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MORMONISM AND THE PURITAN CONNECTION

THE TRIALS OF MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON AND SEVERAL PERSISTENT QUESTIONS BEARING ON CHURCH GOVERNANCE

By Karl C. Sandberg

A NUMBER OF HISTORIANS HAVE NOTICED SOME kind of connection between Puritanism and Mormonism, and some have dug around in it, but the vein is far from having been seriously mined. During the internal tensions through which Mormonism is currently passing,[1] the Puritan connection is worth digging into some more—these sorts of things have happened before. There is historical precedent for them. Mormonism is reaching, or has reached, or has passed one of the several turning points in its history, and the tensions of the present scene run strikingly parallel to and derive in a fundamental way from the New England Puritanism which in modified forms, suppositions, and dynamics provided the seedbed and the initial components of Mormonism.[2]

The project of the original Puritans was to recover the primitive Christian church. In the course of this task they encountered a persistent problem of church governance—the need for institutional authority and the equal need for individual freedom and initiative—which resulted in the dynamics of a clergy who spoke for God and a laity to whom God spoke. These dynamics passed over into early Mormonism almost unchanged in their fundamentals. The Puritans never resolved this conflict, and Puritanism as a movement declined because of that failure. Mormonism, making a subsequent high endeavor to recover the primitive church,[3] encountered the same problems and found the means of resolving them, but this resolution has not yet been effected. The two trials of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson in the midst of the Antinomian Controversy in 1636–37 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (the first *cause célèbre* in American history) provide a model, an arena, in which to think about these issues in Mormonism in its present mode. Gathering in and illuminating powerful forces and lurking contradictions, these trials frame a number of questions that bedeviled the Puritans and which are recurring today.

Such is my thesis. What can be said to support it? Let us look first at the Puritan connection generally, then tell the story of Anne Hutchinson, and finally reflect on the issues that that story raises.

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THE PURITANS

The Puritans took it upon themselves to effect the restoration of the primitive Christian church as a community of visible saints.

THE term "Puritan" was first used by way of derision to refer to those reformers during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) who wished to push the work of the Reformation to its logical conclusion. Unlike their Papist contemporaries, who wished to restore the authority of the Bishop of Rome over the English Church, and unlike Elizabeth herself who wished to retain the liturgy, doctrine, and practice of Catholicism substantially unchanged under the national Church of England, the "Puritans" took it upon themselves to effect the restoration of the primitive Christian church as a community of visible saints.[4] This errand was to be effected by purifying the present church of all of its unscriptural offices, doctrines, and practices and by purging it of its corrupt and venal clergy and of its wicked and unrepentant members.[5] Often hounded and persecuted by the established Church of England, the Puritans increased in influence to the point of

coming to political power in England in 1642 under Cromwell, only to be cast into disarray by the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

In America, the term refers to those who fled England in order to establish the Plymouth Colony (1620) and especially the Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630). The latter saw themselves as the city of the hill, a new Israel whose task was to establish the kingdom of Christ on the earth, the divinely inspired organ of spiritual life in human society.[6] They established a theocracy which lasted until 1684, after which a new royal charter of the colony was established.[7] The Congregational churches of New England derive from the Puritan strain that made each congregation sovereign over its own affairs and the Presbyterians from those who vested control of the churches in synods, or presbyteries.[8]

BRAD TEARE

For Puritans "grace" was God moving in and speaking to the individual. It was first of all an experience, it was inward, it was often sudden, and it did not come from human willing.

Puritan practice and world view underwent two hundred years of evolution between the founding of the Puritan Bay Colony in 1630 and the organization of the Church of Christ (Mormon) in 1830.[9] The Puritan psychology of grace modulated into a revivalism.[10] Great changes took place economically, socially, and politically, and judged by the original Puritan standards, these changes evidenced sad deteriorations.[11] Nonetheless, much of the Puritan, or Congregational, vision and practice carried over into early Mormonism. Nothing is more striking in Mormon history than the degree to which early Mormonism resembled its surroundings and the speed with which it became something else. The great transmutations that took place in Mormonism in Kirtland and Nauvoo should not obscure the original Puritan stuff that remains to this day.

MORMON-PURITAN PARALLELS

The most fundamental Mormonism-Puritanism parallel is the dynamics of church governance: the built-in tension between the authority of the hierarchy speaking for God and the authority of the Holy Spirit speaking to the individual.

WE could surmise the extent of these similarities by going as silent listeners and unseen observers in the Massachusetts colony between 1630 and 1700. It would be as if we were hearing a language spoken with an archaic accent and with some unusual and infrequent idioms, but of which we could understand most of the grammar. It would have a familiar spirit.

In the meetinghouse we would see people being interviewed to determine their worthiness to enter into the covenant of the church with God, though the interview might be conducted by several men and might extend over several months,[12] and we would see the new member presented to the congregation to be accepted by vote. The acceptance of a new minister would be signified by the uplifted hand.[13] We would see those within the church organize themselves "to watch over each other" to see that there was no iniquity in the church, no "raging pollution or spiritual uncleanness," no "backbiting and telling tales."[14] When covenanted members fell short, we would see church courts summon them to repent or be dismissed from the membership.[15] The churches exercised, in fact, two modes of sanction, disfellowshipment from the Lord's Supper and excommunication,[16] and all of this because it was a purified community, separating from the world and striving to keep itself unspotted from the world, as we find current-day Saints enjoined to do by proper observance of the Sabbath. (D&C 59:9.)

We would hear people bearing testimony in their public meetings of the experience of their soul's travail and of the goodness of the Lord,[17] for extemporaneous speeches and sermons by ordinary members—"prophesyings"—had become a frequent part of the Puritan order of worship as early as the Separatist congregations in exile in Holland.[18] And if any were sick, we would see them ask for the prayers of the church—a note with this request posted in the meetinghouse was felt to be of special efficacy,[19] a practice with its current analog in the prayer lists in Mormon temples.

We would find ourselves, in fact, inside a covenant community. We would hear people rejoice that they had been born of godly parents who were already "under the covenant."[20] We would hear people talking about "renewing their covenants" and appointing special fast days for this purpose.[21] The fast days were thought of as days of thanksgiving,[22] as Mormons were instructed that the Sabbath was a day of "fasting and prayer, or in other words, rejoicing and prayer." (D&C 59:14.) Fast days could also be appointed for other special purposes, whether the alleviation of drought or the deliverance from epidemic, since God was believed in a sense bound to protect the people who obeyed the moral rules of the purified Christian community.[23] This view found an echo in the Mormon concept that "I the Lord am bound when ye do what I say, but when ye do not what I say, ye have no promise." (D&C 82:10.)

When the Puritans approached the table of the Lord's

Supper, they would partake of this sacrament under the forms of bread and water or sometimes bread and wine[24]—it seemed not to matter which. We would hear them speak of "sealings," in this case the sealing of the grace that was already within them,[25] as we would find Mormons speaking of the covenant "being sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise." (D&C 132:19.)

When people spoke of God, we might hear them talk of vengeance as one of the attributes of His character,[26] and then certain statements about the character of God in the Doctrine and Covenants would take on new meanings—the wicked and the willful must "fall and incur the vengeance of a just God. . ." (D&C 3:4); or, "I will take vengeance upon the wicked." (D&C 29:17.) We would even hear them give a rationale for blood atonement, for certain crimes, such as murder and bestiality, so stained and polluted the land that they could be expiated and purged only by the shedding of the blood or taking the life of the perpetrator, who often acknowledged the rightness of this view in public confession at the time of his execution.[27] The views that Brigham Young expounded in Utah in the 1850s on this same subject[28] would not have seemed out of the natural order of things to one deeply immersed in the world view of the Bay Colony.

