasons, is a common phenomenon even in the processes which led to the birth of biblical books themselves. Stendahl referred in passing to the retelling of the historical accounts of the books of Samuel and Kings in the books of Chronicles as 'a kind of parallel to what is going on in the Book of Mormon';[8] the stories are retold in what may be called in a more pious key. One could also point to the astonishing freedom with which Paul interferes with the wording of his Bible (our 'Old Testament') when he quotes it (in more than half of the cases he makes changes that make the text better suit his argument).[9]

The spiritualising of Matthew 5:6 in the Book of Mormon actually continues a development which started within the New Testament itself. For it seems that the Gospel of Luke has preserved an earlier form of the saying (presumably from a lost collection of Jesus' sayings which scholars call the Sayings Source or 'Q'). Luke writes in his Sermon on the Plain (which is his counterpart to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount): 'Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled' (Luke 6:21 according to the KJV). A saying which here speaks of actual hunger of the stomach is given a religious-ethical content by Matthew, when he lets Jesus here speak of hunger (and thirst) 'after righteousness' (in Matthew, 'righteousness' is a term which refers to humans' doing of God's will). The Book of Mormon continues this development, moving fur-

[8] Stendahl, "Sermon", 145.

[9] D-A. Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus, BHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 186–90.

ther in a 'spiritual' direction: ye shall be filled 'with the Holy Ghost'. Stendahl commented that 'there is nothing wrong in that; it is our common Christian tradition and experience to widen and deepen the meaning of holy words'.[10]

Joseph's Starting-Point

Conventional Christian theology has blamed Joseph Smith for falsifying Jesus' words to fit his own theology. This criticism is patently biased, for biblical writers themselves proceed in just the same way when using each other's works, even in reinterpreting Jesus' words. This happens in the Synoptic Gospels (we saw how Matthew spiritualises a saying which is found in a different form in Luke); it happens on a much larger scale in the Gospel of John, where Jesus speaks in a manner quite different from the Synoptics (both in terms of form and of content). But the reinterpretation of sacred tradition in new situations by biblical authors took place at a stage when the texts had not yet been canonised. The New Testament authors did not know that they were writing books (or letters) which would one day be part of a holy scripture comparable to and even superior to their Bible (our 'Old Testament') in authority. When the writings of Matthew, Luke or Paul had reached that kind of position, they could, in principle, no longer be altered. The adjustment to new situations and sensibilities had to take place by way of interpreting the texts, in many cases by twisting their 'natural' meaning. I say 'in principle', for before the inventing of the printing press, when the texts were manually copied by scribes, the practice was different: it often happened that 'where the scribe found the sacred text saying something unworthy of deity, he knew it was wrong and proceeded to correct it as well as he could'.[11] A mediating position, as it were, between preserving the text and changing it, is taken by an-

[10] Stendahl, "Sermon", 154.

[11] E.C. Colwell, *The Study of the Bible*, rev. ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 55.

notated Bibles such as the Geneva Bible[12] from the sixteenth century or the Scofield Reference Bible[13] from the early twentieth century; these translations are provided with a wealth of marginal notes that guide the reader and easily come to share the authority of the text proper in his or her mind. Joseph Smith stands in this tradition, but he treats the sacred texts in a more radical manner.

In his fascinating book Mormons and the Bible, Philip Barlow describes the 'Bible-impregnated atmosphere' in which Mormonism was born as follows: 'Joseph Smith grew up in a Bible-drenched society, and he showed it ... He shared his era's assumptions about the literality, historicity and inspiration of the Bible.' But 'he differed from his evangelical contemporaries in that he found the unaided Bible an inadequate religious compass'. Instead of turning to scholarly or ecclesiastical authority to address this lack, he 'produced more scripture - scripture that at once challenged yet reinforced biblical authority, and that echoed biblical themes, interpreted biblical passages, shared biblical content, corrected biblical errors, filled biblical gaps ...'[14] One may call him a Bible-believer who wanted to improve the Bible.[15]

The Bible had been praised in the Protestant churches as the sole norm for Christian faith and life. In practice this did not work too well. Many a reader could not help noting that the Bible was sometimes self-contradictory and could lend support to mutually exclusive practices and doctrines, and indeed the Protestant decision to give the Bible into the hands of lay readers in their own language soon caused split after

[12] See Chr. Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 56–63.

[13] J. Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 191.

[14] L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of Latter-Day Saints in American Religion* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 11–12. See further R. L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 84–108 ("A New Bible").

[15] Cf. T.L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 191: 'Apparently Joseph was not speaking entirely tongue in cheek when he wrote, in response to the question "wherein do you differ from other sects?", that "we believe the Bible."'

split even within Protestantism itself. Moreover, the Bible contained some features that were theologically or ethically problematic. Joseph Smith stood up to defend the biblical message and the biblical God, perhaps against Deist critics like Tom Paine, but probably just as much to silence the doubts arising in the minds of devout Bible-readers (like himself). In a good Protestant fashion, Joseph Smith thought that, in the Bible, God had provided humans with his infallible Word. Since, however, there are undoubtedly mistakes and shortcomings in our Bible, Joseph inferred that at some point the book must have been corrupted in the hands of its transmitters. In its original form the Bible must have been blameless.

In a similar way Muslims have claimed that Jews and Christians have corrupted the text of the books which they had received through their prophets and messengers, with the result that the Bible no longer fully conforms to the original message now restored by the Qur'an; some early Christians had blamed Jewish scribes for cutting out prophecies about Jesus from their Bible. Interestingly, a related idea occasionally surfaces even in modern evangelical fundamentalism, when no other way to eliminate a problem seems to exist: it is reluctantly admitted that the extant copies of the Bible do contain an error, but then the original manuscript (which is, of course, no longer available) must have been different.[16]

Some scholars insist that discussion of the original 'autographs' was commonplace in religious literature in Smith's time.[17] But Joseph Smith made the necessary textual changes openly. What the Bible ought to look like according to him is shown by the Book of Mormon, which repeats more or less freely large parts of the Bible, as well as Smith's subsequent 'translation' of the Bible, sometimes called the 'Inspired Version'.[18]

[16] See Barr, *Fundamentalism*, 279–84.

[17] Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 54 n. 29.

[18] The work was so named in 1936 by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints who had first published it in 1867. See R.J. Matthews, 'A

Joseph Smith's 'Translation of the Bible': The 'Inspired Version'

The little known Inspired Version (IV) is a most interesting document from the point of view of a biblical scholar. Smith was probably aware that others were trying to improve the Bible (by way of modernising its language, paraphrasing it and paying attention to alternative readings in ancient manuscripts).[19] He set out to do the same – yet not by way of meticulous study but through revelation, or prophetic insight. In this project he worked closely together with Sidney Rigdon, a former Baptist minister, who was far more versed in the Bible and is assumed to have influenced him a great deal.[20]

Although the IV has not functioned as scripture in the Mormon church, it is an important and interesting source for someone who wants to get a picture of Joseph Smith as a 'biblical critic'. His changes show how much there was in the Bible that caused difficulties for a simple believer. His point of departure is the inerrancy of God's word: revelation cannot be contradictory, not even in small details. Thus, when Joseph Smith notes contradictions, he eliminates them. Many of his actual devices are familiar from the arsenal of today's evangelicalism.[21] The difference is that where evangelical commentators resort to harmonizing exegesis or other kinds of expository acrobatics, the IV alters the text itself.

I should perhaps mention at this point that my way of speaking of the IV as a work reflecting the thought of Joseph Smith conforms to the language used by Philip Barlow, a Mormon scholar. His approach differs strikingly from that of some earlier studies which try to describe, resorting to rather complicated hermeneutics, the IV as a real transla-

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Plainer Translation'. Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and a Commentary, 3rd ed. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), esp. 168–70.

[19] Barlow, Mormons and the Bible, 47.

[20] Davies, *Introduction*, 43.

[21] I have not investigated the matter but can imagine that many of them may also have been known to and used by American preachers of the early nineteenth century. Had Joseph heard preachers explain away contradictions between the gospels in the way he was to do in the IV? Did Sidney Rigdon perhaps call his attention to such problems and their current solutions?

tion.[22] By contrast, Barlow interprets the IV in redaction-critical terms as a product of Smith's creative interpretation, based on his prophetic consciousness. Barlow rightly finds a close analogy to Smith's 'prophetic license' in the work of biblical writers.[23]

Examples

A wealth of examples of Joseph Smith's innovations is presented by Robert Matthews in his magisterial study of the IV.[24] I repeat some of his observations, but discuss them from a somewhat different perspective; I also add examples not adduced by Matthews.

How did Judas Iscariot die? The statement 'he hanged himself' of the KJV (Matt 27:5, IV Matt 27:6) is expanded in the IV: 'on a tree. And straightway he fell down, and his bowels gushed out, and he died.' Thus the account is brought (more or less) into harmony with Acts 1:18 which says nothing about a suicide through hanging himself, but states that Judas 'purchased a field ... and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out'. The same explanation is found in evangelical commentaries even today, for instance as follows: 'If he hanged himself from a tree located on a high cliff, above a valley, and if then the rope broke and the traitor fell on rocky ground, the result could very well have been as pictured in the book of Acts'.[25]

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[22] Notably Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 233–53.

[23] Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 57–61, esp. 60f. The reader will have noticed that I deal with the *Book of Mormon* in similar terms. I thereby side with those 'particularly liberal Latter Day Saints' referred to by Davies, *Introduction*, 64; cf. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 174–84 (who is critical of such 'innovative attempts'). See further Räisänen, *Marcion*, 167–69.

[24] Matthews, *Plainer Translation*, 285–389. An invaluable tool for purposes of comparison is *Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible*, with Introduction by F. H. Edwards (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1970) which offers 'a complete parallel column comparison of the Inspired Version of the Holy Scriptures and the King James Authorized Version'.

[25] W. Hendriksen, New Testament Commentary: Exposition of the Gospel according to Matthew (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 949–50. Cf. Matthews, A Plainer Translation, 304.

The number of angels at Jesus' tomb is not the same in all Gospels: a second angel (as in Luke 24:4 and John 20:12) is introduced into the narratives of Mark (16:3 IV) and Matthew (28:2) as well.[26] However, Smith has more devices at his disposal than a modern evangelical expositor. The latter must show that no extant version is wrong; when numbers differ, he must choose the highest one. When Matthew (8:28) mentions two healed demoniacs and Mark (5:2) just one, Mark too must be thinking of two, though he does not care to mention both.[27] By contrast, Joseph Smith has removed the second demoniac from Matthew's story (Matt 8:29–35 IV); both Matthew and Mark now speak of one healed person. In a similar way Smith has removed the ass from Matt 21:2 and 7 (Matt 21:2, 5 IV) so that Jesus now rides to Jerusalem on one animal only (the colt) as in Mark 11:2, 7 (whereas he according to the Greek text of Matt 21 rides both on an ass and on a colt!).[28] The synoptic gospels mention that two thieves were crucified along with Jesus. But while Mark (15:32) and Matthew (27:44) tell us that both of them joined those who mocked Jesus for not being able to help himself, Luke (23:40–43) gives a different account: one joined the mockers, but the other blamed him, said that Jesus was innocent and

[26] Cf. Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 305–06. By contrast, Joseph Smith does not touch the problem of the divergent accounts of the various women at the tomb which caused much headache already to the church fathers; see H. Merkel, *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien: Ihre polemische und apologetische Behandlung in der Alten Kirche bis zu Augustin*, WUNT 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 108, 141.

[27] Thus already Origen; see Merkel, *Widersprüche*, 102–103.

[28] This oddity is obviously a result of Matthew's misunderstanding of Zechariah 9:9, a text which he quotes in 21:5 (21:4 IV). The prophet states that the king of 'daughter Sion' will come 'sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass'. Undoubtedly the original text of Zechariah has only one animal in view; the mention of the 'colt' in addition to the 'ass' is a typical feature of Hebrew poetry (*parallelismus membrorum*). Matthew has taken the 'doubling' of the ass literally; in order to make the fulfilment correspond completely to the prediction, he lets Jesus use both the ass and the colt (however one may visualise this). It seems that Joseph Smith has understood the nature of the poetic parallelism, for he lets the mention of both animals stand in the quotation (Matt 21:4 IV) while removing the ass from the narrative.

asked Jesus to remember him when coming into his kingdom. Joseph Smith introduces the penitent thief from Luke into Matthew's account, too, well (Matt 27:47–48 IV) and harmonises Mark's narrative with that of Luke by stating that 'one of them who was crucified with him, reviled him' (Mark 15:37 IV).

Problems of this sort (and also many of the solutions suggested) were well known already to the church fathers of the third and fourth century who were bothered by them, since they threatened the faith of some. To remove the slightest chance of contradiction, Origen even suggested (as a possibility) that there may have been four thieves crucified with Jesus (two of them mentioned by Matthew and Mark and the other two by Luke)![29]

The statement in Matt 23:2 'all therefore whatsoever they [the scribes and the Pharisees, v. 1] bid you observe, that observe and do' seems to contradict a number of other gospel passages: why should Pharisaic ordinances be obeyed by the followers of Jesus? Joseph Smith makes an insertion that removes the problem: 'all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, they will make you observe and do'.

A more serious (notorious) exegetical and theological problem is posed by the different statements on sinning Christians in 1 John. In 2:1 the author states: 'these things I write unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate …' Yet in 3:9 he claims that 'whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him and he cannot sin …' So can a Christian sin or not? Joseph Smith removes the contradiction. In his version 1 John 2:1 reads: 'if any man sin and repent…'. And rather than claiming that a Christian cannot sin, 3:9 states that 'whosoever is born of God doth not continue in sin; for the Spirit of God remaineth in him …' The picture is now coherent, and it conforms to the traditional picture of Christian life.

There is an intriguing difference between the Old Testament and the Gospel of John. John (1:19) claims that 'no man hath seen God at any time'. But in the Old Testament Moses is allowed to see God, if only his 'back parts' (Ex 33:23), and quite a few other biblical persons

[29] Merkel, *Widersprüche*, 107–108.

are reported to have seen God as well.[30] The IV takes seriously the Exodus account (and perhaps Joseph's own vision of God and Jesus)[31] and enlarges the sentence in John's Gospel: 'no man hath seen God at any time except he hath borne record of the Son'.[32]

The use of the divine names in the Pentateuch (the five books of Moses) was one of the reasons which once led historical critics to formulate a famous source theory: in the Pentateuch different narratives (which deal differently with God's names) are woven together into one single story. In the story as it stands, the name Yahweh is first revealed in Ex 6:3: God says that he has appeared to the patriarchs 'by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them' (KJV). Nevertheless humans have used the name JEHOVAH/Yahweh in Genesis narratives already. In the IV the problem is cleverly solved through a slight change in wording in that the end of the verse is turned into a rhetorical question: I appeared 'as God Almighty, the Lord JEHOVAH. And was not my name known unto them?'[33]

The imminent expectation of the end by the early Christians and even by Jesus himself has always been a problem for conservative exegesis. Here too Smith presents an interpretation which, in its intentions, agrees with evangelical exegesis. Once again the difference is that he does not resort to expository acrobatics, which many evangelical commentators do, but frankly changes the difficult texts themselves. In the IV Paul does not claim that 'we' are still alive when the Lord comes, but that they who are alive shall not 'prevent' (i.e., precede) those who are asleep (1 Thess 4:15). 1 Cor 7:29 does not announce that 'the time is short': it says that 'the time that remaineth is but short, that ye shall be sent forth unto the ministry'. Hebrews 9:26 does not claim that Jesus

[30] The patriarchs, the seventy elders of Israel in Moses' time, etc. For a list see Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 302.
[31] Cf. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 52.
[32] Joseph Smith is very alert on this issue, for he has made similar corrections to 1 John 4:12 and 1 Tim 6:15–16 as well. See Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 302.
[33] Cf. Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 309–10.

has appeared 'in the end of the world' but 'in the meridian of time'. The statement 'this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled' (Matt 24:34) is expanded as follows (Matt 24:35 IV): 'This generation in which these things shall be shown forth, shall not pass away, until all I have told you shall be fulfilled.' Correspondingly, it is not 'ye' (the disciples listening to Jesus, verse 33 in KJV) who shall 'see all these things', but 'mine elect' (verse 42 in IV). It is made clear that Jesus knew that the disciples will no longer be alive when the last things begin to happen.[34]

Alterations are also made where the implied notion of God seems offensive. As the Deists had made clear, God does not repent (if he did, he would hardly be God). But in the opening of the Flood story in KJV 'it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth' (Gen 6:6–7). In the IV (8:13) it is, by contrast, Noah who repented that the Lord had created man. The statement 'it repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king' (KJV) is replaced with 'I have set up Saul to be a king and he repenteth not …' (1 Sam 15:11). Nor does God do bad things. 1 Sam 16:14 claims that 'an evil spirit from the LORD' troubled Saul; in the IV, however, Saul is troubled by 'an evil spirit which was not of the Lord'. In the IV God never hardens the heart of the Pharaoh either; it is always the Pharaoh himself who hardens his own heart (e.g. Ex 10.1, 20, 27; in the KJV it is now God,[35] now the Pharaoh[36] who is the subject of the hardening). In Acts 13:48 the KJV states that, as a result of Paul's preaching, 'as many as were ordained to eternal life believed'; the IV changes the order of the verbs and thus removes the embarrassing idea that man's destiny may be foreordained : 'as many as believed were ordained unto eternal life'. The petition 'lead us not into temptation' in the Lord's Prayer is changed into 'suffer us not to be led into temptation' (Matt 6:13); interestingly, the wording of the prayer

[34] Cf. Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 347.

[35] E.g., in the Exodus passages just mentioned.

[36] E.g., Ex 7:14, 9:34. The discrepancy is often taken as an indication of the use of different sources by the final composer(s) of the Pentateuch.

here differs from that given in 3 Nephi, indicating that an interpretative process was going on in Joseph Smith's mind.[37]

Thus far I have indicated that there are parallels to Joseph Smith's treatment of the Bible in the works of the church fathers on one hand and in those of conservative evangelicals of today. But parallels can be found in other camps, too – for instance in new translations which try to avoid the offence caused by the patriarchal world-view of the Bible. In a recent translation of the New Testament, published by the Oxford University Press, for instance the saying 'No one knows the Son except the Father' (Matt 11:25) is rendered as follows: 'No one knows the Child except the Father-Mother …' Or take the Contemporary English Version of 1995. Its translators wanted to produce a Bible that cannot be exploited for anti-Jewish purposes; they therefore decided not to use the word 'Jew' at all in the exclusive sense as the enemy of Jesus in the New Testament. In more conventional translations the gospel of John in particular speaks of 'the Jews' (a term used by John ca. 70 times) in such a disparaging way and even seems to drive a wedge between Jesus and his disciples on one hand and 'the Jews' on the other (e.g., John 13:33) – as if Jesus and his circle were no Jews at all![38] As a Bible-believer who improves the Bible Joseph Smith begins to look rather less idiosyncratic than he may have seemed at first glance.

Yet perhaps the most striking of Joseph Smith's innovations is a feature which is already prominent in his earlier Book of Moses: according to him, humans are from the very beginning aware of Messiah Jesus' future mission. They even have in advance the chance to enjoy the salvation offered by him. The IV clearly teaches that 'the ancient prophets, from Adam to Abraham … taught and practised the gospel; they knew

[37] Cf. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 51.

[38] This is, in my view, an unfortunate feature of the original and not due to any incompetence of earlier translators. Incidentally, it is a feature which the IV has *not* changed; even there we read, for instance, that 'the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he … said … that God was his father' (John 5:18).

Christ and worshipped the Father in his name'.[39] A number of additions and expansions to the KJV in the IV make this clear.

God decreed to Adam's descendants that they had to repent, and promised: 'And as many as believed in the Son, and repented of their sins, should be saved' (Gen 5:1–2 IV). So the gospel was preached right in the beginning (Gen 5:44–45), even before the Flood. In one of the IV's numerous additions to Genesis, Enoch summarizes what God had told Adam:

> 'If thou wilt, turn unto me and hearken unto my voice, and believe, and repent of all thy transgressions, and be baptized, even in water, in the name of mine Only Begotten Son, who is full of grace and truth, which is Jesus Christ, the only name which shall be given under heaven, whereby salvation shall come unto the children of men; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost…' (Gen 6:53 IV).

The long speech of the patriarch is summarized in the following words: 'This is the plan of salvation unto all men, through the blood of mine Only Begotten, who shall come in the meridian of time' (Gen 6:65 IV). Adam was indeed actually baptized (Gen 6:67 IV).

For all the problems that Joseph Smith's solutions may involve, he certainly has acutely sensed a problem in the Bible, touching a sensitive point in the notion of salvation-history. The New Testament, too, hints at God's eternal plan of salvation. But what is one to think of this plan, if Christ actually opened a new way of salvation which was unknown to the ancients, as many New Testament writings, especially Galatians, seem to suggest? Did God himself lead the Israelites astray by giving them a law which promised them life (e.g., Lev 18:5) – which it, according to Paul, was unable to give (e.g., Gal 3:21) – and in no way suggested that it was just a provisional arrangement? Or is this a misapprehension, so that the way to salvation was indeed open to ancient

[39] Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 328. In the Book of Mormon, too, prophets and preachers repeatedly proclaim the future coming of Jesus Christ which is described in detail in advance; for some passages see Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 199.

generations, too, if they repented of their sins and gladly accepted God's law? But in that case, if the people of old could reach salvation, what was Christ really needed for? Had God's first plan failed so that he now came up with a better idea? This would make Christ an emergency measure on God's part.

Either way, we are caught in a dilemma. One has to relativise either the immutability of God's plan (the conviction that God does not change his mind) or the crucial significance of Christ. The problem surfaces in 1 Clement, an early writing which did not quite make it into the final New Testament. Clement confirms in New Testament terminology that God has from eternity always justified everyone in the same way: through faith (1 Clem 32:4). God 'gave those who wanted to turn to him, from generation to generation, opportunity for repentance' (1 Clem 7:5). This implies that the difference between Christians and the pious men and women of the Old Testament disappears. Clement maintains the immutability of God's plan, but the price he pays is that the role of Christ becomes vague. In fact, Paul already faced the same problem (though he seems to be unaware of it), when he introduced the figure of Abraham as the first Christian (as it were) in Gal 3 and Rom 4. If Abraham was justified by faith, and faith without works as the road to fellowship with God was thus a possibility open to humankind more than a millennium before Christ, why was it necessary for God at all to send Christ?

Like Clement of Rome, Joseph Smith definitely holds that 'God had always related to man on the basis of his faith, and any other terms would, indeed, make God mutable'.[40] But unlike Clement, Smith does not let Christ's role become vague; he projects the Christian soteriology in its totality on to Paradise. Obviously he has sensed the artificiality of the standard christological reading of the Old Testament as it stands. If the Old Testament really is a testimony to Christ (as

[40] R. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Scepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1980), 122. Ironically, Joseph Smith himself set forth in his later revelations that God actually made progress in his own development; cf. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer*, 135 n. 4.

Christians of all times have asserted), then should it not actually speak of Jesus in straightforward terms?

Smith does not appreciate the idea of development in the biblical thought-world, which is self-evident for modern historical study, but in purely logical terms his solution is admirable. Nor is he quite alone in his absolutely christocentric exposition of the primeval stories. A Christian addition (perhaps from the second or third century) to the Jewish pseudepigraphon, the Testament of Adam, lets Adam teach his son as follows:[41]

> I have heard, my son Seth, that the Messiah[42] is coming from heaven and will be born of a virgin, working miracles and performing signs and great deeds, walking on the waves of the seas as upon boards of wood, rebuking the winds and they are silenced, beckoning to the waves and they are stilled; also opening the eyes of the blind and cleansing lepers and causing the deaf to hear. And the mute speak. And he shall cast out evil spirits, and raise the buried from the midst of their graves. Concerning this the Messiah spoke to me in paradise ... (Test of Adam 3:1–3).

Actually it can happen in the midst of mainstream Christianity today that the biblical text is supplemented in a similar vein. The Children's Bible by Anne de Vries provides an example. This Christian bestseller (originally published in Dutch), sold in millions of copies, appends several mentions of Jesus to Old Testament stories when paraphrasing them for children.[43] The story of the Fall ends with the promise that one day a child would be born that would be stronger than Satan. 'Who would this child be? The Lord Jesus. When Jesus would come, God would no longer be angry ... When they [Adam and

[41] The passage was adduced as a parallel by J.H. Charlesworth, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha and the Book of Mormon", in Madsen, ed., *Reflections on Mormonism*, 120–21.

[42] According to another reading: 'God'.

[43] I had a German translation at my disposal: A. de Vries, *Die Kinderbibel* (Constance: Friedrich Bahn Verlag, 1981 [first ed. 1954]). The following quotations are translated from pages 14 and 21.

Eve] thought of that they became again a bit glad.' To Abraham the promise is given: 'Your children will live in the land, and later Lord Jesus will be born there.' It is also said that Abraham yearned for this remote day.[44]

In the IV, the law does not become a problem in the way it does in standard Christian theology, for Adam already learned that animal sacrifices are 'a similitude of the sacrifice of the only begotten of the Father' (Gen 4:7 IV). The typological theology of the cultic law presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews is projected into the beginnings of salvation history. Christ has brought the law to an end, for it was fulfilled in him (3 Nephi 9:17; 29:4) who, being identical with the God of Israel, was also the giver of the law (3 Nephi 29:5). He is actually the law and the light (3 Nephi 29:9). Except for the identification of Father and Son, the Book of Mormon agrees in these statements with classical solutions presented by the early church fathers.[45]

In presenting the story of Israel basically as a Christian story and the Hebrew Bible as a thoroughly Christian book, Joseph Smith brings to a head a tendency which is present, in a somewhat 'lower key', in mainstream versions of Christian doctrine as well. I think it is worth keeping in mind that throughout Christian history this Christian reading of the Hebrew Bible has been one of the sources of anti-Jewish sentiments. It is all the more striking that Mormonism has apparently never succumbed to this temptation. It would have been easy to argue as follows: If salvation in Jesus and baptism in his name was the point of biblical religion all the time, surely the Jews who do not recognise this must be utterly blind or ill-willed? And if all this Christian talk about salvation-history was once part of the Old Testament, but later disappeared and had to be restored by the IV, then the Bible must have been viciously amputated by Jewish scholars (who else)? Early church

[44] De Vries, *Kinderbibel*, 14, 21 (my translations from the German).

[45] On Christ as the giver of the Old Testament law in patristic writings see M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (Bern & Leipzig: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1941), 209–11. E.g., the 'mediator' of the law in Gal 3:19 is identified with the pre-existent Christ.

fathers inferred just this from the fact that most Jews did not recognise their Christological reading of the Hebrew Bible; how much easier would such an inference have been on the basis of the IV, where Jesus need not be searched between the lines as his coming glory shines openly on so many pages?[46] But neither Joseph Smith nor his followers drew such conclusions, very much to their credit. Their strong identification with biblical Israel seems rather to have led to a friendly attitude and to a respectful dialogue with Judaism. No doubt it has been an asset that the actual 'parting of the ways' between Judaism and Christianity, which was such a sore problem during the early centuries, was no longer an issue when Mormonism was born.

Back to the New Testament! One further problem connected with the continuity of salvation history in the New Testament is Paul's talk of the law as the cause of sin, or of its function of increasing sin.[47] Joseph Smith weakens many such statements. But then many church fathers, too, in opposing the radicalism of Marcion who rejected the Old Testament altogether, took efforts to render the apostle 'harmless' on such points.[48] How could God's law be a burden or even a curse (Gal 3:10, 13!), connected with sin? Surely it would be normal to think that the function of the law is to prevent sin or to fight against it? But Paul goes unexpected ways and actually parts company with almost all other early Christians on this point.

Thus, Paul speaks in Rom 7:5 of the 'motions of sins' in our members 'which were by the law' and worked 'to bring forth fruit unto death' (KJV). The IV, however, lets the apostle speak of the 'motions of sins, which were not according to the law'. Later in the same passage

[46] Similar questions are, of course, to be addressed to Anne de Vries' *Children's Bible*, quoted above.

[47] E.g., Gal 3:19, Rom 5:13, 7:5, 7:7–11, 1 Cor 15:56. See H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, WUNT 29, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 140–50.

[48] Cf. M.F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 52; Werner, *Entstehung*, 233 (both with reference to Origen). Origen denied that Paul spoke so negatively of the Torah (that would have been to fall into the heresy of Marcion); what he meant was 'the law in our members'.

Paul, according to the KJV, describes the fatal role of the law in bringing about death as follows: 'I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death' (Rom 7:9–10). This blackening of the law is avoided in the IV which renders the verses thus: 'For once I was alive without transgression of the law, but when the commandment of Christ came, sin revived, and I died. And when I believed not the commandment of Christ which came, which was ordained to life, I found it condemned me unto death.' Even the claim of verse 7:11 that sin was able to use the law as its springboard ('sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me') is toned down in the IV: 'For sin, taking occasion, denied the commandment and deceived me.'

The close connection which Paul here establishes between law and sin is flatly denied by Joseph Smith. Many modern interpreters will assess this as a dilution of Paul's allegedly profoundly dialectical view of the law. Others, including myself, find that Paul's view is beset with difficulties;[49] Smith exhibits common sense in regarding only the transgression of the divine law as a negative matter, not the law itself. As stated above, most church fathers were of the same opinion. John Chrysostom observed that if the effect of the 'commandment' of the law is to engender sin, then logically even the precepts given by Christ and the apostles in the New Testament would have had the same effect; 'this particular charge could never be directed against the Old Testament law without involving the New Testament also'.[50] Therefore (he inferred) Paul must have meant something else, and indeed Chrysostom watered down Paul's assertions in Rom 7:8 and 7:11 in his exposition of the verses. Once more Joseph Smith finds himself in good company.

Finally, I wish to call attention to a passage where Joseph Smith's interpretation proves amazingly modern. In Rom 7:14–25 Paul speaks of the misery of a wretched 'I' who is not able to do the good he wishes to do; in fact, no good at all. The passage is often taken as a de-

[49] Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 149-50 and passim.
[50] See Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, 57.

scription of Paul's (and anyone else's) Christian life. This, however, would contradict Paul's general picture of life in the Spirit, not least in the immediately following chapter (Romans 8) and also in the preceding chapter (Romans 6).[51] This is why a great number of modern biblical critics think that Paul must really mean non-Christian existence 'under the law'; the use of the 'I'-form is understood as a rhetorical device.[52]

Sensing the problem the IV anticipates these critics and thoroughly alters the KJV text (while still assuming that the 'I' denotes Paul himself): 'I am carnal, sold under sin' (KJV) now becomes 'when I was under the law, I was yet carnal, sold under sin' (Rom 7:14). Then a stark contrast to 'I was carnal' is created with the aid of an insertion: 'But now I am spiritual.' The sequel 'For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that I do not ...' (Rom 7:15 KJV) is replaced with: 'for that which I am commanded to do, I do; and that which I am commanded not to allow, I allow not' (IV). A number of other changes in the same vein follow.[53] The IV consistently transforms the apparent tension of flesh and spirit in the speaker's heart into a contrast between two succeeding stages in his life. The modern alternative that the 'I-form' is rhetorical and that Paul is speaking of the non-Christian under the law has, understandably, not occurred to Joseph Smith.

The IV even omits the last clause 'with the flesh [I serve] the law of sin' (7:25 KJV) which some modern scholars have ascribed to a

[51] Matthews, sharing the view that Paul is speaking of himself, notes that 'these are strange statements, coming from a man like Paul so many years after he had experienced the cleansing power of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is even contradictory for Paul to say these things about himself when in many other instances he declared that Christ had made him free, and that through the power of Christ he was able to walk no longer after the flesh but after the spirit. (This is the substance of what he says in Romans 8, of the King James Version ...)'. Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 358–59.

[52] See for the arguments, e.g., J. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, TPI New Testament Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1989), 189–95.

[53] Matthews, *A Plainer Translation*, 359–60 offers a clear comparison by printing the two texts in adjacent columns and typographically indicating the differences.

post-Pauline interpreter.[54] Both these scholars and the IV let Paul close the chapter with the statement 'with the mind I myself serve the law of God' (7:27 IV). If the modern mainstream interpretation is on the right track, then Joseph Smith's interpretation of the passage seems to be closer to Paul's intentions than was, e.g., the influential interpretation of Martin Luther (who took Paul to be describing Christian life from the point of view of an Augustinian monk conscientiously scrutinising his inmost thoughts and always finding them wanting).[55]

Conclusion

There is much to be learnt from Joseph Smith's implicit criticism of the Bible. He belongs to the large number of serious and sincere readers who wrestle with the problems that the Bible poses to them, since it is not exactly the kind of book it is mostly postulated to be. The parallels to mainstream conservatism of today are very interesting. Even more intriguing, perhaps, are the parallels to the apologetics of the early church fathers. And yet it is not just the conservative camp that provides points of comparison. Champions of egalitarianism and tolerance have resorted to far-reaching 'improvements' of the biblical language in modern translations that try to avoid patriarchalism and prejudice. In Smith's work one can, as with a magnifying glass, study the mechanisms operative in much apologetic interpretation of the Bible. Most importantly of all, his alterations point to real problems. Some are minor ones, problems only for those who insist on an infallible Bible. Others, however, are major issues for any interpreter, such as the continuity or discontinuity of the 'salvation history'. Joseph Smith asks genuine questions and perceives genuine problems. Even those who do not accept all his answers would profit from taking his questions seriously.

[54] Cf. Ziesler, *Romans*, 199.

[55] For Luther see Althaus, *Paulus und Luther über den Menschen: Ein Vergleich*, 4th ed. (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 1963).

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN MORMONISM

Douglas J. Davies

This exploratory article on the Holy Spirit in Mormonism is in two, unequal, parts. The longer first section describes the dominant place of the Holy Spirit as a primary reference point for understanding religious experience in Mormonism as an authentic Christian movement identified in a Trinitarian creed-like fashion. The second describes the absence of the Holy Spirit in three core narratives that could be argued as constituting the theological charter for Mormonism as a theological system, viz., the Heavenly Council with its Plan of Salvation, The Gethsemane experience of Christ with its work of Atonement, and The First Vision with its essential commissioning of Joseph to initiate the Restoration. The purpose of the article is simply to identify this gap, suggesting, first, that it reflects the dynamics of a new religious movement's interplay of practical piety and the formality of theological abstraction and, second, that this gap is likely to close with time as Mormonism develops its own theological trained thinkers.

Overview

At the outset it is important to highlight the fact, especially for non-LDS readers, that normal LDS reference is not to the Holy Spirit but to the Holy Ghost, itself a term rooted in the King James Bible to which most LDS are committed. Except when particular clarity is demanded, however, this article will largely adopt 'Holy Spirit' because of its contemporary widespread use in Christianity at large and in the modernization of biblical language that developed, especially in the second half of the twentieth century. Non-LDS readers should, however, be aware that there are internal LDS issues as to whether the Holy Ghost is the same entity as the Holy Spirit. As early as August 26th 1838 the Kirtland Elders' Quorum debated the question of whether the 'Holy Spirit is the Holy Ghost' and decided in the affirmative. Just to indicate

something of the complexity of other arguments Hyrum Andrus, for example, describes the Holy Spirit as centred in God and constituting His glory. As a pure and highly capacitated substance, the Holy Spirit partakes of the divine intelligence of God and is the agent by which divine truth, light and power are manifested to others. But God's glory, or His Holy Spirit, is not separate from Himself. As part of His total organized being, it constitutes His divine nature by which He is an infinitely spiritual, as well as a corporeal being.

Other spirit-related issues involved the rise of Spiritualism, when LDS leaders formally distanced themselves from that thought and practice. At the folk level some speculated as to whether Joseph Smith was the Holy Ghost whilst others wondered whether the Holy Ghost would one day take a body or not with all that this might entail for notions of embodiment and obedience. That the Holy Ghost would not need any embodiment-proof of obedience is theologically likely given the particular designation of the Holy Ghost as being perfectly at one in mind with the Father and the Son, but the issue of embodiment as the means of self-development is quite another factor, and that might well apply to the Holy Ghost. Frequently, the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit is described as the basis of unanimity between Father and Son, even being the mind shared by Father and Son'. The communicative role of the 'Spirit' in general is highlighted John Taylor's words as 'the medium of communication between the heavens and the earth', something explored by Parley P. Pratt in his treatise on 'The Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter' where he affirmed that, 'Matter and Spirit are the two great principles of all existence', being 'of equal duration' and 'self-existent'.

Other issues lie in the way the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit is often treated as an 'it' and not a 'he' in early LDS thought and hymnody. For example, the hymn 'Holy Spirit' speaks of a still small voice possessing warning tones whilst being 'full of light and cheer'. 'It guides us ever on our way ... It makes our calling plain and sure ... its admonition ... its voice ... its tuition ... its gifts' all emphasize 'it' not 'he'. By comparison the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit is often being given male gendered

reference in most traditional Christian discourse including John's Gospel which is itself, often highly influential on early Mormon thought. This is, partly, because LDS discourse has been particularly concerned with the issue of conscience in relation to agency and to people coming to faith and with the place of 'Spirit' in relation to such things, all in terms of the laying on of hands after baptism for the gift of the Holy Ghost. President Joseph F. Smith at the Salt Lake Tabernacle on March 16, 1902, was clear that 'the Holy Ghost is a personage of the Godhead, and is not that which lighteth every man that cometh into the world'. This distinction between the Holy Ghost and the 'gift of the Holy Ghost' repeats a distinction explicitly made by Joseph Smith Jnr. who argued that the gift is not given until repentance has occurred and until people 'come into a state of worthiness before the Lord' and receive it by the laying on of hands by those in authority. Smith's view is that the Spirit of Christ engages with human beings so that they may repent and receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. His Spirit will only cease to engage with a person if that individual has gone on into baptism and reception of the Spirit gift and then apostatized. Millet is one contemporary Mormon thinker who rehearses the argument that 'the Light of Christ or the Spirit of Jesus Christ' is possessed by 'every man and woman born into mortality'.

What is certain is that there was sufficient reference to the Holy Ghost and to 'Spirit' terminology in the Bible to draw LDS founders to Father, Son and Ghost or Spirit terminology when thinking of Christian authenticity, not least in association with the Trinitarian baptismal formula invoking 'Father ... Son ... and ... Holy Ghost'. What they did with these ideas merits greater analysis than is possible in this article. John Taylor's 1855 publication *The Mormon*, for example, published largely for a non-LDS readership, included a 'short presentation of the faith' that included the affirmation: 'We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost who bears record of them forever'. This sense of record is important, marking a recurrent LDS motif originating in the Book of Mormon as the outcome of records kept and transmitted a book that also carried

witness accounts of its origin. Early Mormons also kept records of baptisms, patriarchal blessings and other rites as well as diaries and journals of their own and their families' lives. Such bearing-record is not a simple idea but implies the need to demonstrate the truth of a situation. Here it closely resembles the theological rationale of John's Gospel where events witness to Christ's identity amidst unbelieving others. This 'testifying' element characterizes a group that is aware of itself as needing to prove its case against antagonists and is a mark of a new religious movement. It is no simple narrative to be heard, enjoyed or ignored, but one is apologetic within its context of origin. And Taylor's 'short presentation' was very much just such an expression of the Christian authenticity of Mormonism than it was any expression of concern with detailed Trinitarian analysis.

There are numerous potential means of dealing with all this material. One would be historical, exploring which church leader said what and when they said it. A brief example being Vern G. Swanson's 1989 essay on 'The Development of the Concept of a Holy Ghost in Mormon Theology'. Another would be specifically theological and, taking its bearing from traditional Trinitarian thought, would seek to discuss the nature of the divine Father, Son and Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit both in their relation to each other and in their essential being as persons of the divine trinity as in some of David Paulsen's recent work. A third approach might be pastoral, advocating the engagement of the individual LDS with the Holy Spirit in the developing life of faith, discipleship, or spirituality -whichever term might best appeal as, for example, in Millet's chapter 'The Work of the Spirit' in his *The Vision of Mormonism*, and that would include the interesting issue of 'born again' language advocated by a few contemporary LDS, Millet included.

Spirit and Authentic Emotion

Here we largely restrict the discussion to more historical and theological features because Mormonism was, from its outset, concerned with authenticity of faith. Joseph's initial quest of seeking to know the true church has been repeated by many Mormons for whom

the answer comes in an inward feeling of conviction evident in the expression 'a burning in the breast', and often formulated as a 'testimony'. This sensation of an inner awareness pervading the ideas going through the mind underlies the emergent tradition of asking prospective converts to read the Book of Mormon and pray vocally for confirmation of its truth. Relatively speaking, Mormonism became a quietly emotional faith with the effectiveness of meetings judged by how the Spirit touched members' feelings. Today, to be slightly overcome with emotion, perhaps having one's flow of speech interrupted, is one expression of the subtle qualities of shared sentiment closely aligned with an experience of the Spirit at a Sacrament Service, testimony meeting or elsewhere. Indeed, all are encouraged to seek to 'have the Spirit to be with them' as a Sacrament prayer petitions.

Joseph Smith and Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit makes an early appearance in LDS thought. Oliver Cowdery, for example, depicted Joseph being 'filled with the Holy Spirit' as 'the heavens were opened and the glory of the Lord shone roundabout and rested on him'. At a Conference in 1837, 'The Spirit of the Lord rested down upon us and our hearts were made glad'. As even these references show, while 'Spirit' language became widespread when expressing and validating the life of faith through inner sensations, there remained considerable variation over reference to 'the Spirit of the Lord', the 'Spirit of God', 'the Spirit', 'the Holy Spirit', or 'the Holy Ghost'. Joseph Smith's journal can, for example, speak of 'the voice of the Spirit' telling early leaders to wait upon God for future directions to Zion just as some days before, in his Kirtland Temple dedication prayer, he asks that all might 'receive a fullness of the Holy Ghost', and be anointed with 'power from on high' as on the day of Pentecost, with the gift of tongues and interpretation of tongues and with a sense of a 'rushing mighty wind'. In a final reference he asks that 'the power of thy spirit' (sic) may enable humans to mix their voices with those of the seruphs (sic) around the throne of God. Joseph was not unfamiliar, either, with the 'gift' of the Spirit in the sense of speak-

ing in tongues. When Brigham Young first met the prophet at Kirtland in 1833 he spoke in tongues and it 'is said to have been strong among the gifted ones' and to have been 'the first time that the "gift" had been demonstrated'. These gifts were important for Mormonism as a restoration movement with early Christian phenomena as described in the Bible being regarded as essentially authentic and with their contemporary reappearance validating the LDS claim to restoration: and 'tongues' had certainly been explicitly described amongst Christ's immediate disciples. 'Tongues' in the early life of Mormonism, nearly a century before its flourishing in the Pentecostal movement in the USA though already known amongst the Irvingites in England in 1830, was, inevitably, influential.

Joseph, alert to glossolalia, chose texts from Acts as proof texts in an 1835 Letter to the Elders exemplifying the importance of the Holy Spirit following repentance and baptism. While adding a sense of validity to the Church such Spirit-related phenomena also prompted cautionary comment as when Joseph Smith told a meeting of Nauvoo's Relief Society for women that if they had any 'matter to reveal' to do so in their own tongue. 'Do not indulge too much in the gift of tongues or the Devil will take advantage. You may speak in tongues for your comfort, but I lay this down as a rule that if anything is taught by the gift of tongues it is not to be received as doctrine'. An 1840 account expressed similar ambivalence in Great Britain: 'In no one thing, perhaps, are the Saints more afraid of grieving the Spirit than in keeping silence when the spirit of tongues is upon them and especially when they have recently received this gift', one then becoming 'common in the Church in England'. However, this practice was discouraged with people being encouraged to strive 'for the best gifts' of charity, wisdom and knowledge and to 'edify and comfort each other' in their own native tongue.

One long exchange in *The Elders' Journal*, for example, concerned the question of whether the laying on of hands was necessary for the conferring of the Holy Spirit and, more particularly, whether the Holy Spirit was given prior to and to effect the emergence of faith or whether, as the LDS response affirmed, that faith 'came by hearing and

not by receiving the holy Spirit' (sic). Here the Spirit is designated as a 'witness, to give additional evidence' that would 'naturally increase the faith of the believer'. This shows the importance of the Spirit within the rites of the new church, especially the laying on of hands after baptism highlighting the Spirit's arrival at the Day of Pentecost empowering Jesus' disciples for their evangelistic work. They explain that it was 'granted as the seal of their obedience unto these ordinances': the reference to 'ordinances' being to faith, repentance and baptism. They also added the biblical account of the baptism of Jesus at the hands of John when 'the Spirit of God' descended like a dove to alight upon Jesus whilst a divine voice acclaimed him as the pleasing son. They do not imply that the Spirit came upon Jesus to make him into any different kind of person; indeed, they say he was baptized simply to 'fulfil all righteousness'. Their intent was to stress the importance of baptism by immersion and not 'by sprinkling'. One purpose of baptism was to prepare people 'for the second coming of Christ...which is nigh at hand'. Though that Second Coming did not materialize the LDS have retained a stress on the Spirit so that a contemporary Saint can, naturally, affirm that, 'As Latter-day Saints, we firmly believe that the Spirit can speak through us, that we can hear the Spirit, but that we do not dictate to the Spirit.'

One theologically pastoral issue concerning the Holy Spirit pinpointed a crucial aspect of personal faith as depicted in the Epistle to Hebrews that portrayed the impossibility of repentance for those who have tasted the heavenly gift of the Spirit and who then fall away. This held a strong affinity for Saints, given the part played by apostasy in early LDS life. Even in a later generation B.H. Roberts, in his gloss to The King Follett discourse, can deal with this 'sin against the Holy Ghost'. Citing the Hebrews text he dramatically asserts that, 'Those who sin against light and knowledge of the Holy Ghost may be said to crucify more than the body of our Lord, they crucify the Spirit'. No stronger statement could be found to express the importance of experience and its abuse in LDS discourse.

Early LDS letters and reports often use a variety of references to the Holy Spirit as a spirit of revelation and prophecy, of conferring spiritual gifts, and as a source of comfort or help, often citing biblical texts. Wilford Woodruff and Jonathan H. Hale's letter in the first publication of *The Elders' Journal*, for example, recounts a missionary venture in the Fox Islands. En route they had met with success and might have stayed to build branches in Connecticut 'had not the Spirit called us away to perform a greater work'. At an impromptu preaching service amongst local Baptists they tell how 'The Lord clothed us with his Spirit'. They extol 'the arm of JEHOVAH' in giving them success and 'say these things are true as God liveth, and the Spirit beareth record'. The second entry in the Journal, a letter from Kimball to Vilate his wife, dated September 2, 1837, tells how he arrived in England on July 18th. Arriving at Liverpool he 'had peculiar feelings when we landed, the Spirit of God burned in my breast' whilst feeling the need to 'covenant before God to live a new life'. He tells how they journey to Preston, witness scenes of dire poverty yet make some converts. A week later he tells of 'a singular circumstance' at their lodging. In the middle of the night one 'Elder Russel was much troubled with evil spirits' and came into the bedroom Kimball shared with Elder Hyde. Citing from the journal kept by Hyde, Kimball tells of his own moving experience when he 'rebuked and prayed' for Russel but, before he even concluded the prayer, his own 'voice faltered, and his mouth was shut, and he began to tremble and real (sic) to and fro, and fell on the floor like a dead man, and uttered a deep groan'. Hyde lifts Kimball thinking that 'the devils were exceeding angry because we tried to cast them out of Br. Russel, and they made a powerful attempt as if to dispatch him at once, they struck him senseless and he fell to the floor'. Hyde, with the assistance of the apparently recovered Russel, now lay hands on Kimball 'and rebuked the evil spirits, in the name of Jesus Christ; and immediately he recovered his strength in part, so as to get up'. Kimball is covered in sweat 'as wet as if he had been taken out of the water' and they could 'very sensibly hear the evil spirits rage and foam out their shame'. Kimball then moves from this third person account taken from

Hyde's journal and tells his wife directly that 'the devil was mad because I was going to baptize and he wanted to destroy me'. He then tells how the spirits after first falling upon Russel, and then upon himself, moved on to Hyde.

