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MILTON, MATERIALISM, AND EMBODIMENT



ONE FIRST MATTER ALL

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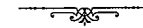
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CHAPTER 7



Orson Pratt, Parley Pratt, and the Miltonic Origins of Mormon Materialism

JOHN ROGERS

No single writer has had a greater impact on the boldest and most original aspects of the theological component of America's nineteenth century religion, Mormonism, than John Milton. Milton's theology, as presented in the newly discovered and translated *De doctrina Christiana*, and his poetry, especially *Paradise Lost*, left an indelible imprint on the conceptual and imaginative structures of early Mormon doctrines of Creation, the Fall, and redemption. Elsewhere I have considered the specific Miltonic influence on Mormonism's prophetic founder, Joseph Smith.¹ Smith's Miltonic leanings will necessarily be of some concern to the present essay. But my goal here is to broaden the horizon of our understanding of Milton's influence on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I wish in particular to emphasize the surprising extent to which *Paradise Lost* figured in some of the new religion's earliest forays into theological speculation. Two early Mormon leaders, both appointed apostles by Smith himself, show every sign of having followed the prophet in devoting themselves to the project of mining Milton's epic and his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* for theological and philosophical inspiration. More specifically, the interpretive community of early Mormon readers turned to

the seventeenth century poet for assistance in the urgent project of developing the new faith's metaphysically inclined theology, the earliest attempts to unfold discursively and logically the religious meanings bound up in the prophet Joseph Smith's oracular utterances near the end of his life concerning the relation of matter to spirit. Ultimately, I hope to show, the evidence we have of the early Mormon reading of Milton suggests that the Latter-day Saints, writing after William Blake but well before William Empson, were engaged in one of literary history's most impressive antithetical — we can also call it satanic — interpretations of Milton's epic.

Smith died at the hands of approximately 150 men who mobbed the jail in Carthage, Illinois, where he and his brother were being held in June 1844. Less than three months before his death, Smith delivered in Nauvoo, Illinois, what was surely his most distinctive and compelling sermon, an extemporaneous address delivered before a crowd of 20,000 followers at the funeral of a Mormon elder, King Follett. It is this sermon, fortunately transcribed by a handful of disciples on the occasion of its delivery, and known now as the "King Follett Discourse," in which Smith seized the occasion to venture some of the Christian tradition's boldest theological speculations. Smith articulated his belief that the spirit of man, man's "intelligence," not only pre-exists his birth as a mortal human, but is actually eternal and "self-existent," dependent for his creation on no one, not even God. In addition to this idea that God doesn't "create" human beings or their universe, but merely "organizes" preexisting materials, Smith also proclaimed, no less shockingly, on the human origin of God and on the divine origin, and divine end, of humanity. The sermon's oracular pronouncements on the origin of matter, of humanity, and even of God, were at once so exciting and so perplexing that Smith's followers' eventual attempts at explication in the more familiar forms of theological and philosophical reasoning were surely inevitable. Also inevitable was the crisis, following Smith's death, involving the question of the prophet's successor. How would the church be organized in the absence of its founder? If Smith were to be replaced as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, how

could it be determined who would follow him? The immediate political question of church government and succession, on the one hand, and the deeper question of the meanings of the metaphysical and cosmogonical speculations Smith delivered near the end of his life, on the other hand, are both implicated in the emergence shortly after Joseph Smith's death of what we can identify as Mormon theology.