Some hundred years later in Connecticut (after 1740) in the course of the Great Awakening, we would see schools organized for the preparation of an effective ministry, schools called "schools of the prophets,"[29] anticipating the same kind of school with the same name in Kirtland in the 1830s.

This small sampling of such parallels should be sufficient to show that the practice and doctrines of early Mormonism were not invented new, but were, to the contrary, a continuation to which its original adherents had been accustomed. Each instance calls for more detailed description and analysis to draw out its significance, but the most fundamental Mormonism-Puritanism parallel is the dynamics of church governance: the built-in tension between the authority of the hierarchy speaking for God through His revelation and the authority of the Holy Spirit speaking to the individual.

THE DYNAMICS OF HIERARCHY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The Puritan clergy felt themselves authentically called of God to deliver his word. They considered themselves the conduit of salvation, and had a sense of precedence over the lay congregations.

PART of the Puritan task, as noted above, was to reform the clergy, for in the established Church of England the clergy were often ignorant, venal, and/or debauched. The Puritans therefore insisted on clergymen who were learned enough to carry the Christian message and who were morally upright. Another part of the mission was to reform the membership and to weed out and to exclude the unrepentant: membership in the Church of Christ should rest upon a covenant voluntarily subscribed to by believers and should exclude or expel all known evil-doers.[30]

In undertaking this task, those of the Puritan clergy felt themselves authentically called of God to deliver His word and act in His stead according to the clear instructions in His word, the Bible. Accordingly, they had a sense of independence from and precedence over the lay congregations. Being ministers of the Word, they considered themselves the "means of grace," the conduit of salvation, and thus argued that to resist or rebel against their teaching amounted to denying God himself.[31]

The development of hierarchy within Mormonism is currently the object of two large-scale studies.[32] Suffice it to say for the purposes of this essay that Mormonism at its beginnings was congregational in its organization, its only offices being elder, priest, teacher, and deacon, with no concept of priesthood, much less a division between a greater and a lesser priesthood.[33] (It should be noted that verses 66–67 in current D&C 20, which mention "high priests" and "high priesthood," did not appear in the original Book of Commandments in 1833). A first step toward hierarchy was taken on 6 April 1830 in the revelation that "his [Joseph's] word, ye shall receive as if from mine own mouth. . .". (Book of Commandments XXII:5, present LDS D&C 21:5.) By September 1832 the Mormons had come to consider the priesthood as the conduit of knowledge and power without which the "power of godliness is not made manifest to men in the flesh." (D&C 84: 19–21.) Both groups thus appealed to revelation. Mormons invoked new revelation, whereas the Puritans expounded the revelation in the Bible, but in both cases those in the hierarchy were moved by the sense that they knew what God intended here and now. And Mormons came to add other offices to the hierarchy, such as high priests, high councils, twelve apostles, and a first presidency, but nonetheless the dynamics of the two churches remained the same—in both, the hierarchy spoke for God through revelation.

On the other hand, it is to the laity, to individuals, in both groups that God spoke. We would miss the central element in the Puritan concept of the church if we failed to grasp the nature of the Puritan dynamics of conversion, or as Mormons would say, "testimony."

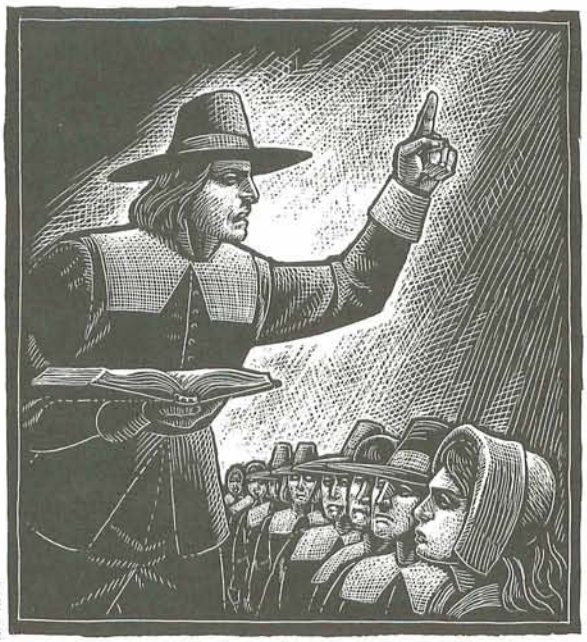
In the Puritan view, membership in the church was limited to "visible saints," that is, to those who had had the experience of conversion by the direct ministrations of the Holy Spirit.[34] Two eminent examples from antiquity became models of conversion.[35]

Saul of Taursus growing up as a Jew in a Greek-speaking and Greek-acting culture built around himself a hedge of righteousness according to the Mosaic law, which he observed and served without deviation, even to striking down by violence any deviant group who threatened it, such as the small band of followers of the lately executed rabbi from Galilee. But it was Saul himself who was struck down while leading a group of soldiers to Damascus to seize the Christians there. He saw a light and heard a voice saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Saul was led blind into Damascus. When the Lord appeared in vision to a local believer named Ananias, telling him to go administer to Saul, Ananias protested that Saul was a persecutor of those of the way. The Lord answered, "Go, for he is a chosen vessel of mine to bring my name to the

Gentiles . . .". (Acts 9:1–15.)

Saul was a chosen vessel not by his own meriting, but by the deep and inscrutable ways of God. It was because of this freely given and unmerited choice on the part of God that Saul became Paul. By his own zeal as a successful observer of the Law, Saul could never have become just before God. And he knew of his election, not through his study and not through the voice of an established hierarchy, but because God had spoken to him directly.

The second example is that of Augustine, a young man richly endowed by nature with intelligence, bodily health and vigor, and beauty. His mother, later Saint Monica, was a Christian and urged his conversion to Christianity, and while his mind and heart inclined toward Christianity, his passional nature held him in its sway. He had a mistress of such exquisite charms that his prayer was "Oh Lord, give me repentance, but not now." The lesson he drew was that his will was flawed and his nature was concupiscent, that is, centered always on itself and ruled by sensual desires. The realm of the inner man was in a perpetual state of civil war, which he by his own willing was unable to put down.



BRAD TEARE

Those of the clergy could feel as much as they wanted that they were the conduits of grace and the very viceroys of God, but they were powerless to convoke the Spirit where it was not.

But the end of his civil war did come. One day in his garden, as he meditated on a verse from St. Paul, "not in chamberings or wantonness . . ." a pure light from Heaven entered his soul and took away his concupiscent desires. What he had formerly lusted after, he no longer desired. And this light, this spiritual force, did it come by willing? No. Did it come because of his merits? No. From his previous deeds, he deserved only condemnation. This spiritual power to a newness of life was an unmerited gift, freely given, and given to Augustine directly.

This is what Puritans called "grace," about which they agreed in general and often disputed in particular. They were generally agreed that "grace" meant God moving in and speaking to the individual. It was first of all an experience, it was inward, it was often sudden, and it did not come from human willing. Only this kind of total conversion initiated by the extraordinary experience of grace was sufficient to *justify,* to make one just before God. The justified soul will practice works of sanctification, or as Mormons would say, righteousness; but until one's election to salvation is made sure by the experience of grace, no works are efficacious.[36] The Pharisee praying on the street corner, vaunting his tithes and offerings, is under a covenant of works, but is a hypocrite before God. The scribes and Pharisees whom Jesus denounced were practicing the visible works of sanctification, but inwardly they were whited sepulchres, full of corruption and dead men's bones. The Papists were forever practicing works of penance, such as fastings, pilgrimages, flagellations, and confessions, but such a covenant of works could not bring about the change in the heart that made one just before God.