These accounts portray a very real emotional-religious world in which the language of 'spirit', including evil spirits, plays a dramatic part. Interestingly, the Spirit of the Lord, whilst aligned with strongly positive emotional experience is not the force set in battle with evil spirits: it is in the name of Jesus Christ that they are commanded. The devil is identified as the source of evil and it is the devil and Jesus who are the combatants, this opposition matches the part played in the Plan of Salvation by Jesus and Lucifer and not by the Holy Spirit and Lucifer.

Similarly, two years later, and home in the USA, Kimball tells how he was awakened at night by his wife who appeared to be choking and she tells how she had dreamt that 'a personage came and seized her by the throat'. Kimball lays hands on her and rebuked the evil spirit in the name of Jesus, by the power of the holy priesthood he 'commanded it to depart'. Then children and an adult in a nearby house begin to cry in distress while domesticated animals bellow, neigh, bark, squeal, cackle and crow. He is called upon to deal with another woman as earlier he had dealt with his wife. Sometime later he is walking with Joseph Smith who has heard of this event and asks about it. Kimball tells of his English episode and asks Joseph 'what all these things meant' and whether there was 'anything wrong' with him for encountering them. Joseph explained that when in England Kimball had been 'nigh unto the Lord, there was only a veil between you and Him, but you could not see Him.' Joseph said he rejoiced when he heard of these events because then he knew that 'the work of God had taken root in that land. It was this that caused the devil to make struggle to kill you'. In Joseph's opinion, 'the nearer a person approached to the Lord, the greater power would be manifest by the devil to prevent the accomplishment of the purposes of God'. Joseph then related his own encounter with the devil following the publication of the Book of Mormon. Once in a

house purchased by Joseph Smith at Far West, formerly occupied as a public house and occupied by some 'wicked people', a child fell ill and Joseph was asked to heal it. This he did only to find the illness recur as soon as he left and several times more. Joseph asked the Lord about it and, then and there, he received 'an open vision and saw the devil in person, who contended with Joseph face to face for some time. He said it was his house, it belonged to him, and Joseph had no right there'. Then, however, 'Joseph rebuked Satan in the name of the Lord, and he departed and troubled the child no more'.

Spirit Power

The importance of the Holy Spirit as a dynamic feature of early Mormonism is distinctively evident in Joseph Smith's sense of the need for a 'solemn assembly' of believers within which an 'endowment' of spiritual power would be gained. This was marked by a revelation in December 1832 and was to be, as Dean Jessee notes, its own form of day of Pentecost following the completion of the Kirtland Temple: he describes the period from January to May 1836 as just such 'a Pentecost and endowment. This very notion of endowment that was to develop a great deal in future decades in temple endowment rites thus had its origin in experiences allied with the Holy Spirit and the Biblical echoes of the Day of Pentecost.

Patriarchal Blessings

Another ritual context that often mentioned the Holy Spirit in early Mormonism was that of patriarchal blessings exemplified in William McBride's blessing upon Martha, daughter of James and Lucinda Pace. She is blessed 'in the Name of Jesus', is deemed to be among the 'daughters of Israel and the line of Joseph through the loins of Ephraim', and, 'by obedience to the new and everlasting covenant' she will gain the blessings of 'the heaven above and of the earth beneath'. What is more the 'Lord will visit' her 'by dreams and by the manifestations of his Holy Spirit', and she would be able 'to read the still small whisperings of the Holy Spirit, that will make known unto thee the mind and

Will of the Father'. McBride also blessed her half-sister Ruth, whose life journey the Lord is to attend as will Angels while 'the Spirit of the Lord shall be with thee ... and ... shall be a candle to the heart and it shall reflect light to all those that associate with thee'. She will live to see 'Zion redeemed and Israel gathered and the Kingdom of God established upon the earth and with thy companion shall behold the coming of the Son of Man'.

Brigham Young's sense of the Spirit, generally conceived, was also considerable, albeit closely linked to his sense of pragmatism. He saw the Spirit as a motivating power within human activity as in his General Conference address of April 1854. In a way that clearly identifies 'Spirit' with human emotional experience his wish was 'to inquire distinctly of your feelings', wondering whether the divine power is known to his hearers. He speaks, synonymously, of 'the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ' and of the 'Spirit of God' after the fashion of St John's Gospel, as a 'fountain of living water ... springing up to everlasting life'. The Saints must know this power, as he said some years earlier when wishing to 'impress upon the minds of this people continually' that they should 'live in the light of the Spirit of God, so that every man and woman may have revelations for themselves', for if that attitude prevailed then 'you may believe what you like, if you will do good continually and no evil'.

Spirit Influence

To speak of the Spirit is valuable when seeking a divine reference point capable of uniting people and giving them a sense of unity of purpose. In a passage that, incidentally, exemplifies Joseph's charisma, Parley Pratt recalled his deep sense of loss at Joseph's death, and tells how his outlook was changed by the Spirit. 'I had loved Joseph with a warmth of affection indescribable for about fourteen years', and when journeying from Chicago to Nauvoo, deeply grieving, he wondered what words of comfort he could give to the Saints awaiting him there. He cries aloud asking for divine help when,

> On a sudden the Spirit of God came upon me and filled my heart with joy and gladness indescribable; and while the spirit of revelation burned within my bosom, with as visible a warmth and gladness as if it were fire. The Spirit said unto me: Lift up your head and rejoice; for behold! It is well with my servants Joseph and Hyrum. My servant Joseph still holds the keys of my kingdom in this dispensation, and he shall stand in due time on the earth, in the flesh, and fulfil that to which he is appointed.

The Spirit instructed Pratt to tell the Saints to continue with their daily work, to build the Temple, until all of the twelve were gathered together. Other references to the Spirit take literary form, as in Eliza Snow's epic on 'Nationality' presented to Salt Lake City's Polysophical Institution. Reflecting both the open mindedness of that aptly named institution and the speculative curiosity of influential sectors of early Mormonism she wrote of the Spirit.

> The Holy Spirit, every Saint receives
> Is one sense added to what nature gives;
> It is a powerful telescope whereby
> We look beyond the stretch of mortal eye,
> Its keen, perceptive vision takes a view
> Of origin and destination too.

Eliza's knowledge condensed to a stanza key LDS commitments to baptism and the conferring of the Holy Spirit and to the view of that Spirit as the basis and ground of revelation. Indeed, the role of the Spirit as an additional benefit of Church membership – 'one sense added to what nature gives' – expresses the belief in the LDS priesthood as alone possessing the power to confer that gift following baptism, a power derived from Jesus Christ as the one who restored the Melchizedek Priesthood.

In LDS discourse, then, references to the Spirit regularly furnish the motif that draws attention to a mode of feeling, a tone of communal gathering that both inspires and affords a sense of authenticity as the true Church. This, perhaps, explains why the hymn 'The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning', 'which was added almost as an

afterthought to the 1835 hymnbook, is listed first in the 1844 edition'. This discussion of the Spirit as a marker of religious experience and of authentic religious identity concludes the first part of my article. The second, and much shorter, takes up a different concept, that of the paradigmatic scene, and works on the assumption that LDS culture possesses a strong visual element.

Paradigmatic Scenes and LDS Thought

Indeed, Mormonism is one of the most visually based of all Christian groups, despite the rather naïve approach that often classifies Catholicism as strong on vision and seeing while Protestantism is strong on audition and listening. LDS culture is strong on seeing and on testifying to what it has seen, which is why the very idea of witnesses was so important at its outset. This visual capacity, fostered in Temple ritual, has fostered the importance of pictorial narratives, constructs we may explore through the concept of the paradigmatic scene, a narrative picture that becomes typical for a group, enshrining prime values and sentiments and often becoming constitutive for understanding a tradition. This concept has been variously employed by textual scholars such as Robert Alter as by anthropologists such as Rodney Needham and also, through the idiom of 'paradigm scenario' by de Souza and Thomas Maschio, the last adding a strong emotional aspect to the role of the depicted narrative. Such narrative pictures take the form of some typical event such as setting out on a journey, a battle, a homecoming or the like and are fundamental to the nature of myth. They bring together various ideas in a summarized form and are invaluable as a cultural resource for later story-telling. Though the Mormon image of handcart convert migrants coming to Zion would be one such in popular LDS culture history there are, it seems to me, other accounts of a more definitive type. Three stand out as dominant paradigmatic scenes in Mormonism. They have been, arguably, constitutive for Mormon theology and show a high degree of mutual affinity, they are the narratives of the Heavenly Council with its Plan of Salvation, The Gethsemane

experience of Christ with its work of Atonement, and The First Vision with its essential commissioning of Joseph to initiate the Restoration.

The key feature of these paradigmatic scenes as far as this article is concerned is that the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit is relatively insignificant to and absent from them. This gap between the Holy Spirit's presence and absence in two crucial components of its religious constitution -between statements of faith on the one hand and these scenes on the other- may easily pass unrecognized. One context in which this lack of recognition might become problematic is that of inter-group theological discussion when Mormons deal with other Christian traditions whose location of the Holy Spirit might depend either upon the paradigmatic scene of the biblical Day of Pentecost or on the non-scenic but philosophic account of the Holy Trinity for which paradigmatic scenes are hard to find. Even the baptism of Jesus as the Son who hears the Father's heavenly voice while a dove stands for the Holy Spirit does not quite have a convincing narrative dynamic to it.

Moreover, these three LDS narratives also carry a certain emotional charge, as established community-based narratives often do. When Lucifer is cast from heaven 'the heavens wept for him' (DC. 76: 26), and in Nephi Anderson's creative and influential narrative of the Plan of Salvation its hero, Homan, tells his partner that 'something will prompt us to the right, and we have this hope that father's Spirit will not forsake us.' This is an important reference for it does bring 'Spirit' into some relation with the Heavenly Council scene, albeit indirectly. Much more emotion is evident in the sweated blood of Christ's self-sacrificial anguish in his act of atonement in Gethsemane, and in the terrible sense of evil and its passage into deliverance in Joseph's first vision. Generally, however, the Spirit is absent. Not because of the Spirit's potential invisibility, since, for example, the malevolent presence of Satan is obvious in the tangible darkness of the First Vision story and is much in evidence in Christ's terrible encounter with evil in his garden sufferings. The Holy Spirit, however, is simply not much evident in these narratives that serve as prime charters for LDS theo-

logical reflection. A great deal more could, of course, be said in analysis of these contexts and in disclosing their symbolic parallels.

Where the Holy Spirit does most frequently occur in LDS thought is in passages that draw very heavily from John's Gospel, especially, chapters 14–17. This Johannine spirituality of 'abiding in' and of the Son doing what he sees the Father do, deeply affected Joseph in his thinking about God and when giving any thought to traditional Christian creeds whose Father, Son and Holy Ghost or Spirit motifs are often filtered through the language of John; they are seldom filtered through philosophical schemes of ontology as in creedal theology in general. In other words, the Holy Ghost has tended to be most invoked in Mormonism when accounting for religious experiences and dwelling upon authentic identity as a member of the Restoration. This is reflected in the laying on of hands, in blessings and in the Sacrament Service. When accounting for the theological core of Mormonism it is not to the Spirit as an integral aspect of the Trinity that attention passes but to the interestingly interlinked paradigmatic scenes of Council of Gods, of Gethsemane's atonement which works out the proffered salvation of the Council, and of the First Vision that restores its significance.

Above, in Heber Kimball and spirit-attack, for example, we saw that it was in the name of Jesus and not the Holy Spirit that the Apostle set against Satan and evil spirits. Theologically speaking this seems to echo the charter narrative of the Heavenly Council in which Jesus and Lucifer play major roles but in which the Holy Spirit plays no essential part. This, I think is of some significance on a wider basis and echoes my article at the last of these conferences when arguing that the Plan of Salvation tended to play the theological role in Mormonism that is played by the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in traditional Christian churches. However, in many other aspects of the religious life the role of 'Spirit' or of the 'Holy Spirit' or 'Holy Ghost' has been and is used to interpret positive experiences of support or success. Indeed, 'spirit' references have become a major means of bringing a theological frame to bear upon 'experience' as such. The world of emotion within Mormonism is a world dominated by spirit-language.

For the sake of argument and to promote further discussion this leads me to conclude that, in the starkest and most unqualified of terms, the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit has been of primary historical significance within practical Mormon living but of secondary importance within its technical theology. This differs from much traditional Christianity in which the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit serves a primary theological role within Trinitarian thought but has often been of secondary significance in practical piety. The very growth in Charismatic Christianity from the later 1960s almost proves this point. These cases also remind us that theologies change and develop, it having taken traditional Christianities the best part of five hundred years to organize doctrinal thought on God with debates still continuing. The history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, just under two hundred years of it, offers a clear example of how religious experience, ritual practice and doctrinal formulation are still in process of development. If, as appears possible, sufficient LDS thinkers engage with mainstream Christian theologians over major doctrinal issues it is likely that this gap between Mormon statements and articles of faith on the one hand and its charter paradigmatic narratives on the other will become increasingly integrated or that one will simply give way to the other. In dialogue-contexts considerable formal attention would need to be given to the quite different grammars of discourse that underlie traditional Trinitarian theologies with their attendant philosophical foundations on the one hand -especially in relation to the Eucharistic theology and ritual that drives much traditional Christianity and, on the other, to the persuasive dynamics of narrative that ground Mormon understanding of the Restoration and of its missionary work in the world at large and in its temple-rites for worlds yet more expansive.

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ENLARGING THE MEMORY OF MORMONISM: HISTORIAN ANDREW JENSON'S TALES FROM THE WORLD TOUR, 1895–1897

Reid L. Neilson

On March 26, 1895, Danish-American historian Andrew Jenson filled out a U.S. Department of State passport application in the presence of his wife, Emma. He was hopeful that the presiding First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as Mormon or LDS Church) would approve his petition to personally visit all non-North American Church missions and local units to gather historical data. Jenson's passport form provides twenty-first century observers with the basic biographical details of his life. He was born on December 11, 1850 in Torslev, Denmark. After converting to Mormonism as a young boy with his parents, Jenson and his family immigrated to Utah in 1866. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1873. Moreover, because photographs were not attached to nineteenth-century American passports, Jenson provided the required personal physical description, which reads as follows. Age-forty-four-years old; stature-five feet, seven inches; forehead-regular; eyes-hazel, sometimes gray; nose-aquiline (hooked); mouth-ordinary; chin-rounded; hair-light brown; complexion-fair; and face-oval. To the question, When do you intend to return to the United States? Jenson wrote in two or three years hence.[1] Regardless of what

[1] "Andrew Jenson, 1895," in U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925 [online database]. (Provo, UT: Generations Network, 2007). Important sources on Jenson's life and labors as a historian of Mormonism include Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938); Louis Reinwand, "Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Historian," *BYU Studies*, vol. 14 (1973/1974), 29–46; Keith W. Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974); and Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 41–55.

Emma may have thought of her husband's pending departure on such a lengthy journey, Jenson was eager to go!

Weeks later Jenson received word that the Church leadership had authorized his global[2] fact-finding mission. The intrepid Dane departed from Salt Lake City on May 11, 1895, and did not return to the "City of the Saints" until June 4, 1897. Over the course of his twenty-five month solo circumnavigation of the world, Jenson passed through the following islands, nations, and lands (in chronological order): the Hawaiian Islands, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, New Zealand, Cook's Islands, Society Islands, Tuamotu Islands, Australia, Ceylon, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Italy, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Hannover, Saxony, Bavaria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. He traveled 53,820 miles by a variety of steamships and small boats on water; his land conveyances included railroads, carriages and other animal-drawn vehicles, jinrikishas pulled by humans, horseback, donkeys, and camels.[3] Jenson's global tour was an unprecedented adventure in LDS history. In fact no member of the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had ever visited the isles of the Pacific (with the exception of Hawaii) or the continents of Asia and Australia up to this juncture. As the South African Mission was then closed (1865–1903) and the Japan Mission not yet opened (1901–1924), Jenson became the first Latter-day Saint to visit all of the existing non-North American LDS missions, since the Mormon evangelization of the Pacific basin frontier commenced in the 1840s.

My purpose in this article is not to detail Jenson's travels abroad (my forthcoming documentary history chronicles the entire

[2] I consciously use the term global rather than international when referring to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints around the world. The Merriam-Webster dictionary (3rd edition) defines global as "of, relating to, or involving the entire world," and international as "of, relating to, or affecting two or more nations." Historically, the term international Church has described Mormonism beyond the borders of the United States, which privileges American members: the leaders and laity living in the Great Basin are assumed to be at the center while everyone else is relegated to the periphery.

[3] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 386–87.

journey),[4] but rather to sketch out the events and forces that propelled the intrepid Dane on this fact-finding mission and to suggest several enduring legacies of his two-year mission for the First Presidency. Jenson's world tour was a watershed event in Mormon history. After sixty-five years of persecution and decades of exile in the American West, the LDS Church was emerging from the shadows of plural marriage, theocracy, and isolationism and adopting a new identity as part of the American mainstream and global Christianity. In fact, while Jenson was abroad the Territory of Utah would gain American statehood. As historian Richard E. Turley Jr. points out, the Church Historian's Office, which sponsored Jenson's two-year journey, had largely been focused on chronicling the history of Brigham Young and the Mormon colonization of the Great Basin Kingdom up to this point. "By the end of the century, a great opportunity existed to document and preserve the history of the Church throughout the world," and Jenson would single-handedly jumpstart the Office's transition from a provincial to a global worldview.[5] His success abroad would also solidify and elevate his employment status to full-time in the Church Historian's Office. And Jenson's tour of the borderlands of Mormonism would later enable him to compile the Encyclopedic History of the Church, with entries on every important place in the LDS past. While visiting the missionary outposts of Mormonism in Polynesia, Australasia, the Middle East, and Europe, Jenson trained local LDS clerks in proper record keeping procedures and would, in time, help formalize and standardize Mormon history writing standards.

[4] Reid L. Neilson, ed., *Tales from the World Tour: The Letters and Journal of Mormon Historian Andrew Jenson, 1895–1897* (forthcoming). The Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University has generously supported and championed the research and editing of this documentary history.

[5] Richard E. Turley Jr., "Gathering Latter-day Saint History in the Pacific," in Grant Underwood, ed., *Pioneers in the Pacific: Memory, History, and Cultural Identity among the Latter-day Saints* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005), 147–48.

Enlarging the Memory of Mormonism

The idea to tour the Church's non-North American missions seems to have been the culmination of years of hard work domestically on the part of Jenson. Beginning in 1889, he began a series of visits to local church units to collect ecclesiastical and pioneer records. During these outings Jenson gathered information from whatever official records he could find as well as personal writings from the early settlers. Stake presidents and bishops were informed of Jenson's task and encouraged to cooperate, in the form of a First Presidency letter. This official endorsement proved useful and ensured that Jenson traveled in relative comfort. He often took the opportunity to address local congregations on the importance of record keeping. In the span of a little more than five years, Jenson visited practically every stake and ward of the Church in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Mexico and Canada, as well as important historical sites in the eastern United States. By March 1895 Jenson had completed his assigned task on behalf of the Church Historian's Office. Over the next few weeks Jenson resumed his work indexing a history of Joseph Smith that had been published in Church's British *Millennial Star* and drafting a history of Apostle Charles C. Rich.[6]

That April Jenson prepared a report of his activities for his file leader Franklin D. Richards, Church Historian and president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He informed Richards that he had now visited all North American stakes and most of the wards, branches, priesthood quorums, and auxiliaries that had existed since the 1830 organization of the Church. Jenson had traveled almost forty thousand miles on behalf of the Church Historian's Office in the process. "In all my travels, public discourses and private conversation I have endeavored to follow your instructions to the letter. I find that a thorough reform in records-keeping throughout the stakes of Zion is necessary; the public Church records, in almost every instance, are kept in a very imperfect manner," he wrote. "Hundreds of the original records kept in older wards years ago have been lost entirely, and others are found in

[6] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 227–228, 387.

the hands of private individuals and parties who have no right to them whatsoever. Jenson further noted to Richards that he had made it a point of his visits to instruct local leaders: "I have given suggestions to clerks, recorders and others as to what ought to be written and what might be left unwritten. My instructions have generally been well received by all concerned, and as a rule I have also been well received personally and treated with due kindness."[7]

Church leaders were impressed with Jenson's North American labors and determined after much discussion to send him on an extended fact-finding mission around the world.[8] (It is interesting to note that while the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles debated the merits of such a journey into early April, Jenson had secured his passport in anticipation by late March.) As an official representative of the Historian's Office, Jenson was expected to replicate his domestic labors abroad to have enough materials to later write histories of all of the Church's missions, districts, and branches. Jenson

[7] Ibid., 227–228.

[8] In subsequent years the idea of sending other church leaders and representatives abroad was discussed by these presiding quorums. In an April 1896 meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Elder Francis M. Lyman proposed that at least one apostle should annually visit each of the church's non-North American missions. "He favored a trip around the world at least once a year by one of the Apostles. He felt the Apostles should be in a position from personal knowledge through visiting our missions to be able to report their condition correctly to the Presidency of the Church," one attendee noted. Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, April 1, 1896, Anthon H. Lund Collection, typescript in Quinn Papers, Yale University Library. Moreover, Heber J. Grant, as a junior apostle, contemplated touring the missions of the Pacific on several occasions, including while serving in Japan as mission president between 1901 and 1903. Ronald W. Walker, "Strangers in a Strange Land," 148; and Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 358. The First Presidency also encouraged and financed an exploratory tour of China by two enterprising missionaries—Alma Taylor and Frederick Caine—on their way home from Japan in 1910 to determine whether or not they should resume the evangelization of the Chinese. See Reid L. Neilson, "Alma O. Taylor's Fact-Finding Mission to China," *BYU Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2001), 177–203.

spent the balance of April 1895 fulfilling his family and ecclesiastical responsibilities in anticipation of his pending departure and projected two year absence. He baptized his daughter, Eleonore Elizabeth, in the Salt Lake Tabernacle basement font and witnessed the birth of his son, Harold Howell. Jenson also moved his historical materials and personal papers and books from his Rosenborg Villa to his home in Salt Lake. "I took the documents to my new study in the second story of my 17th Ward home, and for several days I was busy arranging the papers in the respective shelves and pigeon holes which I had provided."[9] Concerned that Jenson was not paying the proper attention to his family, especially his newborn son and wife, Emma, who had just endured childbirth, Elder Richards encouraged his ambitious employee to curtail his history gathering activities until his departure. "I advised Andrew Jensen [sic] not to go to San Pete but visit & bless his family till his long journey," Richards noted in his diary.[10]

The evening of May 2 was a special moment for Jenson and his family. The entire First Presidency—Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith—together with their wives, and a number of apostles and Church luminaries gathered at Jenson's home in Salt Lake City, where they enjoyed food and musical entertainment by several of the valley's finest singers. Jenson's father, mother, and brother, Joseph, were also in attendance. That night Church leaders toured his personal library which pleased Jenson very much. "They expressed themselves highly pleased with the order in which documents, books and papers were arranged." Only another historian and bibliophile can appreciate the pride with which Jenson showcased his collection that evening. President George Q. Cannon, joined by the other priesthood holders and leaders then set apart and blessed Jenson in anticipation of his world tour. According to Elder Charles W. Penrose's shorthand recounting of the blessing, Jenson was told that the Lord was pleased with his inspired historical efforts, that he would be successful and protected while he traveled to the far reaches of Mormondom, and that he

[9] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 228.
[10] As cited in Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist," 155–56.

would be blessed in all his activities abroad. "My memory should retain that which I should see and hear while abroad. The angels of the Lord would accompany me in my travels on sea and on land; the Holy Ghost should also be my constant companion and enable me to carry with me that influence which I would need in the accomplishment of my arduous and varied labors," Jenson noted of the priesthood prayer. Cannon also promised him that his life would be preserved for many years to come, which prompted Jenson to cancel his life insurance policy days later. Elder Richards then dedicated Jenson's library for safekeeping during his absence.[11]

A week later the First Presidency presented Jenson with a formal missionary certificate that endorsed his history gathering mission to the nations of the world, and bore witness of Jenson's worthiness and ability to perform priesthood ordinances abroad. "We invite all men to give heed to his teachings and counsels as a man of God, and to assist him in his travels and historical labors in whatsoever things he may need, or that may be advantageous in the prosecution of his inquiries. And we pray God the Eternal Father to bless Elder Jenson and all who receive him and minister to his comforts, with the blessings of Heaven and earth, for time and all eternity." Elder Richards also honored Jenson with a lifetime membership certificate to the Genealogical Society of Utah. Its leadership hoped that Jenson, a founding member, would also look after their interests while traveling abroad.[12] After weeks of preparation and goodbyes it was time for Jenson to begin his world tour.

Saturday, May 11, 1895, was the day scheduled for Jenson's departure. "My folks packed my valises and lunch basket, and everything being ready, I called the family into the library, where I united with them in earnest prayer," he recorded in his journal. Jenson then gave priesthood blessings to his wives, children, and in-laws. "In blessing and praying with the family we were all melted to tears and the spirit of God was with us." Late that afternoon Jenson left his home and made his

[11] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 228–30.
[12] Ibid., 230–31.

way with family and friends to the Union Pacific Railway station in Salt Lake City. At 5:20 p.m. his train pulled out of the City of the Saints bound for Ogden, Utah, and from thence, the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia.[13] From the deepwater Canadian port of Vancouver, he crossed the Pacific Ocean by steamer, arriving in Honolulu, Hawaii. There he remained for two months touring the branches and districts of the Hawaiian Mission. Jenson next boarded a steamer heading to Suva, Fiji, although the isles of Melanesia hosted no LDS congregations or missionary outposts. After the Fijian Islands the LDS historian toured the Samoan Mission, comprised at the time of the island nations of Samoa and Tonga. New Zealand was next on his itinerary. In a matter of weeks Jenson came to love the Maori Latter-day Saints and their devotion to the gospel. From New Zealand he traveled east to the Society Islands and French Polynesia. Here he stayed for nearly two months, the region of Mormonism's earliest venture into the Pacific world in 1844. The continent of Australia, together with the members and missionaries of the Australasian Mission, was his final stopover down under. Afterwards Jenson made his way to the Middle East, via the Indian Ocean. After Cairo and Jerusalem, he made a circular tour of Europe. Jenson collected LDS historical data from England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Wales, Ireland and Scotland.

Jenson's Tales from the World Tour, 1895–1897

Jenson kept meticulous records during his global adventure. Not only was he gathering history: Jenson was making it himself. Before leaving Utah, he arranged to have the editors of the LDS Church-owned *Deseret Evening News* serialize his travelogue letters. Jenson was in hopes that Latter-day Saints in Utah would take interest in his journey and catch the vision of proper Mormon record keeping. His first letter, written on May 13, 1895, from Portland, Oregon, was published two weeks later on June 1, under the series title "Jenson's Travels." Over the next year Jenson drafted regular letters, chronicling his adventures in

[13] Ibid., 231.

places that most Latter-day Saints would never have the means, time, or reason to visit personally. He penned his eightieth—and final—letter to his *Deseret Evening News* readers during the summer of 1896, but it was not published until February 19, 1898, one and a half years later. "The letters have been written under many difficulties, quite a number of them on ship board, when my fellow passengers would be wrestling with seasickness or idling away their time in the smoking parlors, playing cards or other games," Jenson explained. "The last sixteen communications, which have not been dated, were mostly written on board the steamer Orotava, on my voyage from Port Said, Egypt, to Naples, Italy, but not submitted to the editor of the 'News' till after my return home, June 4, 1897." He concluded his travelogue by expressing hope that his two years abroad on behalf of the Historian's Office would lay the foundation for future historical studies of global Mormonism. "During my mission I circumnavigated the globe, traveled about 60,000 miles, preached the Gospel on land and on sea, whenever I had the opportunity, and gathered a great deal of historical information, which I trust will prove beneficial and interesting when it is prepared hereafter and incorporated in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the Nineteenth century."[14]

In addition to his published correspondence, Jenson also chronicled his movements and activities in an almost daily journal, a habit he had begun decades earlier as a young man. While his voluminous handwritten diaries remain unpublished in the LDS Church History Library, the Danish-American historian did excerpt and print entries spanning his life as the *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* in 1938, just three years before his death. Jenson devoted 161 pages (227–388) of autobiographical text to his 1895–1897 world tour, or about 24 percent of the entire book. A careful comparison of the two published accounts reveals that Jenson likely used his more detailed letters as the basis for his corresponding journals. Jenson's serialized letters total over 210,000 words while his parallel *Autobiography* passages total about

[14] "Jenson's Travels," *Deseret Weekly News* (Salt Lake City), February 19, 1898.

98,000 words. Nevertheless there is incredible overlap between the two records. Moreover, "Jenson's Travels" end in July 1896 when he departed from the Holy Land to tour the Church's missions in Europe. Fortunately, Jenson's *Autobiography* supplies the details of his final nine months in Europe, as well as his homecoming in America. Reproducing all of "Jenson's Travels" together with Jenson's non-overlapping *Autobiography* sections provides readers with a fascinating account of his door-to-door adventure.[15] I am in the process of editing and annotating both "Jenson's Travels" and relevant portions of his *Autobiography* in preparation for publication.

Jenson's personal writings offer twenty-first century readers a unique window into the LDS past, as well as life around the world at the end of the nineteenth century. Each of his letters and *Autobiography* entries provide a snapshot of particular place and time. Taken together, they present a panoramic motion picture of Gilded Age Mormonism abroad. Jenson describes in great detail daily life and worship for native Latter-day Saints in their homelands. In terms of studying "lived religion," few sources come close to the scope of Jenson's writings. In addition, Jenson tells the story of missionary life in the Church's non-North American evangelism outposts. From his letters and journal one learns that Mormonism was experienced somewhat differently by Euro-American elders and sisters, and their native charges. Jenson also sheds light of the relationship of Mormon and non-Mormon missionaries in various lands, as they competed for new converts, especially commenting on the strained relationships between the LDS and RLDS representatives in the Pacific. Moreover, he offers readers historical overviews of the settlement and colonization of each land and isle he visits, together with a précis of subsequent Mormon beginnings. Always resourceful, Jenson relied on interviews with Church members, missionaries, leaders, former members, other religionists, locals unconnected with religion, government officials, librarians, museum

[15] Jenson published his own account in Danish as *Jorden Rundt: En Reigenbeskrivelse Af Andrew Jenson* (Around the World: A Travelogue of Andrew Jenson) (Salt Lake City: [s.n.], 1908).

curators, newspaper editors, site docents, and anyone else whose ear he could bend. He worked fifteen hours a day, for over two years, gathering materials to take back to Utah, in his capacity as professional (meaning paid) historian, and amateur anthropologist, ethnographer, sociologist, and geographer.

While Jenson's published letters and autobiography share the status of non-North American Mormonism and offer details about the public man, they are simultaneously silent about the inner historian. Jenson is quick to reveal his feelings about race, place, and space around the world, yet he is hesitant to disclose his thoughts on his family, friends, and co-workers. His writings are littered with references to his continual bouts of seasickness on the oceans, but virtually lacking entries about homesickness for his children and wives back in Utah. Between May 1895 and June 1897 he makes almost no mention of his relations. One notable exception occurs when his wife, Emma, travels to Europe for a surprise meeting. Jenson devotes just a handful of sentences to their reunion, and then Emma again disappears from his narrative. Another anomaly occurs months later when he asks the Lord in prayer if he should remain in Europe or return to Utah. Jenson write that he is delighted when he feels impressed to go home. Yet readers are left wondering if he is more excited to be reunited with his babies or his books—his families or his files. When his train pulls into the Salt Lake City depot, twenty-six-months after he left for Vancouver, Jenson notes: "On our arrival there I soon caught sight of my wives, Emma and Bertha, and four of my younger children, namely Minerva, Eleonore, Eva and Harold. They gave me a hearty welcome." Yet he went back to work unpacking his boxes and preparing his files for further historical work that day.

A number of reasons might account for Jenson's lack of transparency in his personal writings. To begin with, Jenson knew that whatever he wrote would soon appear in print in one of Utah's largest newspapers, the *Deseret Evening News*, and likely in memoir to be published. Jenson was mindful that the eyes of Church leaders and laity were following him as he circumnavigated the globe. As such, every-

thing we read is filtered and packaged for general LDS consumption. Moreover, the entire world tour seems to have been Jenson's idea from the beginning. Failure abroad would likely curtail domestic opportunities in the future. It was important to Jenson to be viewed by Latter-day Saints at home as competent and courageous, especially as he was spending lots of Church funds. His reputation rested on how he followed through on his ambitious plan. If the leading brethren were to sense that Jenson was incapable of accomplishing his assigned mission they might call for his premature return or otherwise curtail his ambitious plans. He wanted to be seen as in control of his surroundings, mission, and emotions. And it appears that Jenson was: He never noted any mental breakdowns or even fleeting moments of self-doubt or discouragement. Yet it is possible, given his past strained interpersonal relationships, that there may have been some of Jenson's co-workers in the Historian's Office who were silently rooting for his failure, jealous that Jenson got to undertake such a journey while they remained fettered to their desks in Salt Lake City.

Another possibility for Jenson's lack of private detail in his writings was that Jenson was having the adventure of a lifetime, and did not suffer from bouts of homesickness or feelings of inadequacy. He seemed to treat his world tour just like all of his other extended missionary labors for which he was set apart. Aside from seasickness and shifting weather, Jenson experienced few trials and encountered a small number of obstacles in his travels. And he appears willing to endure anything for the cause of Mormon history writing—it was both his vocation and his avocation. Furthermore, life "on the road" was simple: Jenson only had to worry about food, transportation, housing, and record keeping. Back in Utah, however, he had to juggle his work, church, and family commitments. Jenson was constantly being pulled in multiple directions. But for two years he was left alone to his passion of history. Jenson also enjoyed the celebrity of touring the Church's missions as an official representative of the presiding brethren. "Traveling through the West and the nation, working with bishops, stake presidents, and mission presidents and staying in their homes, he was

treated very much like a General Authority," Louis Reinwand points out. "Almost invariably, he was given an opportunity to speak in local wards, and was often called upon to speak in stake conferences."[16] Back at church headquarters, however, Jenson was merely an overworked and underappreciated clerk in the Historian's Office with an uncertain future and minimal stipend. But on the road he was taken care of like Church royalty. Mission presidents, branch presidents, and local members bent over backwards to accommodate his wishes and make his visits comfortable. Even non-Mormon heads of state and captains of industry in Hawaii, Tonga, Samoa, and French Polynesia agreed to be interviewed by Jenson. Feasts and meetings were held in his honor, especially in the Pacific isles. Perhaps Jenson complained so little in his personal writings because there was not much to fuss about.

Jenson returned to Utah and LDS Church headquarters on June 4, 1897, twenty-five months after saying goodbye to his loved ones. Once he had greeted his family and friends he went to the Historian's Office, where he was welcomed home by apostle and Church Historian Franklin D. Richards and the First Presidency. Jenson had traveled nearly 59,000 miles over land and sea by steamship, schooners, boats, trains, carriages, jinrikisha, and on the backs of horses, camels, and donkeys. In addition to his historical labors, Jenson also accomplished a great deal of church work. He delivered over two hundred and thirty sermons and discourses, baptized two coverts, confirmed eleven new members, blessed six children and eight adults, ordained four men to the priesthood, set apart one sister, and healed many through the priesthood blessings. Jenson further logged that he had enjoyed great vigor despite his arduous schedule: "In all my travels I enjoyed good health considering that I had been subject to so many changes in climate and diet, and returned home well satisfied with my labors. I worked hard and was in this respect perhaps more zealous than wise, for I often stuck to my task sixteen hours a day."[17] Not surprisingly, Jenson was back at his historical labors shortly after his return to Utah.

[16] Reinwand, "Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Historian," 38.
[17] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 386–88.

Weeks later he shared tales from his world tour from the pulpit in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.[18]

Legacy of Jenson's World Tour and Historical Labors

What was the heritage of Jenson's expedition to Mormonism abroad? How did his two year fact-finding mission help shape the balance of his life and the LDS historical enterprise? To begin with, Jenson's historical gathering prowess and determination abroad secured him a fulltime position at home in the Historian's Office, something his previous labors failed to accomplish. On October 19, 1897, three months after his return, the First Presidency called Jenson as Assistant Church Historian, a position he had sought for years. He was sustained by church members the following April general conference. The significance of this formal calling to Jenson personally and the LDS Church institutionally cannot be overstated. It provided Jenson and his family with financial security, professional respect, and ecclesiastical support. In return, Jenson devoted the next four decades of his life to the gathering and writing of Mormon history. "Andrew Jenson's contributions to Latter-day Saint historical literature seem almost incredible, especially in the light of his background," Reinwand describes. "At each stage in his career Jenson exhibited a rare dedication and resourcefulness. His limitless energy and ambition--his capacity to endure, even to enjoy, the drudgery of historical research and writing--made it possible for this otherwise unpromising convert-immigrant to become one of the foremost historians of the Latter-day Saints."[19]

During his sixty-five-year career, which began in 1876 and ended in 1941, Jenson was constantly in the harness of Mormon history. He was the "author of twenty-seven books, editor of four historical periodicals, compiler of 650 manuscript histories and indexes to nearly every important historical manuscript and published reference work, zealous collector of historical records, faithful diarist, and author of more than five thousand published biographical sketches," according to

[18] See "Sunday Services," *Deseret Weekly News*, July 3, 1897.
[19] Reinwand, "Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Historian," 46.

historians David Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington. "Jenson may have contributed more to preserving the factual details of Latter-day Saint history than any other person. At least for sheer quantity his projects will likely remain unsurpassed. Jenson's industry, persistence, and dogged determination in the face of rebuffs and disappointments have caused every subsequent Mormon historian to be indebted to him."[20] It would be difficult to come up with grander praise from two more highly regarded Mormon scholars, who knew the historical field better than any other historians of our day. Many of my colleagues have remarked that it would be almost impossible–and quite irresponsible–to write on nearly any aspect of the LDS past without first reviewing and referencing the historical spade work of Jenson. Had Church leaders not called Jenson to labor full-time as Assistant Church Historian following his world tour there is no way that he could have collected, drafted, and published his corpus of research.

The eventual publication of the *Encyclopedic History of the Church* was a second major legacy of Jenson's global fact-finding mission. The *Encyclopedic History* is a condensed form of Jenson's mission, district, stake, ward, and branch manuscript histories. Having visited nearly every local unit and historical site of the church, Jenson was uniquely qualified to compile such a reference work. He gathered much of the material that comprised the many non-North American entries during his 1895–1897 world tour. "On my extensive travels I have collected a vast amount of historical information, by perusing the records and documents, which have accumulated in the various stakes of Zion and the respective missionary fields. And also by culling from private journals and interviewing many persons of note and long experience in the Church," Jenson reported to Richards upon his return in 1897.

> I have also sent and brought to the Historian's Office hundreds of records from foreign missionary fields, which were not needed abroad anymore, and many more such records which I packed for shipment in different places can be ex-

[20] Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and their Historians*, 41.

> pected here soon with returning elders. My notes being gathered under many difficulties--often hurriedly--need careful compilation and arrangements before they can be used for history. They, however, constitute the foundation and outline for histories of nearly every stake, ward, branch, quorum, association, etc. of the Church, in its gathered state, and of every mission, conference, branch, etc., abroad, from the organization of the Church to the present time.

At the same time, Jenson admitted to Richards that it would "require years of patient toil and labor" to shape these primary source materials into accessible narratives.[21] (While Jenson's record gathering efforts would bear much fruit in subsequent years, it would also make it nearly impossible for Latter-day Saints to write their own ecclesiastical histories without traveling to Salt Lake City, where their primary sources are archived.)

Over the next several decades Jenson would personally shoulder that load. He dreamed and labored to chronicle the rise and spread of Mormonism around the globe. When finished, the content of the *Encyclopedic History* was first serialized in the *Deseret News*. Officially endorsed by the Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, it was published in 1941, his first work copyrighted by the Church. "With the publication of the Encyclopedic History of the Church I feel that my life's work is nearly done, so far as the writing of books and historical articles are concerned," Jenson wrote in the volume's preface in March 1941. "I shall soon pass on to the great beyond, leaving behind a great work yet to be done and plenty of able men and women to do it. I have done my best to contribute to the history of the Church, covering the first century of its existence, but a greater work will be done by future historians as the Church grows."[22] Jenson died that November just months after his final book came off the Deseret News Publishing Company press in Salt Lake City.

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[21] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 388.

[22] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), iv, italics added.

A third major legacy of Jenson's world tour was the subsequent improvement and standardization of Mormon record keeping. Recall that in April 1895, while the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were still debating whether or not to send him abroad, Jenson reported to Elder Franklin Richards on his North American history gathering efforts thus far and pointed out the sorry state of domestic Church documentation. "I find that a thorough reform in records-keeping throughout the stakes of Zion is necessary; the public Church records, in almost every instance, are kept in a very imperfect manner; hundreds of the original records kept in older wards years ago have been lost entirely, and others are found in the hands of private individuals and parties who have no right to them whatsoever," Jenson lamented. "I have made an extraordinary effort in all of my visits and intercourse with leading men, and the people generally, to emphasize the importance of not only making records, but also preserving them after they are made; and I have given suggestions to clerks, recorders and others as to what ought to be written and what might be left unwritten."[23] His disheartening report may have been the catalyst that prodded Church leaders to send him around the world to gather and preserve the Mormonism's global past.

Jenson's worst fears concerning the state of local records abroad were realized as he toured the Church's non-North American missions and witnessed first-hand the deplorable state of their preservation. In June 1897 he again reported to Richards, this time on his findings in the Pacific Islands, Australasia, the Middle East, and Europe. "In some of my previous reports I have referred to the very imperfect state of our records as kept of late years throughout the Church. I would earnestly recommend a thorough reformation in regard to record keeping," Jenson wrote. "There is a lack of system and uniformity throughout the Church, and in the recording of ordinance work, and in the making of minutes and rolls, statistical reports, annual reports, etc., etc. Each mission, stake and ward seems to have its own peculiar system, or no system at all; and until regular forms and blanks are furnished from

[23] Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, 227.

headquarters for use throughout the entire Church, this irregularity must necessarily continue."[24] As Assistant Church Historian, Jenson oversaw the creation, dissemination, and collection of standardized forms and reports used by all Church missions and local units. During much of the twentieth century, all of the Church's missions were responsible for sending in annual historical reports, including detailed statistics to the Church Historian's Office, where Jenson toiled.

Postscript

Through his own hard work and the seeming hand of Providence, LDS historian Andrew Jenson found his niche as a laborer in the cause of Mormonism. He pursued the goal of collecting and writing the most comprehensive, accurate, and useful histories of the Church with a rare passion. Jenson spent the balance of his life compiling massive histories that he suspected few Latter-day Saints would read in their entirety. It is impossible to understand or appreciate Jenson's drive and historical contributions except through a spiritual perspective. Acquiring, documenting, and publishing church history was not purely a scholarly or historical pursuit for the untiring Danish American. Jenson believed his was a spiritual labor with eternal ramifications. While visiting early LDS Church history sites with Edward Stevenson and Joseph S. Black in 1888, Jenson and his companions encountered a number of Mormon schismatic groups. Stevenson shared with Jenson a principle that Joseph Smith had taught him in Nauvoo: "Where the true Church is, there will always be a majority of the saints, and the records and history of the Church also."[25] Jenson apparently took this counsel to heart and thereafter viewed the possession of the physical history of Mormonism as defining marks of the legitimate Restoration movement. He devoted his adult life to protecting what he considered to be the sacred records of the final dispensation and to enlarge the memory of Mormonism.

[24] Ibid., 388.
[25] Ibid., 153.

Jenson preached the importance of record keeping in his many sermons and general conference addresses. "If it had not been for the writers . . . who belonged to the original Church, what would the doings of Christ mean to us?" Jenson challenged the Latter-day Saints on one occasion. "And if somebody had not recorded them and other beautiful sayings of Christ and his apostles, what would we have known of the ministry of Christ and of his apostles? We would merely have had some vague ideas handed down by tradition that would lead astray more than lead aright."[26] In other words, if not for the writers and historians of past dispensations, there would be no sacred history in the form of Hebrew and Christian scripture. The same would hold true in this dispensation, he often taught, if church members failed to keep contemporary ecclesiastical and personal histories. Jenson had his own sense of cosmic foreordination as a latter-day historian. Reflecting on the idea of "noble and great ones" chosen in the premortal life to perform specific tasks he mused on his own fortune as follows:

> For 4000 years I had perhaps been keeping a record of what had taken place in the spirit world. The Lord having chosen me to become a historian kept me waiting these many years from the time Adam and Eve were placed in the Garden of Eden. Then about 86 years ago (earth time) the Father of my spirit came to me and said: My son you have kept a faithful record of your brothers and sisters (my sons and daughters) who have been sent down to earth from time to time and now it is your turn to go and tabernacle in mortality. . . . At length I found myself as the Danish-born Andreas Jensen who later became universally known as the Americanized Dane Andrew Jenson the historian. Lo here I am on hand to do the work unto which I was appointed.[27]

[26] Andrew Jenson, in *Ninety-Seventh Semiannual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1926), 54–59, as cited in Paul H. Peterson, "Andrew Jenson Chides the Saints," *BYU Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2000), 198.

[27] As cited in Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist," 248.

This spiritual sense of destiny, coupled with an unmatched work ethic and passion for history, shaped Jenson's life and work. One merely needs to search the Church History Library catalog for works by Jenson to get a glimpse of his labors.

I have argued elsewhere that global LDS history is Church history. Latter-day Saints need to realize that much of our most interesting history occurred abroad. We must remember that the "restoration" of the gospel continues to occur every time a new country is dedicated by apostolic authority for proselyting. In other words, the original New York restoration of 1830 was in many ways replicated in Great Britain in 1837, Japan in 1901, Brazil in 1935, Ghana in 1970, Russia in 1989, and Mongolia in 1992. Mormon historians need to refocus their scholarly gaze from Palmyra, Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City to Tokyo, Santiago, Warsaw, Johannesburg, and Nairobi. These international cities and their histories will become increasingly important to our sacred history. These non-North American stories need to be told with greater frequency and with better skill.[28] In this sense Jenson was a man ahead of his times. In the final years of the nineteenth century the yeoman workhorse of the Church Historian's Office had the foresight and willingness to dedicate two years of his life to documenting the global church and its membership. As Louis Reinwand points out, "Jenson played a vital role in keeping alive the ideal of a universal Church. He was the first to insist that Mormon history include Germans, Britons, Scandinavians, Tongans, Tahitians, and other national and cultural groups, and that Latter-day Saint history should be written in various languages for the benefit of those to whom English was not the native tongue."[29] Back in 1895, when Jenson completed his passport application in anticipation for his two-year world tour, he likely had little inkling of the far reaching effects his fact-finding mission would have on his life and on Mormon history.

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[28] Reid L. Neilson, "Introduction," in Reid L. Neilson, ed., *Global Mormonism in the Twenty-first Century* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2008), xv.

[29] Reinwand, "Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Historian," 45.