Early Mormonism's chief theologians were two of Smith's closest disciples. One was Parley P. Pratt, who in 1830 sought baptism into the Mormon faith almost immediately upon reading *The Book of Mormon*, first published that year, and who would be honored as one of the first members of the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1835. A missionary and a historian, Parley was also one of Mormonism's most important theologians: his *Voice of Warning and Key to the Science of Theology* have long been considered among the most influential religious writings in nineteenth-century Mormonism.² The second of the movement's two great theologians was Parley's younger brother Orson Pratt, baptized a Mormon by Parley himself a few weeks after Parley's own entry into the church, and also honored in 1835 as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Orson's contribution has proven nearly as central to the new religion's beginnings. His work "On the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon" and his pamphlet on "Celestial Marriage," the movement's first serious theological defense of polygamy, were crucial early contributions to the mission to spread the church's Restored Gospel throughout the United States and beyond. Orson's labor, later in life, editing the scriptural *Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants*, which he was the first to divide into chapter and verse, was key in imposing on those otherwise unruly works of divine revelation a striking graphic affinity with the standardized print format of the Old and New Testaments; it was largely owing to Pratt's editorial efforts that the *Book of Mormon* could present itself as a newer New Testament. If Joseph Smith can be seen as the Jesus of Mormonism, then each of the Pratt brothers can be viewed a reasonable candidate for the role of Saint Paul, the figure celebrated by the Christian church for having taken the new religious sensibility aroused by the

prophet Jesus and invested it with something like a systematic philosophical rigor. The question of which brother would come to inherit the title that one scholar has called the “St. Paul of Mormondom” will be one of the considerations of this essay.³ To be sure, it was Parley (favored by Brigham Young, and, perhaps worth noting, the great-great-grandfather of former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney) who led the more obviously dramatic life: most famously, he would be murdered at age 49, after a cross-country pursuit by the estranged husband of one his 12 wives.⁴ But given that it is so often the case, in life as in literature, that the younger is the more interesting of a pair of brothers, the focus of this study will rest, though not exclusively, on the younger of the two theologically minded Pratts. Both Pratt brothers were students of their prophet, Joseph Smith, and both show every sign of having been avid readers of the poet-prophet Milton. But it would be Orson, in the care and the zeal with which he attempted to interweave the truths he gleaned from both of those teachers — especially in his metaphysical treatise, *Great First Cause, or the Self-Moving Forces of the Universe* — who would most fully ascend to the imaginative heights scaled by the prophet Smith and the poet Milton.

Let us consider first the succession crisis that shook the church, lasting for at least three years after the founder’s death.⁵ Who in the wake of Joseph Smith’s assassination would be promoted to lead the Mormon church? Would it be the two surviving members of the First Presidency — the uppermost tier of leaders in the church’s hierarchy, originally consisting of the president (initially Smith) and his two chief counselors? Would it be the aggregate triumvirate of a reorganized First Presidency, with a new president installed? Might it be the larger, senatorial gathering of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, who could through power of consensus guide the infant faith? Or, more broadly, would the church’s Presidency devolve to the even more representative body of the Council of Fifty, or the Quorum of the Seventy, wider groupings that stood beneath the Quorum of the Twelve? The crisis was intensified in part by the confusion surrounding one of the divine revelations concerning ecclesiastical organization

that Joseph Smith had shared with his followers, around the time of the establishment of the Quorums, in 1835. We read, for example, in Smith’s revelation as transcribed in *Doctrines and Covenants* 107:23–26, that the Twelve Mormon Apostles “form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three presidents” who constitute the church’s First Presidency. The Quorum of the Seventy, furthermore, is “equal in authority to that of the Twelve.” Just a few lines down, however, in verse 33, we learn that it was also revealed to Smith that “the Twelve are a Traveling Presiding High Council, to officiate in the name of the Lord, *under the direction of the Presidency of the Church*” (italics mine).⁶ On the one hand, the Quorum of the Seventy is equal to the Quorum of the Twelve, which is itself equal to the Presidency. On the other hand, the Quorum of the Twelve serves “under the direction of the Presidency.” Given what could be viewed as a conflictive revelation about church organization, reasonable arguments were made for the original Mormon prophet’s anticipation of his succession either by the Quorum of the Seventy, by the Quorum of the Twelve, by the three leaders of the First Presidency, or by a single, newly named president himself.