Thus, God moves in the individual and does the work of re-orientation that makes repentance possible, and then follow the works of righteousness. Justification precedes sanctification.[37] Therefore, before people could enter into the church and its covenant with God, they had to be examined as to their "testimony," which in their case was the testimony of the workings of the Spirit of God within them. Those of the clergy could feel as much as they wanted that they were the conduits of grace and the very viceroys of God, but they were powerless to convoke the Spirit where it was not. If God did not speak to the individual soul, there was no salvation and no church.

Mormonism at its founding likewise gave an indispensable role to the individual. The particular form of testimony and understanding of salvation did not pass over into Mormonism, but the dynamics, the fundamentals of the experience did, in that the light of understanding and the direct experience of the Holy Spirit by the individual became the court of last resort in matters of belief and the motive power of the whole religion. The truth of the miracle foundation book, the Book of Mormon, was to be established by direct ministration of the Holy Spirit, as was the truth of all things. (Moroni 10:4,5.) When early missionaries were sent out, they were told that "whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation." (D&C 68:4.) In his missionary tracts, Orson Pratt proposed as the supreme test of the authenticity of Joseph Smith's message the promise that "therefore, as I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul that believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins shall receive the Holy Ghost" (D&C 84:64) with all the gifts of the Spirit following.[38] Without the charismatic gifts of the Spirit that follow true faith, there was no true Church.[39]

The Spirit that vivifies and edifies the Church can also rend it. Such was the experience of Parley P. Pratt upon visiting branches of the Church around Kirtland in 1831.

As I went forth among the different branches, some

> very strange spiritual operations were manifested which were disgusting instead of edifying. Some persons would seem to swoon away, and make unseemly gestures, and be drawn or disfigured in their countenances. Others would fall into ecstacies, and be drawn into contorsions, cramp, fits, etc. Others would seem to have visions and revelations, which were not edifying, and which were not congenial to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel. In short, a false and lying spirit seemed to be creeping into the Church.[40]

The revelation sought by Joseph for dealing with this situation was a turning point for Mormonism. The key to recognizing the Spirit of God and distinguishing it from the deceptive spirits abroad in the world is that it produces understanding: "Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together. And that which doth not edify [i.e., create understanding] is darkness. That which is of God is light; and he that receiveth light and continueth in God, receiveth more light; and that light groweth brighter and brighter until the perfect day." (D&C 50:22–24.) The means for determining the validity of any claim to belief was in the individual. And where Mormonism replaced the Puritan view of the weakness and corruption of human nature with a more generous estimate, it only heightened the potential tension between the individual and the clergy. The Lord himself declares that

> it is not meet that I should command in all things . . . Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; for the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves . . . but he that doeth not anything until he is commanded, and receiveth a commandment with a doubtful heart, and keepeth it with slothfulness, the same is damned. (D&C 58:26–29.)

Salvation that waits upon a command from the hierarchy is doubtful, and the Spirit of God speaking both to the mind and the heart of the individual is the court of last appeal.

THE PRINCIPALS AND THE TRIALS

The drama of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson illustrates the conflict between religious authority and the voice of the Spirit to the individual.

NOW the event among the Puritans where we see most dramatically the conflict between the hierarchy speaking for God and the believer moved by the Spirit of God, where we see it even as a paradigm, is in the Antinomian Controversy and the trials of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson in 1636–38. ("Antinomian" means "against the law," the term being applied to those who held that the law, the works of righteousness, the visible behavior, were not efficacious for salvation. It was rather the experience of the grace of Christ that justified and saved, after which followed sanctification, or righteousness.) The controversy came about in this way.

Anne Hutchinson[41] was born in England in 1591, the daughter of Francis Marbury, a minister of the Church of England, a man of high principle and obdurate courage, who pressed his superiors so hard for the reform of the clergy that he spent time in prison and for fifteen years was deprived of a pulpit and a ministerial living. In his family there was no tradition of docility. This time of enforced idleness he devoted to the education of his children. Anne, the second child and first daughter, therefore grew up in an atmosphere permeated with theology, vigorous debate, and antipathy toward established authority. When she was twenty-one she married William Hutchinson, an able and successful merchant whose firmest belief was that his wife was "a dear saint and a servant of God." Over the span of their lifetime together Anne bore him fifteen children.

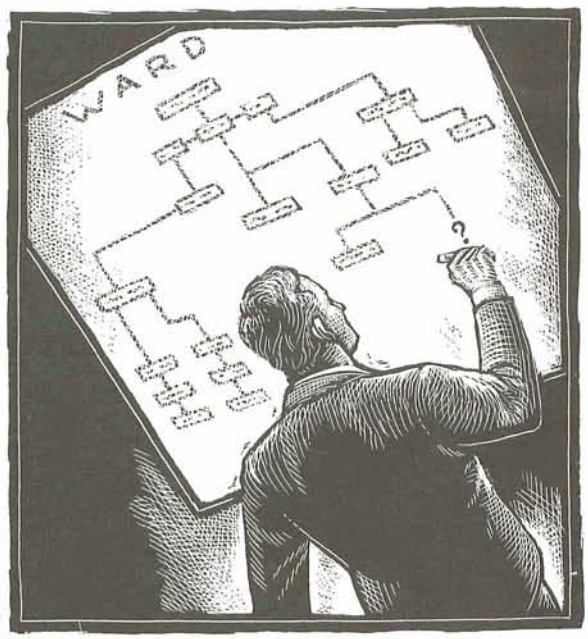
Anne was a woman of quick intelligence, boundless energy and a tender and compassionate nature. She became a midwife, a skilled herbalist and practitioner of folk remedies, and while still in England she gained a great reputation for her charitable works. But she was mainly a seeker and had the temperament of a poet. She was one determined to have Christ in this world. In her father's theology, however, there was no tincture of the Puritan spirituality—this quality was responsible for his being restored to his pulpit in the established church—and after her marriage, Anne showed a religious restlessness, finding little in the preaching she heard that could feed the soul.

An exception was in the sermons of John Cotton. He was among the more prominent of the Puritan ministers who were engaged in the great struggle to recover the true way of salvation. During twenty years of preaching in England he had acquired a large following as a spirited preacher of the covenant of grace. Anne found his preaching an oasis in the desert and never missed a chance to make the twenty-four mile trip to hear him. He it was who preached the gospel that spoke to the mind and the heart. In 1633 growing opposition to the Puritans in England caused John Cotton to take ship for the New World. In 1634 the Hutchinsons and their numerous family members followed him.

The difficulty in making everything depend on God, as in the purest of the Puritan mode, is that everything depends on God, and it is hard to run a church that way. After the initial planting and development of the Bay Colony, the churches started to grow cold. (We might remember that a similar situation developed in the first Utah settlements after 1847, resulting in the Reformation of 1856–57). The sermons turned more and more on works or on theological points remote from the fire of the spirit. John Milton said the same of the churches in England: "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

John Cotton, therefore, found a receptive congregation in the Boston church, where he was appointed, not minister but teacher. Under his preaching, the church membership began to increase dramatically. The Hutchinsons likewise affiliated themselves with the Boston church, where they soon established themselves as prominent figures, William as deputy to the Massachusetts General Court and Anne as a spiritual ad-

viser to those of her own sex. In addition to visiting other women in childbirth, Mrs. Hutchinson began to hold meetings in her home, where other women could gather to repeat and discuss the previous week's sermon. Because of her intelligence and knowledge of the scriptures, her quick wit, and her spiritual fervor, her meetings became immensely popular, attended by twenty, thirty, fifty, and up to eighty women. (The total population of Boston at this point was about 1,200.)