William Phelps's Paracletes, an Early Witness to Joseph Smith's Divine Anthropology

Samuel Brown

In the summer of 1845, William Wines Phelps—Joseph Smith's political clerk, amanuensis, ghostwriter, and linguistic coach—published a piece of very short science fiction "to counterbalance the foolish novel reading of the present generation."[1] His creative and heavily theological work, entitled "Paracletes" (his plural for *Parakletos,* the "Advocate" or "Comforter" of the King James New Testament) and published under a pseudonym—Joseph's Speckled Bird—drawn from his first patriarchal blessing, provides stunning vistas on the nature of Mormonism among Joseph Smith's inner circle around the time of his murder.[2]

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[1] On Phelps's role in Nauvoo, see Samuel Brown, "The Translator and the Ghostwriter: Joseph Smith and W.W. Phelps," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Winter 2008), 26–62. The story and Phelps's introductory remarks are published as Joseph's Speckled Bird, "Paracletes," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 8 (May 1, 1845), 891–2 and "The Paracletes, Continued," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 10 (June 1, 1845), 917–8.

[2] H. Michael Marquardt, comp. and ed. *Early Patriarchal Blessings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007), 43, August 27, 1835. Joseph Smith Sr. called Phelps "a 'speckled Bird,' and the Lord hath held thee up to be gazed at: Thou art a strange man," thereby invoking Jeremiah 12:9. Phelps was very proud of his role as Smith's ghostwriter, and used the phrase "speckled bird" in his letter to William Smith of December 25, 1844, which also advances several of the themes presented in "Paracletes." William Phelps, "The Answer," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 24 (January 1, 1845), 757–8. The use of "wordprints" to disprove Phelpsian authorship of the piece in Wayne Larsen and Alvin Rencher, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," in Noel Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1996 [1982])*, 163, 166, 170 and 185 is more an indictment of "wordprints" than any reason to reject the historical evidence of Phelps as the author, particularly in a sample of fiction writing that is heavily laden with jargon and biblical catch-phrases.

This fascinating text, a detailed treatment of what I term Joseph Smith's divine anthropology[3], has been largely ignored.[4] Despite this neglect, "Paracletes" provides a crucial window on the complex network of beliefs undergirding the divine anthropology. This set of teachings, most famously expounded by Smith in two public sermons in the spring of 1844, has generated various echoes in later Mormonism, from the Adam-God of Brigham Young, to the Goddess-Eve of Eliza R. Snow, to Orson Pratt's exposition of the universal ether, panpsychism, and infinite regression of gods, to a distinctive belief in guardian angels popularized by Orson Hyde, to its most famous summary in Lorenzo Snow's pithy couplet, "As man now is, God once was; As God now is,

[3] I propose this phrase as an inclusive title for Smith's teachings variably designated "apotheosis" or "divinization," combined with the heavily anthropomorphized or humanized God. Van Hale's "Plurality of Gods Concepts" is a cumbersome title for one aspect of this group of doctrines. ("Doctrinal Impact," 224). These teachings are often designated the King Follett doctrine, in reference to the April 1844 church general conference sermon dedicated to Elder King Follett, who had died the month earlier, and whose actual funeral sermon Smith also preached. See "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 15 (August 15, 1844), 614–20. The original funeral sermon is published in Andrew Ehat and Lyndon Cook, comp. and ed., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The contemporary accounts of the Nauvoo discourses of the Prophet Joseph*. Provo, UT: Grandin Book Co, 1991., 327–336, 389–392. Follett died March 9. Eulogies and accounts of the funeral are printed as "Communicated," *Nauvoo Neighbor*, vol. 1, no. 47 (March 20, 1844), 2. On the April sermon, see the various papers in *BYU Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Winter 1978).

[4] "Paracletes" has not been entirely neglected. Van Hale mentions the story in passing as an early support for the divine anthropology and perhaps spirit birth, while James Custer, in a piece for his *LDSRemnant* website, has reprinted Phelps's story in a muddled treatment of "Subordinate Gods," while Corbin Volluz has mentioned the piece in a review of early Mormon writings on Jesus Christ as humanity's elder brother. Occasionally, and with their characteristic mixture of fervor, credulity, and antagonism, the LDS internet message boards have broached the subject. Van Hale, "Doctrinal Impact," 222; http://ldsremnant.com/content/view/64/33/; Corbin Volluz, "Jesus Christ as Elder Brother," *BYU Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2006), 141–158, esp. 143, 155–6; http://www.mormonapologetics.org/lofiversion/index.php/t10201.html, websites accessed February 24, 2008.

man may be."[5] Some later scholars have found reason to equivocate about Smith's direct involvement in these ramifications of his divine anthropology. "Paracletes" provides a convenient summary, some clarification of core doctrines, as well as a missing link on the route to the later belief systems that derived from it. Essentially all of the critical beliefs are present in the story: a plurality of anthropomorphic Gods led by one called the "head" of the Gods, divinized humans, the equivalence of angels and humans, an interconnected Chain of Being comprising planets, epochs, and godly beings without beginning or end, and a supernatural Adam who took stewardship for earth's creation and its inhabitants in collaboration with other Gods. The core meaning of Smith's divine anthropology is also apparent in this treatment: the Prophet was attempting to reveal a cosmic family of genetically related beings, a familial scope for the vastness of existence.

So too are some of the sources of the divine anthropology clear—fragments of pure religion extracted from phrases in the Old and New Testaments, the prevalent construct of the Chain of Being, and an obsession with language and the power of words that borders on the kabbalistic.[6] By consolidating, situating, and summarizing Smith's divine anthropology, "Paracletes" also points the way to later versions, particularly the one now termed "Adam-God" that Brigham Young advocated a decade or so later. Importantly for later threads, "Paracletes" demonstrates the fluidity of identification of participants and locations in the cosmic saga. In something like the metaphysical rule of correspondence,[7] the Genesis creation was every creation, Adam and

[5] Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1884), 10, 46.

[6] See Samuel Brown, "Joseph Smith's Death Conquest: Sacerdotal Genealogy and the Great Chain of Being," American Academy of Religion, November 18, 2006, Washington DC, Brown, "The Translator and the Ghostwriter," and Brown, "Joseph (Smith) in Egypt: Babel, Hieroglyphs, and the Pure Language of Eden," *Church History* 78:1 (March 2009), 26-65.

[7] On correspondence in American metaphysical religion, see Catherine Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 6, 13–6, 26–7, 141, 164.

Eve were every godly being, the "head" was the parent of every creation. The Mormon identification with Christ, a special kind of *imitatio Christi*, is a robust example of this correspondence—attributes of salvation, creation, embodiment and pre-existence familiar from mainstream Christianity extended in the divine anthropology from Christ, to the angelic paracletes, to human beings. The fluidity of identity that correspondence enabled provided the flexibility that underlay the variety of later interpretations at once consistent and inconsistent.

The most significant debate over the divine anthropology centers on innovations proposed by Brigham Young in the 1850s. Young's precise theology termed "Adam-God" and later discountenanced as speculative fodder for sectarians, is notoriously difficult to define in reproducible terms. One standard version maintains that Adam was a pre-resurrected being (an embodied god) populating his own worlds the way faithful Mormons would one day do themselves, and as such Adam was "the only god with whom we have to do" in Young's famous phrase of April 1852.[8] By extension this Adam was the father of Jesus in some important sense. Young often complained that his listeners did not understand what he was saying about Adam, and confusion persists to the present day. Despite the controversy, the early witness of "Paracletes" to this debate has not been appreciated in a watershed 1982 review or a variety of less formal treatments.[9]

In Phelps's hands, Adam, one of many paracletes (humanized angels or divinized humans) chose to settle earth as a maturing but not yet embodied immortal. He did so with his wife and then fell, "that man might be." Simultaneously, though, Phelps lacks the crux of Young's innovation: Adam clearly retains a father who is relevant to the inhabitants of Adam's world, a world which he calls Idumia. Further-

[8] *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, (Liverpool: LDS Book Depot, 1856), 50–1.

[9] David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 14–58, esp. 27. See also http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam-God_theory, http://fairmormon.org/Adam-God, http://irr.org/mit/WDIST/adam-god.html, all accessed February 24, 2008.

more, where Young strongly elevated his Adam-Michael figure to perfection, Phelps's Adam-Michael remained an entity in training. The other essential elements of Smith's expanded divine anthropology are all present both in "Paracletes" and in Young's extension. Divinized, highly evolved beings organized the earth before peopling it, then assumed a body and lost their memory, while before and after their incarnation they were integrated with prior genealogical iterations of creation.[10]

Beyond presenting a link between Joseph Smith and Young's Adam-God, Phelps's short story provides windows on several other aspects of early Mormon belief. Contrary to the "infinite regress" view, and in support of Blake Ostler's "kingship monotheism,"[11] Phelps reports a "head" God, one intermittently identified with the Lord-God of the Old Testament. (He would later equivocate on this point, following uncertain cues in Joseph Smith's June 1844 Sermon in the Grove.[12]) Contrary to some versions of Brigham Young's Adam-God formulation, Adam was an immature immortal, and the "head" remained involved in earthly affairs. In support of Eliza R. Snow and others, the divine anthropology clearly included God's wife, the entity later dubbed Mother in Heaven (though more likely denominated the Queen of Heaven at the time).[13]

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[10] Strictly speaking, Young appears to have believed that Adam's body became mortal at the time of the fall rather than Adam assuming a new body, though the notion of Adam becoming mortal as a stage in his development is shared between Young and Phelps.

[11] The most current exposition of this view is Blake T. Ostler, *Exploring Mormon Thought: Of God and Gods* (Salt Lake City: Kofford Books, 2008), Ch. 1.

[12] Teaching Greek in Winter Quarters, Phelps retranslated 2 Peter 1:17, converting "he received from God the Father honer Glory" into "he recived in presence of God's Father honer and Glory," misunderstanding apposed Greek genitive nouns. This later belief in God having a Father of his own is not clearly endorsed in Paracletes. Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters: The 1846-1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), February 21, 1847, 191.

[13] John Heeren, Donald Lindsey, Marylee Mason, "The Mormon Concept of Mother in Heaven: A Sociological Account of Its Origins and Development,"

Central to the divine anthropology is Smith's taxonomy of supernatural beings. In "Paracletes," the Mormon angelology is expounded and clarified. The very title of the story, the plural for the term antebellum Christians understood to describe the Holy Ghost (John 14:26) and a reference to Smith's Sermon in the Grove, invokes an identity of human and angels that runs deep in early Mormonism.[14] Phelps also affirms the existence of guardian angels, a doctrine usually associated with Orson Hyde, who was preaching their existence aggressively in the 1840s.[15] In the supernatural family of early Mormonism, these angels, necessary to communication between the earth and heaven, would never leave the faithful without protection.

There are also metatextual lessons to be learned from "Paracletes," including the fascinating use of language, the marvellous complexity of Mormon Biblical literalism, and the role of temple allusions in post-Martyrdom Nauvoo. In Phelps's expansive restatements of Smith's King Follett sermon and Sermon in the Grove, short scriptural phrases—what critics would call proof-texts and friends would call "fragments" of truth—provided the anchors for distinctive and innovative doctrines. In a heavily bibliocentric society, early Latter-day Saints developed a sophisticated if fragmentary witness for their new doctrines.[16] A reference to "many mansions" affirmed celestial pluralism, a denunciation of pagan goddesses confirmed mothers in heaven, a refer-

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Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, vol. 23, no. 4 (December 1984), 396–411, Linda Wilcox, "The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 64–77.

[14] Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 382.

[15] "'All Things Move in Order in the City': the Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs," ed. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *BYU Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Spring 1979), 298, 307; "Dedication of the Seventies Hall," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1, 1845), 796.

[16] On American bibliocentrism, see the essays published in Mark Noll and Nathan Hatch, ed., *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

ence to "lords many" undergirded the plurality of gods.[17] Joseph Smith explained his use of proof-texts in his sermon devoted to defending the plurality of Gods, "I will still go on & shew you proof on proof. all the Bible is as equal one part as another."[18] Phelps's story includes snippets of Biblical language in almost every paragraph. This proof-texting borders on bibliomancy, a popular practice of divining the will of God from isolated words and phrases.[19] Interspersed among the litany of Biblical proof texts came quiet allusions to Smith's temple endowment rites, an almost undetectable shibboleth for the initiated. Where those out of favor, most notoriously Sidney Rigdon, were excluded from power by their ignorance of the temple,[20] Phelps made frequent subtle allusions to temple rites. Simultaneously he established a society of temple-aware Saints and emphasized the centrality of temple mysteries to the evolving divine anthropology.

This story also provides us a window to the soul of its author. Deeply ashamed by his act of betrayal during the 1838 Missouri Mormon War and known as a somewhat bombastic autodidact, Phelps worked hard in the last years of Smith's life to prove his worth, broadcasting and enhancing his prophet's skill and power. In his public and private writings he adored the prophet he served and saw himself as critical to ensuring Smith's reputation as a translator.[21] Despite his history as an anti-Masonic campaigner, Phelps clearly loved mysteries

[17] Phelps, "The Answer," 758.

[18] Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 382.

[19] Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), 47–9.

[20] Phelps publicly accused Rigdon of lacking power by token of his lack of endowment in "Special Meeting," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 16 (September 2, 1844), 638. See also "Continuation of Elder Rigdon's Trial," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 17 (September 15, 1844), 664. Andrew Ehat's master's thesis ("Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," Brigham Young University, 1982) makes this point in great detail.

[21] Walter D. Bowen, "The Versatile W.W. Phelps – Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer," (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958) and Brown, "Ghostwriter."

and believed in the power of ancient letters and languages, views he shared with broader hermetic culture. He used the Greek term for "advocate" to designate humanized angels, while he preferred Hebrew names mixed with a Latin prefix to denominate the most important of the angels, familiar behavior since at least his 1835–1836 work on the Kirtland Egyptian Papers. That these papers and the associated Book of Abraham figure prominently in "Paracletes" is a reminder of the centrality of the Abraham project for both Phelps and Smith.[22] Though, for complex reasons, Phelps never became an apostle and slowly faded (beyond his popular hymns) from historical notice after his death, this sometime newspaper editor and surprisingly agile linguist played an important if under-appreciated role in the transfer of ecclesiastical power from Smith to the Quorum of the Twelve in the main church. He served as "assistant" editor to John Taylor for *Times and Seasons*, responsible for a variety of official editorials over Taylor's implied signature and prepared the Hebrew of the King Follett discourse for official publication.[23] Working in Nauvoo at the time of the Smith brothers' murder, he helped receive their bodies, preached the Smith brothers' funeral sermon, and figured prominently in the meetings in the Fall of 1844 when matters of church leadership were settled.[24] Phelps published his story from a position of prominence and power.

Ultimately, though, the importance of this short story lies in its capacity to introduce readers to the idea-world of the early Latter-day Saints, to imagine with them what came before and would come after. The ebb and flow of the divine anthropology should not distract ob-

[22] Brown, "Ghostwriter," 33–7, 59–61, Brown, "Joseph (Smith) in Egypt," and Samuel Brown, "Joseph Smith's Kirtland Egyptian Papers: Hieroglyphs, the Sacerdotal Genealogy, and the Antidote to Babel," Sunstone Symposium, August 9, 2007, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[23] Kevin Barney, "Joseph Smith's Emendation of Genesis 1:1," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 30, no. 4 (Winter 1997), 116–18.

[24] "Special Meeting," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 16 (September 2, 1844), 638. See Richard van Wagoner and Steven Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," *BYU Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Winter 1983), 3–18, [John Taylor], "Patriarchal," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 10 (June 1, 1845), 920.

servers from appreciating the imaginative scope and power of what early Latter-day Saints understood their founding prophet to be preaching. Distant galaxies not only had names, they had humanized histories, could be understood, even tamed by those who wielded the power of Smith's priesthood. Adam and Eve, our prototypical parents and selves, held the secrets to human origins and destiny. However whimsical and strange it sounds to a modern audience, Phelps meant "Paracletes" in dead earnest. To the readers of his speculative fiction, Phelps hoped that "perhaps this subject may excite the curiosity of some as it will lead the mind back among the worlds that have been organized and passed away,-and among the Gods and angels that have attended to execute the laws and decrees of one universe after another, from eternity to eternity, from the beginning till now." Phelps almost certainly achieved his goal

Annotated Text of "Paracletes"

Once upon a time, the most honorable men of the creations or universes, met together to promote the best interest of the great whole. The "head"[25] said to his oldest son[26], you are the rightful heir[27] to all, but you know I have many kingdoms and many mansions,[28] and of course it will need many kings and many priests[29], to govern them, come you with me in solemn council, and let us and some of the "best" men we have had born in the regions of light[30], to rule in those kingdoms and set them in order by exhibiting good that evil may be manifest.

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[25] Smith, in exegesis of Genesis 1: 1, apparently designated God the Father as the "head" of the Gods, reasoning from the plural *Eloheim* and his reanalysis of *reshit* as referring to the "head." See Barney, "Joseph Smith's Emendation," 103–135. Smith had also, in exegesis of Revelation 7:3, proposed that the "head" referred to a patriarchal ancestor, the location of the "seal" provided by Christ. See Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 238-242, 13 August 1843—see especially the Franklin Richards account of the sermon.

[26] This appears to refer to Jesus, later denominated as Jehovah. See Abraham 3:24.

[27] George Laub's transcription of the King Follett sermon reports Smith as saying that Jesus had claim on the earth as "his right by inheritance." Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 362.

[28] Smith used the reference to "many mansions" in John 14:2 to situate his plural afterlife in his King Follett sermon. See "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 15 (August 15, 1844), 616–7.

[29] Alluding to Revelation (1:6, 5:10), "kings and priests" became a temple-emphatic reference to heavenly government.

[30] This rough paraphrase of Matt 4: 16 was popular in Anglo-American religious writing as a trope for the realm where God lived. See James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations* (New York: Richard Scott, 1824), 176, a book Joseph Smith owned in Nauvoo. An editorialist, probably Phelps, used "region of light" to refer to America's Zionist future in 1835., "Lo, The Days Come," *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 11 (August 1835), 166. This may be an early witness to the contested doctrine of spirit birth, though being "born in the regions of light" could easily be understood metaphorically.

It was said and done, for everything there, was adopted from the "head" by common consent.[31] As free agency[32] gave the sons of the "head" a fair chance to choose for themselves, the most noble of the hosts, came forward and selected a world or kingdom, and a time or a season, when he would take his chance, at winning the hearts of the multitude, a kingdom, crown, and never ending glory.[33]

The innumerable multiplicity of kingdoms, or spheres for action, with beings and animals in proportion, and time, times, eternity and eternities, for a full development of the qualities and powers of each, would so far exceed the common comprehension of mortals, that I can only say eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath a natural heart yet been able to calculate either.[34] I then shall content myself, for this time to sketch but one. Idumia[35] is the one as interesting as any,

[31] This phrase referred to early Latter-day Saint church governance. See *Doctrine and Covenants* 26:2, 28: 13. Early Mormons saw their church organization as reflecting a heavenly system.

[32] In the early American Republic this catch phrase of Latter-day Saints was a repudiation of orthodox Calvinist constructions of human will. It figured in much of Smith's scripture, from Book of Mormon to his Bible translations to his book of Abraham. See Kathleen Flake, "Translating Time: The Nature and Function of Joseph Smith's Narrative Canon," *Journal of Religion* 87 (October 2007), 515–9 for a religious studies perspective on the centrality of agency to early Mormon cosmogony.

[33] Phelps uses Christological images to describe each of the "noble" beings responsible for a given creation. These figures are the "noble and great ones" of the Abraham revelation (Chapter 3). His reference to "winning the hearts of the multitude" refers to the cosmic scope of Mormon evangelism, as in his 1836 letter to his wife Sally, which advertised that all his converts would be "a crown of many stars" in the afterlife. Bruce A. Van Orden, ed. "Writing to Zion: the William W. Phelps Kirtland Letters (1835–1836)," *BYU Studies*, vol. 33, no. 3 (1993), 559.

[34] This idea of an "innumerable multiplicity" of "beings and animals in proportion" drew on Thomas Dick, the Great Chain of Being, and a variety of folk beliefs about the significance of the stars. See Brown, "Great Chain of Being."

[35] Phelps is appropriating Smith's use of Idumea (Biblical Edom) in his preface to the 1833 *Book of Commandments* (now *Doctrine and Covenants* 1) to signify the "world."

and being situated at an immense distance from the center or "head's" residence[36], and many eternities from the birth of the "Son of the morning"[37] or even the great holy day when the "morning stars sang together,"[38] because so many worlds had been wrought out and left "empty and desolate,"[39] as places for "all the sons" of God to multiply and replenish the earth, I select that.[40]Time being divided into seven parts,[41] the following men agreed to leave the mansions of bliss, and spiritually help organize every thing necessary to fill a kingdom for the space of many of the Lord's days[42], viz: Milauleph, Milbeth, Milgimal,

[36] Smith proposed that a celestial body named Kolob stood nearest God's residence. In the KEP, Phelps and Smith proposed that temporospatial distances from Kolob determined cosmic significance, using an appropriation of the Old Testament measure the cubit to express these distances. See Brown, "Kirtland Egyptian Papers."

[37] In Isaiah 14:12 this phrase refers to Lucifer. Phelps appears to be using the term more broadly to describe pre-earth divine beings as the "sons of morning," probably as a synonym for the "sons of God" mentioned in Job 38:7.

[38] Early Latter-day Saints often used Job 38:7 as the biblical proof-text to confirm both human pre-existence and the nature of the Council in Heaven. See *Doctrine and Covenants* 128:23. This scripture is generally associated with stars and immortality in even ancient exegesis. Alan Segal, *Life After Death: The Afterlife in Western Religions* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 265. Phelps appears to be situating the first creation in all universes within Old Testament narratives via this reference to Job, using a form of correspondence. Phelps's Adam apparently lived many generations after these events. This phrase may also attribute a spirit birth to the Lucifer of Isaiah 14.

[39] Phelps is quoting Abraham 4:2, itself an exegesis of Genesis 1:2.

[40] This phrase emphasizes the extent to which Phelps universalized the Genesis creation account.

[41] This is typical of Protestant eschatology, representing the "seven seals" of Revelation 5.

[42] Phelps here is using "Lord" to refer to the "head" God, consistent with the early Mormon view that God the Father, the Lord of the Old Testament, was the ruling God of the universe, including the earth. These "days" refer to one-thousand years, an allusion to 2 Peter 3:8 that Phelps and Smith used in the Kirtland Egyptian Papers. Phelps actually used this equation to calculate the age of the earth as 2.5 billion years (7,000 years at 1,000 years per day) in "The Answer," 758.

Mildauleth, Milhah, Milvah and Milzah.[43] Now after they had organized the kingdom of Idumia spiritually, then one at a time, was to come temporally and open the door of communication with the spiritual kingdom,[44] that all that would, might return to their former estate[45]; for, for this reason, all the regions created and to be created, were filled with a variety of beings[46]: agents to themselves but accountable to the "head" for promises, made, when they agreed "to go" and be born of the flesh as they had been of the spirit[47]; that they might know the evil,

[43] Phelps is prefixing "mil" (probably from "millennium" or perhaps neologistic contraction of the Hebrew *melek* for "king") to idiosyncratic spellings of the first seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet. While kabbalistic associations are reasonable here, there is no evidence Phelps invoked gematria (mystical arithmetic of letters). This construction more likely indicates Phelps's avid use of Hebrew as a sign of his linguistic skill and specific mastery of ancient Hebrew. Several of his idiosyncratic translations of Bible texts, apparently from an eighteenth-century Hebrew text by Johann Michaelis, were printed in the *Times and Seasons*. "CX Psalm," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 14 (August 1, 1844), 600–1; "Keys," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 23 (December 15, 1844), 748; "Which is Right?" *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1, 1845), 791. Phelps had mixed languages in the KEP, making the Latin-Hebrew combination not unexpected. Brown, "Joseph (Smith) in Egypt," 54-56. The KEP contain another possible hint, defining a portion of the Hebrew *aleph* as "*Albeth*," which means "Angels or disembodied spirits or saints." *GAEL* (KEPE 1), 29. See also Phelps's 1835 diary (MS 3450, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City), which contains various translations and linguistic speculations—see discussion in Brown, "Translator and Ghostwriter," 55–8.

[44] Early Mormons apparently believed that angels were the means of mediating communication from heaven, not unlike Catholic hagiolatry, though both sides would have resented such a comparison. See "The Angels," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 4 (March 1, 1845), 823–4, written either by Phelps or John Taylor, who preached the same thing on July 6, 1845 as recorded in "Discourse of Elder John Taylor," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 21 (January 15, 1846), 1098–1102.

[45] Phelps is following Smith's Abraham 3:26 in associating "estates" with stages of development through a Progressive Chain of Being. He is also punning on estate as a royal residence.

[46] This is another allusion to the Chain of Being.

[47] Phelps hints at LDS sacramental theology as he appears to affirm spirit birth which by correspondence mirrors spiritual rebirth on earth.

and choose the good: and then be born again of the spirit and the water,"[48] and enter into the mansions prepared for them before the foundations of the worlds.[49]

Milauleph being the eldest and first chosen for Idumia,[50] came on when "there was not a man to till the ground,"[51] that is, there was not a "man of flesh"[52] to labor temporally; and his elder brethren[53] who had wrought out their salvation, upon worlds or realms, or kingdoms, ages, yea even eternities before[54], formed him a temporal body like unto their spiritual bodies, and put the life of his spiritual body into it, and gave him the power of endless lives.[55]

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[48] John 3. This emphasizes baptism as both a mystical rebirth and a necessary sacrament, addressing debates in antebellum Protestantism about the sacramental status of baptism.

[49] Ephesians 1:4 and 1 Pet 1:20, both texts Mormons appropriated to confirm human pre-existence.

[50] This first of the millennial-sounding angels, named for *aleph*, stands in for Adam in this account. (Though there is no clear evidence Phelps had read them, the famed hermeticists Robert Fludd and Jacob Boehme used *Dark Aleph* and *Light Aleph* to represent the main spiritual forces in the universe; Albanese, *Republic of Mind and Spirit*, 46–7). Phelps had speculated, in attempted translations of Isaiah 2 in his 1835 diary, about the universalization of Adam in attempts to explain why the Hebrew *adam* means "man," or "a man." In "Paracletes," Phelps intends one divine figure to stand in for many others in much the same way.

[51] Genesis 2:5.

[52] Phelps appears to be using this term to distinguish embodied angels from the unembodied and may be modifying material from Genesis 2:23.

[53] The Council is standing in for the "head" in this retelling of Genesis. In Phelps, as in Smith, the boundaries between the head and the council are fluid.

[54] This suggests another class of being or stage of development, embodied and exalted. This position logically implies that Jesus would have been embodied before his earth life, a claim not clearly made in the divine anthropology.

[55] This importantly distinguishes Phelps from Young's Adam-God. This Adam did not have a physical body before the earth's creation. The Mormon doctrine of embodiment is complex. Whatever its details, Phelps echoed Smith's conviction that embodiment was a rate-limiting step in eternal progression. Phelps is playing with the image of God inspiring the breath of life into his offspring, a Mormon version of *ruakh*. Smith had been using "endless lives" to

Now the acts of his spiritual body, while he was a child with his father and mother in heaven[56]; and his acts while he was in the spiritual councils of the Gods for millions of years;-and his acts upon Idumia, while he named, arranged and prepared everything upon it to fulfil the end and aim of their creation[57], behold they are written in 'the books' of the 'head,'[58]-which are to be opened when the judgment comes for just men to enter into the joys of a 'third existence' which is spiritual.[59]

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refer to the ceaseless plurality of the afterlife since at least August 27, 1843 when he announced that his higher priesthood was for "administering endless lives to the sons and daughters of Adam." Scott Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989) 409.

[56] There has been some controversy about how early a mother (or mothers) in heaven appears in the historical record. Phelps first emphasized this view in his December 25, 1844 "Answer" to William Smith (p. 758), and he here amplifies his belief. The phrase also likely supports the doctrine of spirit birth.

[57] This refers to the naming of animal creation in Genesis 2:19–20. This episode was important to Smith's and Phelps's views of language and the primordium. Brown, "Joseph (Smith) in Egypt," 51-52.

[58] The belief in the power of sacred records in early Mormonism is familiar in Richard Bushman's interpretation in "The Book of Mormon in Early Mormon History," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, eds., *New Views of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 3–18. Phelps's reference confirms a more mystical belief in the scriptures actually being written by Latter-day Saints, including what they called the Book of the Law of the Lord, the Patriarchal Blessing Book, the Relief Society Minutes, and the early church organs. See [Warren Cowdery], "Prospectus," *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 3, no. 11 (August 1837), 546, Jill Derr, "Preserving the Record and Memory of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, 1842–1892," paper presented at Mormon History Association conference, Salt Lake City, May 26, 2007, Alex Smith, "Joseph Smith's Nauvoo Journals: Understanding the Documents," paper presented at the Mormon History Association conference, Casper, Wyoming, May 27, 2006, Samuel Brown, "The 'Beautiful Death' in the Smith Family," *BYU Studies*, vol. 45, no. 4 (2006), 137–8, Marquardt, ed., *Early Patriarchal Blessings*, esp. 39, 58, 71, 76, 87, 163 and 186–7. In many respects these various texts appear to be recapitulations of the Biblical Book of Life.

[59] This third existence is an early witness to a "third estate" in Mormon salvation and should be read as equivalent to "exaltation."

Milauleph had one thousand years[60] to account for, as well as to be 'arch angel' of Idumia, after he laid down his temporal body.[61] Behold here is wisdom, he that hath ears to hear let him hear, for Milauleph, as yet had not been tempted with evil that he might know the good.[62] He had not exercised the power of endless lives that he might do the works that his father had done[63]: and he had not 'fell that men might be.'[64] Although he had seen his eldest brother create worlds, and people them[65]; and had witnessed the course and conduct of that world and people, as free agents, 'sinning and being sinned against,'[66] while 'death' who held a commission from the 'Son of the morning,' to end the first partnership between the spirit and the body[67], yet, with all this knowledge, and a liberal education in the great college of the nobles of heaven[68], wherein all perfection was taught, all science explained from

[60] This is consistent with typical Christian eschatology and also supports the belief that Phelps intended the "mil" prefix in these angels' names to refer to a millennium.

[61] This reflects the early Mormon belief that angels were resurrected patriarchs and righteous humans became angels at the time of their death, dating at least to 1835. Phelps is also comparing Adam to Jesus in his capacity to "lay down" his life (John 10:15–7, 15:13; 1 John 3:16).

[62] This is a crucial distinction from Young's later Adam-God. In this view, Adam-Michael was an immature being rather than a mature God. His taking over the world of Idumia was to be his test of mortality.

[63] This is a fairly direct quote from the June 1844 Sermon in the Grove and contextually suggests that the "head" had once been an Adam figure. Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 379–81.

[64] Phelps is quoting 2 Nephi 2:25, confirming Milauleph as Adam.

[65] This does not appear to speak to the question of whether Jesus was to be Savior to multiple worlds but rather suggests that Jesus himself was a "paraclete" of sorts, creating several worlds separate from Adam's, a conflict with some descriptions of Young's Adam-God, in which Adam was Jesus's father.

[66] Phelps is mimicking the active and passive voices of Greek verbs without invoking a specific verse in the New Testament.

[67] John Taylor or William Phelps argued that death was actually personified in a hyper-literal exegesis of Isaiah 28:15 and Revelation 6:8. "Reflections," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 16 (September 2, 1844), 634.

[68] The early Saints were notoriously proud of their University of Nauvoo and their Kirtland seminary, which combined the School of the Prophets and the

first to last[69], and all that was, is, or will be, was exhibited on the great map of perpetual systems, and eternal lives, Milauleph had to take his wife or one of the 'Queens of heaven,'[70] and come upon Idumia, and be tempted, overcome, and driven from the presence of his Father[71], because it had been agreed by the Gods and grand council of heaven, that all the family of the 'head' that would do as he or his eldest son did, should be exalted to the same glory.[72]

This was to be accomplished by the power of 'perpetual succession'[73] in eternal lives, wherein there was no 'remission of sin without

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Hebrew School. The view of education and college as important was common in the early American republic and central to beliefs in the potential of the common man: Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 350.

[69] This strong combination of science and faith is quite typical of antebellum religion. See E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and George M. Marsden, "Everyone One's Own Interpreter? The Bible, Science, and Authority in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in Noll and Hatch, eds., *The Bible in America*.

[70] In the "Answer" Phelps argued, from an exegesis of Jeremiah (7:18, 44:17–25), for female divinities, called the "queens of heaven."

[71] This model suggests the "head" as the Father of the Genesis creation account, contra the typical interpretation of Young's Adam-God theology.

[72] Milauleph, representing Michael-Adam, by this report had not previously achieved an exaltation, contrary to the figures that correspond apparently to Jesus and God the Father. Adam in this model remained a junior God rather than the Adam-God model.

[73] Phelps is emphasizing the image of heritability in the celestial power of the divine anthropology. Mormons were angry that the Nauvoo Charter was being revoked despite its being granted in "perpetual succession." "An act to incorporate the City of Nauvoo," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, no. 6 (January 15, 1841), 281 and vol. 6, no. 8 (May 1, 1845), 894 and the *Wasp* editorial reprinted in *History of the Church*, vol. 5, 306. Smith had granted his heirs "perpetual succession" to a "suite of rooms" in the Nauvoo House hotel, something that angered critics and dissidents. "Charter for the Nauvoo House," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, no. 11 (April 1, 1841), 370. Either Phelps or Parley Pratt, in "Reflections," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 14 (August 1, 1844), 602 claimed that "fidelity and friendship and love and light, are only eternal by perpetual succession." This use of legal terms in novel, religious

the shedding of blood;'[74] no forgiveness without repentance; and no glory without perfect submission to the 'head.' The foundation was truth: and the continuation, perpetual succession by revelation. Milauleph, then, knew that he and his wife would sin, and be troubled; but as the eternal spirit in him was the candle of the Lord, he knew also that the light thereof upon the eyes of his understanding, would show some of the way marks to the original 'truth,'[75] whereby he might work out his salvation with fear and trembling.[76] That none of the work of the hands of the 'Son' might be lost or any souls which his father had given him, might be left in prison[77], angels were commissioned to watch over Idumia, and act as spiritual guides to every soul, 'lest they should fall and dash their feet against a stone.'[78] They were denominated 'the angels of our presence.[79]

[Phelps completed his story two numbers later.]

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applications was not uncommon for Phelps, called Judge Phelps since the late 1830s considered himself a "lawyer in Israel." Brown, "Ghostwriter," 36, 56.

[74] Hebrews 9:22.

[75] Proverbs 20:27. The notion of an immanent light connecting humans to higher truth is both Mormon, where it is known as the "Light of Christ," and more broadly fits well within correspondence, neo-Platonism, and hermeticism. The similarity to Plato's unforgetting of truth is likely coincidental. Albanese, *Republic of Mind and Spirit*, 133–4, 139–42.

[76] Philippians 2:12. Toward the end of his life, Smith taught that his temple rites would allow his followers to simultaneously achieve enlightenment and receive efficacious sacraments. Phelps sandwiches a subtle allusion to this set of rites between two Biblical references, much as Smith biblicized his innovations.

[77] This is an unusual application of Smith's exegesis of 1 Peter 3:18–20, which propounded a purgatorial existence for the unrighteous in the world of spirits, in a place called "spirit prison" that Smith identified as hell according to George Laub's transcript of the King Follett Discourse. Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, 362.

[78] Phelps reused a phrase from the devil's "temptation" of Jesus as recorded in Matt 4:6 and Luke 4:11, which suggested Jesus's access to protective angels.

[79] This is a twist on Isaiah 63:9, the angel of Yahweh's presence, to support a doctrine of guardian angels. See also "The Angels," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 4 (March 1, 1845), 824.

To continue the history of the seven holy ones, who agreed to take upon them bodies of flesh, and work out a more exceeding and eternal crown of glory, upon Idumia, it will be necessary to premise, that Milauleph, and his first companion in the flesh, knew before they left their "first estate," what their father's will was; and that when they should begin to replenish the earth, Satan, who had been raised and educated with them in their father's family[80], would descend from heaven like lightning to tempt them[81], that they might know to choose good and reject evil. These two, who had engaged to people Idumia: to subdue it, and to return, having kept the faith once delivered to the chosen seed[82], were informed, when they agreed to go and labor their hour, that besides the comforter, to bring all things to their remembrance[83], the angels which attended them on high should attend them below to preserve them from the secret of unfor[e]seen snares of those angels who kept not their first estates, but were left in their sins, to roam from region to region, and in chains of darkness, until the great day of judgment.[84]

It was written in the law of the Lord on high[85], that they that overcome by obedience, should be made kings and queens, and priests

[80] This is an early witness to Satan as a child of God. Although later evangelical Protestants have found this view heretical, the tradition of Satan as a fallen star or angel is much older than and independent of Mormonism. John Milton's *Paradise Lost* is only the most famous of the framings of this notion.

[81] Phelps is playing with the name "Lucifer" the fallen angel of Isaiah 14:12, whose name means "light."

[82] Jude 1:3. Early Latter-day Saints used this phrase to support their view that Adam was a Christian.

[83] This is a reference to the Comforter of John 14:26, for which Phelps named the story.

[84] This image of marauding dark angels was not uncommon in antebellum American folk religion. They were reasonable foes for the guardian angels. Ideas about angels fighting over the souls of the righteous were prominent in medieval Christianity, particularly at the deathbed.

[85] This appears to be a reference to Smith's Book of the Law of the Lord. See Smith, "Nauvoo Journals."

and priestesses to God and his Father, through the atonement of the eldest son[86], and that natural eyes should not see, nor natural ears hear, neither should the natural heart conceive[87] the great, glorious, and eternal things, honors and blessings, that were then, in the Father's dominions, and mansions, prepared in the beginning for them that kept the faith to the end, and entered triumphantly into their third estates:—the eternal life.[88] It was also written in the law of the Lord on high, that when the Lord punished men for their sins, he would "punish the hosts of the high ones on high,"[89] and the "kings of the earth upon earth,"-that spirit might judge spirit, and flesh judge flesh[90]; for this honor have all the just, and this honor have all the saints.[91]

Having this understanding-Idumia was placed in its space, but was "desolate and empty." and the life organizing power[92] of the Gods, or sons of the "head," moved over the matters and then the land and water separated. And the Gods called "light, and light came," and they went on and organized a world, and created everything necessary to beautify and adorn it, with life and the power of lives to sustain it, until it should fill the measure of all designed, from a mite to a mammoth;

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[86] This is clearly different from Young's Adam-God.

[87] 3 Ne 17:17.

[88] Phelps may be alluding to temple rites.

[89] Isaiah 24:21.

[90] The correspondence of flesh to flesh and spirit to spirit expands Smith's late teaching that different types of supernatural beings had different roles to play. See "The Angels," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 4 (March 1, 1845), 824–5—"the angels who minister to men in the flesh, are resurrected beings, so that flesh administers to flesh; and spirits to spirits" and "spirit ministers to spirit, and *so we dream revelations*, because the angels inform our spirits what to dream." See also Orson Pratt's confirmatory preaching in "Funeral of Mrs. Caroline Smith," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, no. 10 (June 1, 1845), 919.

[91] Samuel Bent, et al., "The High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ to the Saints of Nauvoo," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, no. 8 (February 15, 1842), 700 announced that the "Saints would judge angels," a distinctive exegesis of 1 Corinthians 6:3.

[92] Phelps has substituted this allusion to what Smith called priesthood for the Spirit of God (*ruakh*) in the Genesis account.

from a man to a God[93]; and Milauleph's and his wife's spirits, clothed in heavenly garments[94], and learned in eternal wisdom, witnessed the creation, as the spirits of the Gods had witnessed their Father: for even the elder brother could do nothing but what he had seen his Father do in eternities before.[95]

[93] This is another reference to the Great Chain of Being. Phelps had used a similar phrase in the same sense in "He that Will not Work, Is Not a Disciple of the Lord," *Evening and Morning Star*, vol. 1, no. 6 (November 1832), 47.
[94] This is a likely reference to the temple garments introduced in 1842.
[95] Contrary to Young's Adam-God, Jesus is clearly superior to Adam in this formulation, which may also suggest God was himself once an immature "paraclete."

GEORGE RAMSDEN, THE GUION LINE, AND THE MORMON IMMIGRATION CONNECTION

Fred E. Woods

In the late nineteenth century, over forty thousand Latter-day Saints crossed the Atlantic Ocean to gather in Utah upon a dozen steam vessels owned and operated by the Guion Line, a British shipping company.[1] Spearheaded by Stephen B. Guion and his business partners John H. Williams and William H. Guion, the enterprise was registered in 1866 as the Liverpool and Great Western Steamship Company, though it was commonly known as the Guion Line.

Stephen Barker Guion, a native American born in 1819, moved to Liverpool in 1851 to work for the Black Star Line, where he had previously partnered with Williams and Guion, who specialized in immigrant transportation from Liverpool to New York. Fifteen years later, though his colleagues were relocated to New York, Guion was stationed in Liverpool, where he served as the primary representative for the company. Not only was the name Guion Line strongly influenced by Stephen's mere presence in England, it is also asserted that the title sprung from his request that all maritime employees wear shirts with his name on them.[2] While Stephen B. Guion's character grew in familiarity and respect among the community, so too did his business; both the Latter-day Saints and shipping industry held the Guion Line in high regard.[3]

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[1] Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (University of Utah Press: Salt Lake City, 1983), 117, 173.

[2] "Rise and Fall of the Guion Line," *Sea Breezes*, vol. 19 (1955), 190.

[3] This may be evidenced by the fact that the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (hereafter cited as *MS*) sent out a notice of his death in Liverpool at the age of 66. Among other things, the article noted, "On the announcement of his death flags were hoisted half mast at the Town Hall and police buildings, and also at most of the steamship companies' offices, as a mark of respect to his memory. Mr. Guion was well and favorably known as a man of honor, integ-

This esteemed shipping line could readily be identified by the fact that most of the line's vessels were named after American states, though the ships were British by law.[4] The Guion steam vessel *Wyoming* alone made thirty-eight voyages—amounting to the transportation of over ten thousand Mormon passengers. This represents a considerable chunk of some ninety thousand Mormon immigrants who traveled to America in the nineteenth century, and about ninety-eight percent of those who went by steam.[5] The vessels themselves were not only impressive, but perhaps their greatest attribute was their main shipping agent, Mr. George N. Ramsden.

Ramsden was born and raised in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England in 1831.[6] He and his wife, Ellen [Hellen], also from Yorkshire, and had eight children.[7] In 1853, he moved to Liverpool to supervise the

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rity, and great business capacity. Our own intimate relations with the Guion S. S. Company, in connection with our emigration business, which have been so long extended and mutually pleasant and satisfactory, invest Mr. Guion's death with more than common interest." See "Death of Mr. Guion," *MS*, vol. 47, no. 52 (December 28, 1885), 822. His obituary, *Liverpool Daily Post*, December 21, 1885, notes that S. B. Guion was "a man of stern will, of keen judgment and of daring enterprise. . . . He was of singularly upright character." The *Liverpool Courier* for this same date, in a notice titled "Death of Mr. S. B. Guion," noted that Guion "may be said to have been one of those pioneers of the steam navigation which has been so perfected and worked such a revolution in ocean travelling as to justify Lord Palmereton's happy remark that we have at last bridged the Atlantic."

[4] George Chandler, *Liverpool Shipping: A Short History* (London: Phoenix House, 1960), 122–23.

[5] Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, eds. S. Lyman Tyler, Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 17:173.

[6] 1861 England Census, database, Ancestry.com (http://ancestry.com: accessed 4.9.2008). Appreciation is expressed to Professor Kip B. Sperry at Brigham Young University for his help in researching the Census Records and Death Register used in this article.

[7] 1871 England Census, database, Ancestry.com (http://ancestry.com: accessed 4.9.2008). In the 1861 and 1871 Census Records, Ramsden's wife is listed as Ellen. Yet in the 1881 Census Record, her name is listed as Hellen. At this time, the Ramsden family was living in the town of Egremont, in the district of Wallasey, near Liverpool. As noted on the 1881 Census, they were living in the "Ecclesiastical Parish or District of St. Johns Egremont."

passenger shipping business of the *Black Ball Line*, where he worked for a number of years and was gained the experience he would later need to take on a more active role in managing the Guion Line.[8]

The beginning of Ramsden's warm relationship with the Mormons began on May 13, 1869 when he met with LDS British Mission President Albert Carrington, in Liverpool. Here, an arrangement was made for the Trans-Atlantic conveyance of a company of Mormon converts aboard the *Minnesota*.[9] According to their plan, the Saints boarded the *Minnesota* in Liverpool on June 1, 1869. The "British Mission Manuscript History" records, "On their arrival on board they were provided with tea, and everything was done by the manager, Mr. G. Ramsden, for the comfort of the Saints. They had the best part of the steamer entirely for themselves and could use the aft part of the ship in common with the cabin passengers."[10]

Five years later, European Mission President Joseph F. Smith found he could secure a better financial deal with a different shipping firm than what the Guion Line was offering. Therefore, Ramsden, whom Smith defined as "a very shrewd, keen man, with both eyes open to business,"[11] quickly made a counteroffer to keep the Latter-day Saints' business. This proposal affected the entire shipping conference cartel, which decided to permit the Guion Line to lower the rates of

[8] "The Late Mr. George Ramsden," *The Liverpool Courier*, May 27, 1896, further notes that he lived on Church Street in Egremont. *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and Environs* for 1859, 211, has Ramsden listed as an emigration agent living at 25 Hunter Street. Nearly a decade later, *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and Envions* (Liverpool, 1868), 998, has Ramsden living at 55 Church Street, Egremont.

[9] "British Mission Manuscript History," vol. 24 (1869–1871), Church History Library (hereafter cited as CHL), Salt Lake City, May 13, 1869.

[10] "British Mission Manuscript History," vol. 24 (1869–1871), CHL, June 1, 1869. However, the Guion Line did not provide food at Hull for its transmigrant European passengers as other shipping lines did. This is one way the Guion Line was able to cut the cost of the trip.

[11] Letter of Joseph F. Smith to Franklin D. Richards, September 9, 1874, Joseph F. Smith Letterbook, 122, CHL.

Mormon passengers only.[12]

The extraordinary relationship between George Ramsden and the Latter-day Saints was not only kept alive, but lasted for a quarter of a century. In praise of the trust he enjoyed with the Saints, British Mission President Anthon H. Lund pointed out that Ramsden worked for decades with the Church in absence of a written contract.[13] Furthermore, by 1880, the entire maritime industry held the Guion Line in great esteem inasmuch as it had "never lost a life" during its shipping years.[14] Not only did the sea-going Saints receive exceptional service, but they could travel in peace, confident of the Guion's impeccable safety record. In addition, the successful conversion from sail to steam on the journey westward significantly reduced travel time to America.[15] Rams-

[12] Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), 7. In a letter written by Joseph F. Smith to William Burton, August 13, 1874, Joseph F. Smith Letterbook, 58–59, CHL, Smith told of Ramsden's bold efforts in breaking with the Liverpool "Shipping Conference," to offer a low bid on prices to keep the Mormon immigration business. In addition, several entries in the Diary of Joseph F. Smith, April–May 1874, Joseph F. Smith Papers, Church History Library, make reference to business dealings with Ramsden during this period. See for example Smith's entries for April 9, 17, 23, May 1-2. Furthermore, Smith wrote to W. C. Haines of the integrity of Ramsden and noted, "I believe he is as good as his word." See Joseph F. Smith August 11, 1874 letter to W. C. Haines, Joseph F. Smith Letterbook, 61–64, Church History Library. In this same year Ramsden also showed his vigilance through a memo he sent Joseph F. Smith, informing him that a family of six had not been allowed to emigrate from England because one of the children had measles. See Memo of George Ramsden to Joseph F. Smith, June 26, 1874, Joseph Fielding Smith Papers, CHL.