The succession crisis was long and drawn out, spanning much of the time in which the Saints marched westward to Utah in their exodus from Illinois following Smith’s death. The three-man First Presidency under Smith had been dissolved shortly after Smith’s assassination. Almost immediately the chief governing body of the church became the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, of whom the charismatic Brigham Young was president. As Gary James Bergera explains, although officially it was the 12-man Quorum that served collectively as the faith’s governing authority, Brigham Young “had assumed *de facto* presidency of the church by virtue of his position as president of the Quorum.”⁷ In the period following Smith’s death, Young “wanted to consolidate his position by reconstituting the highest governing council,” the First Presidency. And it would appear that Young labored to make as manifest as possible his fitness to lead the church, citing “Joseph Smith’s example, his revelations, and the practical realities of church governance, all of which, he felt, mandated”

his own assumption of the Presidency. Brigham Young claimed, much as Joseph Smith had, that his entitlement to his position had been divinely revealed to him. And it was on the authority of that revelation that Young could assert that he now held the Sealing Keys of the Priesthood, the presidential rights formerly assumed by Joseph Smith, which include but are not limited to the keys of the knowledge of God, the keys of salvation, the keys to minister the ceremony of a marriage on earth that could be acknowledged and sealed in heaven, and the right to "give a revelation" permitting a man to marry more than one wife.⁸ In November and December 1847, the crisis came to a head when Brigham Young made a bid in a conclave of the Apostles for a formal reorganization of the First Presidency, with himself at the helm. Orson Pratt argued the most strenuously for the ongoing governance of the church by the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, while Brigham Young continued to assert what he took to be the self-evident eminence of his position. In one of the debates held by these elders of the church in late 1847, Young boldly asserted his position above the Quorum by denying that body its apparent right to authorize, or deauthorize, his Presidency: "You can't make me President," he explained to Orson Pratt, "because I am already President. You can't give me power, because I have it."⁹

MILTON AMONG THE MORMONS

On the basis of what evidence can we say that the seventeenth-century English poet Milton played an important role in the thinking of the church's earliest members? For some it may be sufficient merely to point out Joseph Smith's direct engagement with one of the most famous lines of *Paradise Lost* when he writes of the Mormon practice of the baptism of the dead that it "justifies the ways of God to man."¹⁰ But the evidence of the ties that Smith and some of his closest Apostles had to Milton is much deeper than that simple citation might suggest. It has long been established that Milton was one of the most widely read and passionately revered poets in eighteenth and early nineteenth century America.¹¹ That a significant number of educated

U.S. readers in that period were intimately familiar with *Paradise Lost* has been amply demonstrated. What scholars haven't yet sufficiently acknowledged, however, is the zeal with which passionate but less educated readers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries approached the work of England's premier epic poet. I have discussed elsewhere the many aids to reading Milton that had been widely available since the eighteenth century: readers whose goal was to expose themselves to the stories of disobedience and redemption treated so scantily in the Bible had several ways of reading *Paradise Lost* for the plot. There were, all in print form, prose versions of Milton's poem; abridgments that removed from the flow of narrative the similes and other challenging but inessential ornaments; versions of the poem that straightened out Milton's syntax, rendering the epic "into grammatical construction"; and, perhaps most popular of all, a version, approved by the Methodist church, intended to help parents read the epic to their children.¹² And we must assume that many devout readers, inured through years of Bible study to the pain of wrestling with seventeenth century English prose, would have gone out of their way to extract what they could from Milton's poem, especially if they felt, as surely many participants in America's Second Great Awakening did after the news hit of Milton's newly published religious beliefs, that the poet's heterodox views meshed closely with their own.