BRAD TEARE

The difficulty in making everything depend on God, as in the purest of the Puritan mode, is that everything depends on God, and it is hard to run a church that way.

Across the street lived another of the principals of the controversy, John Winthrop, who had been governor and who would be governor again. His mind was not filled with nor formed by the discipline of the immense erudition of a Cambridge education, as was the case with the clergy, such as John Cotton, but he was deeply concerned about his own soul and was a man of action and one of the founders of the Bay Colony. His life's ambition appears to have been the success of the colony. He therefore came to view the situation across the street with increasing alarm, for the discussions started to take on more and more an anti-clerical tone—the clergy, with few exceptions, it was said, in fact with the sole exception of John Cotton, were preaching a "covenant of works" and had not been "sealed by the Spirit." When he later gave his account of the controversy, he said that "we had great cause to have feared the extremity of danger from them [the Hutchinsonians], in case power had been in their hands."[42] The mode of the Spirit speaking directly to the individual was starting to be seen as a direct challenge to the authority of the clergy.

The controversy *per se* started among the clergy themselves, as they realized that they were not united on the doctrine they believed was being bent awry by Mrs. Hutchinson. Between June 1636 and January 1637, therefore, there were numerous discussions, exhortations, letters, and responses to letters whereby the clergy hoped to get rid of the dissensions in their midst. The debates went on mostly between John Cotton and others of the clergy,[43] and the differences between him and his colleagues were nearly resolved. The controversy was exacerbated, however, when on 19 January 1637 the churches called a general fast day "on the occasion of the dissensions in our midst," and John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson's brother-in-law, preached a fiery and intransigent sermon. If we cast our eyes about the scriptures, he said, we see that the only cause of fasting among believers is the absence of Christ. When they have Christ with them, they have in abundance all the spiritual sustenance that they seek through fasting. When they are bereft of Christ, they labor under a "covenant of works," like the Papists, which further distances them from Christ. The more the people are under a covenant of works, the greater enemies they are to Christ. In short, we should mark this day of fasting by condemning all such days of humiliation, which only show the absence of the Lord.[44]

In March 1637 the General Court judged Wheelright guilty of "sedition" and "contempt," for which crime a sentence of banishment was pronounced on him.

A charge of sedition could be maintained only by a semantic mutation. A "sedition" in its basic meaning referred to incitement to a violent revolt against public authority. By forcefully expressing beliefs about grace and exhorting people to have faith in a "covenant of grace" as opposed to the "covenant of works" preached by other ministers, John Wheelwright had committed "sedition," for he had created factions and parties which could lead to armed rebellion.[45]

About sixty of his friends were so incensed that they signed a remonstrance contesting his conviction, thus setting the stage for a bitterly contested election in May[46] at which the "Antinomians" were out-numbered, and John Winthrop was elected governor. Winthrop undertook, in company with the majority of the clergy, to launch a counter-attack. In November those who had supported and approved John Wheelwright's sermon by signing the remonstrance were brought before the court and variously fined, disfranchised, barred from public office, or banished. John Wheelwright himself was banished and went to New Hampshire.[47]

In describing these events, John Winthrop candidly avows that since "all these, except Mr. Wheelwright, were but young branches, sprung out of an old root, the Court now had to do with the head of all this faction . . . a woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers, one Mistris *Hutchinson* . . . a woman of haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active Spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man."[48] She had insinuated herself into the affections of many by her ministrations to women in childbirth and other bodily infirmities, and had taught good doctrine while inquiring into peoples' spiritual estate, but then she began "to set forth her own Stuffe. . ." about justification preceding sanctification and the need to depend on an immediate witness of the Spirit, and the greater part of the clergy not being "sealed

by the Spirit," or teaching "a covenant of works." She it was who countenanced and encouraged the various dissenters, but "blessed bee the Lord, the Snare is broken, and wee are delivered, and this woman who was the root of all these troubles stands now before the seat of Justice, to bee rooted out of her station."[49]

And so Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial, the first time in November 1637 before the General Court which pronounced on her the sentence of banishment from the colony, and the second time in March 1638 before the Boston Church to which she belonged and which excommunicated her.[50]

What was really at stake was apparently the authority of the clergy, for a leitmotif runs through John Winthrop's account. Those of the opposite party were "crooked and perverse, walking in contempt of authority. . . ." Their sins were "manifest Pride, contempt of authority, neglecting the feare of the Church";[51] "Pride and hardnesse of heart";[52] "pride, insolency, contempt of authority, division, sedition";[53] and Anne Hutchinson was the fountainhead of it all.[54]

In John Winthrop's account of the controversy, it is also evident that Mrs. Hutchinson was laboring under a presumption of guilt. She had been called to the Court so that "either upon sight of your errors, and other offenses, you may be brought to acknowledge and reform the same, or that otherwise wee may take such course with you as you may trouble us no further."[55]

Only the charge of "sedition" would justify trial before the General Court. Therefore, the semantic twisting to get from "persuading listeners" to "sedition" once more became necessary, for as John Wheelwright's defenders were bold to point out, no witnesses had been brought of genuinely seditious word, intent, or effect in John Wheelwright's sermon.[56] Moreover, Mrs. Hutchinson herself had not been one of the signers of the remonstrance against the banishment of John Wheelwright the previous May. Therefore, the trial opened with the court asking Mrs. Hutchinson if she justified the "seditious practices" of those whom the Court had censured the previous May. She was in effect being asked to declare herself guilty by association.

Mrs. Hutchinson countered by asking what they were charged with.

"With breaking the fifth commandment, honor thy father and thy mother, which includes all in authority," said John Winthrop, who was presiding over the court as judge, "but these seditious practices of theirs, have cast reproach and dishonour upon the Fathers of the Commonwealth." She then asked if she were accused of seconding them in anything which God had forbidden. Yes, answered John Winthrop, you approved John Wheelwright's sermon and encouraged those that put their hands to the petition.[57] "If I fear the Lord, and my parent does not," she countered, "may I still not honor another as a child of God?"[58]

They interrogated her about the weekly meetings she held in her home, and she matched them point by point, scripture for scripture, until it appeared to have been a mistake to bring her to trial.[59] It was likely at this point, seeing that she could not be silenced, that Winthrop saw the inevitable necessity "to rid her away, [lest] we bee guilty not only of our own ruine, but also of the Gospel."[60]

The opportunity soon came. While she was describing how the Spirit had opened up to her the meaning of certain hard passages of scripture, one asked how she knew that it was the Spirit of God.

"How did Abraham know that it was God who bid him offer up his son Issac?" she countered.

"By an immediate voice."

"So to me, by an immediate revelation."

"How! an immediate revelation!"

"By the voice of his own spirit to my soul."[61]

And this assertion was the proximate cause of her conviction and sentence of banishment. Two of her supporters on the Court vigorously pressed the point that no charge had been sustained against her, that no law of God or man had been broken. But the majority of the Court had decided upon the course to take. Moreover, the day was far spent and the blood sugar was low. "We shall all be sick with fasting!" cried the deputy governor.[62] The governor John Winthrop put the question to the Court:

> The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit, and the danger of her course among us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned until she be sent away, let them hold up their hands."[63]

There were only two dissenting votes.