[13] Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), 6–7.

[14] Edward Cloward, *The Steam-Ship Lines of the Mersey and Export Trade Register*, published annually, first issue (Liverpool, England: The Nautical Publishing Co., May, 1880), 17.

[15] The Guion Line shortened the length of the Atlantic crossing from 32–36 days to 10–16 days. (See the forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Nicholas J. Evans entitled "Aliens En Route: European Transmigration Through Britain, 1836–1914" (University of Hull). Though the Morris and Co. of Hamburg was instrumental in providing good service for the European Mormon mi-

den's trusted leadership, paired with the timely and safe voyage the Guion Line offered to Saints, created a truly thriving partnership and business.

Within this relationship, the Saints also found support and protection against those who wished to do them harm. For example, in 1879, U.S. Secretary of State William M. Evarts tried to campaign against the Mormon practice of polygamy by sending a circular to a number of European countries, ultimately hoping to halt Mormon immigration to America. "Several of Mr. Ramsden's friends engaged in the shipping business warned him of the risk he ran of having our people sent back should he attempt to land them in America; but this did not deter him from booking them. He saw how unjust this measure was, and knew that it had its origin in prejudice and religious intolerance."[16]

According to Anthon H. Lund, just as a consul put up posters announcing Mormons could not land in American ports, Ramsden came aboard a Guion ship and took charge: "In a towering rage [Ramsden] commanded the Consul to pull down the notice. The latter said he was acting [on] order from the government. Ramsden replied that the government had nothing to do with his ships, and that he did not ask a passenger what his religion was. His strong stand saved our emigration from being stopped."[17]

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grants from 1852 to 1869, its sailing vessels could not compete with the faster, more elaborate Guion steam vessels. Furthermore, its base was farther away from Liverpool than was Guion's.

[16] Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone." *MS*, vol. 58, no. 23 (June 4, 1896), 360–62. After the circular surfaced, Ramsden was invited to meet with Mr. Packard, U.S. Consul at Liverpool, to discuss the issue of transporting Mormon immigrants. He and LDS missionary Elder Nicholson met with Packard and Ramsden again supported the Mormon position. See "The Emigration Question—Interview with United States Consul," *MS*, vol. 41, no. 38 (September 22, 1879), 600–02.

[17] Letter of Anthon H. Lund to Heber J. Grant, March 22, 1905, Lund Letterbooks, Church History Library, as cited in Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), 7. In this same year, a letter

In addition to dedicated employees who helped the Mormons, the Guion Line also published annual guidebooks which covered a variety of information for Trans-Atlantic travel, suggesting that a well organized system was established. For example, in 1875, it advertised that its line was running to New York, Philadelphia and Boston, "TWICE A WEEK, Forwarding Passengers to all parts of the UNITED STATES and CANADA, at Low Rates. New York is the best, safest, and quickest route for all Passengers going to the United States of America." In addition, it provided rates and booking instructions: "Children under 12 years of age £2. Infants under 12 months 10s. Passengers can be engaged by a deposit of Two Pounds on each berth ... Passengers booked to all parts to the States, Canada ... and San Francisco at low rates."[18]

Steerage passengers were informed that upon arrival at New York, they would "[land] at the Government Depot, Castle Garden, where they will receive every information respecting the departure of trains, steamboats." Furthermore, all passengers were told that they would receive three quarters of water every day, "with as much provi-

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written by William Budge to Samuel Goddard, July 15, 1879, EM Letterbook, Church History Library, sheds light on the circumstances and plans the LDS Church had in dealing with the Guion Line: "Our arrangements with the [Guion] shipping company is to take only our people and they do not knowingly take others at our special rates on account of their contract with other shipping Companies [.] We however would like to send our people those who are interested in our Church and people ... likely to become so[.]"

[18] The Liverpool, London & Paris GUIDE AND CONTINENTAL INDICATOR FOR GRATUITIOUS DISTRIBUTION TO THE Passengers sailing by the Steamships of the **GUION LINE** PROPRIETORS (LA FORGE, HARTWICK, & DELILIE, 1875), 5, Mersey Maritime Museum Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom. Although the price for children under twelve is listed in the Guion travel guide at two pounds, the adult price is not mentioned. Yet an article published in the Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star this same year notes the concern the Saints had with regards to the price of an Atlantic passage being raised to five pounds. Therefore, we can assume that the average price of an adult Atlantic passage from Liverpool to New York was about five pounds during the period the Saints worked with the Guion Line. See L. J. N., "Departure of the Fifth Company, and prospective change of fares," MS, vol. 36, no. 36 (September 8, 1874), 569.

sions as they can eat, which are all of the best quality, and which are examined and put on board under the inspection of Her Majesty's Emigration Officers, and cooked and served out by the company's servants." Breakfast was to be served at 8:00 a.m., dinner at 1:00 p.m. and supper at 6:00 p.m. As far as sleeping arrangements were concerned, the Guion Guide stipulated that "married couples are berthed together. Single females are placed in the room by themselves, under charge of the stewardess."[19]

The Guion partners were also skilled in their business relationships with other shipping lines. For example, they wisely joined hands with the Wilson Line based in Hull, England, which met the need for bringing thousands of transmigrant Scandinavians (including thousands of Latter-day Saints) through Hull to Liverpool before engaging a Guion steamship across the Atlantic.[20] Both the Wilson and Guion Lines profited from their role as carriers of LDS Church members to Utah.

The Guion and Wilson Line provided a standard of steamer that surpassed most of its North Sea rivals.[21] An example of this superior service is evidenced by the Guion Line's hiring of Charles Maples, a Hull-based emigration agent who met migrants upon their arrival in port and escorted them safely to the railway station.[22] Maples, like many

[19] Guion Line Guide, ibid., 3–7.

[20] For more information on the story of LDS Scandinavian transmigration through the British Isles, see Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans, "Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852–1894," *BYU Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2002), 75–102.

[21] In 1866, increasing alarm at the standard of accommodation provided for third-class or steerage passengers prompted the Hull Town Council to interview Charles Wilson, who was a member of Parliament representing Hull and the Managing Director of the Wilson Line. This action led to an improvement in the standard of accommodation provided for passengers carried by the Wilson Line but not by other European shipping operators.

[22] The 1881 England Census database, Ancestry.com (http://ancestry.com: accessed 4.9.2008) describes Maples as being born in Thorne, a town thirty miles west of Hull. Since his wife and daughter were born in Australia, it can be assumed that Maples gained his knowledge of the emigration business through his own personal experience in immigrating to Australia during the late 1840s or early 1850s. Maples had returned during the early 1850s and

of his counterparts, was noted by LDS transmigrants for the help he provided in assisting the foreign converts en route to Liverpool.[23] Organized groups, such as the Mormons, were able to gain a reduction in price by purchasing their tickets in bulk. Booking with experienced agents and trusted shipping operators ensured that the standard of service provided was high—yet the costs were kept at a minimum.[24]

The Guion Line treated the Saints a cut above other emigrants. One Mormon convert named Alma Ash explained:

> At the Guion Office we were told that it was too late to go aboard and they would find us lodgings for the night for a reasonable sum. It was evident to us that the agents were looking more after the money they could get out of the emigrant than his comfort and well-being. We informed them that we wanted to find the docks and go aboard that night if

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established himself as an emigration agent working alongside Richard Cortis, Hull's leading emigration agent, who had been used by the Scandinavian Mission since the very first pioneers arrived in December 1852. Later, Cortis and Maples would combine their business, with Maples taking sole control after the death of the former.

[23] Latter-day Saint migrant Jesse N. Smith recalled, "Mr. Maples on behalf of the forwarding company furnished a meal for the emigrants and sent all forward the same evening to Liverpool." (Autobiography and Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 259, CHL.) Another passing migrant noted, "Mr. Maples, the Guion Agent, came on board and got the list of emigrants." (Reminiscences and Journal of Hans Jorgenson, 174, CHL.)

[24] Apparently, this line had many staff members who also provided excellent service. Another Guion agent who is praised in several Latter-day Saint immigrant accounts is a Mr. Gibson. See, for example, Letter of L. F. Monch, *MS*, vol. 50 (24 December 1888), 829; Letter of George Romney Jr., *MS*, vol. 51 (23 December 1889), 811; Letter of E. L. Sloan, *MS*, vol. 51 (25 November 1889), 749. However, the agency apparently did not avoid some criticism by the British government. According to government inspector W. Cowie, while other Atlantic passenger lines provided temporary lodging and meals for passing emigrants at Hull, the Guion Line transferred its passengers directly to the rails "so that those people are the greater portion of the day without a meal." (See *Reports Received by the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board Relating to the Transit of Scandinavian Emigrants through the Port of Hull*, 11 July 1882, 9.) Yet, for those traveling to Utah, such speed was often welcomed because it shortened the long journey time needed to transport converts from their homelands in mainland Europe to a new life in the Salt Lake Basin.

> possible and asked them to direct us to 42 Islington, the office of the church in Liverpool, and which the Guion company were very familiar with. Just as soon as we mentioned 42 Islington they changed their tune and treated us very politely and directed us where to go.[25]

Notwithstanding, sometimes the Saints ran into obstacles that not even the Guion Line could avoid. For example, a letter from LDS New York emigration agent James H. Hart revealed that in late August 1886, forty-five Saints were detained and threatened to be sent back to Liverpool.[26] There was no valid reason for such an action, inasmuch as the Saints were not paupers or suffering from poor health conditions. Soon thereafter, the *Millennial Star* noted, "We learn from Mr. Ramsden that all the Saints who were detained in New York have been permitted to continue their journey Zionward, with the exception of a woman and three children."[27]

A few days later, Daniel H. Wells of the Church First Presidency, wrote of this unfortunate incident and related to the other members of the Church's foremost hierarchy (John Taylor and George Q. Cannon) the value of dealing with Mr. Ramsden and the Guion Line:

> I trust that our emigrants will have no difficulty or interruptions in New York by the Government officials. The American Consul here has visited with Mr. Ramsden of the

[25] Autobiography of Alma Ash [August 1885], 27, CHL.

[26] G. O., "Detention in New York of Some of Our Emigrants," *MS*, vol. 48, no. 38 (September 30, 1886), 601–02.

[27] "The Fourth Company," *MS*, vol. 48, no. 38 (September 30, 1886), 603. Three years later, Ramsden also reported, via telegram, a delay caused by a railway accident. Miraculously, none of the Latter-day Saints were killed. See "An Accident," *MS*, vol. 51, no. 39 (September 30, 1889), 620–21. The term Zion in Mormon theology has reference to a place where God's covenant people gather or to the righteous themselves. *Zionward* simply implies in this context that the immigrants were headed for Salt Lake City, Utah, which at this particularly period of time was the main gathering place for the Latter-day Saints. For more information on this topic, see A. D. Sorensen, "Zion," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 1624–26.

> Guion line to make enquiries. ... Mr. Ramsden has written a favorable letter on the subject ... giving a statement of the number, age, sex of our Emigrants sent through them for the last few days and adding that the Mormon Emigrants are the most orderly, cleanly, intelligent and best to do for any class of Emigrants that they carry across the sea, and if they do not as a rule have much money, they have their fares paid through to their destination. ... It would be very unfortunate for us to be obliged to break our connection with Guion & coy as we cannot only get better terms with them than others, but their influence in our favor and assistance in many ways ... is of great value to us and I am quite sure will continue to be exercised in our favor when we may need it more than at the present.[28]

A number of accounts and letters published in the *Star* further attest to the excellent service Ramsden consistently gave to the Trans-Atlantic bound Saints. For instance, the statistics were compiled for the emigration report of 1874 noted, "It is very gratifying to us to state that the kind and agreeable arrangements as made by Mr. Ramsden, General Passenger Agent and Manager ... have been in every respect satisfactory." The report also mentioned the "courtesy and gentlemanly good feelings extended by [the] Captains."[29] The following year, C. C. Larsen and others wrote, "In Hull we were met by Mr. G. Ramsden, of Liverpool, ... a gentleman of first class business tact, whom we found ready and on hand to make all arrangements necessary for the comfort and convenience of forwarding our company."[30] Additionally, in a letter to European Mission President, Albert Carrington, Junius F. Wells wrote, "Please remember me to all of the brethren, and to Mr. Ramsden."[31]

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[28] September 1, 1886 letter of Daniel H. Wells to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, EM Letterbook, 65–67, CHL.

[29] "Statistical Emigration Report for 1874," *MS*, vol. 36, no. 42, (October 20, 1874), 666.

[30] Letter of C. C. Larsen et al., to President Joseph F. Smith, *MS*, vol. 37, no. 27 (July 5, 1875), 428.

[31] Letter of Junius F. Wells to Albert Carrington, January 6, 1876, *MS*, vol. 38, no. 5 (January 31, 1876), 76. In another letter written by Adoph Anderson et al. to President George Teasdale, Teasdale was asked, "Please extend to Mr.

An 1877 telegram published in the *Millennial Star* further attests to the attention Ramsden continued to show to his Mormon clients after their voyage had ended: "By courtesy of G. Ramsden, Esq., of Guion & Co., we are informed that the S. S. *Wisconsin* arrived in New York at 4 a.m. on the 7th inst. All well."[32] In another notice titled "Departure," the writer noted, "Mr. Ramsden, of Guion & Co., met the company at Hull, and by his irrepressible force and indefatigable labor, aided materially in bringing them safely to Liverpool."[33]

Furthermore, in preparation for an 1879 voyage on the *Wyoming*, it was said that Ramsden was unrelenting in his labors for making "all necessary arrangements for the comfort of the Saints, and in this he was highly successful. The portion of the vessel assigned to the company was fitted up in a manner highly commendable to his ability to render the situation as pleasant as possible."[34]

Later that same year, two other articles noted Ramsden's painstaking labor and commitment to provide excellent service to the Saints: "As usual, Mr. Ramsden and his aids were indefatigable in their efforts to provide for the well-being of the passengers, and the company were in fine spirits."[35] Further, "As usual, Mr. Ramsden, assisted by his aids, was on the alert to make matters agreeable and comfortable as possible on shipboard. His part in connection with seeing to the well-being of the people is always well and willingly performed."[36]

Nearly a decade later, the *Millennial Star* provided a composite testimony of the excellent treatment the Saints had received on their many Trans-Atlantic voyages with Mr. Ramsden and the Guion Line:

> The Guion Company, whose steamships have carried our people across the ocean, have secured many eulogies from the companies of Saints emigrating for the uniform kind-

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Ramsden my personal thanks and appreciation for his courtesies extended." See "Correspondence," *MS*, vol. 52, no. 22 (June 2, 1890), 349.

[32] "Telegram," *MS*, vol. 39, no. 28 (July 9, 1877), 443.

[33] "Departure," *MS*, vol. 40, no. 26 (July 1, 1878), 411.

[34] *MS*, vol. 41, no. 16 (April 21, 1879), 251.

[35] "Third Company of the Season," *MS*, vol. 41, no. 26 (June 30, 1879), 412.

[36] *MS*, vol. 41, no. 36 (September 8, 1879), 571.

> ness, care and consideration they have received at the hands of George Ramsden, Esq., their agent, and the officers of their excellent line of steamships. It would be impossible for emigrants to be treated with greater consideration, and they have freely expressed verbally and in writing to the captains and officers their appreciation of the treatment re-received.[37]

Notwithstanding such exceptional service, on Christmas day 1892, the *New York Times* reported that the Guion Line had "leased its pier to the White Star Line [which] was taken as an indication that the former company was going out of business. This was confirmed later in the afternoon by the Guion agents." Although their agents did not want to discuss the details of this business transaction, it was clear that the line was definitely going out of business. The *Times* also noted in this article that the "Guion Line has been much affected by the attitude of the Government, as it has derived its principal revenue from its steerage business. Its entire fleet is now lying idle in Liverpool."[38]

With its outdated fleet, the Guion Line simply could not compete with other shipping companies, although it managed to hold on for an additional year until the Guion Line Corporation was finally liquidated in 1894. Yet the outdated fleet was not the only problem which spelled financial disaster for the business. In this same year, the LDS Church hierarchy counseled that foreign converts "'should, not be encouraged to emigrate until they are firmly grounded in the religion by labor and experience,' and that those who were earning good wages and were in relatively favourable circumstances should not be encouraged to emigrate to this place, where labor is so scarce."[39] This statement led to

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[37] "Our Emigration," *MS*, vol. 48, no. 48 (November 28, 1887), 763–64.

[38] "Going Out of Business." *New York Times*, December 25, 1892; ProQuest Historical Newspapers *The New York Times* (1851–2004), 5.

[39] Richard L Jensen, "The Gathering to Zion," in V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 189. Although this official statement was made by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, British converts continued to trickle into America at a steady rate until the

an even steeper decline in Mormon immigration business, which had already significantly subsided in the early 1890s, factors that certainly affected the decline in the Guion Line's revenue.

Nonetheless, when the Guion shipping business closed its doors, it went out with a global reputation for "quickness, regularity and safety of their passengers," having brought over a million people across the Atlantic without losing a single life by accident.[40] At this time of transition, Ramsden helped Latter-day Saint British Mission president, Anthon H. Lund, arrange for a transfer of business to the Allan Line, which changed its LDS base of operations that year from Liverpool to Glasgow, Scotland.[41]

London Temple was erected in 1958. In fact, over a century after the 1894 statement, the First Presidency reissued an official policy regarding Latter-day Saints immigrating to the United States: "In our day, the Lord has seen fit to provide the blessings of the gospel, including the increased number of temples, in many parts of the world. Therefore, we wish to reiterate the long-standing counsel to members of the Church to remain in their homelands rather than immigrate to the United States." See The First Presidency, "Remain in homelands, members counseled," *Church News*, December 11, 1999, 7.

[40] "Rise and Fall of the Guion Line," *Sea Breezes*, vol. 19 (1955), 206, 209. It is an equally impressive fact that the Trans-Atlantic Latter-day Saint voyages had a perfect record of safety. Furthermore, all but one Mormon Pacific voyage arrived in safety in the 19th century. This is in sharp contrast to the fact that at least 59 non-LDS immigrant carrying vessels sank just between the years 1847–1853. See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1983), 139.

[41] See the "British Mission Manuscript History," June 30, 1894, CHL. Although the Anchor Line is mentioned herein, not only for the date of June 30, but also for the dates of July 5–6 and September 20, 1894, most probably the Allan Line was the shipping company running from Glasgow at this time. This change rerouted Mormon converts from the Scandinavian and Swiss-German missions through the port of Leith to Glasgow, where they began the Trans-Atlantic voyage to New York. The Journal of Anthon H. Lund for the dates June 30 and 2, July 5–7, 1894, CHL, notes that arrangements were made by Lund, the British Mission President at this time, and converts were then rerouted to travel with the Anchor Line [Allan Line], based in Glasgow. President Lund made these new arrangements known to President Sundwall of the Scandinavian Mission, President Naegle of the Swiss German Mission and President Wilford Woodruff.

Two years later, on May 26, 1896, the reputable Christian businessman George Ramsden died at the age of sixty-five.[42] The following day, the *Liverpool Mercury* eulogized his life: "No man was more respected and admired than Mr. Ramsden. His attitude to all was consistently kind and courteous, which in business he proved himself a man of strong determination and commendable foresight. Doubtless his long illness was due to a great extent to the misfortunes which overtook the once flourishing Guion line."[43] The *Liverpool Daily Post* added that he was "a man of great integrity, ability and determination [and] ... successful in securing and retaining for many years for his shipping company a contract with the Mormon elders for the conveyance of their emigrant proselytes, large numbers of whom were sent across the Atlantic. Brigham Young's converts were then a flourishing source of revenue for this port."[44]

Praiseworthy remarks were also made by Anthon H. Lund at the time of Ramsden's death, noted in the *Millennial Star* under the title "A Good Friend Gone." Publicly, he wrote to his readers that with the death of Ramsden, "Latter-day Saints lose one of their best friends, ... a man of integrity and honor." Lund added, "The mutual confidence that has continuously existed between Mr. Ramsden and our people is shown by the fact that for the last thirty years they have transacted their

[42] "The Late Mr. George Ramsden," (May 27, 1896) notes, "Mr. George Ramsden ... died yesterday at his residence Church Street, Egremont. Mr. Ramsden, who was sixty-five years of age, had been unwell for a considerable time, his health having been seriously affected by the worry consequent on the collapse of the Guion Line. Mr. Ramsden was well known and universally respected in shipping circles, his geniality and kindly disposition having gained him hosts of friends." The Death Register lists George at age 65 at the time of his passing and his wife's death date at age 66. Drawing from the 1871 Census, which lists George as age 40 and Ellen [Hellen] as 43, it is reasonable to suppose that his spouse had died about two years before he did, though the Census records previously noted are not consistent in the age difference between George and Ellen [Hellen]. According to *Gore's City Trade Directory for Liverpool*, 1894, at the end of his life, he was listed as the manager of the Fern House, at 51 Church Street, Egremont.

[43] "The Late Mr. G. Ramsden," *Liverpool Mercury* (May 27, 1896).

[44] "Death of Mr. George Ramsden," *The Liverpool Daily Post* (May 27, 1896).

business without any written agreement." Furthermore, Lund noted although Ramsden "did not share the religious views of the Latter-day Saints, ... his business connections with them for so many years had convinced him of their honesty and integrity, qualities which he highly treasured, possessing them as he did in so high a degree."[45]

Shortly after attending his funeral on Friday, May 29, 1896, Lund also privately recorded his feelings about Ramsden, his dear and trusted friend:

> In the afternoon Bro. Burrows and I went over to the Wallesey Church to attend the funeral of Mr. Geo. Ramsden. We sent a wreath to him which cost ten dollars[.] I felt that in him we lose one of our best friends in this country. He has ever been on hand to help us and in spite of being called a jack mormon he has always taken our part. There was a large turn out. The hearse was full of wreaths but only one was nicer than the one we had sent. The parson read the service of the English Church. It was a cold formal burial not a word was spoken originally[.] I would have liked to had the same chance of speaking and would have liked to read the text ... (I Cor. 15.) His sons came up and shook hands with us. I do not think his family there was any who mourned his loss more than we.[46]

Although it has been over a century since his death, George Ramsden's name certainly deserves to be held in high regard for his assistance in transporting nearly half of the Latter-day Saint converts across the Atlantic during the late nineteenth century. His example of integrity and trust certainly merit a page or chapter in Latter-day Saint history as one of the most loyal and admired friends of Mormonism.

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[45] Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone." *MS*, vol. 58, no. 23 (June 4, 1896), 360–62. For more information on Anthon H. Lund, see Jennifer L. Lund, "Out of the Swan's Nest: The Ministry of Anthon H. Lund, Scandinavian Apostle," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Fall 2003), 77–105.

[46] Diary of Anthon H. Lund, May 29, 1896, private copy in possession of Jennifer L. Lund. Appreciation is expressed to Jennifer L. Lund, who is married to a great-grandson of Anthon H. Lund, for bringing this excerpt to the attention of the author.

THE MORMON FACTOR IN THE ROMNEY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

Massimo Introvigne

Labeling and ascription

The presidential campaign of Mitt Romney is an interesting vantage point to test theories of labelling and ascription as applied to Mormons in Europe. According to *ascription* theory, human beings have both an ascribed and an achieved status. The ascribed status is due to factors such as gender, ethnicity, and religion (Stark 2001, 37). Achieved status is due to personal achievements, options, and merit. Obviously, ascribed status cannot be changed, while achieved status change on an almost daily basis. Theoretically, religion is that part of ascribed status which can be voluntarily changed. But this is less easy than it seems. If religion is perceived as an important ascribed status, it will continue to exert its effects even when changed. A follower of Reverend Sun Myung Moon, no matter what else features in his or her life, will be mostly described as "a Moonie". If he or she changes the religious affiliation, the label "ex-Moonie" will often be used. There is no final escape from ascription.

On the other hand, not all ascription processes are created equal. In some societies ascription governs most of societal activities – the caste system in India being a frequently cited example. Other societies, such as the United States, are proud of offering equal opportunities of gaining an achieved status regardless of the ascribed status. An African American, a woman, a Roman Catholic can aspire to the highest offices in the nation. We all know that the system is not perfect. On the other hand, few would deny that the system of ascription and achievement works somewhat differently in the U.S. than in India, where the leader of the most voted party in the 2004 elections, Sonia Gandhi, had to step out from the position of Prime Minister because she was (nominally) Catholic, and Italian.

Labelling is different from ascription (Cullen and Cullen 1978),

insofar as a label is generally regarded as negative while an ascribed status may be value-free. Being Bulgarian (an ascribed status) is not normally regarded as negative in most countries of the world, which have no quarrels with Bulgaria. Being a Roma (or a "Gipsy") is dangerously close to a label in contemporary Europe, and being a Jew was a label in Nazi Germany as it is today in certain Moslem countries.

Religion, again, is in a grey area. "Roman Catholic" is certainly not a label in Italy, nor – probably – in contemporary Finland. But it has been, and to some extent may still be, a label in some rural areas of the American South, as it is in Indian or Indonesian villages dominated by different religions and where converts to Catholicism are not necessarily popular.

"Cults"

Starting in the 19th century, labelling in matters religious has been mostly carried out by defining certain unpopular religions as "cults". In an article I co-wrote with James T. Richardson in 2001 (Richardson and Introvigne 2001), we argued that unpopular religions are re-labeled as "cults" by using a four-stage model.

First, the model claims that some minorities are not really "religions" but something else: "cults", criminal associations, or political conspiracies. In July 1877 anti-Mormon author John Hanson Beadle (1840–1897) wrote in the *Scribner's Monthly* that "Americans have but one native religion [Mormonism] and that one is the sole apparent exception to the American rule of universal toleration. ... Of this anomaly two explanations are offered: one, that Americans are not really a tolerant people and that what is called toleration is only such toward our common Protestantism, or more common Christianity; the other, than something peculiar to Mormonism takes it out of the sphere of religion" (Beadle 1877, 391). Beadle's astute observation effectively blackmailed American readers into concluding that Mormonism was not a religion. In fact, readers were presumably committed both to religious tolerance and to the idea that the U.S. were, by definition, the country of religious liberty. In civilizations where religious liberty is

recognized as a value and constitutionally protected, the only way to discriminate a religious minority is to argue that it is not religious at all.

Second, the model posits that what distinguishes genuine religions from groups falsely claiming their right to the name of religion is something called brainwashing, mental manipulation, or mind control. Anti-Mormon author Maria Ward (probably a pseudonym of Elizabeth Cornelia Woodcock Ferris [1809–1893]), attributed the non-religious character of Mormonism to its systematic use of "a mystical magical influence" capable of depriving followers of "the unrestricted exercise of free will". This is what "is now popularly known by the name of Mesmerism". According to Ward, the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith (1805–1844) "came to possess the knowledge of that magnetic influence, several years anterior to its general circulation throughout the country" from a "German peddler" (Ward 1855, 230). Since religion is, by rhetorical definition, an exercise of free will, a non-religion may only be joined under some sort of coercion. This hypnotic paradigm used against Mormonism resurfaced – after the Cold War conveniently supplied the metaphor of brainwashing – in the 1970s "cult wars" in the United States and later in Europe.

Third, since brainwashing theories are the object of considerable scholarly criticism, the model requires as a third step discrimination among sources and narratives. "Victims", i.e. those normally defined by social scientists as "apostates", are defined as more reliable than scholarly observers. The "victims" are the former members converted into active opponents of the group they have left. Although many such ex-members resent being called "apostates" the term is technical, not derogatory, and has been used for some decades by sociologists (see Bromley 1988; Bromley 1998). Empirical data on the prevalence of apostates among former members are available only for a limited number of religious movements, but uniformly suggest that they are a minority (see Solomon 1982; Lewis 1986; Lewis 1989; Jacobs 1989; Introvigne 1999), perhaps between 10 and 20 per cent. Most former members have mixed feelings about their former affiliations and, at any rate, are not interested in joining a crusade against the

group they have left.

Objections that "apostates" are not necessarily representative are met by the fourth stage of the model. We know that "apostates" are representative of the groups' membership, or at least former membership, because they are screened and selected by private, reliable watchdog organizations which serve as moral entrepreneurs. Anti-cult organizations, we are told, are more reliable than other observers, including scholars, because the former, unlike the latter, have a "practical" experience and work with "victims".

In 2001 I and Richardson reconstructed this model with reference to the "cult wars" of the 1990s in Europe. However, the model, if not the language, was already in place in the 19th century.

Mormonism and Labelling

Notwithstanding the moral entrepreneurs of anti-cultism, "cult" by any standard is not an essentialist definition but a socially constructed label. What is a cult in Europe is not necessarily a cult in Utah. Mormonism is a case in point. It was often described as a "cult" in the 19th century, but the label has become much rarer today in the United States. Moral entrepreneurs whose crusade is against "cults", in fact, come in two brands. In 1993, I proposed a distinction between "anti-cult" and "counter-cult" activists and movements, which has now become commonplace. Of course, "anti-cultist" and "counter-cultist" may in turn be used as labels, but this was not my original intention. Anti-cultists criticize "cults" as *socially* dangerous from a secular perspective, while counter-cultists describe "cults" as *spiritually* dangerous, from a religious perspective. *Anti-*Mormonism certainly does exist. We are confronted with an anti-Mormon work when the author tries to persuade us that the LDS Church is too rich and too powerful to be socially tolerable in the Intermountain West or the U.S. in general. But these works are much rarer than *counter-* Mormon books, videos and Web sites, whose authors insist that becoming a Mormon would jeopardize our eternal life, since Mormons are heretics and not "really" Christian.

Anti-Mormonism was much more prominent in the 19th century, because polygamy and the domination of Utah politics by the LDS Church were regarded as civil rather than purely religious evils. After the demise of polygamy, anti-Mormonism decreased and counter-Mormonism increased. Of course, purely secular arguments are used against "fundamentalist" splinter groups still practicing polygamy, but at least in the U.S. most media are capable of distinguishing them from the mainline LDS Church.

If anti-Mormonism is scarcer than counter-Mormonism, labelling of Mormons should come primarily from the religious and Evangelical media, rather than from the secular and liberal. Although to a large extent this appears to be true, how the Romney campaign influenced the wider picture is the subject matter of Mike Homer's article.

But that article deals with the United States. In Europe, the fact that the LDS Church had officially abandoned polygamy did not become common knowledge immediately after 1890. This is reflected by countless popular references and novels. As late as 1930, such a prominent French novelist as Georges Simenon (1903–1989) in his short novel *L'oeil de l'Utah* (The Eye of Utah: Simenon 1930) presented the Utah Mormons as cheerfully practicing polygamy, although he believed that Joseph Smith had nothing to do with it and this was a peculiar deviation introduced by Brigham Young. The fact of the matter was that there were very few Mormons, if any, in Central and Southern Europe in the 1930s. On the other hand, there were several *million* readers of cheap dime novels such as *Buffalo Bill and the Danite Kidnappers*, written by Prentiss Ingraham (1843–1904) and published in New York in 1902, but whose German, Italian, French and Spanish translations were constantly reprinted up to the 1950s. Neither the American original nor the translations came with a publisher's note explaining to the crowd of Buffalo Bill fans that polygamy was no longer practiced by the Mormons.

The astonishing news is that to a larger extent the fact that the LDS Church no longer practices polygamy is not generally known in

Central and Southern Europe today. The saga of the Italian version of *Big Love*, the award-winning American TV series on polygamy, is a case in point. Although the original series makes crystal-clear that the LDS Church is strongly opposed to polygamy, the Italian version of the first season failed to translate "LDS Church" into "Chiesa di Gesù Cristo dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni", the Church's name in Italy. Without any apparent reason, the name was translated "Chiesa Riorganizzata di Gesù Cristo dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni", or Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Of course a Church with this name no longer exists (the former Reorganized Church is now called Community of Christ). And very few people are supposed to know about the (former) Reorganized Church in Italy. However, some anonymous translator or copy-editor probably thought that a Church preaching against polygamy cannot conceivably be *the* Mormon Church but should be some splinter, "reformed" or "reorganized", group. The protests of the Italian LDS Church obtained some changes in the (currently running) second season, although they still got the Italian name of the mainline Church (now called "dei Santi dell'Ultimo Giorno" rather than "degli Ultimi Giorni") wrong. But the Italian Church is fighting a difficult battle, as some data about the Romney campaign will now confirm.

Romney

I have collected coverage of Mitt Romney's presidential campaign in the first seven months of 2008 (January to July) in fifty Italian daily newspapers and one hundred periodicals having a Web site (or published only on the Web). I have eliminated the articles mentioning Romney only in passing, and have focused on the first 1,000 texts (sorted by relevance) discussing Romney in some details.

Of these, 991 (or 99.1%) mention the Mormon affiliation of Romney. This is a first interesting result. By contrast, out of 100 newspaper or magazine articles selected among Web results in Italian about Hillary Clinton, *not even one* mentions that she is a Methodist. This is a nice example of how ascription works. As we get more close to what at

least some sections of the media brand as "cults" the religious element becomes important, while normally it is not particularly relevant for mainline, secular media. If a citizen who happens to be a follower of Reverend Moon kills his wife, the headline will probably be "Moonie kills his wife". If in Italy a Roman Catholic, or even a Baptist, kills his wife, the headlines will probably ignore the religion and simply read: "Businessman kills his wife", or something similar. The case of Romney shows that decades of PR work by the Italian LDS Church, particularly during the 2002 Olympics in Salt Lake City, did not entirely succeed. Being a Mormon is still regarded as less "normal" than being a Baptist. In Italy you are *defined* by your ascribed Mormonism, while you are not defined by your Baptism or Methodism (and this is not a matter of numbers, since there are fewer Methodists than Mormons in Italy, and roughly as many Baptists). The media will pass on the ascribed membership in the Baptist Church and look for the achieved status of the person concerned, while they would not pass on the ascribed Mormonism.

More surprising are the data about polygamy. 473 articles (or 47.3%) mentioned that Romney's religion has something to do with polygamy, although 115 (11.5% of the total, and 24.3% of those discussing polygamy in connection with Romney) did some homework, and explained that Romney's Church is not actually polygamist. However, very few articles are entirely accurate on this point. Most would say that Romney belongs to "a branch" of Mormonism which is non-polygamist, or that polygamy has become "rare". 173 articles (or 17.3%) made some mention of Warren Jeffs, the events in Texas, and the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, not necessarily by that name, and only in roughly half of the instances clearly stating that Romney's church and Jeffs' church are two very different entities.

No article between January and July 2008, on the other hand, mentioned the TV serial *Big Love* in connection with Romney. In Italy *Big Love* is aired by Fox Life, a comparatively expensive cable channel. Although it has a devoted following, it is not a household name among the general public. By expanding the time range, I found two articles

mentioning *Big Love* in connection with Romney. One dated back to December 2006 and was from *il Foglio*, a high quality daily newspaper ("Fede privata e scelte pubbliche, lo strano caso di Mitt Romney" 2006: most articles in *il Foglio* are not signed), and the other (Lodolini 2007) was from the February 2007 issue of *Jesus*, a liberal Catholic monthly connected to a magazine (*Famiglia Cristiana*) whose circulation is declining but which probably remains the best sold weekly publication in Italy. Both mentioned the date 1890 and the fact that the LDS proscribe polygamy, but *il Foglio* implied that the prohibition is more formal than real, and *Jesus* regarded those still practicing polygamy as the "traditionalist" (a label easily understood by Catholics, and not complimentary when used by a liberal magazine), even "heretic", part of Mormonism. It should be noted that these articles came from particularly respected media, and were untypically accurate for the average Italian standards.

A particularly telling result is that 93 articles (or 9.3%) include sentences which are variations of "Mr. Romney has only one wife". This is of course reminiscent of the often-told story of the Mormon Apostle visiting Italy who, tired of being asked how many wives he had, ended up answering that he had several but was traveling only with one since Europe is so expensive. On a more serious note, it tells us that for a significant number of Italian reporters the word "Mormonism" immediately rings a bell whose sound is "polygamy".

It is possible that in other Central and Southern European countries the results would be different from Italy. However, by putting together the words "Romney" and "polygamie" (which means "polygamy" in both German and French) on July 24, 2008, I found 62,400 results on Google, while "Romney" and "poligamia" (the Italian word) gave only 1,960 results (while, as mentioned earlier, I collected 473 significant articles about Romney mentioning polygamy in the period January–July 2008). If Google is any evidence, texts in French and German may show similar, if not identical, patterns with respect to those in Italian.

Conclusion

Obviously the attitude of Italian, French or German media has little, if any, influence on American voters (and vice versa: the prevailing hostile attitude of foreign media towards Silvio Berlusconi did little to prevent him from being elected for the third time as Italian Prime Minister in April 2008, with a record number of votes). On the other hand it is sociologically significant for the public image of Mormonism.

It confirms that ascription and labelling are very long processes, and that the fact that most scholars of religion do know the basic facts about Mormons and polygamy does not easily translate into general or media awareness. Ultimately scholarly articles, press releases by the LDS Church, and even *Big Love* (as far as parts of it are not lost in translation) will not change this situation. Only a significant presence of mainline Latter-day Saints in Italian and Central and Southern European social, cultural, and religious life will make the general public familiar with what 21st century Mormonism is really all about. And perhaps persuade the media that it is not that unusual for a male Mormon politician to have only one wife.

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19TH CENTURY MISSIOLOGY OF THE LDS BEDFORDSHIRE CONFERENCE AND ITS INTERRELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS

Ronald E. Bartholomew

J. F. C. Harrison noted that one of the more unfortunate impressions sometimes given is that all areas in nineteenth century England were more or less the same – that is, "equally smoky, soulless and horrible to live in. ... This is very misleading. Quite apart from obvious regional differences in traditional culture and economic and social relationships, the impact of population increase was very uneven. ... Virtually all towns did increase between 1831 and 1851, but in some the expansion was relatively modest. ... Too often our impressions of urban growth have derived from an over-concentration on the modern textile towns."[1] Malcolm Thorp elaborated further: "In most regions ... small scale workshops and handicraft industries were the rule. Also, farming continued to be important in all areas of the country as the largest single employer of labor (even though the percentage of farmers compared to total population was

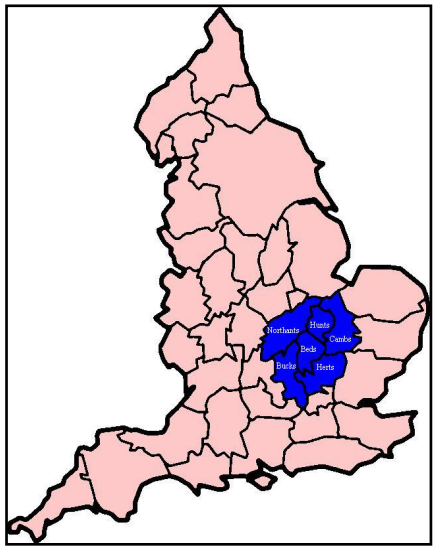

Figure 1. Bedfordshire Conference, 1843–1874, among 19th Century English Counties.

[1] John F. C. Harrison, "The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution," in Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 15–16.

gradually declining)."[2]

If there is danger in viewing Victorian Britain as a homogenous social and economic entity, perhaps it is equally unwise to conclude that nineteenth century Mormon missionary work, including interrelationships with other Christian clergy and parishioners in England was similar from region to region. While there were undoubtedly similarities, there were obvious and subtle differences as well, according to local factors. In fact, Andrew Phillips has noted that a closer analysis of local factors from a regional perspective can bring a richness and color that might otherwise be missed. He asserted "the diversity of local circumstances makes it possible to distinguish trends and conditions that do not necessarily correspond to national patterns."[3] It is the thesis of this article that a missiological study of the LDS Bedfordshire Conference and its interrelationship with other members and clergy of other Christian denominations reveals similarities with other regions; however, there are distinct differences which can at least partially be explained by the variance in local factors.

The confines of the Bedfordshire Conference of the LDS British Mission are difficult to quantify. As Richard Poll pointed out, the boundaries of various administrative units in the British Mission were under constant revision.[4] This was also true of the Bedfordshire Conference. During it's nearly 31 year existence (1843–1874), the confines of the Bedfordshire Conference expanded and contracted at least seven times until it was finally dissolved and assimilated into other conferences. One example is the county of Cambridgeshire. This county was included in the Bedfordshire Conference from 1843–1851, and then

[2] Malcolm Thorp, "The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social and Economic Conditions," as cited in V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: the Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987* (Solihull: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 45.

[3] Andrew Phillips, "The Essex Conference, 1850–1870," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 142.

[4] Richard D. Poll, "The British Mission during the Utah War, 1857–58," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain,* 225.

divided into its own conference from 1851–1859, only to be assimilated back into the Bedfordshire Conference years later.[5] Similarly, the Norwich Conference was dissolved and assimilated into the Bedfordshire Conference in 1871, but three years later the Bedfordshire Conference was dissolved, and much of it was included in the newly reorganized Norwich Conference.[6] Despite these periodic changes the Bedfordshire Conference was generally comprised of the six counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire.[7]

A study of the missiology of this conference and its interrelationship with other Christian denominations is unique in two respects. First, the socio-economic make up of these counties was unlike other regions that have been the predominate focus of studies of LDS Church history in early Victorian England. Scholars have asserted that the majority of early British Mormon converts came from the working class who lived in industrialized urban centers.[8] In contrast, these counties

[5] See "Organizations and Appointments," *Millennial Star*, vol. 13, no. 21 (November 1, 1851), 334 and "Minutes of the Special Conference," *Millennial Star*, vol. 21, no. 6 (February 5, 1859), 95.

[6] See "Releases, Appointments and Changes in Conferences," *Millennial Star*, vol. 33, no. 22 (May 30, 1871), 345–346 and "Changes and Appointments," *Millennial Star*, vol. 36, no. 48 (December 1, 1874), 761.

[7] For example, see "General Conference," *Millennial Star*, vol. 5, no. 11 (April 1845), 167, 169 and 173; "Minutes of the Special Conference," *Millennial Star*, vol. 21, no. 6 (February 5, 1859), 95; "Correspondence," *Millennial Star*, vol. 23, no. 14 (April 6, 1861), 222; and "A Stroll Through the Bedfordshire Conference," *Millennial Star*, vol. 32, no. 2 (January 11, 1870), 21.

[8] James B. Allen and Malcolm Thorp reported that most Mormon converts came from the "working classes of the urban communities." Cited in "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class," *BYU Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1975), 9.A.M. Taylor noted that the vast majority of converts emigrating from 1850–1862 were from urban centers. He also reported that the country was approximately half urban during this time period, yet 90 percent of Mormon emigrants originated in urban areas. "Moreover, more than two-fifths of that emigration came from towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants." Cited in Phillip A.M Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburg: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 149. Heaton, Albrecht and

experienced few of the direct effects of the Industrial Revolution that transformed many other parts of Britain in the nineteenth century. There were no major industrial centers to attract large numbers from elsewhere—a pattern typical of areas where missionary work, convert baptisms, and emigration have been more closely examined. Moreover, John Clarke argues that it would be incorrect to describe rural farm laborers who lived in these counties as 'working class.' He notes: "Class is about more than income – it also involves values and perceptions and farm workers and factory workers had a rather different take on most things. It would be more correct to describe the residents of the Bedfordshire Conference during this period as 'landless laborers' or 'the rural poor' rather than 'working class.'"[9]

Johnson asserted that the major source of new converts was the population most affected by the "Industrial Revolution and associated rapid population growth, urbanization, and political reform." They indicated that "proselytizing efforts were more successful in certain industrialized sections," and that "urban centers of the industrial heartland provided the type of people that were most inclined to join the Church." Cited in "The Making of the British Saint in Historical Perspective," *BYU Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987), 120–121.

[9] From private correspondence received December 13, 2007. Professor Clarke is the author of *The Book of Buckingham: A History* (Buckingham, England: Barracuda Books, 1984). As I have noted elsewhere, this was definitely true of Buckinghamshire, see "Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Buckinghamshire, England, 1849–1878," *BYU Studies*, forthcoming. The neighboring county of Bedfordshire had also scarcely been affected by the industrial revolution, and was almost completely agrarian, with the chief cottage industries being lace-making and straw-plaiting. See Joyce Godbear, *History of Bedfordshire: 1066–1888* (Luton, Bedfordshire: Bedfordshire City Council, 1969), 480. She notes: Bedfordshire experienced the "golden age of the great estates" from 1830–1870. "For their tenant farmers, things went well ... and the political power of nobility and gentry was scarcely undermined," 465. Northamptonshire was one of two counties in this conference that was included in that region referred to as "The Midlands." However, while many parts of the North and Midlands had been transformed by the Industrial Revolution, Northamptonshire was almost totally by-passed by it. In fact, the primary industry of shoe-making did not become a factory enterprise until 1890s. At the time the Industrial Revolution was getting under-way in other areas of the midlands, Northamptonshire men were still employed chiefly on the land. See R. L. Greenall, *History of Northamptonshire* (London: Phillmore &

In addition, the success of Mormonism in England during this time period was subject to certain geographic limitations. Stephen Fleming found (see following map[10]) that:

> The line from the Wash to Bristol (called the Wash-Severn line) that divides Great Britain between its Northwest and Southeast was the dividing line between the Mormons' most and least receptive proselytizing areas in the Anglo world. The apostles added six thousand converts to the Church, and at their departure 98 percent of British Mormons were in the Northwest. In 1844, 93 percent of British Mormons resided in the North and West. ... By 1851 the numbers were less stark, down to 77 percent; however, over seven thousand British Mormons had left for America by 1850, and the numbers suggest that these individuals were overwhelmingly Northwesterners. Thus the percentage of total Northwestern British Mormons in 1851, the year Mormonism reached its peak in Britain, was likely higher than the percentage still remaining in Britain. While the Wash-Severn line presents no absolute dividing line between areas of Mormon success and sub-regional variance certainly occurred, the line does indicate a larger trend in early Mormon British conversions.[11]

Co. Ltd., 1979), 79–80. Huntingdonshire, also in the Midlands, did not have the fertile soil of other counties in this Conference, but provided wool for the cloth industry instead of becoming an important textile center. See Michael Wickes, *A History of Huntingdonshire* (Chichester, England: Phillmore & Co. Ltd., 1995), 95–96. In the neighboring county of Cambridgeshire, "general and heavy industry were scare, even in Cambridge and the larger towns. It was [also] an agricultural county." See Bruce Galloway, *A History of Cambridgeshire* (Chichester, England: Phillmore & Co. Ltd., 1983), 93. Lastly, Hertfordshire had various small rural industries, but agriculture remained the major source of employment as it was an important food source with its close proximity to London. See Tony Rook, *A History of Hertfordshire* (Chichester, England: Phillmore & Co. Ltd., 1984), 100.

[10] See Stephen J. Fleming, "The Religious Heritage of the British Northwest and the Rise of Mormonism," *Church History*, vol. 77, no. 1 (March 2008), 85.

[11] Ibid., 84.

John Gay found a similar geographical demarcation when plotting the success of post-reformation non-conformity.[12] Regardless of where the division may have occurred, these studies provide empirical explanations for the contrasting success and failure Mormonism experienced in these two different geographic regions during the early Victorian period.[13] The Bedfordshire Conference was in the less-successful south-eastern region by either division.