Any of these avenues to the study of Milton's *Paradise Lost* might account for the degree to which many aspects of early Mormon culture resound with the poetry of *Paradise Lost*. Some of the church's earliest instantiations of the Mormons' temple ceremony of "Endowment," the script for which is attributed variously to Joseph Smith and to Brigham Young, echo, sometimes verbatim, several passages from *Paradise Lost*.¹³ Milton's self-conscious embrace of Hebraism in both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* resonated powerfully with early Mormons, as Smith's *Book of Mormon* was steeped to an unusual degree in an Old Testament scriptural mode. "Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, Burns," wrote one of the Saints in 1869, "are both Gentile and modern in their variety and tone; . . . there is only one of the great English poets who stands boldly as an example of that peculiar poetic

genius manifested in the inspired writings of the prophets and psalmists of ancient Israel, and that one is the 'divine Milton.'"¹⁴ The popular Mormon writer Eliza R. Snow, celebrated as "Zion's Poetess," was praised by nineteenth century Mormons for the Hebraic, and implicitly Miltonic, cast of her epic and other poems (though non-Mormons derided her as a "Milton in petticoats").¹⁵ Snow certainly earned her reputation as a Miltonic poet: her 1877 "Epic Poem in Five Chapters," titled "Personification of Truth, Error, Etc.," hews closely in tone and structure to book 2 of *Paradise Lost* and relies heavily both on that book's allegory of Sin and Death and on the "Great Consult" in Pandemonium.

Among the earliest systematic theologians among the Mormons, Milton's Hebraic mantle was said at the time to have fallen on "the apostle, Parley P. Pratt, whose very prose works are poems with the prophetic cast and quality."¹⁶ Like his younger brother Orson, as we will see below, Parley was fully immersed in the poetry of *Paradise Lost* and in the heterodox speculations comprising Milton's newly discovered *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, whose notoriety as a heretical document accompanied its much-publicized U.S. printing in 1826. Parley's 1842 *World Turned Upside Down*, written two years before the death of Joseph Smith, begins with a rhapsodic account of the Creation, Fall, and redemption that resounds with the prophetic grandeur of, as well as a tissue of echoes from, Milton's epic.

It has naturally been suggested before that Joseph Smith was moved by Milton's vigorous defense of polygamy's ongoing favor in the eyes of God in chapter 10 of book 1 of Milton's theological treatise *De doctrina Christiana*.¹⁷ The manuscript of Milton's treatise had been unaccounted for until its discovery in 1823, but it was quickly edited and translated by Bishop Charles Sumner and published as *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine* in London in 1825, and Boston in 1826. The treatise's shocking heresies produced a scandal among many of Milton's polite nineteenth-century readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The poet's approval of polygamy became widely known throughout Protestant America by 1826, through the best-selling pamphlet

heralding Milton's newly discovered heresies by the distinguished Boston Unitarian William Ellery Channing, and through the numerous local newspapers and church periodicals that treated as scandalous not merely the great poet's heterodoxy but Channing's seeming approbation of Milton's defense of polygamy.¹⁸ While we have every reason to believe that Joseph Smith himself was familiar with Milton's writing on polygamy, the fact that some of his early apostles were also familiar with the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* cannot be doubted. Orson Pratt published the church's first intellectual defense of polygamy in 1853.¹⁹ Many of the arguments concerning polygamy among the patriarchs in "Celestial Marriage" can only have been drawn from Milton's treatise; without any apparent concern that Mormonism could be taken as a faith indebted to "Miltonism," Orson Pratt's overseas periodical, the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, would offer a verbatim reprint of Milton's long argument about polygamy in two successive issues in 1854.²⁰ "We have much pleasure," the *Millennial Star's* editor reports, "in presenting before our readers the extract on Polygamy, from a *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* by the author of *Paradise Lost*, and we have no doubt that they will be highly gratified in perusing the article."²¹ A couple of decades later, the Mormon readers of the *Millennial Star* would be urged further to read not only the discussion of polygamy in Milton's *Christian Doctrine* but also "the whole work itself, believing they will find much matter therein for serious contemplation, as being the earnest convictions of so learned and so respected an authority."²²

The whole of Milton's *Christian Doctrine* would indeed have been a matter of contemplation for many early Mormons, who would have found in the learned and respected poet's doctrinal work a striking validation of, not to mention a possible source for, some of Mormonism's most distinctive heterodox beliefs. These readers would have found themselves in sympathy with Milton's surprising account of the millennium, by which we are instructed to look ahead to Christ's imminent return as our king here on earth, the universe on which he will literally reside for the duration of a thousand-year trial.