The trial had come to an end and the sentence pronounced without any charge having been sustained. Mrs. Hutchinson made one last effort. The last words of the trial were:

> Mrs. H. I desire to know wherefore I am banished.
>
> Governor. Say no more, the court knows and is satisfied.[64]

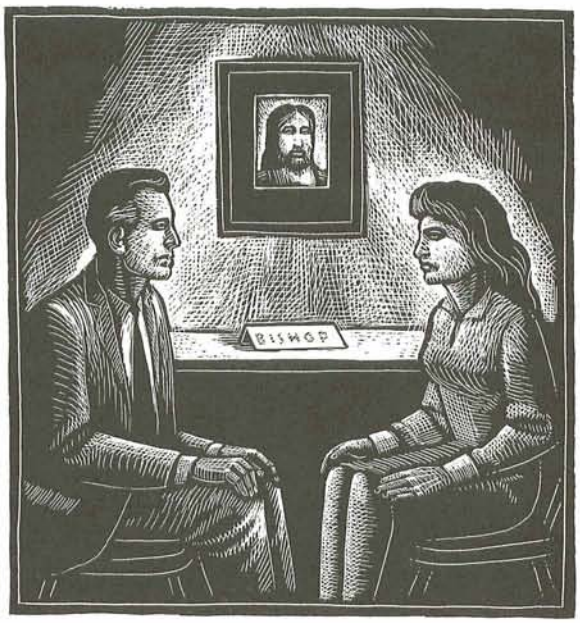
She was incarcerated in a private home in Roxbury, the home of a brother of one of her antagonists in the clergy, until the weather permitted her to leave the colony in the spring.[65] She was allowed rare visits from her family but none from any of her followers. During this time her spirits ebbed. Certain dark passages kept returning to her mind. What did Ecclesiastes 3:18–21 mean?

> I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath . . . All go to one place; all are of the dust, and turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?"

And if we turn to 1 Corinthians 15 to be instructed about the resurrection, what does verse 44 mean? "It is sown a nat-

ural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." Various of the clergy came to talk with her, urging her to open her thoughts to them in private conversation, that they might open the scriptures, which she did. They took notes.

In the meantime, another kind of report was apparently being circulated—God himself had shown His displeasure at her monstrous opinions by causing her and also one of her followers, Mary Dyer, to miscarry their pregnancies and produce "monsters" out of their wombs. "This loud-speaking providence from Heaven in the monsters," said John Winthrop, "did much awaken many of their followers (especially the tenderer sort) to attend God's meaning therein; and made them at such a stand, that they dared not slight so manifest a sign from Heaven."[66] This appeal to spectral evidence was a means of further eroding her support.



BRAD TEARE

The key to resolving the conflict between individual freedom and authority is in the notion that priesthood authority in the long run can only be exercised through persuasion.

The second trial, in March 1638, was for her membership in the Boston Church. In keeping with congregational practice, the excommunication had to be by the vote of the membership of the Church. During this time John Cotton had also had the time to rethink his relationship to his disciple. He had enjoyed the adulation laid on him by Mrs. Hutchinson and those at her weekly meetings, but now it was very apparent that he who always sought reconciliation and compromise would have to choose between the clergy who now held the future of his situation in their hands and the Hutchinsonians. He chose to tilt toward the clergy.

It was to be a court of love. The court opened with the exhortation to all that they should cast down their crowns at the feet of Jesus Christ and forsake all forms of relationship—family, friend, enemy—and let all be carried by the rules of God's word. "In all our proceedings this day, let us lift up the name of Jesus Christ and so proceed in Love in this day's proceedings."[67]

The trial began by the two ruling elders, the first and second elders of the congregation, producing a file that had been kept on her, a list of "divers Errors and unsound Opinions" that Mrs. Hutchinson was being charged with. They came from the notes that clergymen had made after their private conversations with her during the previous winter. One of these ministers, Thomas Shepherd, maintained that he had not come to entrap her, and did not publish the report of their conversations, but he felt obliged to bring it forth now before the church, "for I account her a verye dayngerous Woman to sowe her corrupt opinions to the infection of many. . . ." She answered that she did not hold the things she had been charged with, but had only been asking a question. The minister replied that the vilest errors ever brought into the church came by way of a question.[68]

They examined her doctrine with such persistence that they appeared to have a great need for her to confess, and on some points she did yield, but on others she could not be convinced by the arguments propounded by the clergy. And their arguments apparently did not carry the clarity of evidence, for Reverend Eliot urged the proceedings to move ahead ("we think it is verye dayngerous to dispute this Question soe longe in this Congregation")[69] and they pressed for her admonition and excommunication. Although her support had dwindled, two of her sons would not make the vote unanimous against her, without which the church by its congregational rules could not proceed further. Then someone hit on the happy expedient of laying her two sons under an admonition with her, in effect making them co-defendants.[70] The church by silence approved the motion. Reverend Cotton was the one chosen to pronounce the admonition (the step of rebuke just previous to excommunication, which disfellowshipped the person from the communion of the Lord's Supper until full confession and repentance had been manifest). In addressing the admonition to the two sons and one son-in-law of Mrs Hutchinson, John Cotton rebuked them for letting their natural affection sway their judgment in upholding their mother in her errors, instead of letting all things be carried by the word of God.[71]

The court was recessed for seven days after which it re-convened. In the view of some, she did not sufficiently "cover herself with shame" or "confusion,"[72] and the sentence of excommunication was read. The court which had started out proclaiming itself as a court of love ended by the pronouncement,

> I doe cast you out and in the name of Christ I doe deliver you up to Sathan that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce and to lye. And I do account you from this time forth to be a Hethen and a Publican and so to be held by all the Brethren and Sisters of this Congregation, and of others. Therefor I command you in the name of Christ Jesus and of this Church as a Leper to withdraw yourself out of the Congregation. . . ."[73]

As she was leaving the Church building, her friend Mary Dyer arose and went with her to the door. A few days later the Hutchinsons, most of their family members, and a small group of friends started making their way toward the colony at Rhode Island where Roger Williams was establishing the principle of religious toleration.

MIDNIGHT REFLECTIONS

How is it possible to harmonize the need for institutional authority and the need for individual freedom?

IN the trials of Anne Hutchinson we can see the dynamics of church government displayed and played out almost as a paradigm. On the one hand, the planting of a new colony, a new people, and a new (or old) form of Christianity required the exercise of authority—never will a Zion be established by a democracy. But this same authority, which so imperceptibly becomes interlaced with the personal ambition or vanity of the one wielding it, can as easily become an instrument of coercion and of self-perpetuation as a means of establishing the common good. Moreover, the corruption into which the established churches of Rome and of England had fallen was due in large measure to their failure or their inability to exercise discipline. And on the other hand, penances, fastings, performance of ordinances, repetitions of prayers, pilgrimages, exhortations to good works, none of these things singly or together were capable of turning the soul—the only force capable of regenerating fallen humanity was the Spirit of God speaking to the individual, which was precisely the path urged and shown forth by Anne Hutchinson.

How is it possible to harmonize the need for institutional authority and the need for individual freedom? We can sharpen the question by asking if some peace and unity are not too expensive, again consulting the effect of banishing or silencing those perceived as dissidents. Certainly the peace, which John Winthrop vaunted, was bought at a price, a huge price, for over the next twenty-five years, even as the population and the prosperity of the colony increased, the spiritual fervor of the churches declined. Fewer people were having the conversion experience required for church membership, so much so that the churches had to lower their standards and institute the Half-way Covenant in 1662—people who had not had the full conversion experience, but professed an intellectual belief and submitted to church discipline could still have their children baptized. But then their children started to grow up without the conversion experience and then their children as well, so that by the 1730s a cold and sterile formalism had filled the churches with the ungracious whose faith could only be lit by a return to the emphasis on spiritual regeneration that had marked the preaching of the Antinomians in the first place, in short by the revivalism of the Great Awakening. The clergy had brought about peace at the price of driving out the forces that vivified the Church. It would seem that a hierarchy governing by fiat will always prevail in the short run and lose in the long run.