[12] John Gay examined the expansion of Roman Catholicism and Mormonism as non-conformist movements in England from a geographer's perspective. He found that Roman Catholicism was a predominately north-northwestern phenomenon during the post-reformation period. He attributes this to the fact that the landed gentry had the resources to establish their own churches, and they were farther from London which made it easier to evade the legal penalties associated with non-conformity during that time. Similarly, he found that by 1851, the peak year of Mormon conversions in England, Mormonism was also more successful in the Northern and Western portions of England than in the Southern and Eastern portions. He attributed this to the fact that Mormons were intent on emigration and so tended to gravitate towards seaport cities of Bristol, Southampton, and Liverpool. See John Gay, "Some Aspects of the Social Geography of Religion in England: The Roman Catholics and the Mormons," in David Martin, ed., *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* (London: SCM Press, 1968), 47–76.

[13] Gay noted that in 1851 the Mormon movement was still in its infancy in England, and the 1851 Census "must be used with considerable caution when attempting to assess the geographical distribution of Mormons." However, he did indicate that 75% of the members of the Church lived in the Northern and Western regions, excepting London, a figure comparable to the one given by Fleming for the same year (77%). He indicated that although the largest percentage of Mormon converts was from Lancashire, it was not the county with the largest percentage *per capita*. The counties with the highest incidence of Mormon converts per capita were Hampshire, Gloucestershire, and Nottinghamshire. He also gave a list of the "home counties" that were amenable to the Mormon movement, but he excluded Buckinghamshire from that list, based on the raw number of converts and the number of converts per capita. See John Gay, "Some Aspects of the Social Geography of Religion in England: The Roman Catholics and the Mormons," in *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, 59–61.

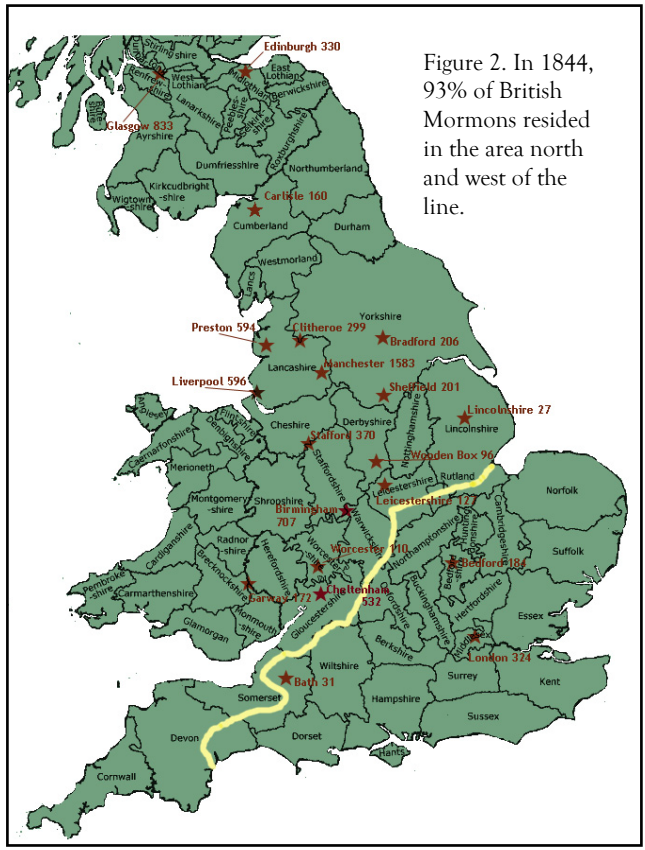

Figure 2. In 1844, 93% of British Mormons resided in the area north and west of the line.

Therefore, whether due to the non-industrial and rural nature of the conference itself, or its geographic location, this study proffers a unique perspective to early Victorian LDS Church history. This article will address the following issues relative to this:

1. Who were the missionaries that served in this conference? Did they consist primarily of those sent from America, or were they predominately recent British converts? What was the ratio? How was the call to serve a mission extended differently to American missionaries as opposed to recent British converts?

2. What methods did these missionaries employ in this locale? Did these methods change over time? Did the influence of Protestant or Church of England Clergy affect these practices?
3. What kind of opposition did they encounter, and how did it vary? What were their interactions and relationships with members and ministers of other denominations?

The Missionaries and Their Methods

William Hartley correctly observed that "many of the [British] mission's conference presidents, branch presidents and missionaries were British Mormons."[14] This was definitely true of the Bedfordshire Conference. The large majority of missionaries serving in the conference during the years 1843–1874 were English converts.[15] There are several explanations for this. First of all, as early as 1840, Brigham Young had given formal instructions that volunteer full-time missionaries were to be chosen from among those Church members whose circumstances would permit them to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry.[16] This continued as policy, and was reaffirmed "in compliance with instructions from the First Presidency... to send the Elders forth" published in the *Millennial Star* in 1857:

> Let the Elders go forth without purse or scrip as they did in the days of Jesus, and as they have done since the early rise of the Church. Go forth, Brethren of the Priesthood, having faith in the promise of Jesus Christ ... You are called upon to do a great work; great will be your reward if you do your

[14] William G. Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852-55" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain,* 200. He also notes that they were likely to emigrate. To replace them and to train and supervise their successors presented a formidable challenge.

[15] Although it is not always possible to extract from extant data the nativity of those who served as missionaries, an exhaustive inquiry into this question produced the following results: of the 203 missionaries that served in the Bedfordshire Conference during its existence, only 21 can positively be identified as American natives, meaning approximately 10 % were Americans and 90% were of British nativity.

[16] See "Minutes of General Conference," *Millennial Star* (July 1840), 70.

> duty ... Let wives and children ... not hold them back through fear of want ... There are many Elders located in the different branches of the European Mission, whose talents are hid: they are lying dormant. We want such to repent and arise from a state of lethargy and go forth among the Gentiles, preaching unto them the Gospel of the Kingdom. Let the Elders do something that will entitle them to a glorious resurrection at the coming of the Son of Man, which draweth nigh.[17]

"Hence," James B. Allen and Malcolm Thorp noted, "the number of missionaries was greatly expanded and most new baptisms were performed by these local missionaries."[18] Ronald Walker observed that "The American Missionaries might take the lead, but duly ordained English converts carried the ministerial load. This allowed Mormonism to shed whatever image it might have possessed as a foreign intruder. Indeed it facilitated the conversion of former preachers ... [to] secure Mormon membership and Mormon Priesthood on the same day and continue without interruption their errand for the Lord."[19] Such was the case with Thomas Squires. After preaching for the Wesleyan Methodist for many years (from age 15) and then later for the Baptists, he became dissatisfied with them all and began preaching what he considered an 'improved doctrine.' When he came in contact with the Mormon Elders and was baptized, the following occurred: "While the Elders were confirming him, and before taking off their hands, [they] ordained him an elder"[20] and he immediately began preaching the gos-

[17] "General Instructions to Pastors, Presidents and Elders," *Millennial Star* (April 11, 1857), 232–33.

[18] James B. Allen and Malcolm Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class," *BYU Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Summer 1975), 15.

[19] Ronald W. Walker, "Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England," *BYU Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1 (Winter 1987), 25–36.

[20] In John Paternoster Squires, *Notes of interest to the descendents of Thomas Squires* (Salt Lake City: Eva Beatrice Squires Poleman, 1970), 139.

pel. He served in two branch presidencies,[21] before "forsaking all" and serving as a traveling full-time missionary.[22]

Unlike the American missionaries who were typically called by a member of the First Presidency during General Conference, it was the responsibility of the Pastors[23] and Conference Presidents serving as missionaries in England to call recent converts to full-time missionary service.[24] John Spiers recorded in his journal in September 1840: "Elder Thomas Kington (who had been appointed presiding elder of that conference) came over to the Leigh and called on me and Brother Browell and Jenkins to give up our businesses and devote all our time to the Spirit of the work. This was a severe task for me, and I would gladly have done anything else, but as I had been counseled, I arranged my business as fast as I could and prepared to go out."[25]

Hartley noted an additional reason for the predominance of English missionaries: Utah simply could not supply enough.[26] By 1857, when the American missionaries were called home incident to the Utah War, there were only 88 serving in the British Isles,[27] spread over more than 30 conferences and almost 700 branches. No missionaries were sent to the British Mission from America in 1858 and only 18 in 1859. This led to the increased calling of more local missionaries. By 1874,

[21] Robert Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, BX 8670.1 .H664h, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
[22] Squires, Notes of interest to the descendents of Thomas Squires, 139.
[23] "Pastor" refers to an administrative office held by a full-time missionary in the British Mission who supervised several conferences and reported directly to the Mission President.
[24] "General Instructions to Pastors, Presidents and Elders," *Millennial Star* (April 11, 1857), 232–33.
[25] John Spiers, *Reminiscences and Journal, 1840–1877*, MS 1725, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
[26] Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852–55" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 201.
[27] Poll, "The British Mission During the Utah War," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 231.

the year the Bedfordshire Conference was dissolved, there were only 12 American Nationals serving as missionaries in all of England.[28]

Perhaps the most interesting fact relative to those missionaries who were sent from America, as Richard L. Jensen has observed, was that a significant portion were native Englishmen who were sent back to their mother country after their initial immigration.[29] Poll reported that while the "the mission president, almost all pastors, and some conference and district presidents were from the United states... Most district presidents and branch presidents were locals."[30] However, Hartley countered that while this may have be true, of the thirty-six pastors called to supervise the fifty conferences and 700 branches between the years of 1852–1855, *all* were British natives—thirty-five of the thirty-six were referred as "American Missionaries" because they were returning from America, having previously emigrated. He suggests that it was apparently thought that a period of residence in Utah provided the advantage of a more thorough initiation into church doctrine and practice. After this preparation, these convert immigrants were seen as invaluable assets to the missionary efforts in their mother country, and were called upon to return.[31] For example, Job Smith joined the church as a young man in England before emigrating to Nauvoo in 1843. During the October 1849 general conference he was called to return to England just one year after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley. He served

[28] Richard O. Cowan, "Church Growth in England, 1841–1914," Truth will prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987, 216-17.

[29] See Richard L. Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?: Financing Latter-day Saint Missionary Work in Europe in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 12 (1985), 4.

[30] Poll, "The British Mission During the Utah War," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 226.

[31] Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852–55" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 196.

his entire mission in the Bedfordshire Conference, first as a traveling elder and then as conference president.[32]

The majority of full-time missionaries initially served as traveling elders. James Henry Linford wrote the following while serving as a traveling elder in the Bedfordshire Conference: "The duty of the traveling elder was to look after the saints in his district, collect the tithing, and the individual emigration account, also to collect money for the book agents."[33] The title "traveling elder" was quite self-descriptive, perhaps even more so for elders serving in this Conference. William Bramall's journal accounts of his travels are representative. During the four-month period of November 1860 through February 1861, he visited fifty-six separate locations in the Bedfordshire Conference. He traveled to forty-seven on foot and only nine by train, walking over 400 miles.[34] Robert W. Heyborne later recorded: "During my stay in the Bedfordshire Conference I have walked, while visiting the Saints from village to village, 1,207 miles."[35] This highlights a distinguishing characteristic of missionary work in this conference, and provides a possible explanation from some of the unique aspects of how missionary was conducted there.

Thorough analyses of the extant journals of the missionaries and members who served and lived in the Bedfordshire Conference indicate that the full-time missionaries' time was almost completely devoted to traveling across the broad expanse of their assigned district or the entire conference. Because of this, their primary contacts with "strangers," the terminology they universally used in reference to those

[32] Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography, 1849–1877*, MSS 881, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 47–48, 74.

[33] James Henry Linford, An Autobiography of James Henry Linford, Sr., Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Kaysville, Utah (Logan, Utah: J.P. Smith and Sons, Printers, 1947), 22–23.

[34] Marie Bramall Boren, *The Pride of Plumbley: A History of William Bramall (1824–1907),* comp. by Marie Bramall Boren and George and Norma Sumsion Horton (Roy, Utah: M.B. Boren, 1998), 109–116.

[35] "Correspondence," *Millennial Star* (May 5, 1874), 283.

who were not members of the church, was in the member's homes during those visits. In addition to this practice, missionaries would periodically attempt to hire out a town hall or other building in order to teach larger groups of people when resources permitted. Thomas Owen King asked the members in Northampton to take up a collection so they could hire a room in order to attract large groups of "strangers" to teach.[36] Job Smith recorded that he was able to obtain the use of a hall, and sent bills around telling the people that "Elder Job Smith of Great Salt Lake would deliver a course of lectures on successive Sunday afternoons." 300 people came.[37] Both Job Smith and Charles Dana mention hiring the town crier to announce these public meetings.[38] However, because of their travel schedule and limited financial resources, full-time missionaries were often unable to do this type of missionary work. To offset this, they mobilized the efforts of the local membership to preach at nights or on weekends in outdoor meetings, usually in the spring, as weather permitted.[39] John Spiers wrote: "Met the brethren in council and as spring was then opening, so that congregations could assemble in the open air, we made arrangements for the brethren to go out into the different villages around town to preach the gospel ... We accordingly appointed them to go two by two, take tracts with them and by all summer to establish the gospel in those villages."[40]

It is also evident from journals that many new members perceived that sharing the gospel was part of their divinely appointed duty. Poll asserts that "most conversions occurred among the relatives and

[36] Thomas Owen King, *Thomas Owen King Jr. Journal Transcipts (105–162) 1863*, 125. Unpublished journal held in possession of Leonard Reed, Cambridgeshire, England. This entry is Aug. 16, 1863.
[37] Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography,* L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 129.
[38] See Smith, *Diary and Autobiography,* 147–149 and Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852–55" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 201.
[39] Poll, "The British Mission During the Utah War," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 228.
[40] Spiers, Reminiscences and Journal, 1840–1877.

friends of active members."[41] Samuel Claridge was introduced to the gospel in 1851 by George Coleman, a "poor man with a large family, who bought his bread at [Samuel's] bakery shop and grocery."[42] Samuel was an influential middle class Methodist. In contrast, most of the Mormon converts, like George Coleman, were poor people. Samuel wrote: "It is true ... it was quite a test ... to give up my respectable Methodist folk with their fine [new] meetinghouse, to go with the very poor, despised Mormons ... [who] met in a little old stable fitted up." His baptism and subsequent association with the poor farm labor-class Mormons created no small stir in his community.[43] When Samuel was ordained a priest, like Brother Coleman and "so many Mormon converts before him," he felt that "ordination to the priesthood was a call to preach and proselyte."[44] "It was soon noised abroad that Methodist Claridge was holding forth up in the old stable. Many came to hear, and I soon commenced baptizing, and our numbers kept increasing until our house was too small and the owner of the stable built us a new meeting house. We baptized him and his family and many others," he noted in his journal.[45]

Those men ordained to the priesthood were not the only ones who felt compelled to share the gospel informally with their family and friends. Hannah Tapfield King was introduced to the gospel by a young woman, Lois Bailey, who had been her dressmaker for eleven years. After meeting the full-time missionaries and thoroughly investigating the church, Hannah eventually joined, emigrated to Utah. This was particularly difficult for Hannah, whose husband was a wealthy tenant farmer, and had associations with the Church of England, and consequently the upper-class in that area. After arriving in Utah, she was

[41] Poll, "The British Mission During the Utah War," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, 228.
[42] George Samuel Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: S.G. Ellsworth, 1987), 1.
[43] Ibid., 9–13.
[44] Ibid., 13–14.
[45] Ibid., 14.

asked to send her oldest son, Thomas Owen King, back to England, where he served as the president of the Bedfordshire Conference.

Interrelationship with other Christian Denominations

As these LDS missionaries traveled from house to house through these rural counties, visiting the individual homes of members, their interaction with those of other Christian denominations was seemingly infrequent or insignificant to them, based on their journal entries. William Bramall, for example, failed to note a single encounter with anyone of any other Christian denomination in his daily log that spans ten months.[46] Thomas Owen King's daily record included only two encounters in thirteen month's time. Interestingly, neither of those encounters were polemic. Thomas spent one evening "at Mrs. Nash's to have some talk with [her son] on our principles. He is to be a clergyman in the Church of England. He was quite willing to hear but even when he had to give in he would have two or three ways of interpreting the Scriptures. However, I believe we parted well pleased with each other and with honest feelings."[47] The other encounter he mentions was with a clergyman and also ended in a relatively civil manner. He wrote that he met with "a Mr. Towel, [who] tried to prove from the bible that the Book of Mormon was wrong." He tried to "keep him on the principles of the Gospel but could not, however, we parted in good feeling neither having gained their point."[48] Another example of amiable relations with Christian Clergy occurred while Thomas Day was serving in Northamptonshire: "I preached in a Baptist chapel once a week for three months ... I was treated well generally, but no one embraced the gospel. When about to leave I told the people that I would leave them now in the hands of God and to go to pastures where the people would obey the call of the gospel. At parting a Deacon asked me not to shake the dust

[46] Boren, The Pride of Plumbley: A History of William Bramall (1824–1907), 103–116.
[47] King, Thomas Owen King Jr. Journal Transcipts (105–162) 1863, 150. This entry is January 19, 1864.
[48] Ibid., 157. This entry is April 23, 1864.

off my feet against him. I told him I would not do that for the kindness he had shown me."[49]

However, some of the encounters missionaries had with Christian clergy turned hostile. Job Smith recorded "opposition from Methodists" who, one week after disturbing their meetings, actually came to break up a party the saints were having.[50] He recorded that opposition was so great in some areas that he was unable to preach: "Tried to preach at Bishop's Stortford, but could not because of opposition"[51] and he later noted, "Tried to preach at Ivinghoe but experienced opposition from a drunken man it was supposed was sent by the priest. The priest came the week before, but sent a messenger this time."[52] William Budge recorded that Cambridge was completely under the influence of "the clergy" which made it a "tough place to preach."[53]

In many personal accounts the missionaries depict themselves as the victors of these heated exchanges. James Henry Linford wrote in September 1857: "I went to Upwood … this was a grand field day with the Primitive Methodists. I was opposed by five of their preachers; one of their number was the Mr. Poole who had held a meeting with Elder James H. Flanagan at Gravely some years before. When I quit speaking and closed the meeting Mr. Poole tried to talk but the people would not stop to listen to him."[54] Robert Hodgerts recorded: "We traveled all over the Bedford Conference and had quite a good time for five or six weeks. … For the past few months the work of God increased in numbers rapidly; a goodly number were baptized; considerable opposition made against the truth, principally by the Methodists. Mr. Twelvetrees

[49] Thomas Day, *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day, 1814–1894*, comp. and ed. Clifford L. Stott and Ronald D. Dennis, BX 8670.1 .D333s, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, 4.
[50] Smith, Diary and Autobiography, 116-117.
[51] Ibid., 135.
[52] Ibid., 167.
[53] Budge, *The Life of William Budge* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1915), 36.
[54] Linford, An Autobiography of James Henry Linford, Sr., Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Kaysville, Utah, 23.

of Dunstable published two tracts against Mormonism which militated very much against himself insomuch that he had to leave for London. We, however, continued baptizing every week."[55]

On the other hand, other accounts vindicated the clergymen in their debates with the LDS missionaries. Reverend F. B. Ashley, Vicar of Wooburn, wrote:

> The Mormonites were very active long before I came, in the neighborhood and in the parish, and at that time a priest used to preach on Sundays for three-quarters of an hour at the sign-post between the Vicarage and the church. ... After the service I gave notice that I would give a lecture on Mormonism in the school-room the following Thursday. It caused great excitement ... I sallied out on Thursday evening, and found the road and the room blocked with people. A mill-owner who was amongst them came to me and offered his Sol-room, which was perfectly empty, and would hold a great number standing. ... By the time I got to the Sol-room it was ... crammed to the door. With difficulty a small table and a cask to put on it got inside. I then mounted, and kept them listening for two hours. The quiet was intense, and I could hear nothing but now and then a gasp of sensation and the scratching of the Mormon reporters' pens.[56]

Reverend Ashley's anti-Mormon lectures were published[57] and multiple editions circulated.[58] His arguments corresponded closely with

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[55] Hodgert, Journal of Robert Hodgert.

[56] Cited in Francis Busteed Ashley, Pen and Pencil Sketches - a retrospect of nearly Eighty Years, including about twelve in the artillery and Fifty in the Ministry of the Church of England by Nemo [i.e. Francis Busteed Ashley] (London: Nisbet, 1889), 158–160.

[57] Francis Busteed Ashley, Mormonism: an exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called "The Latter-day Saints" (London: J. Hatchard, 1851).

[58] His pamphlet, *Mormonism: An exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called "The Latter-day Saints"* sought to clarify and expose his views on the prophet-leader Joseph Smith, the "Golden Plates" from which the "Book of Mormon" was purportedly translated, and other "Mormon Doctrines" and "Mormon Attractions." His arguments corresponded closely with other con-

other contemporary anti-Mormon tracts published throughout the Bedfordshire Conference.[59] These pamphlets all discredited the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith, and other points of doctrine, including the plurality of wives. These tracts had an occasional dramatic effect on some of the new converts, however, it was rarely a lasting effect. For example, Hannah King wrote: "Christmas day, 1850. Gave all the men a Christmas dinner. I stayed to help cook it. My mind very much broken up and agitated by Mrs. Hawthorn coming and telling me what a fearful people the Mormons were... Others, too, were always sending me some horrible thing to read... Christmas day my torture had reached its climax, it was all I could do to go into the kitchen and ask the men if they had enjoyed their dinner as was my want. I felt I was changed and as white as death. If I put food into my mouth I often could not swallow it. It seemed to choke me."[60] As much as these pamphlets affected King personally at the time, they did not affect her eventual decision to join the church and emigrate.

Some converts indicated that the words and actions of the Christian clergymen actually helped cultivate in them an interest in Mormonism. Unlike the typical Christian clergymen, Mormon preachers were poor[61] and humble, which endeared them to the poorer laboring class, who as a group had become disenchanted with the formality and exclusivity of the middle and upper-class conformists and even the increasingly middle-class non-conformist movements. Samuel

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temporary anti-Mormon tracts published throughout England. See Ashley, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 160.

[59] See Cambridge Clergyman, *Mormonism or the Bible: A Question for our Times* (Cambridge, UK: T. Dixon, 1852); Reverend Robert Clarke, *Mormonism Unmasked, or The Latter-day Saints in a Fix* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1850?); and Reverend John Frere, *A Short History of the Mormonites, or Latter-day Saints: with an Account of the Real Origin of the Book of Mormon* (London: J. Master, 1850).

[60] Leonard Reed, Cambridgeshire Saints: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the County of Cambridgeshire (Cambridge, UK: Leonard Reed, 2001), 144–145.

[61] Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?: Financing Latter-day Saint Missionary Work in Europe in the Nineteenth Century," 3–14.

Wagstaff and his wife, for instance, were "very happy ... perfectly satisfied with their little world" until the sudden death of his father. "This shock caused serious thought about things spiritual, which sent him back to the Old Church, but with no satisfaction." Hearing about the Methodists, he drifted over to them, but their continual call for money made him feel that money was all they preached for. Then a fine gentleman came to their place and organized the Calvinists, and he went there until their minister was offered more salary in Manchester ... The little flock felt very badly in losing him ... the large flock he had gathered scattered like sheep without a shepherd. He went looking for anan other church of the same denomination but their preacher wanted more money and undertook to raise the pew rent on the poor, and said: "The rich can give what they want but if the poor won't pay for their seats they will have to bring a stool and sit in the aisle," which again caused the feelings that religion must be for money, causing him to drift away again. In 1849 Samuel's brother joined the Latter-day Saints. And when Samuel eventually came in contact with the gospel through a tract he received entitled "A Voice of Warning," "its message filled his soul so full" he walked two and a half miles to hear more and consented to baptism that day. While the various Christian Clergy did not lead Samuel to Mormonism, he was more open to its message because of becoming disenchanted with them. An important side-note is how effective the tracts distributed by the LDS missionaries and members were, as demonstrated by the key role they played in the conversion of Samuel and others mentioned previously.

Sometimes the tension between Christian clergy and Mormonism even occurred within families. Benjamin Johnson joined the LDS Church against the wishes of his father, who was a Baptist minister. Immediately following his conversion, Benjamin constructed on a chapel for the Eaton Bray Branch, of which he was appointed president by the missionaries. He had a beautiful singing voice and would sing so loudly that his father's parishioners could hear him in the Baptist chapel nearby. Shortly after Benjamin's conversion his father became

ill, and eventually died, blaming his illness on the broken heart inflicted on him by the disgrace of his son's conversion to the Mormonites.[62]

Conclusion

A large portion of the missionaries who served in the Bedfordshire Conference were native Englishmen; some of them were even converts from within that conference. The travel requirements of their assignment caused in part by the rural nature of the counties that comprised the conference did not provide the opportunity for frequent association with Christian clergy or parishioners from other denominations. Nor would such association have been generally welcomed, given their poor rural farm laborer status and their almost exclusive association with those of the same social standing. As a result, the LDS missionaries' recorded interactions with Christian clergymen are sparse, and did not comprise a significant component of their missionary labors. Therefore, the proselyting practices of these missionaries appear to have been relatively unaffected by their interactions with members of other Christian denominations or their clergy. However, some encounters did occur, ranging from amiable to antagonistic. The effects of these interactions on the proselytizing efforts of the missionaries were varied. At times the opposition from Christian clergy was so intense it kept the missionaries from preaching; at other times the missionaries perceived these negative interactions as actually aiding their efforts by drawing negative attention away from themselves and towards their antagonists. However, none of these interactions appear to have had a negative effect on the convictions of the poor people they labored with or the missionaries themselves. Evidence suggests that if there was an effect on proselytes or the missionaries, it was positive, in that it solidified their respective positions.

[62] Wayne Rollins Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson, 3 June 1774–9 Oct. 1934,* (Centerville, Utah: W. R. Hansen, 1993), call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, 18–19.

Reactions of Lutheran Clergy to Mormon Proselytizing in Finland, 1875–1889

Kim B. Östman

Introduction

The religious landscape of nineteenth-century Finland was highly uniform, at least on the surface. The organized and legally public practice of religion was dominated by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, with the Orthodox Church also having an officially approved role. During that century, however, this uniform religious landscape experienced unprecedented pluralization. This happened for example through revival movements that eventually remained within the Finnish Lutheran tradition, and through the emergence of new movements such as Baptists and Methodists.[1]

Just as in non-religious contexts, such pluralization gave rise to processes of boundary formation, negotiation and maintenance. Established organizations and Finnish individuals had to decide how they would react to the new actors in the religious landscape. Were these new forms of religiosity acceptable, or were they to be resisted? Were they familiar enough to be embraced within or next to the existing mainstream tradition, or were they sufficiently different to become regarded as a sociocultural "other," with all the accompanying attitudes?

One new religious movement that nineteenth-century Finnish society encountered was Mormonism. Born in the eastern United States through the visions of the founder Joseph Smith in the 1820s and proclaiming itself first as the restoration of ancient Christianity, Mormonism combined elements of Old and New Testament teaching. Its mainstream, officially called the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, eventually built its own theocratic kingdom in the territory of Utah in the American west. Church membership reached approxi-

[1] Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996).

mately 300,000 by the year 1900, with headquarters in Utah and pean strongholds in Great Britain and Scandinavia.[2]

Nineteenth-century Finns first encountered Mormonism through the printed word. Newspapers and Swedish books reported on Mormon doctrine, history and activities in both the United States and in Europe, and even in the other Nordic countries. With time, reports also began to trickle in concerning illegal Mormon missionizing in Finland. This happened after 1875, as about twenty missionaries proselytized in the country during the following fourteen years, making about eighty converts.

Conceptually and numerically speaking, Mormonism was a minor phenomenon in the Finnish religious field that was grappling with other new foreign movements and domestic revival movements that emerged from the Lutheran tradition itself. Nevertheless, Mormon activity attracted the attention of the Lutheran clergy in many locations where it took place. Mormonism was resisted, among other reasons, because of its religious content and the illegal nature of its proselytizing activities.

The purpose of this article is to analyze how Lutheran clergymen reacted to the spread of Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland. The time period is limited to the years when active proselytizing took place, beginning in 1875 and ending in 1889. Mormon activity was quite limited, but it has been possible to construct a larger view of a handful of encounters between Mormon missionaries and Lutheran clergy. Three of these will here be presented as case studies to shed light on the central theme of this article.

Lutheranism and Mormonism in Nineteenth-century Finland

Finland and the other Nordic nations shared a common dominant faith tradition, that of Lutheranism. During the time period discussed in this article, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

[2] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

was divided into three dioceses, namely those of Åbo, Borgå and Kuopio. Mormon activity took place mostly among the Swedish-speaking minority population on the coastal areas from the greater Helsinki region on the south coast up to the Jakobstad and Gamlakarleby region on the west coast. The encounter of Finnish Lutheranism and Mormonism thus took place in the Åbo and Borgå dioceses that covered these coastal areas.

Mormon activity in the Russian-ruled Finland began comparatively late and was significantly smaller in scope than in the other Nordic nations: Missionaries arrived in 1875, compared to 1850 in Sweden and Denmark and 1851 in Norway and Iceland. Only about eighty converts were made, compared for example with the over 16,000 converts made in neighboring Sweden during the nineteenth century.[3] Nevertheless, this introduction of Mormonism to Finnish society made its impact on the nation's religious canvas and attracted the attention of journalists and clergymen. It is also noteworthy to mention that most nineteenth-century Mormon activity in Finland took place before the Dissenter Act of 1889, after which non-conformist Christian denominations were allowed to organize.

Of the three cases that I present in this article, two are from the Åbo diocese and one from the Borgå diocese. The first case, from the Åbo diocese, deals with the reaction to the first missionaries arriving and working in the area of Vasa on the west coast in 1875 and 1876. The second case is from Sibbo in the Borgå diocese, dealing with reactions to a group conversion to Mormonism in the spring of 1878. Finally, the third case is from the area of Pojo in the Åbo diocese, where Mormon activity took place for many years; the present focus is on the early 1880s. Because of the Swedish-language nature of the nineteenth-century Mormon activity in Finland, I use the Swedish names of the towns and villages involved, when available.

[3] A. Dean Wengreen, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905." Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968.

Case 1: Vasa

Mormon activity in Finland began through the arrival of two young Swedish missionaries in late October 1875. The brothers Carl and Johan Sundström, 29 and 23 years old, respectively, left Sweden from Sundsvall and arrived by steamship in the Finnish west coast city of Nikolaistad, also known as Vasa. The city and its vicinity was at the time part of the Åbo diocese. The missionaries seem to have gone by their work comparatively quietly, and instead of preaching in public meetings they did so in private for example with relatives of Finnish emigrants to Sweden who had converted to Mormonism there.[4]

Their activity did not go unnoticed, however. During January and February 1876, the Sundströms encountered Lutheran clergy at least three times, and their landlord was forbidden from renting a room to the two missionaries. The clergy, backed by the local church council, forbade the missionaries from preaching Mormonism and accused them of having been deceived. Later in August, the missionaries were called to see the mayor of Vasa who forbade them from preaching and read a request written by the local Lutheran clergy, asking that the missionaries be deported out of the country because they had come to preach a false doctrine.[5] The Sundströms travelled back to Sweden that autumn, apparently not forcibly deported however.

Carl Sundström, the older of the two brothers, arrived back in Vaasa in October 1876. Together with him he had Axel Tullgren, a 49-year-old native Swede who had emigrated to Utah and who had then been sent back as a missionary to Scandinavia earlier the same year. These missionaries continued proselytizing in Vasa and other coastal areas. This time their work spurred one of the local Lutheran clergy to public objections.

[4] Journal of Carl August Sundström. Church Historical Library and Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. Hereafter cited as LDSCA.

[5] Johannes Bäck to Gustaf von Wrede, 1 August 1876. Archive of Vasa Municipal Court and Magistrate, Vasa Provincial Archives.

This clergyman was Johannes Bäck, a 25-year-old pastor who had been installed as the parish minister in March 1876 as his predecessor, minister Karl Wegelius, age 41, passed away.[6] Both Bäck and Wegelius, before his passing, had been active in opposing the Sundström brothers' work, with Bäck most probably authoring the earlier mentioned document requesting a deportation of the Sundströms from Finland. When Carl Sundström and Axel Tullgren continued the proselytizing work, the young Bäck went public concerning the matter and requested the local newspaper *Wasabladet* both to print his own writings on the Mormon situation and to reprint articles that had originally appeared in two Swedish periodicals. These took up space in six consecutive issues of the newspaper in December 1876.[7]

Bäck's stated purpose was to act in his capacity as a clergyman of the parish to warn the public against the doctrines preached by the Mormon missionaries. A note of frustration is evident in his opening words: "Who would have thought that this injurious sect, of whom somebody has said that it is a distorted and horrid caricature of all that is holy, would find its way even to our sequestered country? We have heard it spoken of Baptists, Methodists, Hihhulites, and other such, but at least from the Mormons … one has hoped to be spared."[8]

Bäck summarized his objections to Mormonism in four points. They were: 1. The Book of Mormon was seen as being on equal footing with the Bible; 2. The Mormons held that the ancient Christian church had fallen into apostasy through persecution and false doctrines; 3. The Mormons assigned a physical place to the kingdom of God and claimed it exclusively for their church; 4. Those who were baptized Mormons

[6] Consistorii Ecklesiastici i Åbo af trycket utgifna Cirkulärbref. Sjuttonde flocken. Ifrån början af år 1876 till slutet af år 1884. N:o 645–733 (Åbo: Åbo Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1885), 33 and 37.

[7] See the issues of 6, 9, 13, 16, 20 and 23 December 1876.

[8] "Mormonism," *Wasabladet*, 6 December 1876, 1. "Hihhulites" was a name used for Laestadianism, a revival movement that eventually remained within Lutheranism. English translations of originally Swedish quotations in this paper are mine.

were to emigrate to Utah and were also said to receive the charismatic gifts characteristic of the early Christians.[9]

One of Bäck's main thrusts seems to have been to distinguish Mormonism as something incompatible with true Christianity, a false doctrine that required more of its adherents than the pure Christian truth. His juxtaposition of Christianity and Mormonism was crystallized in his closing words: "... just as there is a huge difference between Christ and Joseph Smith, the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the Kingdom of God and the Mormon sect, so it is something completely different to suffer for Christ and His truth than for Joseph Smith, Brigham Young etc. and their lies and lunacies."[10]

Bäck's writings surely had an effect on the local population, at least by bringing the matter of Mormonism's presence to the forefront, although they did not lead for example to governmental action to deport the missionaries. The missionaries themselves were aware of the publicity: Axel Tullgren commented in a letter to his ecclesiastical leader that "the priest in this city has filled all the newspapers with all kinds of lies ... so that all hell seems to rage against us; and the priest has written so many lies that people whom we have spoken with are embarrassed for him that he would trumpet such obvious falsehoods."[11] To what extent Tullgren's evaluation of the situation represents objective fact is difficult to assess.

During the earliest proselytizing in the Vasa region, then, it is clear that the missionaries were resisted quite actively by one of the central clergymen in that region. This clergyman sought both to warn his parishioners through making public his theological objections to Mormonism and to enlist the help of governmental authorities by having the Mormon missionaries removed from the country. Johannes Bäck's actions portray a clergyman who was committed to Lutheranism

[9] "Mormonism," *Wasabladet*, 9 December 1876, 2.
[10] "Ännu något om mormonismen," *Wasabladet*, 23 December 1876, 3.
[11] Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), 122–123.

and deeply worried about the appearance of a competing religious movement on his home turf.

Case 2: Sibbo

The second case examined in the present article is that of the town of Sibbo, located in the Borgå diocese immediately north-east of the capital city Helsinki. It was the scene of Mormon activity especially in the spring of 1878. This was when Axel Tullgren, the missionary just discussed in the case of Vasa, arrived there in the beginning of March together with Olof Forssell, another Swedish Mormon emigrant to Utah who had been called back to the old countries as a missionary. They received lodging at the house of a reputable farmer named Lindström, and began introducing the Mormon message to this family and others in the village of Borgby.

Numerically speaking, Tullgren and Forssell were very successful in their work. Within a few days of their arrival, at least ten persons were baptized as Mormons in a creek that had been dammed in order to bring the water level high enough for immersion baptism. The missionaries and the new converts warmed themselves around a fire, spoke of their convictions regarding Mormonism's divinity, and had communion or sacrament, as it is called in Mormon parlance.[12] Tullgren reported that he was "very satisfied and blessed in my work ... I have good prospects for more persons wanting to come and be baptized. I have many good friends, notwithstanding the priests warn the people against us, that they may not house us or listen to us."[13]

One of the priests Tullgren refers to is most probably Fredrik Wilhelm Fredriksson, the 51-year-old parish minister in Sibbo. In fact, Fredriksson had prior experience with sectarian movements, as he had been the Lutheran Church's choice to deal with Baptist enthusiasm on the Åland Islands in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Later on he was an

[12] "Mormoner i Sibbo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 22 March 1878, 2.

[13] Excerpt of letter by Axel Tullgren, 13 March 1878, reprinted in *Nordstjernan*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1 April 1878), 110.

active participant in official discussions concerning the Dissenter Act, speaking from personal experience.[14]

In the beginning of April 1878, a few weeks after the conversions of his parishioners had taken place, Fredriksson wrote to the Borgå diocesan chapter "with deep worry concerning the ignorance and unbelief that still prevails among the common people in our country." Frediksson reported on the particulars concerning how Mormonism, "this mixture of absurdity and perversion of all religious and moral ideas," had made inroads among the parishioners, and how these "victims" had now denied "the truth of our church." In Fredriksson's opinion the unsettled situation in Borgby was further compounded by lay persons who had been holding Bible readings there ever since the previous autumn. He asked the diocesan chapter to take "strong measures and steps ... to close the flood of indiscretion and calm the worries of conscience among the peaceable in the country."[15]

The two missionaries Tullgren and Forssell were compelled to leave Finland only a week or so later because they got into difficulty with their passports.[16] Many of the new converts also forsook their new faith rather quickly, apparently because of intervention by the Lutheran clergy in the parish. Fredriksson reported that the converts had been dealt with through teaching and a friendly attitude by the priests, and thus they had come to an understanding of "their delusion and bitterly regretted it."

Thus the chapter, when replying to Fredriksson and writing another parish that had been affected by the Mormon conversions, only exhorted the priests to give special attention to those that had been baptized as Mormons and to take care of bringing them back to the

[14] R.A. Mäntylä, *Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1809-1889, osa 1: 1809–1871* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1954), 119.
[15] Fredrik W. Fredriksson to Borgå Diocesan Chapter, 2 April 1878. Archive of Borgå Diocesan Chapter, Finnish National Archives. Hereafter cited as ABDC.
[16] Journal of Axel Tullgren. LDSCA.

Lutheran faith.[17] The Bishop of the diocese commented on the Mormon missionaries and the Borgby case a couple of years later: "When these deceivers have left, most of the misled have regretted their action, so that only two or three belonging to Sibbo parish and one belonging to Borgå parish should remain that still cling to their heresy."[18]

Case 3: Pojo

The third case to be examined in this article is that of the town of Pojo in southwest Finland, part of the Åbo diocese. This case differs from those of Vasa and Sibbo in that the person propagating the Mormon message was mostly not a missionary but rather a Swedish Mormon layman who had arrived in Finland with his family. This man, Johan Blom, came to Finland in the spring of 1880 to work at Brödtorp manor in the employ of Eduard Hisinger, president of the town council.

At his arrival, Blom, age 31, informed his employer that he was a Mormon by religion. Hisinger gave Blom permission to attend to his devotions together with his family, as long as he didn't begin spreading his faith among the numerous workers at Brödtorp and surroundings. Upon arrival Blom had also delivered his papers to the 67-year-old parish minister Herman Sohlberg, who forbade Blom from preaching his views on pains of being called in front of the church council.

Over time, however, word spread, for one reason or another, that Blom was a Mormon, that he had Mormon literature, and that he held Mormon devotions in his home together with his family. Interested listeners came to Blom's home to listen to these devotions and to the Mormon missionaries who sporadically visited the area and stayed with the Blom family. In the summer of 1882, Blom baptized two persons in lake Fårsjö near Brödtorp manor when the visiting missionary wasn't able to do so due to illness.

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[17] Borgå Diocesan Chapter to Fredrik W. Fredriksson and to the Pastorate in Borgå, both on 17 April 1878. ABDC.

[18] Speech of Bishop Anders J. Hornborg in *Protokoll fördt vid Prestmötet i Borgå den 15–21 September 1880* (Borgå: G. L. Söderströms tryckeri, 1881), 11.

Shortly after the baptism, Blom was called to meet with 25-year-old Fredrik Nauklér, the priest in charge of Pojo parish after Sohlberg had passed away a year earlier. Nauklér forbade Blom from doing any further baptizing. Rather surprisingly, however, when compared to the cases of Vasa and Sibbo, Nauklér did not call Blom before the church council. Apparently this approach was taken by Nauklér because he felt that only members of the Finnish state church could be warned by the church council, of which he was then president. When further queried by Blom whether those coming to attend his devotions should be turned away, Nauklér answered that doing so would not be necessary. While Blom had thus been warned by both Sohlberg and Nauklér – and his employer Hisinger – not to spread his faith, it seems that the clergy was not willing to take strong action against him even when conversions to Mormonism took place.

Indeed, when Blom eventually had to go to court in October 1883, it was his employer Hisinger that had become infuriated enough. During the trial it was Hisinger, not the clergy, who requested that Blom be deported from the country because of his religious activities. Nauklér, who was a witness in the case, only reported on his dealings with Blom, but did not urge deportation or that any other particular sentence be given. In any case, Blom was convicted of baptizing on the Sabbath, preaching foreign doctrines and for inducing people to leave the Evangelical Lutheran church. The hearings were held in late October 1883 and the details of the case were reported on widely in newspapers particularly in southern Finland.[19]

During a regular visit to the Pojo parish by the Lutheran Dean in November 1883, just after the court hearings, the matter of Mormon influences in the parish where briefly touched upon. The visitor discussed "the bogus basis that Mormonism had taken from the Bible as support for its doctrine of polygamy and counselled everyone to be on

[19] Minutes of the Johan Blom trial. SOO 380/1884, Archive of the Senate Justice Department, Finnish National Archives. For newspaper publicity, see for example "Mormonmålet i Pojo," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 31 October 1883, 1, and "Mormonmålet i Pojo," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 3 November 1883, 1–2.

guard against deceptions in doctrine."[20] Before the visit it was suggested to the Dean that a hearing of the two 1882 convert women could be organized if he so desired, but it is not known if such a thing took place.[21]

Discussion

There are also other examples of clergy reactions to Mormon proselytizing in Finland. In Kvevlax, close to Vasa, the parish priest Karsten came to the site of a Mormon preaching meeting in November 1881 and warned the attendees against listening to the missionaries' message, resulting in a significant reduction of the gathered crowd, but he didn't cause any further action to be taken.[22] In Pedersöre, further north, the minister Victor Helander wrote to the mayor in the same year requesting the removal of the Mormon missionary who was active in the area "spreading his doctrines detrimental to society."[23] These cases will not be dealt with in further detail in this article, but are rather given as additional illustrations of the types of reactions that clergy could have.

Generally it can be noted that proselytizing and resulting conversions to Mormonism were not simply dismissed by the Lutheran clergy, even if the total impact of the Mormon proselytizing in terms of conversions was very small. The reactions of the clergy towards Mormon missionary activity were usually always negative in one way or another, but they varied in extent and severity. In the Vasa case discussed earlier, for example, parish priest Johannes Bäck publicized his critical views very widely. Fredrik Fredriksson in Borgå wrote his ecclesiastical superiors and sought to counsel those in his parish that had been converted by the Mormon message. In contrast, Fredrik Nauklér in the Pojo case seems to have been content with only warning the per-

[20] Visitation notes, 21 November 1883. Archive of Åbo Diocesan Chapter, Åbo Provincial Archives, Finland. Hereafter cited as AÅDC.
[21] Ernst O. Reuter to E.F.T. Strandberg, 12 October 1883. AÅDC.
[22] "Mormonpredikanter i Qweflax," *Wasabladet*, 9 November 1881, 2–3.
[23] Victor L. Helander to J.L. Pentzin, 27 April 1881. Reproduced in Vera Nyman, "Historiska händelser i Larsmo och Jakobstad," LDSCA.

son spreading the message of Mormonism and not discussing the matter publicly. None of the examined clergymen let the matter of Mormon proselytizing pass unnoticed, however.

It is also instructive to see to what extent the Lutheran clergy sought to deal with the Mormon phenomenon through spiritual means, for example that of warning their parishioners of the perceived false doctrine and heresy that had entered the parish, and to what extent they sought to do so through enlisting the help of secular authorities in having the Mormon missionaries removed from the area of their parishes or from Finland altogether. In the three cases discussed in this article, two, those of Borgå and Pojo were confined to intra-church discussions, whereas one, that of Vasa, entailed also an appeal to secular authorities.

The negative reactions by the Lutheran clergy can be understood in the light of their own worldview. The Mormons, in likeness with many of the other sectarians, were seen as heretics and false teachers who jeopardized the spiritual well-being of the parishes and who challenged the authority of the dominant tradition. In addition to this religiously motivated worry, some clergy may also have seen in the Mormons one more example of sectarianism that challenged their personal authority and position in society.

Then again, some Finnish laypersons felt the clergy were still too disinterested in battling new religious movements such as Mormonism. In Vasa, for example, one writer criticized the clergy especially in Swedish-speaking parishes for focusing more on the advancement of the Finnish language than on spreading a better understanding of Christianity among the common people, an understanding the lack of which some clergy had argued caused common people to be swayed by the sects. This neglect of pastoral duties was seen by the critics as creating a situation in which "it is not strange if Methodists, Mormons and Baptists in precisely these parishes find a welcoming field for their activity."[24] Not all were of the same opinion, however. Only a few days later, the Finnish-language *Vaasan Sanomat* published a rebuttal opining

[24] "Metodismen å orten," *Wasa Tidning*, 11 November 1881, 2.

that the original text was influenced by attacks towards Finnishness and such accusations of neglect on part of the clergy would require compelling evidence to be taken seriously.[25]

Active Mormon proselytizing in Finland also coincided chronologically with growing worry among the Lutheran clergy concerning layman activity and its effects on doctrinal purity and the unity of the church. Two years after the Mormon activity in the Sibbo parish, for instance, parish priest Fredrik Fredriksson commented that "the sporadic revivals that emerge through layman activity are in my opinion bought for a very high price as they pave way for religious subjectivism and separatism. At least in Sibbo parish the results of the speakers ... have been that a direction towards separatism and Baptism, I do not now want to mention anything worse, has been visible in the parish."[26] The Mormons can thus be seen as one additional strand of the phenomena that the clergy feared could cause serious damage to the church if not checked.

It is also important to note that the actions and mindset of the Mormon missionaries contributed to the reactions towards them. For example, the missionaries encouraged their converts not to partake of Lutheran communion and taught that they were representatives of the only true church; thus their own activities could be seen as inviting "hostility" on the part of the clergy. Mormonism did not invite ecumenism; its tendency to bifurcate the world into saints and gentiles, into true Christians and so-called Christians, created a situation where each party in the encounter was inclined to view the other with suspicion and as a tool of the adversary.[27]

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[25] "Wasa Tidning," *Vaasan Sanomat*, 14 November 1881, 3.

[26] *Protokoll fördt vid Prestmötet i Borgå den 15–21 September* 1880 (Borgå: G.L. Söderströms tryckeri, 1881), 45.