I venture the opinion of a parallel progress in contemporary Mormonism, for the old question confronting the Puritans reappears—what shall we do with the world? Since World War II, when the Church ceased to be a predominantly rural and Western church and started to move in a technological and corporate society, it has apparently been of two minds. On the one hand, it has embraced the world with its corporate ethos and procedures, and it has extended its missionary efforts to all areas of the world, but in spiritual matters, the overall movement of Mormonism over the last thirty years has been defensive and has been driven by an apparent compulsion to control. Thirty years of Correlation have produced an atmosphere in which people are expected to respond on the level of the lowest common denominator and in which docility seems to be equated with redemption. What questions there are to be raised are sent out with the lesson materials and along with them the answers that are supposed to be read in class. The effect of this conformity has been a trivializing of the gospel message.

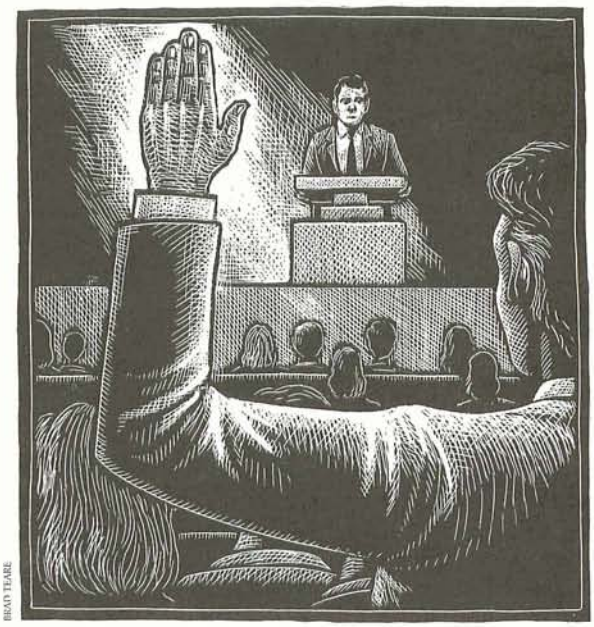
But what of the people whose spiritual needs are real and pressing and are not met with the trivial questions and trivial answers that fill the lesson manuals? These people go elsewhere. They are the silent departees. I would like to persuade everyone that I can that herein is the real spiritual crisis of the Church, not in the feisty feminists, not in the verbal homosexuals, not in the noisy scholars and intellectuals, but in the silent departees, who seek within the Church and do not find. Once again, "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." Is it possible for us to get so pure that we are sterile? Is a conforming and conflict-free church environment sometimes too expensive? Still, I recognize that it is not comfortable or convenient or easy to deal with the contemporary echoes of the voluble tongue of Anne Hutchinson goading people to ask within themselves whether they are saved, or merely somnolent. But then the faith that confronts the world in its reality has never been convenient or comfortable or easy.

We have dwelt on the parallels between Mormonism and Puritanism. Let us now look at some differences. Did Mormonism bring any modification to the Puritan notion of the hierarchy that speaks for God? Yes, on 20 March 1839 in Liberty Jail, where Joseph and fellow Church leaders had been imprisoned for five months, when the prospects for Mormonism were at their nadir. What is visible in the history of the Antinomian Controversy is the same thing that Joseph now saw emerging as a pattern out of the experiences of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio and Missouri—people cannot act for God except under narrowly defined circumstances. Why? Because of human nature. It is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they come into positions of authority, to go about putting that authority to the service of their own ambition, or the sense of their own importance, or the concealment of their wrong-doing, or to the exercise of unrighteous dominion or coercion over other people.

In reality, the key to resolving the conflict between freedom and authority is in the notion of the priesthood as an authority which in the long run can only be exercised through persuasion. Whoever undertakes to exercise it by way of coercion, or

to use it without being kind, gentle, meek, and willing to suffer a long time will find the heavens withdrawing themselves. He has to be moved by unfeigned love, and if he moves to rebuke anyone, it should only be with the determination that his faithfulness to that person extends beyond the limits of death and not just to the limits of likableness or of an orthodoxy. The power of the priesthood is manifest, not when people bow to it or when it gives someone dominion over the lives of others, but when it has the effect of empowering other people.

As we ponder this notion of priesthood, we can reflect upon the fact that the tensions between the individual and authority which are built into both Puritanism and Mormonism can move people powerfully. They combine organization with energy, but they also have the power to harm people if they run awry. It may, therefore, be appropriate to raise some questions about two practices which more and more appear to be coercive.



BRAD TEARE

When hierarchy acts in such a way as to harm people, it must be confronted and challenged, but it is a mistake to let one's life become dominated by a perpetual stance of challenge to the tar baby of hierarchy.

The first is the use of the temple recommend as a means of intimidation. To coerce is to "force to act or think in a certain way by use of pressure, threats, or intimidation."[74] The temple recommend interview has traditionally been held for those who want to go to the temple. Recently, however, there have been several examples of people having their temple recommends summarily revoked or lifted in order to pressure them, or intimidate them, in a word, to coerce them into public silence on Church issues.[75]

The second concerns the procedures currently in effect in Church disciplinary councils, formerly called "Church courts."

We might first ask what the significance is of changing the name from "courts" to "disciplinary councils." During the nineteenth century Mormons made it a policy not to go to civil courts for resolution of problems between themselves. Accordingly, there were Church courts that adjudicated claims between Church members regarding such things as assault and battery, defamation, sexual offences, fraud or theft, trespassing animals, or negligence.[76] The courts heard evidence, kept records, assessed damages, and levied fines. At the turn of the century, however, the Church lost it political, economic, marriage, and judicial systems, and as the concept of Zion was relegated to the indefinite future, the competition with the civil courts also withered. Hence, the change of terminology to "disciplinary council" may signify nothing more than the changing reality.

On one hand, however, "courts" depend on a body of law and interpretation of the law, since very few cases are exact replicas of previous ones. The law is cumbersome, but it is written down and says that like cases must be treated in the manner of like precedents. It is the ultimate protection for the individual. To "discipline," on the other hand, is "to train by instruction and practice, especially to teach self-control; to teach to obey rules or accept authority. . .; to punish in order to gain control or to enforce obedience; to impose order on."[77] To repeat, every organization needs to exercise discipline (maintain order) in order to accomplish its purposes. The question to be raised here and to be reviewed periodically is this: does the shift away from "court" to "discipline" connote a shift away from law, which protects the individual, and toward control and enforced obedience, which protect the institution? It seems to me to be an open and fruitful question.

Concerning the procedures themselves, in the "disciplinary council" every case is *ad hoc* and is decided by the presiding officer, whether bishop or stake president, by "inspiration,"[78] which must necessarily include the interpretation each presider makes of his inner impressions. There are presently some 20,000 congregations in the Church. To be sure of having a just verdict, we would have to have 20,000 infallible bishops and stake presidents. We might reflect on how much trouble our Catholic brothers and sisters have had in maintaining just one, and that only in matters of faith and morals and not in matters of procedures. We might therefore raise the question of the appropriateness of instituting procedures which further safeguard the system of Church discipline from abuse. As a matter of fact, one of the first things that strikes the attentive observer of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial is the similarity between the procedures of the Puritans and those specified in the *General Handbook of Instructions* for the present-day LDS church.

First, the same person may be both prosecutor and judge. It was the clergy, headed by the governor John Winthrop, who brought the charges against Mrs. Hutchinson, and it was John Winthrop who presided as judge in the trial before the General Court. In current Mormon practice, the bishop or the stake president may likewise be the person who both brings the charge and renders the judgment. It is important to point out that the stake high council does not serve as a jury, and the decision is not rendered by vote. The decision is made by one man, the one presiding over the hearing (either the bishop or

the stake president).