[27] Kim Östman, "Kristillisen identiteetin ongelma varhaisen mormonismin aatemaailmassa," *Finnish Journal of Theology*, vol. 112, no. 2 (2007), 123–134.

Conclusion

The theme of clergy of a dominant tradition resisting the influx and emergence of new movements is hardly new nor is it by any means restricted to the pair of Lutheranism and Mormonism. Indeed, such dynamics exist in religious landscapes not related to Christianity at all. Nevertheless, the interaction between nineteenth-century Mormonism and its various host societies is a useful tool for learning more concerning the attitudes in those host societies in general and what it was about Mormonism in particular that individuals in these societies found attractive or repugnant. Comparative analysis including other new religious movements in these societies will provide further understanding.

Proclaiming The Message: A Comparison of Mormon Missionary Strategy with other Mainstream Christian Missions

Johnnie Glad

Introduction

On May 4, 2001, an article appeared in the *Las Vegas Sun* under the title "Mormon Church is funding its future." The reporter Stacy J. Willis described a young man with a light grip on the English language and a nametag that identified him as a Mormon missionary. This young 21-year-old man grew up in Mongolia. His old friends back home were Buddhists, beer drinkers, farmers and store clerks. Now he spent the time carrying the Book of Mormon through suburban Las Vegas, USA, wearing a necktie telling the story of the prophet Joseph Smith and divine revelation – the story of an American church. This young man had been converted to Mormonism in Mongolia when he was 18 years old. A young missionary from Utah had visited him and showed him a video about Jesus Christ.

Las Vegas West Mission Church President Walter Hill told the reporter that by the year 2060 the Utah-based Mormon Church would be a major world religion. According to him the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (often referred to as the LDS Church or Mormon Church) claimed 11 million followers worldwide and 2 percent of the U.S. population. Hill pointed out that through the assimilation of young men such as this young Mongolian Mormonism that was younger than the United States, would wrap its arms around the world. This young man from abroad, together with others, was serving a two-year mission in Las Vegas before returning home and becoming leaders of the LDS Church in their respective countries. They would be the ones to bring this church into maturity. (Willis 2001).

The LDS Church has always given high priority to its missionary endeavors. Shortly after the founding of the church in 1830 at

Fayette, Seneca County, New York, missionaries were sent westward. (Stark 1984:19). During the later part of the 1830s Mormon missionary work was expanded to Europe (Allen & Leonard 1976:117). In 1993 the number of full-time Mormon missionaries was almost 50,000. (Mauss 1994:134). In the year 2000 the number had risen to around 60,000 (*The Salt Lake Tribune*, January 15, 2000). LDS Statistical Report 2002 (issued April 5, 2003) by the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reports the number of full-time missionaries to be 61,638. In 1999 the LDS mission work was extended to approximately 125 nations in the world (Oaks & Wickman 1999:263). David, I took this sentence out since it didn't seem to distinguish between nations ministered in, and how missions are divided. I think the point was made the by first sentence, and the second contributed to an inaccurate description of LDS mission layout.

Before we proceed any further it is important to be aware of the following: Many mainstream Christian Churches do not consider the Mormons as belonging to their "fold" due to their specific history and doctrines. Such doctrines include the LDS doctrines of God, Christ, the Mormon plan of eternal progression, etc. Mainstream Christians claim that the LDS Church deviated radically from the creeds originating from the early Christian Church Councils. These creeds constitute an important part of the theological foundation of the Christian Church (Jenkins 2002:66, 86). However, it is right at this point the problem occurs. The Mormons claim that these very same creeds held by the mainstream Christian Churches constitute grave heresy. They are an indication as to why God withdrew his truth from the church in the post-apostolic age. With this in mind it seems paradoxical that the LDS Church accepts the designation Christian while at the same time "asserting its own distinctive status as a Restoration movement." (Davies 2000:247).

Wilfried Decoo, a prominent LDS member in Belgium, addresses this problem under the heading *The Boundary Issue*. He poses the question as to how Mormons should define and communicate LDS distinctiveness. On the one hand, the LDS Church launches a strong

public relations campaign to emphasize the common Christian heritage the Mormons shared with other denominations. On the other hand, the Mormon heritage from the beginning has emphasized "*the state of apostasy in which the rest of Christianity now wallows.*" (Decoo 1996:114). According to Joseph Smith, all other creeds were "an abomination" in the eyes of the Lord. Decoo asked the question how far the Mormons could go in both directions simultaneously. In the final analysis, there was a big difference between being a Christian church and the one true Christian church. Only the latter posture was consistent with the extensive proselytizing effort of the LDS Church. Decoo criticized the Mormons for watering down their doctrinal distinctiveness for the sake of good public relations. Instead they preferred to emphasize social and moral conservatism such as obedience, life-style conformity, sexual chastity, anti-abortion, etc. All of these things were important as products of conversion, but they did not make the Mormons distinctive by comparison with either Roman Catholicism or conservative Protestantism. Decoo believed that most LDS converts preferred to deny any connection with traditional Christianity, which they rejected as an apostate remnant. The church ran the risk of losing these converts if conference sermons, lesson manuals and press releases became too generically Christian (Decoo 1996:114).

Long before the Mormons appeared on the stage many people and various Christian Churches had already heeded the call to go out into the world and preach the Gospel. Missionary work has always followed in the footsteps of the Christian Church. It has been the heartbeat of the Church without which the Church would slowly succumb and die.

Although the LDS Church and mainstream Christian Churches stand far apart in regard to doctrine and much of the religious way of life they have one thing in common, namely, engaging themselves around the world in active missionary service and endeavors. In this article we will make an attempt to put the spotlight on the respective strategies and methods used in undertaking these tasks. Do the

LDS Church and mainstream Christian Churches use the same kind of strategies and methods or do they differ?

The Mormon Missionary System

Missionary work is one of Mormonism's ground pillars. Missionaries must be properly called and set apart for their service. Full-time missionary service is considered a privilege, not a right. The missionaries are called by the President of the LDS Church. The priesthood leaders in the wards or stakes (ward is equivalent to parish/congregation and stake to diocese/synod/district in Catholic/Protestant churches) have an important role to help identify and prepare worthy and qualified members for full-time missionary service. They are to teach the prospective missionaries in regard to the joys and blessings of this service. The leaders are also supposed to inspire the recruits spiritually, financially, emotionally, and physically. Such preparations include being worthy and living an exemplary life as well as studying the gospel. Those worthy and able young men who seem uncertain to serve full-time missions should be given special attention. The leaders of the wards or stakes should encourage youth leaders who love missionary work to help young people get experiences that promote faith and cultivate a desire to serve the Lord. Prospective missionaries should be given opportunities to serve in the church. They should also be given the opportunity to work with full-time missionaries and to make friends with non-members and relatives (LDS *Church Handbook of Instruction* 1998:93–95).

Church leaders should encourage all worthy, able and single men between 19 and 25 years of age to serve as full-time missionaries. They are usually called to serve for 24 months. In some situations deviations in the age pattern may include men 26 and older. (LDS *Church Handbook of Instruction* 1998:95).

Able, single women who are worthy and between 21 and 39 years of age may also be recommended for full-time missionary service. The reason why the age for women is set at 21 and not 19 as for men is not quite clear. It has been suggested that the reasons "stem from pa-

triarchal traditions that favor a longer period of parental guidance and protection for young women and an expectation that they should first be given a chance for an early marriage in place of a mission." (Mauss 1994:131). The young women constitute approximately 10% of the missionary corps. Their term of service is usually put to 18 months. No pressure should be exercised upon the women to serve full-time missions. Bishops should not recommend them for missionary service if this should interfere with pending marriage plans. Women of 40 years and older may also be recommended for full-time missionary service. The length is usually stipulated to 12 months. In special instances where their respective skills are needed they may serve for 18 months. Bishops and stake presidents should make sure that women are in good health to serve effectively for the agreed period. (Mauss 1994:131, LDS *Church Handbook of Instruction* 1998:95).

Also couples can be called as full-time missionaries. Their term of service may include 12, 18, or 24 months. A six-month term of service can be considered only for those who are engaged in special type of works such as agricultural. Couples who are serving outside their native land are called for at least a period of 18 months. They must no longer be engaged in full-time employment. If such couples will be serving away from home, they must not have any dependent children living at home. Bishops and stake presidents should make sure that the couples are in good health so they can serve effectively as full-time missionaries. (LDS *Church Handbook of Instruction* 1998:95–96).

Some members are not eligible for full-time missions, such as:

1. Those who are not considered worthy by not complying with LDS standards.
2. Those who would have to leave dependent children in the care of someone else.
3. Young couples who are capable of bearing children.
4. Those who have been members of the Church for less than one year.

5. Those who are in debt and have not made definite arrangements to meet their obligations.
6. Those who are on legal probation, parole, or other unresolved legal status.
7. Those who have unresolved marital problems.
8. Those who are HIV positive.

In addition, the following categories of members are not normally recommended to serve full-time missions:

1. Men ages 19 through 25 and women ages 21 through 39 who have been divorced.
2. Women who have submitted to abortion, or men or women who have performed, encouraged, paid for or arranged for an abortion. This policy does not apply if the abortion took place before the people involved were baptized.
3. Men who have fathered or women who have given birth to a child out of wedlock, regardless of whether they have any current legal or financial responsibility for the child.
4. Members who are not physically, mentally, or emotionally able to withstand the strain of full-time missionary service. (LDS *Handbook of Instruction* 1998:96).

The aspect of worthiness for a missionary is of utmost importance. The Mormon Bishop (corresponding to Protestant or Catholic pastor/priest) and Stake President are responsible to make sure that every full-time missionary meets the specified criteria. If they are not able to recommend a person without reservation the recommendation papers should be withheld. Those who have engaged in serious transgressions, such as adultery, fornication, homosexual activity, other sexual perversions, drug misuse, serious violation of civil law, etc., are not recommended for missionary service. The person involved must also be worthy to enter the temple before being recommended. The Bishop and Stake President should make sure that the prospective missionary has had sufficient time to manifest a genuine repentance. The

time period could stretch over a period of three years but not less than one year from the most serious transgression. Mere confession does not constitute repentance. Evidence of a broken heart and a contrite spirit as well as a lasting change of behavior must be seen in the life of the person involved. (LDS *Handbook of Instruction* 1998:96–97).

Missionaries and their families are expected to provide financial support for a mission. The church pays for the travel to and from the mission field. However, no prospective missionary should be prevented from serving a mission because of lack of funds from the immediate family. In such situations the church would find other ways to provide the means necessary. (LDS *Handbook of Instruction* 1998:98, 102).

After a full-time missionary has been called the missionary will be under the watchful care of his or her Ward Bishop. The bishop is to assure himself that the person involved remains worthy of his or her sacred calling. Bishops and the stake presidents have an obligation to instruct prospective missionaries in regard to the seriousness and consequences of immorality after a missionary has received a call. The bishop should make sure that the newly called missionary complies with all the instructions from the Church headquarters, such as securing passports, applying for visas, and getting hold of appropriate clothing for the mission assignment. The newly called missionary should also read or reread the Book of Mormon before his or her mission. (LDS *Handbook of Instruction* 1998:100).

The stake president is to set apart all full-time missionaries before they leave for a missionary training center (MTC). The usual procedure is that the young male missionary should have the Melchizedek Priesthood (higher rank within the Mormon priesthood) conferred upon him and be ordained an elder before he is set apart as a missionary. (LDS *Handbook of Instruction* 1998:101). In earlier days the Missionary Training Center was called Language Training Mission (LTM). Upon the arrival at the mission all missionaries received a short haircut and were required to wear two-piece suits with white shirts and ties. They were cut off almost entirely from the outside world and from

their past experiences. Excepting Sunday services and Thursday mornings they were required to arise at 5:45 A.M. and retire at 10:30 in the evening. There was one hour of physical exercise, seven hours of classroom lessons, and five hours of intensive memorization. Language training consisted largely of memorizing a script, called a "lesson plan," which was to be delivered verbatim to every potential recruit, called an "investigator." The training gave the recruit a new type of identity. One participant of this program summed up his experience this way:

> We are not allowed to telephone friends or leave the LTM grounds without express permission ... And we are urged constantly to put all thoughts of 'worldly things' out of our minds... I was the creature of the LTM. It had created me. Outside it, my existence had no context, no purpose, and no meaning. My family, friends, society, all seemed to have vanished from my existence. (Gottlieb & Wiley 1986:130).

In the earlier days of the LDS Church no special training was required nor given for prospective missionaries apart from a few days of orientation that was given in Salt Lake City, Utah. Some of the missionaries were often sent to their native countries and as such were thoroughly familiar with the language. However, those who did not know the language were expected to learn the respective language as soon as possible after their arrival. During the few days of orientation in Salt Lake City the missionary was given a cram course in Bible references out of context that could be useful in order to substantiate his claim or message. In addition words of advice were given in regard to getting along with one's missionary partner or partners. Charismatic church leaders gave inspirational talks, and tracts and scriptures were distributed among them. They received no teaching plans or other aids, but were told to teach by the Spirit. The mission presidents were called for indefinite time periods that could last for many years. They were imbued with great autonomy as well as authority over both missionaries and church members within their jurisdictions. (Mauss 1994:90–91).

The Mormon missionary system is in many ways very effective. The male missionary members who are ordained into the Mormon priesthood and as such empowered with pastoral duties are at the complete disposal of their church. Due to the specific missionary system of the LDS Church, as referred to above, the Mormons are able to put many more full-time missionaries into their mission fields than many Christian denominations combined are able to do. (Bromley & Hammond 1987:17–18).

Basing the primary missionary effort on young voluntary people is an effective method to proclaim their message. Many of the church's best and brightest young people in each generation give one year and a half to two years of their lives to serve their church. This often has a double effect. Through this service many young people grow and mature in their faith. Secondly, in trying to convert others it becomes more difficult to defect and leave the church and thus betray the trust the converts might have had in them. (Bromley & Hammond 1987:25).

Mormon Missionaries at Work

During the 1960s the church started to revise and reorganize the structure of missionary work. Mission presidents were now called to specified terms of office, usually for a period of three years. Often the men called to these positions were retired people or full-time church employees. They were given standardized training and leadership manuals and were expected to follow these very carefully. Now their work was supervised and directed considerably more from church headquarters than their predecessors in earlier days had experienced. In addition, their jurisdiction over church members was reduced due to the establishment of regular wards and stakes in the various missions that now took over the supervision of church members. (Mauss 1994:91).

The prospective missionaries receive their training at the missionary training centers (MTC) referred to above. There are a number of these training centers around the world. The largest and most extensive is located in Provo, Utah, adjacent to the campus of Brigham Young University (BYU), the flagship institution of higher learning of

the LDS Church, from which thirty thousand young men and women go forth each year to proclaim the LDS message around the globe. Those who are attending the missionary training centers are expected to memorize a series of lessons in a foreign language. Those who will be serving in foreign missions are given a two-month course in the appropriate language. Intensive instruction and training is given in regard to the use of proselytizing materials. There can be no doubt that many attending these centers experience great stress due to the regimentation and strict rules enforced in addition to peer pressure and the necessity of learning the proselytizing program in a foreign language. (Mauss 1994:91–92. Krakauer 2003:79).

After having arrived in the mission field the missionaries are supervised by the mission president who presides over the specific district to which the missionaries have been assigned. Each missionary is assigned a companion with whom one is to remain with at all times. They are never to be alone. Working two by two can protect the other and oneself from temptation and false accusers. If one's companion should have difficulties with the work or in personal matters, one should be sensitive to those problems and seek advice from the mission president. Even though one should be loyal to one's companion one should realize that any indiscretion or violation of missionary standards might threaten the other person's effectiveness and salvation. That is why the mission president ought to be contacted. The two missionary companions should seek to be one in spirit and purpose and help each other succeed. They should always address one another by the appropriated title Elder or Sister. They should sleep in the same bedroom, but not in the same bed. They were to arise and retire together each day. They were not to stay up late to be alone. Together they were to study frequently the guidelines in the *Missionary Guide*. (Oaks & Wickman 1999:263–264. LDS *Missionary Handbook* 1990:23–25).

A missionary is never to be alone with or associate inappropriately with anyone of the opposite sex. Flirting or dating is not tolerated. The missionary is not to telephone, write to, or accept calls or letters from anyone of the opposite sex living within or near mission

boundaries. The missionary team is permitted to visit single members or investigators of the opposite sex, including divorced persons only if they are accompanied by a couple or another member of one's own sex. Single investigators can be taught in the home of a member, or be taught by missionaries of the same sex. (LDS *Missionary Handbook* 1990:25–26).

The missionaries follow a rigid daily schedule:

6:30 Arise
7:00 Study time with companion
8:00 Breakfast
8:30 Personal Study
9:30 Proselytizing
12:00 Lunch
1:00 Proselytizing
5:00 Dinner
6:00 Proselytizing
9:30 End proselytizing; plan next day's activities
10:30 Retire (LDS *Missionary Handbook* 1990:16).

How a missionary appears is important. He or she should remember that they are representatives of the Lord. How one looks helps strengthen what one says. Appropriate dress and grooming is important. The guidelines are as follows:

1. Dress conservatively. Elders are to wear white shirts and conservative ties. They are to wear business suites in conservative colors when they proselytize as well as to all meetings, unless directed otherwise by the mission president. The sisters (female missionaries) are to wear conservative colors. Skirts and dresses should cover their knees. Pantsuits and floor-length skirts and dresses are not appropriate.

2. The missionaries are to get their hair cut regularly. The hair is to be clean and neatly combed at all times. Moustaches and beards are not accepted. The women must choose conservative hairstyles that are easily maintained.
3. The missionaries have to be neat and clean, bathe frequently, and use deodorant. They have to polish their shoes, and keep their clothes clean, mended and wrinkle-free. (LDS *Missionary Handbook* 1990:14–15).

As we have seen, the young Mormon missionaries are kept under strict surveillance and supervision by the authorities of the church. The schedule of the day from the time they arise in the morning till they retire at night is planned minutely in detail. They are not only to arise and retire together each day, but they are even warned not to stay up late to be alone! Further more, the one missionary should make the mission president aware of possible problems or difficulties his companion may have. This system brings to mind less favorable characterizations such as brainwashing and squealing that effectively controls the lives of the missionaries under the church's supervision. Even though the missionaries are young and inexperienced there ought to be some other ways to implement supervision.

The *Uniform System for Teaching the Gospel* is an approved set of six missionary discussions for teaching investigators. (*Uniform System for Teaching the Gospel* 1986). The discussions cover the following topics:

1. *The Plan of Our Heavenly Father* – Discussion 1.
2. *The Gospel of Jesus Christ* – Discussion 2.
3. *The Restoration* – Discussion 3.
4. *Eternal Progression* – Discussion 4.
5. *Living a Christ-Like Life* – Discussion 5.
6. *Membership in the Kingdom* – Discussion 6.

The discussions are arranged in two columns. The left column presents what the missionary is to teach. The column to the right indi-

cates how the missionary may teach effectively. What is amazing and rather unusual in this plan is how early the subject of baptism is introduced to the investigator. It seems as if one can hardly wait until baptism has been performed. Already in The Gospel of Jesus Christ – Discussion 2 the investigator is encouraged to make a commitment in regard to getting baptized on a specific date. (*The Gospel of Jesus Christ* – Discussion 2:21). The little pocket size *Missionary Handbook* that is to be read daily by all missionaries points out: "Commit investigators to baptism during the first or second discussion, and renew that commitment at each subsequent discussion." (LDS *Missionary Handbook* 1990:8). In his article "LDS Church Growth Today" the author refers to this problem as "quick-baptize" approach and gives the blame for this not only to missionaries and mission presidents, but also to the instruction that is given in the official missionary training materials issued by the Missionary Department of the LDS Church. According to the author, no allowance is made for those who may not be ready to accept the baptismal commitment on the first or second visit of the missionaries. Because of this practice many LDS members have been skeptical to having their friends and neighbors taught by full-time missionaries, who regardless of the level of preparation and understanding the investigators had were all too anxious to perform these quick-baptisms. (David Stewart 2002:41).

The Problem of Retaining Members

In spite of impressive statistical figures in regard to the growth and expansion of the LDS Church the true picture has not always corresponded to the facts as they appear at the grass root level. A few examples will illuminate this problem.

In 1969 the twenty-two year old Mormon convert Wilfried Decoo was called to preside over a small branch of the church in Belgium. He was shocked to discover the names of some 200 members who had been baptized since the opening of the mission in 1948 while the sacrament meeting attendance had been averaging only twenty. After twenty-six years the small branch had now become two wards in a local

stake. However, in spite of this growth the constant turnover from active to inactive members remained with them. For every active member they lost another dozen over the years into inactivity. According to Decoo, the church had for many decades suffered from massive defections in the hundreds of thousands. The church faced the awesome responsibility for bringing back their lost members and thus reducing further losses. (Decoo 1996:97–98, 117–118).

In the 1990s the active membership of the LDS Church in Japan was only a fraction of the official membership. In 1992, after forty-five years of post-war missionary work only 20,000 members could be counted as active out of a total membership of more than 87,000. In other words, only approximately 23 percent were active members while three-fourths were inactive. (Numano 1996:224).

In Chile close to 80 percent of LDS converts are lost within two months of baptism. 30–40 percent of those baptized in some of the areas there do not return to church again after baptism. Chile is a country where the rate of baptisms is the highest in the world, but where the retention of members is the lowest. The average church unit in Chile has 528 members – one of the highest in the world. However, according to returned missionaries and others the actual attendance at most of the wards in that country amounts to only a fraction of that number. ("Church added to Chilean Census." *LDS Church News. Cumorah News Service* 2001). This problem has been a concern for Mormon mission presidents not only in Chile, but in Latin America as a whole. Their prime concern has been to slow down growth in order to absorb new members rather than to encourage large numbers of conversions. (Stark 1996:205)

The examples from Belgium, Japan and Chile should suffice to indicate that the LDS Church has some real problems in retaining their members. What causes this so-called "revolving door" membership? That people at times leave their churches because of disagreements or for other reasons is not unusual. The reasons may be many and vary from person to person. However, in our study there seems to be a common denominator that is linked to the strategy and methods of

Mormon missionary work not only in one country, but generally in the work related to proselytism.

During an effort to accelerate the proselytizing program in Japan unusual high baptismal goals were set while at the same time relaxing the conditions required for baptism. Many new members were brought into the church. However, the negative result of this strategy was an extremely low retention rate. It was not uncommon that new converts stopped attending church within the first month. Many did not even bother to show up the first Sunday after baptism. (Numano 1996:225).

The Mormon missionaries are extremely interested in baptizing as many new converts as possible. The number of baptisms is often looked upon as a measurement of their own success. At the Missionary Training Centers the prospective missionaries have been taught to thirst for baptisms. As a result of these so-called quick baptisms the important preparation period before a person is baptized has been pushed aside and neglected. According to Wilfried Decoo:

> For many new members, and for the church units which they have joined, our experience in Europe and elsewhere has shown us the drawbacks of this proselyting philosophy. It has produced the opposite of the desired result. Instead of saving souls, it has placed in spiritual jeopardy at least half of those baptized by persuading them to make sacred covenants which they were not ready or able to fulfill. (Decoo 1996:112).

Decoo asks why prospective church members could not be asked to attend church meetings and keep the commandments for a year before baptism. Some might fall away by this procedure, but those who prevail during that period would have a better chance to endure for a lifetime. (Decoo 1996:112).

Quick-baptism approaches do not appeal to sincere people who before making a commitment prefer to get a thorough introduction to the teachings and requirements of the church under consideration. Time to contemplate and ponder without being pressured and rushed

unprepared into an early baptism is important as well as pedagogical. Up to three discussions a week as well as daily contacts with the missionaries cannot be interpreted in any other way than rushing things. To conduct a 15-minute "doorstep discussion," or a 14-day contact-to-baptism goal, or monthly baptism goals are definitely not of the good. They are rather destructive. (Stewart 2002:41).

In Latin America conversions were taking place at such a rate that when the missionaries moved on to other areas the people they had baptized were left without a support system. The local LDS members were overloaded trying to minister to all the new converts, but fell far short of the help they could give. The missionaries were of the opinion that if people were not willing to commit themselves to baptism in two weeks, they would just be dropped, while they themselves would keep moving on. A lot of young people were baptized without family support. (Moore 2002).

There seems to be a lack of consistency and co-ordination between the missionaries and the local branches or wards. The missionaries are under the supervision of the mission president of the district to which they are assigned. Although they attend the local branch or ward in the area in which they live they are nevertheless under the jurisdiction of the mission president. This organizational pattern does not appear conducive to an effective strategy.

In 1995 Gordon B. Hinckley became the President of the LDS Church. Being aware of the problems referred to above Hinckley chose to focus on family conversion and the support for existing members, rather than to emphasize on baptism and the boosting of membership figures. This created some significant changes. For instance, in a mission in Brazil in 1996 missionaries were baptizing about 200 members a month. This number was now cut in half when the emphasis was placed on families and the working with complete families. With this change in strategy the church hoped to have a better chance of retaining those who were baptized, rather than baptizing a considerably larger amount of people, but not being able to retain them. (Moore 2002).

The Missionary System of Mainstream Christian Churches

The mainstream Protestant Churches as well as the Catholic Church trace the origin of Christian missions back to the early apostolic church. Mission has been properly understood as being dispatched or commissioned to propagate the Gospel where it has not been significantly done. From the beginning the Christian missionaries considered their work as a commission to continue the assignment of the apostles to bring the message of the Gospel to all the nations of the world. As members of the holy catholic church the Christian missionaries considered their role as a vital part in this chain going all the way back to the early church. (Skarsaune 1994:89–101). It is right at this point that the LDS Church deviates radically from the Christian Church. Mormon historian B. H. Roberts refers to this with the following statements:

> Saddening as the thought may seem, the Church founded by the labors of Jesus and His Apostles was destroyed from the earth; the Gospel was perverted; its ordinances were changed; its laws were transgressed; its covenant was, on the part of man, broken; and the world was left to flounder in the darkness of a long period of apostasy from God. ...a universal apostasy from the Christian doctrine and the Christian Church took place. (Smith 1978, 1:39, 41).

Long before the Protestants arrived on the scene the Catholic Church had for years been engaged in propagating the gospel around the world. The missionary concept was definitely emphasized by the Jesuits during the 1500s.The intention of the church was to expand and reach as many people as possible with the saving Word and sacraments. The Protestants entered into the field of missions particularly after the Reformation. The revivals during the 17th & 18th centuries resulted in greater understanding and responsibility for Christian missions. This was largely due to the movement called Pietism. The Methodist revival in England created a strong interest in missions which resulted in the establishment of several missionary societies in the 1790s. (Skarsaune 1994:89–101, 101–109; Berentsen 1994:110–118; Neill 1982:222–240, 251–252; Eskilt 1994:346).

Before the entry of the Protestants on the mission scene the missionaries consisted mostly of persons who were unmarried, such as priests, monks and nuns. This was changed to a great extent with the arrival of Protestant missionaries. Several of the pioneer missionaries had large families. In the beginning of the 19th century the first single Protestant women missionaries left for the mission fields. At the end of the century several support groups were established in Europe and America to send out women to the mission fields. (Eskilt 1994:346).

In 1990 the number of Protestant missionaries globally was approximately 137,000. Sixty-five percent of these (88,000) came from western countries. However, the recruitment of missionaries from Latin America, Africa and Asia is today far greater than from the West. As a result of this it has been estimated that in a not too distant future the majority of world missionaries will come from these continents. (Eskilt 1994:346). With this in mind it is interesting to see the comments of John Stewart:

> Protestant groups have been more successful than Latter-day Saints in mobilizing missionaries outside of the United States, especially in Asia. There are over 44,000 Protestant missionaries from India, with 60% serving domestically and 40% serving abroad. Within the next few years, India is expected to surpass the United States as the leading sender of Protestant and Evangelical missionaries! There are only 52 LDS missionaries serving in all of India, with only a fraction being native missionaries. (Stewart 2002:16).

Stewart seems concerned that areas with large LDS membership like Brazil, the Philippines, Chile, Mexico, etc., are heavily dependent on foreign missionaries. He is also concerned in regard to the low rates of LDS mission mobilization in nations like India and South Korea. These countries have been some of the highest senders of Protestant missionaries in the world. Although foreign missionaries will always play an important role in the LDS missionary work, one must not forget the important fact that native missionaries have an advantage that cannot be ignored, namely the cultural understanding and linguistic ability. (Stewart 2002:16). From this viewpoint we may ask if

Protestant missions have not been more cognizant and visionary in this respect than the LDS Church. The examples from India and South Korea seem to testify to that effect.

The Protestant Missionary

In what has been the traditional Protestant understanding, Christian mission is based on the commission to proclaim the gospel to the whole world. As a member of this church every person is responsible for taking part in this gigantic enterprise. However, when the term missionary call is used within this context the meaning relates primarily to the call an individual person receives from God to a specific service in Christian missions. The basis for this interpretation is found in Ephesians 4:11 where St. Paul points out that God calls people to different types of services in his church and gives various members different functions. Within this realm it is therefore appropriate to speak of a special call to serve as a missionary.

In Protestant missions it is customary that the missionaries acquire a solid education before leaving for their respective mission fields. Many years ago the well-known Scottish theologian and churchman John Baillie pointed out that it was important to give those who were to serve as clergymen at home or abroad as missionaries in foreign countries the same theological education. With the development of indigenous churches where native pastors more and more acquired higher education it was important that the missionaries who were to serve in these churches had full theological accreditation at the university level. (Myklebust 1967:112–113).

Protestant missions consist also of many other professions than a theological-trained missionary is called to do. Such professions include medical doctors, nurses, teachers, educators, specialists in various fields like agriculture, economics, etc. Much of the mission work today is indebted to the pioneer missionaries who were engaged in linguistics, building hospitals, schools, churches, etc. Their intention was to help, educate and train the people they had come to serve.

Today the role of the missionary has in many places and instances been changed. Missionaries are now invited by the indigenous churches to work under the leadership of these churches and on their terms. The missionary may then serve as an advisor, consultant, specialist, etc., but his or her service remains under the supervision of the indigenous church, even though the missionary's salary may come from "back home". (Eskilt 1994:347).

The strategy and methods used in Mormon missionary work differ considerably from that of Protestant missions. Both Mormons and Protestants need missionaries to carry out their work. However, the question is how this missionary system is organized and implemented in these two respective churches. By putting the focus on this point one will perhaps be able to better understand why the differences are that great.

The most obvious difference that comes to one's attention is the age of the missionaries. Most of the Mormon missionaries are young people of college age from 19 through 25 years. They are inexperienced and have not started or completed their college education. Because of their young age and inexperience they are kept under the strict supervision and surveillance of the mission president in the country or area to which they are assigned. They are day and night obligated to submit to strict rules and regulations much more so than they are likely to do later on in life. Their way of life while on a mission has been compared to that of young monks in the Southern Buddhist traditions. Although these young men and women also in a normal setting are expected to live in an ethically controlled way, the degree of control is not quite so great as that while being on a mission. (Davies 2000: 195–196).

In contrast most Protestant missionaries are of mature age. They represent a wide range of professions as referred to above. Some have vocational training. They leave for their mission assignments after many years of study including the practice of their profession at home. Many are highly qualified and specialized in their fields. They are not youngsters who need a tight supervision and control as the case may be

for the young Mormon missionaries. Maturity, a solid education and life experience are important elements for a person who is to serve as a missionary abroad in strange and unfamiliar circumstances as well as in more familiar surroundings at home. Perhaps it is for this reason that Belgian LDS member Wilfried Decoo called for more education and maturity among the Mormon missionaries by pointing to: "A second kind of innovation in our proselyting, besides the employment of both new and traditional media, might be the recruitment of missionaries with somewhat more education and maturity." (Decoo 1996:111). Decoo had in mind "the usual young men and women who accept mission calls. At present they tend to consist of youths on either side of age twenty with little or no college education." (Decoo 1996:111). It is probably because of the young age of their missionaries that the leadership of the LDS Church has felt the need to supervise and direct the missionaries in regard to the implementation of their missionary endeavors.

Putting the Message into a Cultural Context

European missionaries to Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought with them western culture as an integral part of the Christian religion. Because of this, the Christian message was often presented in terms of western culture that frequently required African Christians to adhere to western cultural norms. Christianity was looked upon as an imported religion and not as real to life as African religion, resulting in that people were bound to lead two lives, namely, that which was demanded by the church and that which they had been brought up in through their culture for centuries. (Creary 1999).

The Roman Catholic priest, Father Vincent Donovan who had been a missionary for 17 years among the Masai in northern Tanzania decided to try something new. Instead of operating within the traditional constructs of the mission compound he went to Masai villages where he preached the gospel to people without the usual western cultural regalia of the Catholic Church. Donovan criticized the continued dependence of African missions on the Western church for financial

support and personnel, including priests and nuns. According to Donovan it was important to peel away western, white, European and American culture from the Gospel "and incarnate itself within the culture of the people whom it evangelizes." The mission of the church was to bring "the message of Christ to the nations of the world in cultural idioms appropriate to each group." In this way, the message that was rooted in fundamental Catholic theology would be transformed into an authentic form of religious expression of a given people. Donovan celebrated Mass and the Eucharist among the Masai without the traditional Roman Catholic priestly vestments and incense. Only the words of Christ from the Last Supper and the offering of bread and wine were included. This opened up to a variety in liturgical celebrations in different Masai groups and gave groups the freedom to include local symbols that had greater meaning for them than those of the western Catholic mass. (Creary 1999).

The mass and other liturgies began to be translated into other tribal languages. Music, an important part of the liturgy, was particularly open to local variations. Africans were not supposed to be Europeans in their religious beliefs and practices. Rather they were to incorporate the Christian faith into their own culture. This became more prevalent as Africans entered into religious orders like clergy, monks, and nuns, and thus were able to put their imprint on the development. With this in mind one may truly speak of a decolonization of the Church making it more authentically African. (Creary 1999).

In spite of a tremendous growth and expansion the LDS Church seems to have problems in regard to placing themselves and their message within a contextual setting. Perhaps this is the reason why the LDS Church has experienced difficulties in retaining members. Lawrence A. Young, a BYU professor, points to Mormonism's inability to find indigenous expressions of its community that would allow new members to accommodate to both the LDS Church and the host society. In Utah and other parts of the United States the situation is different. Here Mormonism is not just a shared creed but an ethnic identity and a family heritage supplemented with frontier nostalgia.

This, however, is not the situation in other countries in the world where Mormonism is a system of belief seeking to create a community. (Ostling & Ostling 2000:378-379).

Compared to other world religions Mormonism contains strong ties to America and as such carries a heavy nationalistic baggage. According to Martin E. Marty, Mormonism is the only religion with scripture set partly in America. It is an American book ready to go. God commissioned a prophet in the United States to restore the scriptures and the priesthood. Jesus will return to Missouri and establish the millennial kingdom. The American constitutional system is the product of divine inspiration. The Mormons selected Pioneer Day celebrating Brigham Young's arrival at the Salt Lake Basin in 1847 as their special holy day. They did not select the anniversary of their prophet's birth, the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, or the establishment of the church and its priesthood. (Ostling & Ostling 2000:379).

In proclaiming the message much of the nationalistic baggage must be left behind if we want our message to be understood and accepted. In the book *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* Richard and Jane Ostling pose some thought-provoking questions to the LDS Church:

> Why do missionaries wear the required LDS uniform of white shirts and dark suits when that marks them as outsiders? Why impose generic architectural plans from Salt Lake for meetinghouses in far-off places? Why must each and every women's auxiliary lesson be the same for every nation, written and vetted in Salt Lake? Why celebrate Pioneer Day in Bolivia? Why must African wards sing American hymns to the accompaniment of pianos while drums and dancing are forbidden? (Ostling & Ostling 2000:380).

It is interesting to notice that referral is made to the Evangelical Protestant rivals of the Mormons that allow indigenous expression to emerge causing the Evangelical Protestants to succeed so well in Latin America. Mention was also made of the "inculturation" of Catholic

worship in Africa, a subject referred to earlier in this article. (Ostling & Ostling 2000:380).

The early model for global mission can be labeled as a one-way street. Christian churches in the Northern Hemisphere (Europe and North America) sent missionaries and money to proclaim the gospel and establish churches in the Southern Hemisphere (Latin America, Africa, Asia and the South Pacific). Now these mission churches had become of age resuming responsibility for mission and evangelism in their own areas. No longer could the "mother-church" decide how things were to be done because it had the financial resources. A completely new concept came into being. The indigenous churches had become not only partners but also companions walking and working together for the sake of the gospel. This meant that the indigenous churches set the priorities for the ministry and work in their respective areas. The role of the "mother-church" back home was now to support them with personnel and funding if needed. (*The Lutheran* 2004:43).

Today new ways and methods of engaging in missionary work have been implemented. Although clergies are still needed the percentage of lay missionaries outnumber the ordained personnel. For instance, 70 percent of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's (ELCA) supported missionaries today are lay people. Among these are people with different professions, such as medical doctors, nurses, teachers, craftsmen, etc. A typical example is the case of Mamy Ranaivoson, a physician from Madagascar and a member of the Malagasy Lutheran Church. He is an ELCA consultant on HIV/AIDS. He is a typical archetype of what may be labeled as a South-South missionary. He works in Nairobi, Kenya. Prior to that he served a 100-bed hospital in Papua New Guinea. Other doctors from Madagascar serve in Cameroon and Bangladesh with the help and support of the ELCA. For cultural reasons this South-South method is often much to be preferred by people in that region rather than if the missionaries came from the Northern Hemisphere. (*The Lutheran* 2004:43–44).

Conclusion

Both the Mormon Church and mainstream Christian Churches believe they have a divine message to proclaim to the world. In that respect they have a common starting point even though the theological contents of their message may vary considerably. However, the differences between these churches appear not only in doctrine but also in the strategies and methods used in order to proclaim the message.

In this article we have tried to put the spotlight on how the Mormon missionary system is organized and how the missionaries work. In spite of being one of the fastest growing churches in the world today the LDS Church is at the same time having problems retaining members. This may be due to the Mormon missionary system.

The article also points out how the strategy and methods of missionary work within the Christian Church deviate from those of the Mormons and how important it is to put the message into a cultural context.

After his resurrection Jesus gave his disciples a divine commission to go into the world and make disciples of all nations proclaiming the message of salvation. However, the audience to which this message is to be proclaimed is not homogeneous, depending upon where people live in this world, their cultural background, their customs and the way they think. This constitutes or creates a great challenge to those churches whose primary task they believe is to proclaim the message. If the church is able to discover new contextual forms to impart the gospel two important things may take place, namely the preservation of the gospel as a message from the outside, from God, as well as a message spoken in people's own language and incarnated in their own culture. In this way the message is proclaimed within the cultural context of the listener so that he may understand what is being presented and consequently make his choice. (Engelsviken 1994:239–242).

To proclaim the message into a cultural context is no easy task for the church. The church involved must create its own symbols and customs that are rooted in its confessions and in the local culture.

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THE MARTYRDOMS AT AMMONIHAH AND THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF GOD

G. St. John Stott

According to the apocryphal Acts of Peter, the apostle, knowing that powerful men in Rome sought his life, discussed his situation with others and decided to leave the city. However, 'as he went out of the gate he saw the Lord come into Rome. And when he saw him he said, "Lord, where are you going?" And the Lord said unto him, "I go to Rome to be crucified".' As we might expect, Peter took the hint and himself returned to Rome, rejoicing that he had seen his Saviour and ready to accept his own crucifixion.[1] The story is well-known through fiction and film even to those who have not read the Acts, and so I use it here to highlight what is of interest in a similar, and yet disquietingly different story in the Book of Mormon. Alma II—'reviled ... and spit upon ... [and] cast out'—quits the city of Ammonihah, only to be stopped on the way by an angel and told to return 'and preach again unto the people of the city'.[2] Most of the differences between this story of Alma and that of Peter are unimportant, and need not concern us here.[3] One, however, highlights what I find problematic in the former: although both narratives tell how a leader of the church prudently quits

[1] 'Acts of Peter' 35, in J.K. Elliott, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), a revision of the texts in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).

[2] Al 6:20 [8:16]. References to Smith's work are in the first place to the Book of Mormon (Independence, MO: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1908; current printings are in the name of 'Community of Christ'), followed by references to editions published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, given in square brackets.

[3] Alma does not leave Ammonihah voluntarily, he interprets the subject of his vision as an angel rather than the Lord, and whereas Peter adduces from his vision that he should return to Rome, Alma is specifically directed to return to Ammonihah.

a hostile city only to return there after a vision, Peter returns to Rome to be crucified; Alma returns Ammonihah to watch others burn.[4]

I.

We know little about the identity of the martyrs of Ammonihah except that they were of '[Alma's] faith',[5] and a minority in a city that had adopted the teachings of Nehor (that is, believed that 'the Lord had created all men, and had also redeemed all men; and in the end, all men should have eternal life').[6] Some of those who died would have been new converts (those who had heard the preaching of Alma and Amulek and believed their message); others, we might assume, were those who had held to Alma's faith for many years, but had been stirred up and renewed by the revival.[7] The distinction was not one the city fathers cared about, however. When their patience with the representatives of the Zarahemla church[8] expired, all the men who had believed what Alma and Amulek had taught were driven out of the city, their wives and children arrested, and their homes searched for incriminating literature. Then, after a cursory legal process,[9] a fire was built, and those

[4] The story is told in Al 10:44–57 [14:7–15].

[5] Al 10:57 [14:15].

[6] Al 10:59 [14:16]; 1:5–7 [1:3–4]. By the time Alma came to Ammonihah, it was also assumed by the order of Nehors that the soul slept after death—i.e. that there was no continued existence of the soul between death and resurrection (Al 9:34–36 [12:20–21]). Nehor's beliefs would have been recognized by many latter-day readers of the Book of Mormon as problematic not just because of their universalism because they appealed to the idea of God's benevolence 'in itself; and acting from itself' rather than acting through Christ: the phrasing is from Adam Clarke, *'Salvation By Faith', Discourses on Various Subjects, Relative to the Being and Attributes of God, and his Works in Creation, Providence, and Grace*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (New York: M'Elrath & Bangs, 1831), vol. 3, 201.

[7] For Alma's revival ministry in general, see Al 2:26 [4:19].

[8] As Nehor organized churches, referring to 'the' church would be ambiguous; as Alma was high priest in Zarahemla (Al 2:1, 5 [4:1, 4]), I use the geographical reference to identify the church he belonged to.

[9] Only 'whosoever believed or had been taught to believe in the word of God' were condemned (Al 10:45 [14:8]), which suggests that it was possible to deny

still in custody were cast into the flames. This differentiation of sentence (men exiled, women and children burned) was possibly intended to be a parody of Leviticus 16, with the men driven into the wilderness as scapegoats, and the women and children serving as a grotesque sin offering,[10] but I do not pursue that possibility here. What concerns me instead is that while this is happening Alma stands by, making no attempt to intervene.

That Alma might hesitate before intervening, we can understand. Those who followed Nehor denied the reality of the fires of hell and the need for deliverance from them, and whatever else was a political and theological driver for their action, they seem to have choreographed the martyrdoms as a challenge to Alma: if your God saves from fire, show us! In such circumstances we might well expect him to hesitate—to wonder if he should reduce his testimony to wonder-working. But we would not expect him to hesitate for long: after all, lives are at risk here, and it would seem inconceivable that he can think it right to let people burn to death—to see children thrown into the flames—because of scruples about the right use of miracles. Perhaps he does not; after all, he never uses this argument in self-justification. But he lets people die just the same. Even when his companion Amulek urges him to do something ('How can we witness this awful scene?' he asks; 'let us stretch forth our hands, and exercise the power of God which is in us, and save them from the flames'), Alma refuses to act, uttering what I find to be the most chilling words in the Book of Mormon: 'The Spirit constraineth me that I must not'.[11]

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belief in (or knowledge of) the Zarahemla church's message. Of course, the authorities in Ammonihah would not have described the writings they searched for as 'the word of God', or even thought that they offered a theological threat to the status quo; however, they would have seen them as politically dangerous, as they could inspire a resistance to the arbitrary use of political power: see fn. 66, below.

[10] Adding to the blasphemy would be the disregard of Lev 22:28.

[11] Al 10:50 [14:11].

For Noah Webster in 1828, to constrain meant 'to exert force, physical or moral, either in urging to action or in restraining it',[12] so presumably we are supposed to conclude that it took effort for Alma not to intervene. Doing so offers little consolation, however, for what is important in the present context is not what he wanted to do but what he did. In some situations we might understand inaction because of impotence in the face of evil. In an interesting parallel to the Alma story, James Adair reports of traders to the Cherokee that when their protests at the plans of their hosts to torture Mohawk prisoners by fire were ignored, and they realized that it was out of their power to alter the prisoners' fate, 'they ... retired as soon as the Indians began their diabolical tragedy.' There was nothing more that they could do without risking their own lives.[13] But Alma did have the power to act and intervene. To be sure, his options were limited (he and Amulek were themselves prisoners at the time); but all that he needed to do was stretch out his hand and 'exercise the power of God'—and he refused.

It is hard not to be troubled by that refusal. By most ethical standards, I suggest, Alma would be judged to be wrong in standing back in this way. He was passive in the face of suffering. (In some martyrologies, those who die in the Lord do not suffer but enjoy anaesthesia[14]—but that is not the case here.[15] Alma was standing by

[12] *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828; Chesapeake, VA: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1968), ad loc. The word is also used for the Spirit's direction when Nephi struggles against the idea of killing Laban (1 Ne 1:110 [4:10]).

[13] The History of the American Indians, Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1775), 384.

[14] Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 438.

[15] Amulek talks of the 'pains' of the martyrs: Al 10:48 [14:10]; cf. the account of Abinadi's martyrdom in Mos 9:21 [17:14]. For Webster pain could reference 'any degree' of suffering 'from slight uneasiness to extreme distress or torture' (*American Dictionary*, ad loc). We should not draw any conclusions from the way no cries were reported; note how an article on the 'Immolation of Eight Widows' in the *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, 10

while people died in agony.) And, no less troubling, he was passive in the face of evil. Anthony Flew, addressing the inadequacy of free-will theodicies some fifty years ago, noted that 'We cannot say that [God] would like to help but cannot: God is omnipotent. We cannot say that he would help if he only knew: God is omniscient. We cannot say that he is not responsible for the wickedness of others: God creates those others.' Indeed, Flew continued, God must be considered 'an accessory before and during the fact to every human misdeed'.[16] These were not new complaints when Flew framed them, and the theme has been revisited by many others since, but his words are worth pondering nonetheless for his phrasing brings into focus the problem we face. Whatever degree of responsibility for what happened at Ammonihah we attribute to God, all of Flew's charges are applicable to Alma: he knew what was happening, he had the power to prevent people dying, he was even an accessory before the fact (after all, it is his preaching that creates the storm of violence)—and he does nothing to forestall the tragedy he witnesses.

Alma would no doubt meet these charges with the affirmation that he was only doing God's will (he had, after all, been constrained by the Spirit not to act on his own initiative), and that if that was all the justification he needed, it should be all that was necessary for us. If, as Job had it, with God 'is wisdom and strength, ... counsel and understanding',[17] that is surely all we need to know. Yet even if that is the case, it is hard to imagine the faithful not wondering how Alma's action could be understood to be God's will, and (to borrow the phrase of Irving Greenberg) what statement about God could retain credibility 'in

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April 1829, described the suttee of the wives of an Indian prince: 'In a moment [the funeral pile] was one complete flame, and the heat so intense that everyone ran to a distance.—There was no noise, not even a shriek.'