The charge against Mrs. Hutchinson was formulated in such a way that her first move in the trial had to be to find out specifically what she was accused of. Under the present procedures, the charge against an individual is likewise framed in the most general and least specific way possible. The instructions in the *Handbook* for notification of a Church trial direct that the accused be told that "1. . . . the [stake presidency or bishopric] is considering formal disciplinary action against you, including the possibility of disfellowshipment or excommunication, because you are reported to have been guilty of [set forth the accusation in very general terms, such as 'apostasy' or 'moral conduct unbecoming a member of the Church' but do not give any details or evidence]. 2. . . . You are invited to attend this disciplinary council to give your response."[79]

At the end of her trial, when Mrs. Hutchinson again requested the specific reasons for the sentence of banishment, John Winthrop could say that in effect, it was not necessary for her to know because "the court knows and is satisfied." Currently, there can be and have been, to my personal knowledge, cases where disfellowshipment or excommunication has been pronounced without any statement before, during, or after of the specifics of the charge. Again, it is sufficient that the "court," that is, the bishop or the stake president, be satisfied.

The *Handbook* makes no provision for another individual to assist in preparing or presenting a defense, and the accused is likewise at a disadvantage in preparing a defense, since the specifics of the charges are not known. The *Handbook* allows the accused to call witnesses on his or her behalf,[80] but the witnesses can thus be in the position of not knowing specifically the charges about which they are to give testimony. In both cases, the procedures appear to be in place in order to protect the institution and not the individual.

In Mrs. Hutchinson's trial there was a presumption of guilt, as John Winthrop candidly reported that the clergy had already decided that they had to get rid of her. In the present day courts, the charge is also framed in such a way as to imply a presumption of guilt rather than innocence—if the accused does not prove him or herself innocent, action against him or her is anticipated.

Under current procedures of Church disciplinary councils, the charge of "apostasy" appears to have undergone the same kind of semantic mutation that "sedition" underwent in the trials of Mrs. Hutchinson. Under the *Handbook,* many acts justifying excommunication or disfellowshipment are spelled out, and it is possible to specify them (e.g. in the event of embezzlement of Church funds, the missing dollars can be counted), but "apostasy" is a category that has undergone an egregious shift. In common English usage the word "apostasy" means "abandonment of one's religious faith, a political party, one's principles, or a cause."[81] In the *Handbook,* "Apostasy" refers to members who "(1) repeatedly act in clear, open, and deliberate opposition to the Church or its leaders; (2) persist in teaching as Church doctrine information that is not Church doctrine after being corrected by their bishops or higher authority; or (3) continue to follow the teachings of apostate cults (such as those that advocate plural marriage) after being corrected by their bishops or higher authority."[82]

Such a definition assumes that the "leaders" (local? general?) are all agreed, that "Church doctrine" is clearly defined on all points, and that there is a workable definition available of "cult." As a recent article has demonstrated, Elder Ezra Taft Benson, when an apostle, was repeatedly corrected by his superiors in the Quorum of the Twelve and the First Presidency, repeatedly ignored their corrections, and went his own political way, tying his right-wing political views to the doctrine and teachings of the Church.[83] Was he in a state of "apostasy," as the above definition would suggest? And does the John Birch Society fit the definition of a "cult"? We must be careful about "proofs" that prove too much, definitions which could catch even the president of the Church in the net of "apostasy," or views of "apostasy" that turn out to be a rubber yardstick, stretching or shrinking according to the views of whomever happens to be currently in power.

What is "Church doctrine"? The status of the belief in a Mother in Heaven is to the point. In February 1967, when BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson was trying to fire a tenured full professor in the economics department, he summarily refused to renew the professor's contract. When the professor protested (he was then on sabbatical leave), a hearing was belatedly scheduled and a Statement of Charges drawn up from a file that President Wilkinson had been keeping. Among the charges was the allegation that "you have stated that you do not believe in certain doctrines of the Church; that the Church has no right to say that Adam was the first man, or that we have a mother in heaven."[84] In other words, a perceived disbelief in the doctrine that we have a Mother in Heaven (based on a remark made in private conversation and reported anonymously to become part of a secret file on an individual) was being set forth as one of the reasons for which someone was being fired from the Church university. The attempt failed, but today the situation is reversed. Anyone who strongly and publicly affirms a belief in a Mother in Heaven is open to charges of "apostasy."

The behaviors which the *Handbook* calls "apostasy" are more accurately defined as "insubordination," that is, "the refusal to recognize or submit to the authority of a superior."[85] It is rare that people who are labeled "apostates" have actually abandoned their principles, beliefs, or fundamental loyalties. I believe the *Handbook* would gain in clarity and forthrightness if "insubordination" were substituted for "apostasy" as a behavior subject to discipline.

The *Handbook* itself, as I understand, is not a restricted document, but its provisions are almost never discussed among Church members, and I suppose that most people appearing before Church tribunals are unaware of what it contains. A clerk makes notes of the proceedings, but not a transcript, and the accused is not given a written copy of the Report of Church Disciplinary Action.[86] Therefore, neither the accused nor the the witnesses are ever sure of what form their testimony has taken, or in the case of an appeal, what has been forwarded to the reviewing authority.

We can, in short, raise the questions of "rights" within the Church system. Is it appropriate to think of a "Bill of Rights" within the processes of the Church? I am not thinking in terms of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but in terms of the founding statements of Mormonism itself.

What would be gained or lost in Church processes if the accused were

1. To be told the specifics of charges against him or her before appearing before the Church tribunal?
2. To have counsel of his or her own choosing in helping to prepare his or her defense?
3. To have access in advance to the printed rules observed in Church trials?
4. To enjoy the presumption of innocence?
5. To receive a written record of the proceedings?
6. To let witnesses check the accuracy of the record or summary of their testimony?

A related and larger question is this: how wide a range of expression and searching can a society tolerate without pushing its anxiety button? The Puritan society gave evidence of being moved by deep fears of "dangerous" or "unsafe" doctrines. In the admonition that John Cotton pronounced at the second trial, he rebukes Mrs. Hutchinson for even raising questions about the nature of the resurrection, because others, upon hearing these questions, will believe there is some reason to doubt, "and so your opinions frett like a Gangrene and spread like a Leprosie, and infect farr and near, and will eat out the very Bowells of Religion. . . ."[87]

Is this not also the fear behind the denunciation of alternate voices, the fear that if our faith were examined too closely, it might fall apart? It might even appear that there is a near proportion between the hidden uncertainty one feels about one's beliefs and the need one feels to banish or silence the questioner. Can we not see, when we have come to this pass, that faith is already gone? What we are defending is not faith, but an empty shell.

The dilemmas encountered by the Puritans are still with us, and the nature of hierarchy within Mormonism must be rethought, not in traditional secular terms which have failed, but in terms of Mormonism's own founding statements. I believe the means of resolving these issues are with us, but I also believe that the work of the restoration will not be finished until authority in the Church is combined with love and knowledge and exercised by persuasion for giving increase to individuals, who work together for the common good. That such is often the case is cause for rejoicing. That such is often not the case is cause to reflect that the restoration is not yet complete.