[16] 'Theology and Falsification', in Anthony Flew and Alasdair Macintyre, eds. *New Essays in Philosophical Theology* (London: SCM, 1955), 107.

[17] Job 12:13.

the presence of burning children';[18] indeed perhaps, thinking of these children, even wondering whether their high priest had not made a tragic mistake.

Although this last suggestion needs to be taken seriously,[19] it is not an idea I pursue here. What interests me in this article is how Alma understood the events of that day in Ammonihah—and he seems to have been completely unaware of the possibility that he had been in error. His explanations for his conduct are cursory. He has no qualms about using the power of God to secure the deliverance of Amulek and himself when they are subsequently imprisoned (there is not a hint of a rationalization that the cases were different).[20] And he shows no embarrassment when they, escaping to the land of Sidom, are met by those 'who had been cast out and stoned, because they believed in [his] words'. Reunited with the Ammonihah saints Alma and Amulek do not

[18] 'Cloud of Smoke, Pillar of Fire: Judaism, Christianity, and Modernity after the Holocaust', in Eva Fleischer, ed., *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era?* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1977), 23.

[19] As we know, we can be mistaken in our discernment of the Spirit, and relying on what we take to be the Spirit's impress without stopping for a theological reality-check can lead to horrible crimes. We might remember the 'Kirtland killings' of 1989 (Sandra B. McPherson, 'Death Penalty Mitigation and Cult Membership: The Case of the Kirtland Killings', *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, vol. 10, no. 1 [2006], 65–74)—or the tragedy five years earlier in American Fork. 'And I kind of said to myself [Dan Lafferty remembered], "What am I supposed to do, Lord?" Then I felt impressed that I was supposed to use a knife. That I was supposed to cut their throats' (Jon Krakauer, *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith* [London: Macmillan, 2004], 186). LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff famously observed that 'the Lord will never permit me or any other man who stands as president of the Church to lead you astray. It is not in the program. It is not in the mind of God' (G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff* [Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1946], 212–13), but I am not so confident as my LDS friends that prophets are infallible, and it could be that Alma is my proof.

[20] Again, there are similarities and differences with Peter: the latter, imprisoned in Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa I (a grandson of Herod the Great), is delivered by an angel without the need any action on his own part (Acts 12:6–11); Alma and Amulek use the power of the Lord to break the cords that bound them and rend the walls of the prison.

hesitate to relate 'all that had happened unto their wives and children, and also concerning themselves, and of their power of deliverance'[21]—and the casualness with which they effect this transition, and segue from the deaths of others to their own preservation, suggests a freedom from any sense of guilt. Whether or not we think that Alma could have had any right to an easy conscience, he acts as if he had one, and given the revulsion the thought of mass killings arouses in modern readers, it seems legitimate to ask how this could be so.

II.

Alma offers two explanations for his non-intervention, and the first is an appeal to God's mercy. '[B]ehold', he tells Amulek, 'the Lord receiveth them [the martyrs] up unto himself, in glory',[22] and that (he implies) is reason enough for him not to intervene. Although Alma does not explain further, for those who read the Book of Mormon in 1830 the idea would have appeared persuasive—at least as an explanation for the martyrs' willingness to die. Almost certainly they would have known the promise in Romans that those who died in Christ would live in him,[23] and if they had come to the Nephite record familiar with Foxe's Actes and Monuments[24] they would also have been able to apply to the events of Ammonihah the words of Thomas Bilney, one of the most celebrated of the Marian martyrs: there would be 'a pain for the time' in the dying, but then there would be 'joy unspeakable'.[25]

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[21] Al 10:88 [15:2].

[22] Al 10:50 [14:11].

[23] Rom 6:8.

[24] Foxe's work (commonly known as the Book of Martyrs) was a staple of popular reading in eighteenth-century America, alongside Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* (Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1986], 4), and can be presumed to be still influencing religious households in the New Nation.

[25] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable*, Variorum Edition (Sheffield: hriOnline, 2004), 1570 text, 1151 (spelling modernized)—available online at http://www.hrionline.shef.ac.uk/ foxe/ (accessed August 16, 2008). For martyrdom in early modern Europe, see Brad S.

To note this is not to argue for a nineteenth-century origin for the Book of Mormon. Even if we believe that there really was a history of the Nephites written on plates with the appearance of gold, and that Joseph Smith, Jr. had the gift of translation; even then, I suggest, we need to recognize that the Book of Mormon came to us as a text that could speak to a nineteenth-century audience. Whatever language we might suppose that the Nephite prophets spoke—Hebrew, Yucatec, some unknown and presumably extinct creole (or none at all, if we see them as apocryphal characters)—their witness was shared with us in English, and that language must be accepted as the means by which they are meant to speak to us in the latter days.[26] Further, it was not English-in-general that was used (if there is such a thing), but a particular religious discourse, a language already rich in meanings.[27] Martien E. Brinkman, Professor of Ecumenical / Intercultural Theology at the Free University Amsterdam, has noted (and the proposition strikes me as unarguable) that 'No religion reveals itself except robed in a culture',[28] and I would suggest that the religion of the Book of Mormon comes to

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Gregory's amazing *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); for the early church, see Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), as well as Fox, *Pagans and Christians*.

[26] Any translation that could only be understood by reference to the language of its original would be a poor one. As one notable translator has put it (J. R. R. Tolkien, 'On Translating Beowulf' [1940], in Christopher Tolkien, ed., *The Monsters and the Critics, and Other Essays* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983], 55), a translation 'must need no gloss'. This does mean that we should not look back to an original to understand the translator's choices; just that the translation should be understandable in its own right.

[27] An established discourse, as Mikhail M. Bakhtin pointed out, is constituted by 'thousands of . . . dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness' (M. Holquist, ed., *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist [Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981], 277).

[28] 'Where is Jesus "At Home"? Hermeneutical Reflections on the Contextual Jesus', *Journal of Reformed Theology*, vol. 1 (2007), 109.

us robed in the culture of the translation's target audience—the evangelicalism of the burned-over district.[29]

We see this enrobement most clearly in the way in which Smith's translation draws upon Biblical vocabulary and imagery. Whatever we might suppose to have been the case with the Nephite original, time and again in the English text Book of Mormon authors quote, paraphrase, or allude to Old and New Testament texts, and as a result we cannot help but find the work's 'primary context of meaning' in the dialogue between its words and those of the Bible, whereby we have a restatement of Biblical doctrine in the details of the Nephite record.[30] To be more precise: since we cannot read the Bible outside an interpretative tradition, the dialogue is with the words of the Bible as they would have been read (and those doctrines as they would have been understood) by the first readers of the Book of Mormon; or in other words, the words of the Bible as they would be construed by early-nineteenth-century evangelicals.[31] Apologists might disagree, arguing

[29] Nathan O. Hatch suggested a more complicated scenario, a 'blurring of words' in which 'high and popular culture, rationalism and supernaturalism, mystical experience and Biblical literalism were combined in the crucible of popular theology' (*The Democratization of American Christianity* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 34–35), but even if that is allowed I would still suggest that in the Book of Mormon everything builds from an evangelical base. I use the term deliberately to indicate the broad consensus that held between Protestants at the time of its publication (for Webster, *American Dictionary*, ad loc, the word simply meant 'consonant to the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, published by Christ and his apostles'), without trying to tie either Smith or the Book of Mormon to a particular tradition.

[30] I am borrowing here from Raymond C. Van Leeuwen's thoughts on New Testament interpretation: 'On Bible Translation and Hermeneutics', in Craig Bartholomew et al., eds., *After Pentecost: Language and Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 306–307. For restatement as repetition with 'new details', see Adena Rosmarin, *The Power of Genre* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 24; for the Book of Mormon as a midrashic restatement of Biblical themes, see Anthony Chvala-Smith, "The Spirit, the Book, and the City: Retrieving the Distinctive Voice of the Restoration," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, vol. 19 (1999), 25.

[31] Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-Day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) notes the use of

that the language of the Book of Mormon only looks evangelical—that in fact the work offers quite other insights, but the translation did not do them justice. So Brigham Young believed,[32] and given his conviction that the gospel was the same in all ages (and therefore that preached in Ammonihah was the same as that taught in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake), one can understand why he might do so. Indeed, the idea has an undeniable attraction: insights change when defined in 'an already constituted discourse',[33] and new wine sits poorly in old bottles; it could well be, therefore, that there were understandings and experiences lying behind the language of the Book of Mormon that were not fully captured by it. However, to argue thus—to assume that we need to read the Book of Mormon using corrective lenses—would be to slight the gift we have been given.[34] If we see inspiration in the work, it surely lies in the text we have, in the words it uses; and such a text cannot be understand without an awareness of the way its words echo those of the Bible.

Biblical language in the Book of Mormon without exploring the dialogic implications of the usage; the impossibility of reading sola scriptura is concisely argued by Stephen R. Holmes, *Listening to the Past: The Place of Tradition in Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), 6–7. Given the existence of passages in the Book of Mormon where nineteenth-century interpretations of the Bible are explicitly challenged—as in Alma's discussion of the first resurrection (Al 19:48–49 [40:15])—I presume that passages where there is no challenge can be read in the light of these interpretations. That is not to say the Bible is only susceptible to a single reading, or that evangelical texts do not themselves need interpretation—as Michael McCan1es notes, 'the whole process of seeking out lexicons and codes as prolegomena to interpretation necessarily commits the investigator to interpretation as a prior step in his investigation' ('The Authentic Discourse of the Renaissance', *Diacritics*, vol. 10 [1980], 79–80); nevertheless, I believe that the discourse of Evangelical Protestantism can provide a context that can illuminate our reading of the Book of Mormon.

[32] 'The Kingdom of God', Sermon of 13 July 1862, *Journal of Discourses* (1854–86), vol. 9 (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1862), 311.

[33] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 171.

[34] If we see the language of the Book of Mormon as 'given' by God (as in propositional revelation), it would also involve him in a bait and switch operation which I would find distasteful.

With this in mind let us return to Foxe's Actes and Monuments. Bilney, it will be remembered, had looked forward to knowing 'joy unspeakable' after his death, and it is tempting for Latter Day Saints of all traditions to interpret his words in terms of rewards earned and kingdoms promised. But Bilney did not think of joy in these terms, and as it happens neither did Alma. Upon death, he will explain to his son Corianton, our souls 'are taken home to that God who gave them life', and at that time 'the spirits of those who are righteous ... are received into a state of happiness, which is called paradise; a state of rest; a state of peace'.[35] Or as the Presbyterian Eli Meeker explained in 1827, in a formula that Alma would have appreciated for its challenge to the beliefs of the 'order of the Nehors', following death the souls of the penitent would 'witness [Christ's] presence, in a state of consciousness and happiness'.[36]

[35] Al 19:46 [40:13]; Mos 1:83–85 [2:38]. A similar expectation was expressed a few years later by Moroni, the chief commander of the Nephite armies, when he notes in his letter to Pahoran that at death the righteous 'enter into the rest of the Lord their God' (Al 27:29 [60:13]). The parallel is interesting, but when Moroni uses the same argument as Alma when reflecting on deaths in wartime—'the Lord suffereth the righteous to be slain that his justice and judgment may come upon the wicked' (Al 27:29 [60:13])—we cannot take him seriously. It makes no sense to assume that God allowed these righteous to die in order to punish the wicked as (a) the wicked in question were the civil administration in Zarahemla, and for God to allow there to be Nephite deaths in order to punish Nephite leaders for not preventing those same deaths seems inconceivable; and (b) Moroni is in any case mistaken in condemning Pahoran as he does. We can presume that Moroni is echoing Alma without thinking through what he is saying, and without evidence that his understanding of the situation is correct.

[36] Sermons: Philosophical, Evangelical, Practical Subjects, Designed for the Use of Various Denominations of Christians (Ithaca, NY: Mack & Andrus, 1827), 310; cf. Samuel Hopkins, The System of Doctrines Contained in Divine Revelation Explained and Defended, 2 vols. (Boston: Lincoln & Edmunds, 1811), vol. 2, 192. Smith would have known the language of Presbyterianism—his mother, two of his brothers, and possibly at least one sister were members of the Western Presbyterian Church in Palmyra (Richard L. Bushman, Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984], 53)—and though he was personally inclined

There is, as it happens, some ambiguity in Alma's use of the term 'glory', for he believed that what he described to Corianton as being 'taken home' was but a foretaste of our final destiny. It is only at judgement, he argued, when body and soul are reunited, that the righteous know a fullness of joy and 'shine forth in the kingdom of God'[37]—and as it happens, when Alma applies to himself the promise made to the martyrs, he associates it with the resurrection. 'I know', he tells Helaman (another of his sons), 'that [God] will raise me up at the last day, to dwell with him in glory'.[38] However, if that was what he had in mind in Ammonihah, he would have needed to have made this clear. When the Book of Mormon came from the press most Christians would not have doubted that the martyrs immediately entered into paradise or 'Abraham's bosom'.[39] 'I will not attempt the defence of a sentiment that the happiness of the blessed, before the resurrection and the judgment is as perfect, and exalted, as it will be subsequent to those events', Marcus Smith wrote in 1829. Nevertheless, he continued, 'a state of glory immediately succeeds death', and 'those who die in the Lord, enter without interval or delay, into blessedness and glorification'.[40]

Likewise, latter-day readers would not have hesitated before equating Alma's 'righteous' and Meeker's 'penitent'. Not only would the equation have seemed a natural one to form, following a study of the gospels;[41] it also followed naturally from the logic of Alma's story, where the former term is used to describe those who die and enter into

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towards Methodism he would have had little quarrel with most of what they reported of reformed belief. For a typical Methodist account of what happens after death, see 'The Good Steward' in Albert C. Outler and Richard Heitzenrater, eds., John Wesley's Sermons: An Anthology (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 425–26.

[37] Al 19:59 [40:25]; cf. Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 195.

[38] Al 17:26 [36:28].

[39] Lk 16:22; for the equation with paradise, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981), trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 43.

[40] *An Epitome of Systematic Theology* (New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1829), 250–51.

[41] Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 21.

glory in Ammonihah. In this context, it cannot mean anything but the penitent, for some of the martyrs had only come to believe Alma's words days before their death, and they had had no time to do anything but discover that they did believe. Rather than talking to Corianton of those who have lived righteous lives (i.e. lives full of 'good works'), Alma can only be using the term to describe those who—truly penitent—have been declared righteous, or justified, through God's grace. 'The justification of a sinner', Samuel Hopkins wrote, offering a definition that few of Smith's contemporaries would have challenged, '... consists in forgiving his sins, or acquitting him from the curse and condemnation of the law; and receiving him to favour, and a title to all the blessings contained in eternal life; which is treating him as well, at least, as if he had never sinned, and had always been perfectly obedient.' Or as a correspondent to the Methodist *Zion's Herald* noted in 1827, '(1) It brings the soul into the favour of God. (2) It gives a title to the kingdom of heaven. (3) It adds strength to our faith for a meetness to enter heaven.'[42]

This reference to justification might be questioned, of course, as the word is not found in the Book of Mormon.[43] However, the

[42] Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 50; Alpha [pseud.], 'The Doctrine of Justification', *Zion's Herald*, 5 December 1827; Wesley, 'The Scripture Way of Salvation', *Sermons*, 372. This insistence on the importance of justification might be thought to contradict Nephi's aphorism that we are saved 'after all we can do' (2 Ne 11:44 [25:23]), but much depends on whether we take after as a temporal conjunction ('following') or as a concessive ('despite'). Book of Mormon usage is divided, but taking the former option would align Nephi with Charles Grandison Finney, and the alignment seems unlikely. For Finney it is 'perseverance in obedience to the end of life' that guarantees justification (*Systematic Theology* [1878; Minneapolis, MN: Bethany, 1976], 326–327); for the Nephite prophets it is knowing Christ that gives one a place at God's right hand (Mos 11:132 [26:24]), and reliance on his merits that is crucial (2 Ne 1:73–75, 13:28–30 [2:8, 21:23]; Al 14:32 [24:10]; cf. Mi 6:4–5 [6:4]).

[43] This is a point that needs a detailed consideration that I cannot give it here; however, I would argue that reading entails a recognition of what is presupposed as well as what is asserted by a text, and that being the case 'justification' could be counted as the old information (what is 'given' in the discourse

promise Amulek made to the Zoramites, in Antionum (the next site of revival) could not refer to anything else and be comprehensible to the work's first readers. '[I]f ye ... repent and harden not your hearts', he tells them, 'immediately shall the great plan of redemption be brought about unto you.'[44] Something, we are told (something glossed in our text as the bringing about of 'the great plan of redemption' unto believers), occurs when ('immediately') people exercise faith in Christ, and for any reader in 1830 this could only have been justification.[45] 'Men are brought into a justified state by the first act of saving faith', Hopkins had explained. 'The promise of salvation is made to him that believeth. ...' The change the transformation from sinner to saint 'is instantaneous', Marcus Smith noted. 'The fruits of it may be gradual, and in all cases are so ... There is a difference in the evidences of a change and the change itself.'[46] What is more, regardless of the terminology used, the experience described in Book of Mormon conversion narratives is that of justification.[47] Just as in Paul's account, where the justified rejoice because they have felt 'the love of God ... shed abroad in [their] hearts', so in the Book of Mormon converts find hope in the knowledge that they are 'encircled about eternally in the arms of [God's] love'.[48] For a

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joined by the Book of Mormon) to be distinguished from the new information found in Alma's text.

[44] Al 16:227 [34:31].

[45] Significantly, Amulek echoes Paul's affirmation in Rom 3:24 that we are 'justified freely by ... grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus'. Note that his going on to insist that 'now is the time and the day of your salvation' he could be indicating when God will act, as well as warning against procrastination (Al 16:227 [34:31]).

[46] Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 71–72; Marcus Smith, *Epitome*, 209 (Smith is talking here of regeneration, for he links the sanctifying and forensic aspects of justification, but his point is relevant).

[47] Whether or not Paul viewed justification as an experience is controversial. (See, for example, N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said* [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005], 121–22.) However, if I am interpreting Amulek correctly, it is viewed as such within the Book of Mormon.

[48] Rom 5:5 (1–11); 2 Ne 1:29 [1:15]; cf. Jac 3:4, 17 [4:4, 11]; and Wesley's challenge to the University of Oxford: 'Are you happy in God? Is he your

nineteenth-century reader, the two experiences would have been one and the same.

III.

This argument might be thought too Protestant by some Latter Day Saints, and not Protestant enough by some Evangelicals (after all, we have skirted the issue of grace, and whether there is a place for works-righteousness in the Book of Mormon), but it is surely uncontroversial to suggest that a martyr could embrace her fate because she was sure that after death she would see God. 'It has been common for martyrs, to go to the stake, or to other most cruel deaths, in the joyful assurance, that they were going to heaven', Samuel Hopkins reported[49]—and so we should assume for those in Ammonihah.

However, although Alma's first explanation explains the courage of those who died,[50] it seems to offer no explanation as to why they had to die. This is, as we shall see, a premature conclusion, and in at the end of this article I will need to return to the martyrs' hope of paradise; but before I do so I need to consider his second explanation for standing back. In this, he focuses on God's justice rather than his mercy, and argues that the Lord allows the people of the city to commit this atrocity 'according to the hardness of their hearts'—allows them, that is to say, to throw their prisoners into the flames—'that the judgments which he shall exercise upon them in his wrath, may be just; and the blood of the innocent shall stand as a witness against them, yea, and cry mightily against them at the last day.'[51]

At first glance this hardly helps, particularly if Alma is thought to be referring to the Last Day. It makes no sense to argue that God's eschatological justice gains credibility from his actions corresponding to an external standard. As if it could—'what superior justice have we to set

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glory, your delight, your crown of rejoicing?' ('The Almost Christian', *Sermons*, 67).

[49] *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 131; cf. Mos 9:21 [17:15].

[50] And the consolation of the bereaved.

[51] Al 10:50–51 [14:11].

against His justice?' Karl Barth pointedly asks in his commentary on Romans: God is just.[52] Besides, we can hardly suppose that if the executions had not continued, those responsible for them would not have come under judgement. Of course, in the account we have, Antionah and the other notables of Ammonihah (the 'chief rulers' of the city) were acting as they did because of 'the hardness of their hearts'. They had clearly gone beyond the possibility of repentance, or even prudential second thoughts. As in the later case of Mormon's people, their hearts were 'grossly hardened', and 'the Spirit of the Lord ... [had ceased] to strive with [them]'. Latter-day readers would have recognized the finality of that state, and 'the certainty of self-destruction without the Holy Ghost.'[53] But even if we suppose that in an alternate universe where Alma does intervene, Antionah really had been on the point of cancelling the executions when the high priest stretched forth his hand, we might still believe that the initial motivation of those who organised, conducted and enjoyed the preparations for a mass execution would have been sufficient for their condemnation.[54] Besides, even if those

[52] *The Epistle to the Romans*, 6th ed., trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 76. I am not convinced (as is Blake T. Ostler, 'The Mormon Concept of God', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 17, no. 2 [1984], 87) there is a moral law independent of God—which would be a possible, but not the most probable, interpretation of Alma's argument that if God were to violate 'the law', 'the works of justice would be destroyed, and God would cease to be God' (Al 19:104 [42:22]).

[53] Al 7:46 [9:30]; Mn 1:16–19 [1:41–43]; Lyman Beecher, The Gospel According to Paul: A Sermon Delivered Sept. 17, 1828, At the Installation of the Rev. Bennet Tyler, D.D., as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Portland, Maine (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1829), 19; cf. Asahel Nettleton, 'The Destruction of Hardened Sinners', in Asahel Nettleton: Sermons From the Second Great Awakening (Ames: International Outreach, Inc., 1995), 30–9; Richard Watson, Theological Institutes; or, A View of the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals and Institutions of Christianity (1825–29), ed. J. M'Clintock, 2 vols. (New York: Carlton & Parker, 1850), vol. 2, 87 and vol. 1, 221.

[54] Of course, this scenario would be complicated by genuine repentance—but the problem we face is not that Alma delays intervention expecting repentance, but that he does so to legitimate condemnation. For God's knowledge of the 'intents of the heart', see Al 9:23–25, 12:110 [12:14, 18:32]; cf. Rom 2:16; Wesley, 'The Great Assize', *Sermons*, 316.

points are questioned, the idea of God allowing an atrocity to take place so that he can punish the perpetrators imakes no sense on moral grounds. 'What would you think', asks Raymond M. Smullyan, 'of a parent who stands by watching one of his children brutally mistreating another, and making not the slightest attempt to prevent it, but then later brutally punishing the guilty one?' What, indeed. And yet this scenario would have to be the one underlying Alma's argument, if we took him to be solely contemplating our eternal destiny.[55]

We should not, however, take it for granted that Alma was just thinking of the Last Day when he talked of the judgements to be executed upon the people of Ammonihah. To be sure, he was concerned to make it clear that the blood of the martyrs will cry out against the guilty then,[56] but that is secondary in his argument, and to think that his words only referenced resurrection and judgement would be a mistake. Alma was also anticipating the city's immanent destruction at the hands of the Lamanites,[57] and here we are on firmer interpretative ground, even if it leaves a bad taste. Today we tend to question the morality of collective punishment,[58] but such reservations are anachronistic; the fate prophe-

[55] *Who Knows: A Study of Religious Consciousness* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 49. The traditional response to such criticisms involves the appeal to God's need to allow for human freedom, but in the present case we are not expressing surprise that God did not intervene, but that his servant (who wanted to intervene, as a free agent) is prevented from doing so. I return this problem in Part IV, below.

[56] Al 10:52 [14:11]; cf. Mos 9:16 [17:10], Rev 6:9-10. The resurrection has long been thought to answer the question of theodicy, in that it would offer a public demonstration of God's justice: Krister Stendahl, 'Immortality Is Too Much and Too Little', *Meanings: The Bible as Document and Guide* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 197.

[57] Al 14:60 [25:2].

[58] In modern jurisprudence, the logic of collective punishment lies in the presumption that there has been a conspiracy to commit the crime that is being punished, and that a person who joins a conspiracy is liable for 'all the crimes that may be within the scope of the organization' (Neal Kumar Katyal, 'Conspiracy Theory', *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 112 [2003], 1372). Given its political nature, all of Ammonihah could be thought complicit in the sin that aroused God's ire (see fn. 66, below); however, the questions merits a fuller treatment.

sied for Ammonihah was the same as that of Babylon, which became 'a wilderness, a dry land, and a desert', with the walls of the city 'thrown down', and all of the destruction 'the vengeance of the Lord',[59] and in 1830 few would have questioned the rightness of this. There would have been no reason for the first readers of the Book of Mormon to doubt that that God was glorified in executing judgement, whether it be in the Old World or the New, or that he wanted his 'violent grace' to be seen to be at work in the world.[60] 'Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance?' they would have read in Romans—and the answer would have been clear. God's righteousness is known in his anger.[61] 'God is of purer eyes than to behold sin with the least complacency', Joseph Smith's contemporary Nathanael Emmons affirmed; and the way he continued would have been uncontroversial at the time: 'Though he knows that he can overrule all sin to his own glory, and cause it to promote his own interest, yet he hates it perfectly, and is as much disposed to punish it as to hate it.'[62]

IV

Of course, even if it is granted that Alma was primarily thinking of the revelation of God's wrath within history, we are still faced with the problem of a witness to an atrocity being constrained not to intervene. God's non-intervention would not be problematic—or at least not so problematic—since it is presumed to be a prerequisite for our agency

[59] Jer 50:12–15; cf. Rev 18:6–8 for the destruction of the eschatological Babylon.

[60] The phrase is from Hugh Lloyd Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (London: University College Press, 1971), 161; cf. Ezek 28:22

[61] Rom 3:5; cf. the reading in *Holy Scriptures, Containing the Old and New Testaments: An Inspired Revision of the Authorized Version*, New Corrected Edition (Independence, MO: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1944): '[H]ow dare we say, God is unrighteous who taketh vengeance?'

[62] 'The Vindictive Anger of God', *Systematic Theology*, vol. 4 of Jacob Ide, ed., *The Works of Nathanael Emmons* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1842), 237.

that our moral actions have consequences, just as our physical ones do. 'Does not the ability to obey include, necessarily, the ability to transgress?' Lyman Beecher asked in 1828. 'Is it possible to form free agents, and set up a moral government, without bestowing on creatures the terrific capacity of transgression and desert of punishment?'[63] In a world in which men and women are free to act for good or evil we do not expect God to reach down from heaven to prevent an auto-da-fe. However, human non-intervention when faced with suffering is a problem. Anyone who doubts this should consider the way in which the philosopher David Lewis imagines a prisoner in the Soviet Gulag praying for deliverance, and God responding that he cannot help. After all, God explains in Lewis' scenario, were he to intervene 'Stalin's freedom to choose between good and evil would [be] less significant'.[64] We might defend the rightness of God's acting (and arguing) thus, and challenge Lewis' contention that God's doing so is morally unacceptable; but I doubt that we would even think to defend a human agent who had the power to secure the prisoner's deliverance, but used the same argument to justify inaction. Almost certainly, such passivity would be unhesitatingly condemned.

We should not rush to judgement in the present case, however. Although Alma seems to justify our condemnation, it is important to note that he did not stand back in order to preserve Antionah's freedom of choice, and hence provide grounds for the destruction of Ammonihah. The destruction of the city had been on God's agenda before Alma's return there, and therefore before the martyrdoms—before Antionah's decision. 'Yea, say unto them [the people of Ammonihah]', the angel had explained when sending Alma back to the city he had left, 'except they repent, the Lord God will destroy them. For behold, they do study at this time that they may destroy the liberty of

[63] *The Gospel According to Paul*, 17. According to Webster, terrific would have meant 'Dreadful; causing terror; adapted to excite great fear or dread' (*American Dictionary*, ad loc).

[64] 'Evil for Freedom's Sake', *Papers in Ethics and Social Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 108.

thy people [the church].'[65] This conspiracy was not inspired by theological differences, of course. Nehor's universalism was far better calculated to secure a following than Alma's call to repentance, and prior to his revival campaign the doctrines he proclaimed would have been thought unlikely to threaten religious stability in Ammonihah. However, the Zarahemla church rejected the idea of monarchy—and it was this political dimension to its witness that made its members dangerous in a society that tolerated the arbitrary use of power, and possibly even wanted to bring back the rule of kings.[66] If the martyrdoms showed the Ammonihah authorities acting with Machiavellian thoroughness to prevent there being any resistance to ambition, but, judging from the angel's message, it was the plan to deny liberty in Christ that provoked God's wrath, not the particularities of its implementation.[67] Ironically the real significance of the martyrs lies in their lives, not their deaths. Prior to their exile and arrest, they had been holding back God's wrath

[65] Al 6:21–22 [8:16–17]; cf. Al 8:40 [10:27], and, for a similar statement from Moroni, Al 25:6–8 [54:7–8]. The people of Ammonihah are also guilty of more generally not keeping 'the commandments' (i.e. being in violation of the covenant with Lehi: Al 7:15 [9:13]), but the fundamental issue is one of political oppression.

[66] I infer the desire for a monarchy from the connotations of 'liberty' in the Book of Mormon—for from the days of Alma I, liberty 'in Christ' is a social contract 'to stand fast in [the] liberty wherewith [they had] been made free, and . . . trust no man to be a king' (Mos 11:14 [23:13]; Al 28:12–13 [61:9]; cf. Al 20:9–10 [43:9]; 3 Ne 1:49–50 [2:12]), an interpretation of Gal 5:1 that would have seemed natural in 1830—at least to those who remembered the rhetoric of the revolutionary generation. See Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 299; cf. David Ross Williams, *Wilderness Lost: The Religious Origins of the American Mind* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1987); Thomas Gustafson, *Representative Words: Politics, Literature, and the American Language, 1776–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Note that Rom 1:18 links God's wrath with the suppression of truth: Charles Hodge, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Designed for Students of the English Bible* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1835), 47–48.

[67] Though persecution could provoke vengeance (see Jac 2:49 [3:1], and note the irony of 1 Ne 7:35–36 [22:16–17] where the righteous are to be preserved and the wicked destroyed by fire), it does not do so in the present case.

through intercessory prayer[68]—'[I]t is by the prayers of the righteous that ye are spared', Amulek had warned the city; '... if ye will cast out the righteous from among you, then ... the Lord [will not] stay his hand, but in his fierce anger he will come out against you'[69]—and their deaths are not important as a causus belli for God but as a sign that his obligation to show forbearance to the city had ended.[70]

Stated thus, this last point might be thought to bring us back to our beginning. 'If one is in a position to prevent some evil', Peter van Inwagen notes, 'one should not allow that evil to occur—not unless allowing it to occur would result in some good that would outweigh it or preventing it would result in some other evil at least as bad',[71] and in Alma's case neither condition can be appealed to. The first (the possibility that the evil could 'result in some good that would outweigh it') is clearly irrelevant. Although entry into paradise is no doubt a good that would outweigh the evil of earthly suffering (that was Bilney's point, after all), the Book of Mormon makes it clear that it is not necessary to die a martyr to be with Christ. One could perhaps argue that once martyrdom had been offered, the gift was one that it was impossible to refuse;[72] or that, since it is those who 'look unto [Christ], and endure to the end' that have eternal life, a martyr's death offered a kind of guar-

[68] Al 8:31 [10:22]; for intercession, see Ezek 22:30; Joel 2:17.
[69] Al 8:33 [10:23].
[70] To be precise, to show that he had shown forbearance. Evangelical Christians put great emphasis on the transparency of God's judgement, and his desire 'to make known to creatures, upon what ground he proceeds in giving rewards, and inflicting punishment' (Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, vol. 2, 198).
[71] *The Problem of Evil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 100.
[72] Note Christ's warning that he would deny before his Father 'whosoever shall deny me before men' (Mat 10:32), and the traditional teaching that the refusal of martyrdom is denial (thus Tertullian, *De fuga in persecutione*, 12:5, in *Tertulliani Opera 2: Opera Monastica, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* [Turnholt: Brepols, 1954]). Of course, the relevance of this warning to the situation in Ammonihah could be challenged: Alma's intervention, if not sought by the martyrs themselves, would not be the equivalent of a refusal or recantation on their part.

antee of glory that it would be foolish to reject;[73] but to do so seems unduly legalistic. As for the second condition: one can hardly claim that Alma's preventing the deaths of the martyrs would have lead to a greater evil or (what might be thought the same) frustrated God's plans. On the one hand, the deaths marked the end of religious liberty and political freedom in Ammonihah; they did not prevent it. On the other, God did not really need to silence the intercessors to be able to ignore their prayers. (One might remember Calvin's commentary on Ezekiel 14:17–18: 'when [the Lord] has determined to destroy a land, there is no hope of pardon, since even the most holy will not persuade him to desist from his wrath and vengeance.')[74] Nor, as we have seen, did he need the blood of the martyrs to condemn Ammonihah. The wickedness of its people had, like that of the Amorites, reached 'its full measure' (and therefore merited condemnation) before the first fires were lit. All that was necessary for God's wrath to be revealed was that the prayers of intercession ceased.[75]

However, to stop at this point, ready to accuse Alma of allowing—even doing—gratuitous evil, would be to ignore his testimony of divine foreknowledge. When Amulek, understandably worried by what is happening to his co-religionists, wonders if he and Alma might not be burned alive also, Alma rejects the idea on the grounds that they have

[73] 3 Ne 7:10 [15:9]; cf. 'To Pious Brothers and Sisters', *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, 29 May 1829. The guarantee was to be welcomed as it always possible to fall from grace. '[I]f ye have felt to sing the song of redeeming love', Alma would challenge his hearers, 'I would ask, Can ye feel so now?' (Al 3:46 [5:26]). Are you 'happy in [God]?' Wesley asked. 'Then see that you "hold fast" "whereunto you have attained"!' ('Spiritual Worship', *Sermons*, 440, probably drawing on Heb 10:23 and 1 Tim 4:6). For the experience as one known to Smith, see Scott H. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1987), 5.

[74] *Commentaries on the First Twenty Chapters of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, trans. Thomas Meyers, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849), ad loc.

[75] For the Amorites, see Gen 15:16; Dt 2:34, 3:6. Note that for the intercession to cease, all that would have been necessary would have been either (a) a prophetic word to that effect, or (b) that all the saints (not just the men) be driven out of the city.

not yet fulfilled their calling[76]—and in doing so he implicitly contrasts their preservation with the deaths of the others. If he and Amulek will not die because they have not completed their mission, the martyrs, in dying, are evidencing that they have completed theirs.[77]

Alma's belief in God's foreknowledge—not only shown here, but also affirmed in earlier testimony that priesthood callings were 'prepared from the foundation of the world, according to the foreknowledge of God',[78] and that indeed God had 'foreknowledge of all things'[79]—is probably not viewed sympathetically by most readers today. The doctrine conflicts with what we want to believe about our free agency and what quantum physics suggests that we should say about the world.[80] Alma is clearly out of step with modern belief. However, as noted earlier, my concern in this article is not to turn him into a theologian for our day but to understand him in his own, and whatever we might suppose that Alma would have made of quantum physics, he certainly found it possible to reconcile God's foreknowledge and our moral agency. Most of those who read the first edition of the Book of

[76] Al 10:54 [14:13]; cf. the testimony of Nephi (concerning himself, 1 Ne 1:102 [4:3]) and Mormon (concerning Samuel, He 5:112–13 [16:12]).

[77] Although Alma does not elaborate on this idea, elaboration would not have been necessary for latter-day readers to appreciate that it was time for the martyrs to die. The idea that when there was no deliverance from martyrdom, the ensuing death was God's will was commonly held. See e.g. Robert South, *Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823), vol. 1, 74: 'Martyrdom is stamped such only by God's command. . . His gospel does not dictate imprudence; no evangelical precept jostles out that of a lawful self-preservation. He therefore that thus throws himself upon the sword, runs to heaven before he is sent for. . . .'

[78] Al 9:65 [13:3]. Current LDS readings take this verse as a reference to the pre-existence, but that interpretation had not occurred to readers even a decade after the publication of the Book of Mormon: see Brigham Young and Willard Richards, 'Election and Reprobation', *Millennial Star*, vol. 1, no. 9 (January 1841), 218. For the Biblical context, see Eph 1:4 and Rom 8:29, and cf. Joseph Bellamy, *True Religion Delineated and Distinguished from All Counterfeits* (1750; Ames: International Outreach, 1997), 26.

[79] Al 9:71 [13:7].

[80] George L. Murphy, 'Providence in a Scientific World', *Quarterly Review*, vol. 23 (2003), 251–62.

Mormon would have expected no less. Starting from (as it then seemed) the incontrovertible biblical evidence for predictive prophecy, they would have thought it impossible to deny that God had foreknowledge of some events (of the incarnation, for example)—or, if that were granted, to think that there were limits to his knowledge. '[I]f God foreknew any events', Emmons would argue, 'he must have foreknown all events, from eternity'.[81] But they would have found it equally unthinkable to deny moral agency. Its reality was self-evident. As Asahel Nettleton summarized the case, 'That [every man] chooses and refuses is as certain as it is that he exists.'[82] No-one reading the Book of Mormon in 1830 would have been surprised to find Alma both presuming that choice was free, and that what happened in this world was an unfolding of the will of God.[83]

[81] 'Foreknowledge of God', *Systematic Theology*, 265. Robert Frost would revisit this theme with telling effect in his poem 'Design'.

[82] 'The Counsel and Agency of God in the Government of All Things', *Sermons*, 186.

[83] That said, we should note that Alma does not address the question that divided Smith's contemporaries: whether what God foreknew was what he had already decreed. The idea that it was appeared logical to Calvinists, who, remembering the scriptural affirmation that God works in us 'to will and to do' (Phil 2:13), had no trouble supposing that a 'particular providence' shapes 'all the affairs of men' (Paschal N. Strong, *The Pestilence: A Punishment for Public Sins* [New York: H. Sage, 1822], 21); Arminians resisted the idea, however, even though they were then forced to fall back on vaguer ideas of providence (as in Watson, *Theological Institutes*, vol. 1, 331), since such thinking seemed to open the door to predestination. As noted, Alma does not get involved in this debate, though he seems to lean towards what would be a Calvinist position. Early in the revival he testified with reference to what he had learned by the 'spirit of prophecy', that 'whatsoever . . . [he said] concerning that which is to come, is true': Al 3:82 [5:47–48], and arguably that could only be the case if the future were known to God and therefore something that could be revealed to his servants. Note Nettleton's reflection ('Counsel and Agency', *Sermons*, 182), 'If God has not decreed the existence of future events', 'neither the existence, nor time, nor manner of such events could possibly be foreknown'; and the significance, in this context, of Abinadi's prophetic foreknowledge of the martyrs' deaths (Mos 9:21 [17:15]).

Again, of course (as with the idea of justification), I am reading between the lines. Alma does not explore the relevance of God's foreknowledge to the deaths he witnesses. Nevertheless, this idea that the number of our days is known beforehand to God—taken for granted within the narrative—merits attention, for it resolves the puzzle of his conduct. Since their intercession could no longer hold back God's wrath, there was no need for the saints to remain in Ammonihah; and since it was time for them to return to God, there was no reason for Alma to try to prevent their death. He could let Antionah and the others work out their damnation without hindrance.[84] To be sure there would be pain, even agony, in the death chosen for the martyrs, but as we have seen no earthly suffering has any weight when set against the post-mortal joy to be enjoyed by the righteous[85]—and there was no point in trying to intervene when it was time for them to die.

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[84] Thus Hodge would note how God punishes sinners by withdrawing 'the restraints of his providence and Spirit' thereby giving them up 'to the dominion of their own wicked passions' (*Commentary*, 53–54).

[85] I do not suggest that Alma thought God unmoved by these sufferings (Christ's knowledge of and compassion for our pain is part of his Christology: Graham St. John Stott 'Does God Understand Our Fears?' *Sunstone* [June 2007], 52–57); but it should be recognized that there is a general indifference to death and suffering in the Book of Mormon, perhaps because, from a Nephite perspective, nothing was more important than eternal life. Notice in this connection, God's willingness to destroy a city rather than see it threaten the salvation of others: Al 7:26–27 [9:19]. Although the logic is that of 1 Ne 1:115 [4:13] ('It is better that one man should perish, than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief'), in Ammonihah far more than 'one man' will perish—and although readers today cannot help but be troubled with the idea God that can intend mass death (see the discussion in Tod Linafelt, "Strange Fires, Ancient and Modern," in *Strange Fire: Reading the Bible after the Holocaust* [New York: New York University, 2000], 15–18), this was something that many Christians in earlier generations could take in their stride. What should trouble us here, even we accept that God could act in this way, is the vicious circle created by Alma's judgment: I will not intervene, because they are marked for death; they are marked for death, because no one intervenes. Presumably his certainty came from the constraint of the Spirit—but, as noted above (at fn. 19), this is something that it is easy to mistake for quite other impulses. I offer an introduction to Smith's understanding of the impulses of

Whether we find this appeal to God's foreknowledge convincing will of course depend on the theology we bring to our reading of the text, not the logic of the Book of Mormon account, but, whether or not we are convinced, it should granted that Alma had his reasons for acting as he did in Ammonihah that day. If the city fathers thought that they would be able to rid themselves of a political threat (and at the same time deal a blow to the prestige of the Zarahemla church), and the martyrs, relying on the merits of Christ, trusted that they would enter paradise, Alma believed that he was both doing good in facilitating the martyrs' entering glory, in being (as it were) the Dr Kevorkian of Ammonihah,[86] and doing the will of God in letting sinners seal their fate.[87] Yet even if so much is granted, and all necessary allowances made for a world that is different from our own, it is still hard for me to imagine myself standing there in Ammonihah and watching the saints die. If understanding Alma entails an imaginative response to his situation as well as an intellectual one, I have to admit to failure. To imagine myself (as Alma) watching children being thrown into the flames and making no objection, is horrific no matter how the action is interpreted;[88] and so is the thought of my watching the townspeople destroy themselves, without trying to warn them a final time. That they were beyond repentance can

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the Spirit in G. St. John Stott, 'The Seer Stone Controversy: Writing the Book of Mormon', *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1986), 36–53, but more work needs to be done on this subject.

[86] The martyrs' desire to go home is perhaps the best answer to those who would agree with Father Paneloux that suffering in this world cannot be justified by talk of an eternity of joy (Albert Camus, *La peste* [Paris: Gallimard, 1947], 203), for their suffering was chosen. However, we have only begun to trace the implications of such an answer—and we have not even glanced at some of its aspects, such as the capacity of children (Paneloux's particular concern) to make the decisions martyrdom entails.

[87] Hodge, *Commentary*, 53–54; cf. Erberhard Jüngel, *Justification: The Heart of the Christian Faith—A Theological Study with Ecumenical Purpose*, trans. J. F. Cayzer (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 66.

[88] Even if that were not the case, Jer 7:30–31 is an uncomfortable parallel.

be granted; but still it seems impossible—as I try to imagine the situation—that I would be expected to turn away.

Perhaps few will share my desire to understand imaginatively. Many, I recognize, would dismiss my concerns on the grounds that I am being too tender-hearted in my reading of the text; and possibly I am. But I would find it odd not to apply my imagination to the reading of a narrative, and rightly or wrongly the fact remains: no matter how much faith I bring to the task I find it hard to imagine, with any degree of comfort, being in a square in Ammonihah watching people burn. Others might approve of my approach and even share my reactions, but go on to argue that problematic passages in scripture (such as the verses describing the Ammonihah martyrdoms) should not form part of my spiritual education.[89] But here too I have to disagree. Although I cannot elaborate in the present context, I believe that we should see scripture as a whole—and that to excise is to distort.[90] And besides, as I hope that I have shown, there is much to be learned from (or to be gained from

[89] See e.g. William D. Russell, 'Let's Put Warning Labels on the Standard Works', *Sunstone* (July 2004), 26–30; C. Robert Mesle, 'For the Welfare of Children: The Place of Scripture in the Life of the Church', *Distinguished Authors Series*, vol. 2, 1989–90 (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1990), 7–22, for the argument that scripture should be sanitized.

[90] In narrative, Roland Barthes noted, 'in differing degrees, everything ... signifies. This is not a matter of art (on the part of the narrator), but of structure; in the realm of discourse, what is noted is by definition notable. Even were a detail to appear irretrievably insignificant, resistant to all functionality, it would nevertheless end up with precisely the meaning of absurdity or uselessness: everything has a meaning or nothing has' ('Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives' [1977], in Susan Sontag, ed., *A Barthes Reader* [New York: Vintage, 2000], 261). And 'even if a detail were to appear irretrievably wrong', I would add. There are no doubt mistakes in the Book of Mormon (as the title page suggests), but that does not mean that we should reach for a red pencil. True revelation, as the Catholic theologian Niels Christian Hvidt reminds us, is where 'both the divine and the human synergetically and symbiotically coincide' (*Christian Prophecy: The Post-Biblical Tradition* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], 133). Applying this idea to the Book of Mormon, we can not only say that what is weak made strong (as Lehi affirms: 2 Ne 2:24 [3:13]); we can also say, following Hvidt, that what is weak is strong.

reflecting on) what happens in Ammonihah,[91] and from a theological perspective it would therefore be a mistake to ignore these verses. But if that is the case, our study of them has only begun—and the struggle to understand continues.

[91] 2 Tim 3:16–17 is relevant here, I believe, and Julian Rivers, 'The Moral Authority of Scripture', *Cambridge Papers*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2004), available online at http://www.jubilee-centre.org/document.php?id=44&topicID=0 (accessed August 16, 2008) is helpful—although I disagree with some of what he says about the closure of the canon.

THE EXPERIENCE OF MORMON CHILDREN IN ENGLISH SCHOOL-BASED RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND COLLECTIVE WORSHIP*

Ronan James Head

All state schools in Britain are required to offer pupils—subject to a seldom utilised parental withdrawal clause—some form of curricular religious education as well as a daily act of collective worship, also known as "assembly." Standards and content vary, but the statutory requirements are clear. Before 1944, religious education and observance were common features of both denominational and board schools in England and Wales; the 1944 Education Act made them legal requirements of educational provision (Copley 2000, 57–69). The 1988 Education Reform Act, despite the backdrop of a vastly more secular and pluralist Britain, reaffirmed the government's commitment to a daily, compulsory act of collective worship and religious education (RE) classes in maintained schools.

The act of collective worship is supposed to be explicitly religious (i.e. not just "spiritual") and "wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian character" (1988, section 7.1). Some buffers were introduced in the 1988 Act (and later in 1993) between this statutory act of Christian worship and the multi-faith (and none) identity of modern Britain: a local Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE) can lift the requirement for a mainly Christian act of worship; the act of worship was deemed to be "collective," rather than "corporate" (as one would find among a corporate body of believers); and parents were given the right of withdrawal.[1]

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* This article represents a brief preliminary investigation into British Mormon attitudes towards school religion and the place of New Religious Movements in its curriculum. Readers are invited to email ronan@jhu.edu for future updates.

[1] DfE Circular 1/94, a document with no legal power, offered further guidance on the provision of collective worship. None of 1/94 offered new legislation but attempted to make clear what the 1988 Act intended. It noted

For its part, curricular religious education currently falls outside of the government-set National Curriculum, but is regulated by a non-statutory framework. The 1988 Act required Local Education Authorities to convene SACRE's with the responsibility to report to the government quango known as the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority. Locally-designed syllabuses were intended to complement the National Curriculum. Teaching world religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sikhism) became a legal requirement, but syllabuses also needed to take account of the predominately Christian tradition of the UK. State-funded ("maintained") faith schools are allowed greater freedom to design religious education classes and worship assemblies that reflect their own particular traditions. Pupils have the option to take examinations in Religious Education and the RE GCSE exam (typically taken at 16) is a popular choice.