I end with three thoughts. First, when hierarchy acts in such a way as to harm people, it must be confronted and challenged, but it is a mistake to let one's life become dominated by a perpetual stance of challenge to the tar baby of hierarchy. Second, fulfilling the intent of priesthood power does not depend on a command from the hierarchy, or on status in the hierarchy, or even on holding the priesthood. It can happen every time someone acts by knowledge, persuasion, and love for the empowering of another person. Finally, in rethinking the question of hierarchy it is helpful to remember that this question was one that the disciples of Jesus had great difficulty in grasping, and Jesus himself labored long to bring them to understanding. On one occasion he told them that the one who wanted to be the highest should go about it by being the lowest. (Luke 22:24–30.) Another time, he set a child before them and told them that if they wanted to become the greatest they should start by becoming like that child. (Matt. 18:1–4.) On another occasion (John 13:4–11), he got down on his knees and washed their feet.

NOTES

The notation "D&C" refers to the Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as published by the Salt Lake City church.

1. Lavina Fielding Anderson's article "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue* 26:1 (Spring 1993): 7–64, was in fact the occasion of her excommunication from the LDS church in September 1993. The entire range of events of Church action against scholars and intellectuals is chronicled in detail in SUNSTONE 16:6 (November 1993): 65–75.

2. David Brion Davis in his article "The New England Origins of Mormonism," *New England Quarterly* 26 (1953): 147–68, opened up the subject of the continuity of Puritan thought and practice into nineteenth-century Mormonism. Grant Underwood, "The New England Origins of Mormonism Revisited," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 15–26, allows some continuities but re-emphasizes the importance on nineteenth-century factors. Recent scholarly activity in the popular history of New England, as exemplified in David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: A Popular History of New England* (New York: Albert Knopf, 1989), opens up the possibility of seeing Mormon beginnings in a new light.

Early Mormonism and Puritanism ran parallel in that they held similar premises and therefore often came to similar conclusions. In particular, both followed the larger cultural pattern of returning to ancient times as the source of truth once held and subsequently lost. For a comprehensive description of this pattern among the Puritans, see Theodore D. Bozeman, *To Lead Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

3. Mormonism was, of course, only one of the many restorationist movements in American history. For an overview of the present scene of restorationism, see Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

4. Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), gives a very readable and erudite overview of the entire Puritan project.

5. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570–1643* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957 [c. 1938]), 3–15. Haller has also produced a shorter informational work *Elizabeth I and the Puritans* (Folger Books, 1964).

6. Haller, *Rise*, 11, 12.

7. Michael G. Hall discusses the political and economic background of the revocation of the original charter in 1684 and the granting of the new one in 1691 in *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 212–301.

8. Morgan, 12. A full description of the rise of Congregationalism is given in J. William Youngs, "The Congregationalists," in *Denominations in America* 4 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990).

9. The names "Church of the Latter Day Saints" and "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" were not used until 1834–35.

10. Whitney Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 27–28.

11. Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order on Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 265–71.

12. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 148.

13. Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 45.

14. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 149, 165.

15. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 150.

16. David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 349.

17. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 197.

18. Morgan, 27.

19. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 200.

20. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 152, 154.
21. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 165.
22. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 169.
23. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 170–71.
24. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 156, 161.
25. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 156. One of the contentions of Anne Hutchinson had been that the clergy were not "sealed by the Spirit" and thus were no better off than the apostles before the day of Pentecost. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 321.
26. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 188.
27. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 178, 180–84.
28. *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool: 1854), 4:53–54.
29. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press, 1981), 25, 33, 34.
30. Morgan, 31.
31. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 12–13.
32. Gregory A. Prince has recently published a monograph *Having Authority: The Origins and Development of Priesthood During the Ministry of Joseph Smith* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Historical Association Monograph Series, Herald Publishing House, 1993), which is to be part of a larger book on priesthood during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Michael Quinn has presented SUNSTONE papers on the subject and is the author of a forthcoming book titled *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Signature Books).
33. Prince, 13–14, *passim*.
34. Morgan, 40–62.
35. Haller, *Elizabeth I*, 9.
36. Two generations of Puritan divines wrestled with the question of grace before finally working out a morphology, a pattern of conversion which expressed the covenant of grace between God and each individual who had "saving faith." One starts by attending to the Word and coming to a general knowledge of what is good and what is evil, and from there on one may proceed to a knowledge of one's own lost condition, the "conviction" of one's sins (or his "humiliation"). The natural man can get up to this point by his own efforts, but can go no further. But God's elect find in their minds a serious consideration of the promise of salvation in the Gospel, and God kindles a spark of faith, which is followed immediately by a combat with doubt and despair, which does not cease but produces a persuasion, an assurance of mercy, which is followed by a godly sorrow for sin and the grace to obey God's commandments by a new obedience. All of these workings in him after the preparatory stages are the effect of the covenant of grace, i.e. the marks of saving faith, which works through human will but does not originate in it. The doubts and struggle continue, but the covenant of grace enables him to keep up the fight. If his doubts ceased, it would be the sign that he had deluded himself and had never really entered into the covenant of grace. Morgan, 54, 68–69.
37. This point was often analyzed, probed, disputed, and pondered by the clergy.
38. Orson Pratt, "Was Joseph Smith Sent of God?" in *Orson Pratt's Works* (Liverpool: 1848–51, reprint 1965), 1:27.
39. Orson Pratt, "The Kingdom of God," *Works*, 76–101.
40. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), 61.
41. Three principal biographies of Anne Hutchinson give essentially the same biographical information, though they differ in perspective. They are Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Helen Augur, *An American Jezebel: The Life of Anne Hutchinson* (New York: Brentano's, 1930); Selma R. Williams, *Divine Rebel: The Life of Anne Marbury Hutchinson* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981).
42. John Winthrop, "A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines," [1644] in *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History*, ed. David D. Hall (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 210.
43. The full text of these exchanges is in Hall, *Controversy*, 24–198.
44. The text of the sermon is in Hall, *Controversy*, 154–66.
45. Winthrop, 291–93.
46. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 152–53.
47. Winthrop, 248–62.
48. Winthrop, 262–63.
49. Winthrop, 262–65.
50. There are two accounts of the trials, the first, an abbreviated account in John Winthrop's *Short Story*, which he intended as an apology of the Congregational way to those still in England, and the second a fuller transcript of the proceedings. "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," (in D. Hall, *Controversy*, 312–348).
51. Winthrop, 217.
52. Winthrop, 212.
53. Winthrop, 211.
54. Winthrop, 217, 211, 212, 262.
55. Winthrop, 266.
56. Winthrop, 249.
57. "Examination," 313–14.
58. Winthrop, 265–67.
59. "Examination," 315–19.
60. Winthrop, 276.
61. "Examination," 337.
62. "Examination," 345.
63. "Examination," 347.
64. "Examination," 348.
65. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 349.
66. Winthrop, 215.
67. "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," in D. Hall, *Controversy*, 350–51.
68. "Report," 353–54.
69. "Report," 363.
70. "Report," 367.
71. "Report," 369–70.
72. "Report," 377.
73. "Report," 377.
74. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
75. Anderson, 33–34.
76. Edwin Brown Firmage and Robert Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 354–70.
77. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
78. *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 10–7.
79. *Handbook*, 10–6.
80. *Handbook*, 10–7.
81. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
82. *Handbook*, 10-3.
83. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue* 26:2 (Summer 1993): 1–87.
84. Documents for all of this affair are in my possession.
85. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
86. *Handbook*, 10–7.
87. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 273.

DYING

My arms stretch—
out, high—
welcome
the onslaught of grey
and swift lightning:

the standing walls
fall before the waves
of sudden surety.

I hold my prayer—
a breath of bridges:

no air
but this is endless—living water
awash in bone
and flesh.

I am foreign,
balancing
until that moment's light
returns me,

touches the void,
and vibrates the dying with its substance.

—VIRGINIA ELLEN BAKER