Both RE and collective worship are not uncontroversial elements of British schooling. The school-inspecting body, OFSTED, consistently finds collective worship to fall short of its statutory requirements, owing, perhaps, to the discomfort it arouses in many schools: in a modern, liberal, secular democracy, this compulsory act of religion can be seen as "intrinsically self-congratulatory, potentially invasive of individual pupil's conscience and entirely inappropriate in an institution funded for educational purposes and from public taxation" (Gates 2007, 204). RE fares better, mostly because its curriculum is consciously broad and tends to scrupulously avoid any whiff of indoctrination. In most cases, RE is religious *studies* rather than religious education. (The battle over RE does, however, continue, if not to rage, but certainly to sputter, as discussed skilfully by Copley 2005.)

Given the concern for "inclusion" in education in general, and in school-based religion in particular, what is the experience of religious

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"deep concern" (1/94:9, 5) that collective worship was not being accorded its proper status as an "opportunity for pupils to worship God" (1/94:20, 50) and gave advice that proved controversial: "worship" meant "religious worship" and not simply "assembly" and should elicit a "response from pupils" (1/94:21, 59); non-Christian elements could be included but as a whole, collective worship must "accord a special status to Jesus Christ" (1/94:21, 63).

minorities in collective worship and religious education? Certainly, concern for an inclusive curriculum, one that reflects Britain's minority communities is demonstrable: why else would white schoolchildren in Worcestershire be required to learn about Sikhism, a religion which they will seldom otherwise encounter and one which is relatively small in numbers? Stripping RE of its non-Christian elements would be unthinkable today. However, concern for the inclusion of other religious minorities—and I speak here of members of New Religious Movements—is less forthcoming. This article will discuss the experience of Mormon school children in the RE classroom and worship assembly and any possible implications of this research.

The baseline for this research is Kay and Francis's 2001 study of the attitudes of over 25,000 schoolchildren regarding RE and collective worship. They find that religiously-affiliated pupils are more likely than their secular peers to feel positively about school-based religion. This is perhaps unsurprising, but they also discovered that religious minorities had the most favourable attitudes: "non-Christians are more favourable than Christians; sectarian Christians are more favourable than non-sectarian Christians" (2001, 117). I have compared these findings with a survey I conducted of 43 Mormon Seminary students in a provincial Mormon Stake in England, around twenty of whom I then led in a group discussion of their views. The sample is admittedly small and it is hoped that it can be widened in the future, but gaining access to large numbers of Mormon children for the purposes of conducting an academic survey is not an easy undertaking.

Research undertaken among American Mormons has showed that Mormons tend to have an above-average level of both education and religiosity. The English group I surveyed represent the most active of Mormon youth. They were all between the ages of 14–18 and enrolled in the church "Seminary" programme which requires them to study the Mormon scriptures and meet regularly in classes (sometimes early in the morning). They were participating in their bi-monthly "Stake" (diocesan) meeting and demonstrated by their presence a high level of commitment to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

These were not cloistered cultists, however. Most of them were bright and articulate and as interested in flirting and joking with each other as they were learning about the Old Testament. All of them attended state schools in the area. I asked them to respond to a series of questions on a five-point Likert scale (agree strongly, agree, not certain, disagree, or disagree strongly). The scale was scored in the direction of favourability, "agree strongly" scoring 5. The questions were as follows (the first two modelled on Kay and Francis):

> Religious Education should be taught in school.
>
> Schools should hold a religious assembly every day.
>
> I feel comfortable participating in RE in my school.
>
> I feel comfortable participating in religious assemblies in my school.
>
> I also asked a fifth question: "is the Mormon church ever mentioned in class or assemblies? Please give details."

Mean results were as follows (with comparisons to Kay and Francis):

Religious Education should be taught in school	
Non-religious	2.71
Religious	3.21
Christian	3.21
Non-Christian	3.53
Non-sectarian Christian	3.15
Sectarian Christian	3.59
Regular ("nearly every week") religious attendees	3.68
Mormons	3.67

Schools should hold a religious assembly every day	
Non-religious	1.83
Religious	2.18
Christian	2.19
Non-Christian	2.44

Non-sectarian Christian	2.13
Sectarian Christian	2.48
Regular ("nearly every week") religious attendees	2.61
Mormons	1.95

I feel comfortable participating in RE in my school

Mormons	3.79

I feel comfortable participating in religious assemblies in my school

Mormons	3.00

As Kay and Francis point out, overall "support for religious education and religious assembly is weak. It rarely rises above the mid-point of uncertainty" (2001, 125). RE garners more support (although it is not sensational) than collective worship. Support for both activities is greater among the religious compared with the non-religious, non-Christians compared with Christians, and sectarians compared with non-sectarians. (Kay and Francis define sectarian as Baptist, Evangelical, Salvation Army, Pentecostal, Community Church, and House Church.) The more a child attends a place of worship, the more likely she is to favour both RE and assembly. With regard to RE, Mormons score highly with a mean total of 3.67, higher than all other categories and practically equal with those who attend places of worship nearly every week. They also do not seem to be discomforted by RE: a majority (77%) agreed that they were comfortable with RE, a mean score of 3.79. Collective worship does not fare as well, however, scoring only 1.95 among Mormons, lower than all other scores in the Kay/Francis survey. Mormon students' "comfort" in participating in assemblies is a perfect mid-point of 3.00.

The low Christian regard for RE and assembly might, according to Kay and Francis (2001, 126) be skewed by the secularism of many children who otherwise identify as Christian. The fact that non-Christians respond relatively positively might be due to the affirmation they receive when hearing their religions discussed in a respectful manner—the major non-Christian religions must be taught in RE. This

cannot explain, however, why Mormon children score highly. Only 33% of my respondents noted that Mormonism was discussed at school and even then, it was not always done in ways that reflected the children's own religious experiences. One student responded that the church was mentioned "briefly, talking about polygamy"; another responded that "yes [the church was mentioned] once or twice because we are a bigotry (sic) religion apparently"; another said, "in history, we learnt about Mormons and they were given a negative view and some facts given which are untrue." Mormons tend to feel positively about RE despite the non-status of Mormonism within it.

Kay and Francis believe that sectarian children's support for school religion is due to their higher than average religiosity and familiarity with religious topics and devotion. Still, this does not entirely answer why such pupils would feel positive about an RE curriculum that often deals with religions other than their own, and, in the case of NRM-adherents (Mormons) either ignores their religion altogether or discusses it in problematic ways. Mormon acceptance of RE requires further explanation: certainly, the antipathy-cum-hostility to religion that RE sometimes faces is less likely to emanate from Mormons than from other children. How can we explain their support? Even though faithful Mormons believe that theirs is the one true church, the value of learning about world religions has received tentative support in the church, and quotes affirming the value of religions other than Mormonism can be found throughout devotional discourse, from Joseph Smith to the present. It may also be the case that armed with a relatively high degree of religious literacy, Mormon children simply do well in their RE classes. One respondent noted that RE was "easy" because she "already knew most of the stuff." The value of "learning about other people's ideas" was also affirmed, as was a certain intra-faith fellowship: "in RE class the religious kids could talk about their beliefs in a way that was uncool outside of class." One child suggested that such discussions offered a "missionary opportunity," an important boon for young Mormons taught to see proselytising as a positive opportunity. We should also consider the possibility that Mormon children are not a

distinct subset; note how their opinion of RE almost exactly matches other very religiously active children.

With all this in mind, the extreme dislike (1.95) of collective worship among Mormons, especially compared with other religionists, is interesting. One is tempted to suggest that whilst Mormons can tolerate and sometimes embrace a classroom discussion of religion, their participation in an act of worship not their own, especially given Mormon concern for orthopraxis, is harder to embrace. As one child put it, "making us join in made me uncomfortable." However, given their "comfort" score (3.00), this cannot tell the whole story. At the very least it further demonstrates pupils' general dislike of collective worship, whatever their faith.

Gill (2004, 193–4) discusses the implications of strong overall pupil negativity to collective worship and the strategies that need to arise to address it. She offers an interesting example: there is a major disconnect between the literalism of worship in primary schools, where pupils are offered religious narrative and teaching with little or no room for discussion as to its truthfulness, and the marked scepticism of older pupils. Having perhaps naively accepted Bible stories as young children, teenagers find themselves rebelling against the same as they get older. Gill recommends that room "for the exploration of problematic issues" be found. Doubt seems to surface instinctively for many secondary pupils; admitting its existence is important and would help pupils participate with greater "integrity." However, given the very literal religious education provided on Sundays and in Seminary, this cannot be an explanation for the Mormon hostility towards assemblies. Perhaps it is the very weakness of collective worship that bothers Mormon youth: luke-warm biblical exhortations coupled with the cynical reactions of their peers to the same may be jarring to children used to a very earnest form of worship. They may not mind participating, but compared to Mormon worship, it probably feels like a waste of time. One needs to further ascertain whether it is the *daily* act of worship or the worship itself which is problematic.

Such dislike for secondary school worship, even among the religious (Mormons are an extreme example, but even religious pupils in general only score 2.18), ought to serve as a signal to education policy-makers that something is amiss, perhaps not with regard to policy per se, but certainly in its delivery. Classroom-based RE is perhaps an easier topic to address as it deals with a curriculum in which teachers and schools are generally well-trained and well-suited to deliver. (One problem with the mechanics of school worship is that there may not be enough teachers willing to lead it. Plus, secondary school facilities and timetables are not always conducive to conducting regular, large-scale assemblies.)

What can the Mormon example regarding RE teach us? Kay and Francis (2001, 126) note that "policies that are designed to appeal to the majority are really more appealing to the minority...Educational policy, and particularly educational policy referring to religion, must continue to take account of the needs of minorities, presumably by the continued used of sensitive democratic mechanisms." The secular majority seem unimpressed by the RE curriculum whatever the content on offer whereas religious minorities seem more willing to engage in RE even if their own theologies are largely ignored (e.g. sectarian Christians, Mormons) or worse, misrepresented (e.g. Mormons). Would pupils' engagement with RE improve if it better reflected their own religious or life stances? If so, a case can be made, as Kay and Francis suggest, for a "much wider range of choices within religious education, some of which reflect the secular orientation of the majority and others that reflect the particular commitments of minorities" (2001, 126–7). To achieve this, the RE curriculum should devolve to an even more local level. Currently the national framework is interpreted by county bodies to provide a curriculum for all its schools. Whilst this has the advantage of ensuring that a wide range of influential and relevant religions are covered, it means, for example, that an ethnic school in east Oxford has to follow the same curriculum as a mainly white school in rural Oxfordshire. Operating within a basic wider framework, RE teachers at the school level should seek to ascertain and engage with the

values of their own pupils. In a school with Adventists or Mormons, there is no reason why Ellen White or Joseph Smith should not be discussed alongside Guru Nanak and Mother Theresa.

Exactly how schools could go about teaching NRM's—and the further value of doing so—must be the subject of another article.[2]

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2 Some work on this question has already been done by James Holt (2002).

JUSTIFICATION, THEOSIS, AND GRACE IN EARLY CHRISTIAN, LUTHERAN, AND MORMON DISCOURSE

Grant Underwood

Although few would dispute that human salvation is a central concern of all branches of Christianity, exactly what salvation entails and how it is to be brought about has been a matter of considerable debate for nearly two thousand years. Drawing on that debate, this presentation examines the cluster of ideas that came to be labeled "justification" and how it relates to the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of "theosis" or "theopoesis," Greek terms typically translated as "deification" or "divinization."[1] Particular attention is paid to the thought of Martin Luther in this regard, and throughout a comparative eye is kept on Mormonism.

I divide the presentation into four sections. First, as background, I touch briefly on ideas about justification and theosis found in the New Testament and in patristic thought.[2] In the second section, we leap from leading church "father" St. Augustine in the early 400s A.D. to the erstwhile Augustinian monk Martin Luther in the 1500s, where we engage the major re-evaluation by Finnish Luther scholars of Luther's doctrine of justification and its harmonies with Orthodox teachings on theosis. Third, we turn explicitly to Mormonism for a comparative look at its own views on deification. And finally, we com-

[1] *Theosis* is a neologism of Gregory of Nazianzus that he first employed in 365. "Although *theosis* is the usual term by which deification came to be known among the Byzantines, it did not prove immediately popular. It was not taken up again until Dionysius the Areopagite used it in the late fifth century, and only became fully assimilated with Maximus the Confessor in the seventh." Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 215.

[2] Patristics or patrology are terms that derive from the Latin word for "father," and are common designations for the writings of influential Christian theologians from the early centuries A.D. These theologians are often referred to honorifically as the "Church Fathers."

pare Mormon and Christian ideas about the relationship between human nature, divine grace, and righteous behavior (or works), important issues that undergird conceptions of justification and deification. prehensive treatment of the topics considered in these four sections could easily fill a small volume. In the short compass of a single presentation, therefore, coverage will necessarily be introductory and suggestive.

Because to one degree or another all Christian theology is tethered to the Bible, we begin with a few observations about New Testament teachings on salvation. The "good news" about what God has done for humanity in and through Jesus Christ is so extensive and rich that the New Testament authors struggled to articulate it. The apostle Paul, who had the most to say on the matter, was compelled to employ a variety of images in his attempt to convey the grandeur of the divine grace manifest in the person and work of Christ. Redemption, reconciliation, justification, birth, adoption, creation, citizenship, sealing, grafting, even salvation itself, were all metaphors from everyday life with recognized non-religious meanings that only over time acquired precise theological definition and elaborate exposition in that subdivision of Christian theology known as soteriology, the study of salvation.[3]

Justification, for instance, is a legal metaphor that refers to acquittal and conveys the image of expunging a record of debt or criminal guilt. The parallel with divine forgiveness of sins is obvious. Different than in modern, everyday English where justification means an explanation or reason for something, biblically, justification and its cognates "just" and "justice" translate Hebrew and Greek roots having to do with "righteousness." Thus, for Paul and later Christian commentators justification is about how and in what sense humans can be considered, or can become, righteous. To capture in modern English the proper religious meaning of justification, we would have to invent an awkward term like "righteous-ification."

[3] The information in this and the subsequent paragraph is drawn from James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). See especially 317–389.

The reality in the first centuries after Christ was that neither in the Latin-speaking West nor in the Greek-speaking East did the early church fathers "choose to express their soteriological convictions in terms of the concept of justification." They preferred other biblical metaphors and images to describe the initiation and continuation of one's life in Christ. "The few occasions upon which a specific discussion of justification can be found almost always involve no interpretation of the matter other than a mere paraphrase of a Pauline statement. ... Justification was simply not a theological issue in the pre-Augustinian tradition."[4] Nor, we might add, has it been in the Mormon tradition. Its one appearance in Latter-day Saint (LDS) scripture is in the Church's foundational "Articles and Covenants," where it is affirmed but not explained: "and we know that justification through the grace of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is just and true."[5] Today, few Mormons can give a satisfactory definition of the term, though when it is explained to them in current LDS terms, they readily resonate with its constituent ideas.

For the Christian West, that is, for the Roman Catholic Church, justification began its rise to prominence through the writings of Augustine, the theologian-bishop of Hippo in North Africa.

[4] Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 33. Krister Stendahl observed, "it has always been a puzzling fact that Paul meant so relatively little for the thinking of the church during the first 350 years of its history. To be sure, he is honored and quoted, but, in the theological perspective of the west, it seems that Paul's great insight into justification by faith was forgotten." Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Greeks* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 83.

[5] Articles and Covenants is found in the canonical volume known simply as the Doctrine and Covenants. First issued in 1835, the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co), or D&C as it is often referred to by Mormons, has gone through numerous editions. A handful of revelations were added after 1835 and the numbering of D&C Sections and verses has been modified over the years. The citations in this article are from the most recent (1981) LDS edition. In this instance, the quoted line is from D&C 20:30.

Augustine found the term useful because of its linguistic potential to convey what he believed to be the dual aspects of justification—that it both imputed and imparted righteousness to the Christian believer. The idea of imputed or ascribed righteousness preserved the secular, judicial connotations of justification and evoked the image of humans receiving a "not guilty" verdict in the court of God's justice whereby their sins are forgiven. In this sense, justification is, as expressed in the title of a recent volume on the subject, "the amnesty of grace."[6] In the elegant imagery of the apostle Paul's letter to the Colossians (Col 2:14), justification is Christ "blotting out the handwriting ... that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross" (KJV). By imputing Christ's righteousness to believers, God does not say that believers themselves are righteous, but that the demands of justice have been satisfied by Christ so that Christians are viewed by God as if they were righteous. Theologians call this aspect of justification "forensic," a word derived from the Latin "foro," or forum, which anciently was the Roman public square or marketplace where judicial action might take place.

For Augustine, though, justification was more than merely a forensic act in which the believer's sins were, so to speak, erased from the heavenly ledgers. Augustine understood justification to entail genuine moral and spiritual regeneration.[7] Just as a pardoned criminal may have had no change of heart and may have the same disposition to commit the crime over again, the need still exists for an inner transformation of the forgiven sinner. Thus, for Augustine and Western Christian theology for a millennium afterward, justification included what Protestant Reformers would later call "sanctification," the Spirit-driven process of purging pardoned Christians of fallen nature's sinful inclinations and

[6] The phrase is Sharon Ringe's translation of Elsa Tamez's book title *Contra Toda Condena*. See Elsa Tamez, *The Amnesty of Grace: Justification by Faith from a Latin American Perspective*, trans. Sharon Ringe (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993).

[7] Augustine liked to imagine that etymologically *iustificare* was a combination of *justum* (just/righteous) and *facere*, (to make righteous).

imparting a habit of inner holiness. As the thirteenth-century theologian John of La Rochelle reasoned, if justification "places nothing within them, [then] there has been no change on their part." What Catholics believed resulted from this placing of divine grace within newborn Christians was created or habitual grace, something actually inside them, that was part of them, that over time effected not merely a change in their status before God but a real change in their nature.[8] In contrast with the forensic dimension, this was known as the "effective" aspect of justification.

In the Protestant Reformation, though not so much at Luther's instigation as we shall see, effective justification came to be known as sanctification and was separated logically and sequentially from forensic justification.[9] Thereafter, the term justification was reserved solely for the forensic crediting of Christ's righteousness to individual sinners. Sanctification was understood to refer to the subsequent and ongoing process of restoring to humans the imago dei, the moral, spiritual image of God, that had been lost in the Fall. Mormons inherited this justification-sanctification distinction from the Reformation. Though notionally separate, the two concepts were viewed as a complementary pair that could not be separated in describing the full work of salvation. The process of sanctification, however it relates to justification, is akin to what Eastern Orthodoxy intends with its teaching of theosis or deification. John McGuckin, professor of Byzantine Christian Studies at Columbia University, defines theosis simply as "the process of the sanctification of Christians whereby they become progressively conformed

[8] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 68, 48.

[9] The renowned nineteenth-century German scholar Albrecht Ritschl remarked that one could "search in vain to find any theologian of the Middle Ages" who made a "deliberate distinction between justification and regeneration." Ritschl, *Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justificaiton and Reconciliation* (Edinburgh, 1872), 90–91. Alister McGrath adds: "The notional distinction that came to emerge in the sixteenth century between *iustificatio* and *regeneratio* (or *sanctification*) provides one of the best ways of distinguishing between Catholic and Protestant understandings of justification, marking the Reformers' discontinuity with the earlier western theological tradition." McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 71.

to God."[10] Church fathers in the Greek East found a number of supporting images and metaphors for theosis—union with God, adopted sonship, similitude, transformation.

One of the more common images, and one that recent Finnish Luther scholars argue has profound resonance in the thought of Martin Luther, is "participation in the divine nature," a phrase originating in 2 Peter 1:4. This passage is interpreted to mean that Christians "participate" or share in the divine nature of the Spirit of Christ that dwells in them. As a result, they, too, can be said to be divine. This also is how most church fathers construed the famous declaration in Ps 82:6, "ye are gods." Christians were gods by association, as is clearly implied in the Greek word koinonia used in 2 Peter 1:4 which elsewhere is typically translated "communion" or "fellowship." This sense of communal participation in the divine nature is often missed by modern users of the King James Bible because it renders koinonia in 2 Peter as "partakers." Given the evolution of the English language, today "partakers" conveys more of an idea of individualist acquisition than was intended in the original Greek.

As the patristic discussion of how Christians participate in the divine nature developed, it became far richer than seeing participation as merely basking associatively in God's reflected glory. The church fathers found a key in the Incarnation. By becoming flesh, Christ took on fallen, sinful human nature, our human nature, precisely so he could purify and divinize it. As the fourth-century Cappadocian Gregory of Nyssa expressed it in his Catechetical Oration, when the second person of the Godhead became flesh, divinity "was transfused throughout our nature, so that our nature, by virtue of this transfusion, might itself become divine." Theologians have dubbed this concept the "exchange formula" and many of the early fathers from Irenaeus to Athanasius taught it in words like "God became man so man could become god."

[10] McGuckin, "The Strategic Adaptation of Deification in the Cappadocians," 95.

Such expressions have surprised and impressed Mormons, who, without fully understanding them, have occasionally lifted them out of context and held them up as proof that early Christians taught LDS doctrine. Yet Athanasius's couplet should not be equated with Lorenzo Snow's "as god now is, man may become." The "exchange" signifies an exchange of characteristics and attributes, not a change in being or substance. Humans remain humans and God continues to be God. Christians, whether in the Greek East or Latin West, consistently upheld what they considered the unbreachable wall separating God and human beings, expressed as the ontological opposites of Creator and creature, divinity and humanity, infinite and finite, self-existent and contingent.

At this point, we turn to Martin Luther's theology of justification and explore its compatibility with the idea of participation in the divine nature. In doing so, we enlist a major, recent revision in how Luther's theology should be understood. Led by Tuomo Mannermaa and his colleagues at the University of Helsinki, a new perspective on Luther emerged in the 1970s. Mannermaa traces the genesis of this new perspective to an ecumenical dialogue that took place between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church. "At the very beginning of our studies," recalls Mannermaa, "we came to the conclusion that Luther's idea of the presence of Christ in faith could form a basis for the Lutheran-Orthodox dialogue. The indwelling of Christ as grasped in the Lutheran tradition implies a real participation in God, and it corresponds in a special way to the Orthodox doctrine of participation in God, namely the doctrine of theosis."[11]

What from a Lutheran perspective makes the Finnish Luther research so radical is that it demonstrates that unlike later Lutheranism Luther himself did not disentangle the sanctifying and transformative effects of the inhabitatio Christi (the indwelling of Christ) from the forensic aspect of justification. Luther rejects the idea that Christ

[11] Mannermaa, "Why is Luther so Fascinating?" in Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 2.

"grants righteousness and [yet] remains absent himself."[12] The Finnish scholarship gives fresh emphasis to the importance of the resurrected Christ in Luther's thought. Traditional Lutheranism has emphasized Luther's "theology of the cross" which sees the crucifixion as the culmination of Christ's atoning work. Mannermaa and his colleagues, however, have demonstrated that for Luther justification required both cross and resurrection. The crucifixion may have conquered sin and made possible the forensic dimension of justification, but the resurrection made possible the indwelling of Christ which leads to human participation in the divine nature. Luther sometimes referred to the forgiveness of sins as God's gratia (grace or favor) and his indwelling presence as his donum (gift). Gratia was Christ working outside us; donum was Christ inwardly present in faith, Both, however, were the work of Christ and both were part of justification.

Luther put it this way in a 1525 sermon: "We are filled with God, and he pours into us all gifts and grace and we are filled with his Spirit so that it makes us [righteous]. . . his life lives in us, his blessedness makes us blessed, and his love awakens love in us. In short, he fills us in order that everything that he is and everything he can do might be in us in all its fullness, and work powerfully, so that we might become completely divine—not having only a small part of God, or merely some parts of him, but having all his fullness ... so that all you say, all you think and everywhere you go—in sum: that your whole life be completely divine."[13] This was Luther's gloss on Paul's statement in Galatians 2:20: "It is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me." In technical theological terms, Luther espoused what is called the communicatio idiomatum, the sharing of properties or attributes. "Because [Christ] lives in me," wrote Luther, "whatever grace, righteousness, life, peace, and salvation there is in me is all Christ's;

[12] *Luther's Works*, vol. 31, 368, as cited in Mannermaa, "Why is Luther so Fascinating," 19.

[13] Combined translation from WA 17 I, 438, 14–28 and Simo Peura, "What God Gives Man Receives: Luther on Salvation," 92; and Mannermaa, *Christ Present in Faith*, 45.

nevertheless, it is mine as well, by the cementing and attachment that are through faith, by which we become as one body in the Spirit."[14]

In addition to the long recognized Christological concerns of Luther, Finnish scholarship has highlighted what it calls Luther's "pneumatological orientations," that is, Luther's appreciation of the crucial role of the Holy Spirit in the justification-divinization process. When Luther speaks of the "indwelling Christ" or "participating in Christ," it is with the clear understanding that it is "the indwelling Spirit [that] establish[es] and maintain[s] the risen Christ and the believer in a living union."[15] The Holy Spirit preserves believers in this union "until we are, as Luther states, 'perfectly pure and holy people, full of goodness and righteousness, completely freed from sin, death , and all evil, living in new, immortal, and glorified bodies.'" In other words, explains Simo Peura, "the work of the Holy Spirit continues throughout our whole life until death, when we become totally transformed into Christ and thus possess within us the complete form of Christ."[16] "Union with" or "participation in" Christ may not be part of the Mormon vocabulary, but Latter-day Saints do speak of enjoying the "companionship of" the Holy Ghost and understand such koinonia as the principal means of bringing holiness to the human soul.

"The participation of the believer in Christ," remarks Mannermaa colleague Sammeli Juntunen in explaining Luther's position, is "something so 'ontologically intense' that the actions which Christ works in a Christian can be considered the actions of the Christian himself."[17] Understood in this fashion, such actions or good works allow no room for human self-righteousness or pride. The Christian "always stays spiritually nihil ex se (nothing outside himself)," writes Juntunen, "having esse gratiae (a state of grace) only when and insofar

[14] Luther, Lectures on Galatians, cited in Mannermaa, Christ Present in Faith, 40.
[15] Markku Antola as cited in Karkkainen, One with God: Salvation as Deification and Justification, 65.
[16] Peura, "What God Gives Man Receives: Luther on Justification," 91.
[17] Juntunen, "Luther and Metaphysics," 155–156.

as he or she participates in Christ "[18] This is a crucial point in Luther's theology. Godly attributes are not detachable qualities that "cling to the human heart apart from Christ."[19] Deification is about community, not autonomy. If he is not present, we are not righteous. We may live moral, upright lives on our own, but in God's eyes this is not salvifically meritorious righteousness. This only exists in Christ and in us only through our participation in Him.

Here I think the internet can serve as a helpful analogy. Christ's divinity, his righteouness, his godly attributes are like the incomprehensibly powerful internet. As long as we are connected to the internet, all its wonders become available to us, we share in its power and benefits. We become infinitely knowledgeable, but not independently so. Similarly, when through justification we become Christ's and enter into union with him, we participate in his righteousness, we become partakers of the divine nature, but we are still human. And while by this connection, this union, we can truly be said to be gods, it is not in the sense that we personally, independently, have become gods. We are not new internets, as it were, rivals to the world wide web. Such is beyond us. No matter how much we download from the internet or how often we use it, there will always be a vast qualitative difference between what Google or God knows and what we know. Similarly, no matter how responsive we are to the indwelling Christ or how much his infusion of caritas, the pure love of Christ, creates certain habits of grace within us, we are still improved human beings at best, not new and separate deities. The created can never become the Uncreated. It is a matter of participation not possession, community not autonomy. For Christians like Luther who begin with the presupposition of an unbridgeable gap between humanity and divinity, deification must always remain a metaphor.

Mormons, of course, have a dramatically different ontology. Late in his life, Joseph Smith explicitly began to bridge the ontological

[18] Ibid, 153.
[19] Luther, Lectures on Galatians, cited in Mannermaa, Christ Present in Faith, 29.

gap between God and humanity by teaching that God, angels, and humans are all basically the same class of being, the same "race," so to speak, except at vastly different points in their evolution. God was once human and humans can become gods. This was one of Joseph's most distinctive doctrines, one that is virtually without parallel in Christendom, East or West. In contrast to standard Christian thought, Mormons do not believe God created the universe, they believe he is part of it, and is bound by its laws, which, over time, he learned and mastered until he achieved perfect control over all the forces of the universe. At some point in the distant past, God chose to act in a way that made such progress possible for countless other beings. It was then that he created (Joseph Smith preferred the word "organized") the spirits or souls that would eventually animate the human population. How he did so is not explained in Mormon thought, but the process is referred to using the mortal metaphor of "birth." Thus, this primordial generation of souls is known as the spirit birth of humanity. Because birth carries connotations of genetic transference and replication, the image has given rise to the popular Mormon expression that people are "gods in embryo." This pre-mortal spirit birth constituted future humans as literal children of God with the potential to "grow up" and become like their divine Parent. Thus, humans belong not only to the same genus, but to the same family as God.[20]

In addition to abolishing the Creator-creature divide, the Mormon doctrine of deification differs from other Christian conceptualizations of divinization in two other important ways. One pertains to purpose, the other to timetable, and both are interrelated. For most Christians, the purpose of God's salvific work is to prepare human creatures to enter his presence and behold his glory. This is known as

[20] The most historically nuanced discussion of the emergence of the idea of a pre-mortal "birth" of human spirits is Craig Harrell "Preexistence in Mormon Thought, 1828–1844," *BYU Studies*. Blake Ostler offers a more philosophical and theological engagement with the idea in *Exploring Mormon Thought: The Attributes of God*.

the "beatific vision."[21] The trajectory of earth-life divinization leads to "glorification," what Luther described to as the complete purification and sanctification of faithful Christians at the resurrection that prepares them to thereafter enjoy the beatific vision for eternity. For Mormons, on the other hand, deification entails much more than becoming sufficiently holy to enter God's presence and praise his name forever. Deification is about God's literal children progressing to the point that they are able to do the very things their divine Parent does. Rather than becoming God's awe-filled audience forever, Mormons expect that God's deified children will become his active, albeit subordinate, collaborators in cosmic endeavors, partners in the family business, so to speak. But this will not happen at the resurrection. Rather, it will require a vast amount of grace-empowered, post-mortal development over eons of time to enable them to reach that point.

Of course, it would be possible to theorize that God could miraculously and instantly confer the requisite knowledge and power on his resurrected children, but Mormon appreciation for the value of doing one's part is projected into the afterlife and privileges that long and gradual process of learning and development Latter-day Saints call "eternal progression." From the LDS standpoint, compared to the relatively little progress accomplished in mortality, deification should be seen as primarily an afterlife phenomenon. Joseph Smith was only stating the obvious when he remarked that the knowledge necessary for exaltation or deification was "not all to be comprehended in this world."[22] Indeed, it would "take a long time after the grave to understand the whole" of it.[23]

[21] In one of Luther's "table talks," he expressed his musings about eternal life in heaven as "a life without change ... without anything to do. 'But I think,' he suggested, 'we will have enough to do with God. Accordingly [the apostle] Philip put it well when he said, 'Lord, show us the Father, and we shall be satisfied.' This will be our very dear preoccupation." Cited in McDannell and Lang, *Heaven: a History*, 148.

[22] This statement is from Joseph Smith's famous 7 April 1844 funeral sermon for church elder King Follett. In almost identical words, it was recorded by

The expectation of a lengthy period of substantive post-mortal progress toward godhood means that most Latter-day Saints have the same humility about the vast qualitative distance between themselves and God in this life that other Christians do. They tend to view the prospect of even far-off deification as something almost incomprehensible given their current, limited level of god-likeness. Certainly no Mormon prophet or apostle is on record as saying that either he himself or anyone else has climbed the ladder of godliness to the point that here in mortality they are a mere rung away from being crowned gods. Moreover, when deification is discussed in LDS church circles today it sometimes lacks its nineteenth-century focus on exercising cosmic power or ruling over an innumerable posterity on worlds the deified themselves have created. Rather, the stress is on the mortal sojourn and what it means, or should mean, in the here and now to be a child of God. Becoming like God rather than becoming a god seems to be the more common emphasis.

Teenage Mormon girls, for instance, affirm in their weekly gatherings that they are literal daughters of a Heavenly Father from whom they have "inherited divine qualities" which they promise to "strive to develop." Class discussion is not usually directed toward some distant prospect of morphing into goddesses, but rather toward how, with the help of the Holy Spirit, godly virtues can be cultivated in this life. Where it will all lead in the next life is only vaguely understood and rarely discussed. Given how difficult it is, in any case, for finite mortals to truly understand much about an infinite God, it is unlikely that during their mortal sojourn Latter-day Saints will ever have a very profound comprehension of what it might mean for humans to grow into godhood. Thus, although between Mormons and other Christians the ontological assumptions pertaining to theosis are significantly different,

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three separate note taking scribes: Willard Richards, Thomas Bullock, and William Clayton. See *Words of Joseph Smith*, 341, 350, 358.

[23] This is how Wilford Woodruff recorded Joseph's words at the 7 April 1844 funeral sermon. See *Words of Joseph Smith*, 345. Clerk William Clayton reported them as it "will be a great while before you learn the last" (*Words of Joseph Smith*, 358.

and their views regarding its time frame and end result vary dramatically, interpretations of the process involved during the span of one's mortal existence are closer.

In the final chapter of our analysis, it remains to explore the dynamic driving that sanctifying, deifiying process. Mormons view it as a synergistic balance between divine grace and human effort. The apostle Paul encouraged the Philippians: "work out your own salvation," but he did so with the clear acknowledgment in the very next verse that "it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do" (Philip 2:12–13). We humans may be what the medieval Scholastics called the "efficient cause" of righteous behavior, that is, the immediate agent in bringing it about, but at every step of the way from spiritual rebirth onward, an empowering, facilitating, gracious God is the real cause.

Nonetheless, throughout much of Mormon history, there has been a tendency to stress the human contribution. This seems to be the result of several factors. First and foremost is the stunning potency of the idea that human spirits are God's literal children, endowed with seeds of divinity. This elevated anthropology has been reinforced by the way in which the practical demands of colonization and community-building in the second half of the nineteenth century infused Mormon preaching on spiritual growth with a pragmatic, "can-do" quality. Moreover, an early revelation counseled the Saints to be "anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; for," the revelation affirmed, "the power is in them." (D&C 58:27–28). This emphasis was so entrenched in Mormon discourse by the twentieth century that the astute Catholic sociologist of religion Thomas O'Dea, who did field work among the Mormons in the 1950s, was prompted to observe that "Mormonism has elaborated an American theology of self-deification through effort, an active transcendentalism of achievement."[24]

While over the years Latter-day Saints have clearly and consistently urged human effort, the other side of the divine-human synergy has not been entirely forgotten. One early revelation described the

[24] O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 154.

process of inheriting God's fullness as receiving "grace [upon] grace" (D&C 93:20).[25] And in one of Joseph Smith's most famous sermons on the matter, he is reported to have declared, "You have got to learn how to be Gods yourselves ... the same as all Gods have done; by going from a small degree to another, from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation, until you are able to sit ... enthroned in everlasting power."[26] The invocation of grace in such passages is a reminder that even "gods in embryo" cannot progress alone. They need grace as well as race.

Part of the challenge in properly evaluating Mormon theology is that grace, for a variety of reasons, is not the Mormon term-of-choice for acknowledging God's gratuitous blessings and assistance in life. Still, most Mormons willingly acknowledge God's crucial role using other words. They may quote the Book of Mormon prophet who said, "I know that I am nothing; as to my strength I am weak, but I will glory in the Lord ... for in his strength I can do all things" (Alma 26:12, 16). They may speak of God's "tender mercies." They may acknowledge "promptings" from the Holy Ghost. They may testify of divine aid in overcoming personal weaknesses and perennial temptations. In such ways, they often publicly credit God's goodness in their monthly Testimony Meetings. In short, when pressed, few Latter-day Saints deny that real progress toward godliness is the result of divine grace, even though they rarely employ the term. They might even concur with Augustine's famous remark that on Judgment day, "when God crowns our merits, he crowns nothing other than his own gifts."[27] And yet for pastoral and

[25] The text actually reads "grace *for* grace" as in KJV John 1:16, which it is clearly echoing. Other modern English translations such as the NRSV render it "grace upon grace." Noteworthy is the fact that a year before dictating this revelation, when Joseph was revising this part of the John, he reworded the phrase to read "immortality and eternal life, through his grace." See *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible*, 443.

[26] "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5 (Aug 15, 1844), 614. This published version of the Prophet's speech represents an amalgamation of notes taken by William Clayton and Thomas Bullock.

[27] "et cum Deus coronat merita nostra nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua?" Epistola 194, Caput 5, 19, *Patrologia Latinum Database*. This statement is repeated in the Roman Missal—Prefatio I de Sanctis.

practical reasons, Mormon teachers choose to dwell on the human role. Singing the praises of one's amazing fishing pole or celebrating the wonder of a stream full of trout does not put fish on the dinner table. The downside of such a "do-your-part" emphasis is that acknowledgment and adulation of God's grace sometimes takes a back seat to exhortations toward Christian striving.

The delicate balance between grace and works is sometimes portrayed by Mormons using the analogy of a ladder. Fallen humanity finds itself at the bottom of a deep pit with no way out. The atonement of Jesus Christ is the rescue ladder that is let down to deliver hapless humanity. But the ladder is not an escalator. Mormons decry "cheap grace," just as the famous twentieth-century German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer who coined the phrase. In the LDS view, fallen humanity is not carried up the ladder. Believers still have to do the climbing themselves through repentance and righteous living. Yet, in the end, despite all their willingness to climb, if no ladder was provided, no escape from the pit would be possible. Thus, in the Book of Mormon, the grace of Christ's redemptive work is given primacy. This is how the relationship between grace and works is phrased: "By grace we are saved, after all we can do" (2 Nephi 52:23). Though this statement is sometimes taken out of context and interpreted differently, the best contextual reading understands "after all we can do" rhetorically rather than sequentially. Thus, rather than stressing human efforts and relegating to grace the role of merely making up the shortfall, as this passage is sometimes construed, in context the verse intends to glorify Christ's atonement by affirming that after "all we can do," in the sense of "after all is said and done," it is by the grace of God that we are saved.

Should there be an inclination to do so, Mormon scripture provides ample resources to expound the analogy of the ladder in ways that demonstrate considerable sympathy with the grace-appreciating spirit of mainstream Christianity. Such amplification would emphasize that literally each step of the way is made possible by God's grace. In the Book of Mormon, for instance, King Benjamin reminds his people: God is "preserving you from day to day by lending you breath … and

even supporting you from one moment to another" (Mosiah 2:21). Not only did he provide each and every rung of the redemptive ladder in the first place, but gratuitously he bestows on humans the necessary physical strength, energy, and courage to take each step. This assistance can be understood both in the sense of what the Scholastics called "secondary causation" and as an additional grace, a special, enabling intervention almost like a divine tail wind or boost that helps lift the foot to the next step. Expanded thus, the analogy of the ladder is both consistent with LDS scripture and essentially equivalent to how most Christians see God's grace functioning between initial spiritual rebirth and final glorification.

If Mormons have been misunderstood as denying the role of divine grace, they themselves have often misjudged the Protestant position on works. When Lutherans and others quote Ephesians 1:8–9 that humans are "saved by grace, not by works, lest any man boast," Latter-day Saints tend to get defensive and hear a denigration of works rather than the intended affirmation of grace as the source of salvation. "Not by works" gets understood as "without works." Yet, neither Luther nor any other mainstream Christian theologian ever espoused such a view. In his famous "Preface" to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in a statement that could have emanated from any thoughtful Mormon, Luther wrote: "O it is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, this faith. It is impossible for it not to be doing good works incessantly. It does not ask whether good works are to be done, but before the question is asked, it has already done them, and is constantly doing them. Whoever does not do such works ... is an unbeliever."[28] To be sure, Luther is quite concerned to teach that it is only by and through the grace of God that humans can perform truly good works because only grace can initiate them for the right reason and only grace can power their proper performance. Because Luther views such works as the natural fruit of one's participation

[28] Cited in Timothy F. Lull, ed., *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, 2nd ed., (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 101.

in Christ, he calls them opera deificata (divinized works)."[29] As such, they are an integral part of deification.

How then, at the close of our brief comparative journey, shall we summarize the soteriological similarities and differences encountered? Perhaps it can best be done by invoking the proverbial image of the half full/half empty cup. On the one hand, our comparative cup must be acknowledged to be half empty. Even this introductory review has revealed enough significant differences between the Mormon understanding of deification and that of any other Christian group that they can hardly be equated. Though at times the words may be similar, the tune, so to speak, is quite distinct. Yet, such genuine differences should not obscure the commonalities discovered. Because Mormons are as committed to the pursuit of godliness in this life as they are to achieving godhood in the next, their understanding of justification and sanctification, their views of theosis during mortality, shares much with other Christian soteriologies. Even with Luther's monergistic emphasis on Christ dwelling in, and working righteousness through, faithful believers, synergistic Mormons have, as we seen, more points of contact than usually imagined. Too often overlooked are the rich resources in LDS thought for a robust theology of grace and a deep appreciation for the person and work of Jesus Christ.

In emphasizing the "half fullness" of the comparative cup, we can echo a common refrain from ecumenical dialogues of all sorts: let us celebrate the common ground we share without contorting or collapsing the significant differences that also exist between us. To build such bridges of mutual understanding while maintaining intellectual and institutional integrity is a useful endeavor in our global age and the very kind of comparative work that in the 21st century should characterize the burgeoning field of Mormon Studies.

[29] Cited in Mannermaa, *Christ Present in Faith*, 46.

Review: Liberty to the Downtrodden: Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer

Reviewed by Jordan Watkins

Matthew J. Grow, *Liberty to the Downtrodden: Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Hardcover: £30.00

Matthew J. Grow's impressive biography, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*, captures the life of a little-known nineteenth-century reformer and, in the process, illuminates understudied and misunderstood aspects of nineteenth-century American culture. Grow organized this definitive text on Kane, chronologically and thematically, emphasizing Kane's reform efforts while sufficiently outlining other aspects of Kane's life to offer a complete narrative. Grow's descriptions of Kane's reform activities, from pursuing women's rights to defending the Utah Mormons' practice of polygamy, reveal the antebellum anti-evangelical reform culture that developed within the Democratic Party during the first half of the nineteenth century. Grow, following Kane himself, placed Kane within the contemporary cultural types of 'romantic hero' and 'gentleman of honor'. Grow's study depicts Kane as both a type and an original in nineteenth-century American reform.

Born into an upper-class Philadelphia family in 1822, Kane benefited from various opportunities, including health trips to Europe during the early 1840s, which sparked Kane's interest in reform. Grow noted that in France, August Comte's positivism, which emphasized individual rights and resisted metaphysical speculation, "fuelled both [Kane's] humanitarian drive and his religious unorthodoxy" (22). This understanding informed Kane's lifelong labour for the rights of nineteenth-century religious outsiders. Upon returning to America, Kane launched into educational reform, battling the anti-Catholic evangelical reformers. Soon, Kane's reform efforts expanded to include other reli-

gious outsiders. As Grow noted, "Kane's own religious unorthodoxy and antipathy toward evangelicalism allowed him to find value in Mormon religion" (68).

In 1846 Kane met the Mormons who became the featured group of his reform activities during the remainder of his life. Kane, who eventually married and joined efforts with Elizabeth W. Dennistown, actively engaged in multitudinous reform movements, including peace reform, antislavery, temperance, women's rights, and marriage reform, among others. Kane's extended efforts in behalf of the Mormons, and in particular his labors from 1846 through 1858, illustrate his place in nineteenth-century anti-evangelical reform and reflect his roles as 'romantic hero' and 'gentleman of honor'. Though Kane engaged in other activities during this period, he focused most of his efforts in serving as the Latter-day Saints' greatest non-Mormon ally. During the late 1840s, Kane used his family's powerful standing to encourage the federal government's support of the Mormons' move west. After meeting with President Polk and visiting Mormon camps, Kane seized the opportunity of mediating between the federal government and the belittled Latter-day Saints, which offered him a unique chance to challenge religiously intolerant evangelical reformers.

During the period between 1846 and 1852, when the LDS Church officially announced its practice of polygamy, Kane successfully reshaped the Mormon image. Through important media organs, including Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, and the publication of his pamphlet, *The Truth of the Mormons* (1852), Kane weaved a narrative that emphasized the Latter-day Saints' suffering. His compassionate and well-crafted account quickly drew national sympathy. As Grow explained, this represented the only period from the 1850s to the 1890s "when the Mormons prevailed in the halls of Congress and in the press" (91). Kane's efforts and success, as Grow noted, complicates the traditional historical account of unhindered anti-Mormonism during the last half of the nineteenth-century. As Grow explained, while Kane's narrative drew temporary compassion, it also fanned the flames of

Mormonism's separatist tendencies, encouraging further departure from a perceived American mainstream.

After the Mormons surprised Kane with the truth about polygamy, Kane encouraged a public announcement and continued to defend the Latter-day Saints. This official admission, given in 1852, reversed the public's view of the Mormons and the resulting increase in national antipathy toward Mormonism paved the way for the Utah War. Grow shrewdly noted that Mormonism and the Utah War provided a cause that temporarily united a dividing nation. As Grow highlighted, the Utah War evidenced the limits of American tolerance and religious liberty. Fighting this intolerance, Kane again constructed a powerfully successful narrative, which described Brigham Young as the leader of a peace party in opposition to a Mormon war party, and consequently, Kane argued, a peaceful resolution required the Mormon leader's help. Grow concluded that Kane's manipulation of events and mediating efforts "proved crucial in avoiding a military clash between the Mormons and the federal army and in keeping the peace in the succeeding years" (174). In this instance, and at various stages before and after the American Civil War, Kane struggled for the rights of a people below his social position, mediating between the Mormons and the federal government and battling against a powerful evangelical establishment.

Although Kane found his way from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party, with various stops in between, his antebellum reform efforts illuminate the anti-evangelical reform movement aligned with the Democratic Party. As Grow observed, Kane's antislavery activities reveal Democrats in the centre of the movement to restrict and end slavery, a phenomenon that historians have largely ignored. Kane eventually joined the Free Soil Party, and during the Civil War period transferred political loyalties from the antislavery Democrats to the abolitionist Republicans. Serving as an officer in the Civil War, Kane, as Grow explained, "examined the war through the lens of honor and chivalry, but he initially tried to avoid war altogether" (211). Following the War, Kane's activities in charities, educational reform, and com-

munitarian building reveal the post-War shift from gentlemen reformers to governmental and institutional reform during the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. His final efforts with Elizabeth in behalf of the Mormons and against anti-polygamy legislation further reveal Kane's role as romantic reformer and heroic gentlemen battling in behalf of the downtrodden against evangelical reformers.

Grow's cultural biography, much more than this review suggests, engages Kane in the context of nineteenth-century reform, and, conversely, his reform activities shed light on nineteenth-century America. Grow correctly noted that Kane's life "makes him an ideal window onto this culture of reformers" (xvi). Also, in outlining the period from the late 1840s to the 1850s, an understudied epoch in Mormon history, Grow's work nuances the understanding of the pre-Civil War Mormon image and illuminates the importance of the Mormon Question in antebellum America. This brief analysis incapably suggests the capability of Grow's achievement. *Liberty to the Downtrodden* successfully provides an interesting, illuminating, and comprehensive study of Thomas Kane, 'romantic reformer' and 'gentleman of honor'.

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