They would have been gratified, too, by Milton's minority position on an exclusively lay ministry, and, perhaps especially by Milton's Arian conviction in the createdness of the Son of God.

Most important, Mormon readers of Milton's *Christian Doctrine* would have been drawn to the learned and authoritative poet's account of Creation in chapter 7 of the treatise's first book. Thanks especially to William Ellery Channing's *Remarks on the Character and Writings of John Milton; Occasioned by the Publication of His Lately Discovered Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, readers could not help but be familiar with the fact that Milton had in his theological account of creation recast the relation of matter to spirit, and that he had pressed for an understanding of the liberatory potential of a belief in a seamless continuum between a material earth and a spiritual heaven. But more influential even than Milton's prosaic doctrine of an *ex deo* creation in *Christian Doctrine* was the corresponding poetic treatment of his radical materialism that filled the lines of *Paradise Lost*.²³ Like all early nineteenth-century readers of Milton's theology, Joseph Smith, like his apostles Parley and Orson Pratt, encountered in Bishop Charles Sumner's impressive edition of Milton's *Christian Doctrine* a careful coordination of Milton's theology with his poetry. The complex, sometimes even scholastic, arguments for material monism in the learned treatise were carefully collated in the edition's footnotes with their far more inviting, often more daring, poetic reformulation in the blank verse of *Paradise Lost*. In the footnotes of his edition, Sumner had quoted nearly in full all the epic's key figurations of matter's inextricability from spirit, the role of that spiritualized matter in the potential exaltation of the unfallen Adam and Eve, and the identity of an original, divinely derived spiritualized substance that Raphael in *Paradise Lost* would call the "one first matter" (5.472). William Ellery Channing, in the popular pamphlet introducing Milton's heresies to the poet's American readers, would cite all those passages *again*, singling out with italics the phrase "one first matter all" in his long block quotation of Raphael's speech, and clearly marking a passage that may once have seemed merely ornamental poetry as Milton's wholly invested statement of doctrinal truth: "We learn here that

a passage in *Paradise Lost*, which we have admired as poetry, was deemed by Milton sound philosophy." In devoting far more space to the epic's metaphysics of matter and spirit than to many of the more familiar or celebrated aspects of the poem, Channing had attempted a significant reorientation of the general understanding of *Paradise Lost*. He labored to make Milton's readers appreciate both the boldness and the "reverence" with which Milton argued, in both poetry and prose, for the divine derivation of what modernity considered base, inert substance. Milton, we learn in reading Channing, was profoundly invested in "tracing matter to the Deity as its fountain."²⁴

ONE ELEMENTARY SIMPLE SUBSTANCE

The prolific Pratt brothers had put themselves in conversation with some of the most notable metaphysicians of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. Their attempts to offer intellectual justification for Joseph Smith's unmistakable theory of divinized matter and the spiritualized human body led Orson, in particular, to engage openly with the theories of the English astronomical and metaphysical polymaths Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711–87), William Paley (1743–1805), John Herschel (1792–1871), and William Whewell (1794–1866). But Pratt's appreciation of and disputations with these relatively contemporary cosmologists were always mediated by what we can only assume was his total immersion in the poetry, theology, and metaphysics of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Christian Doctrine*. The metaphysics of Creation in Orson Pratt's *Great First Cause, or the Self-Moving Forces of the Universe* emerges as a complex engagement with Milton's account of Raphael's description for Adam, in book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, of the monistic continuity between the material substances of heaven and those of earth. Struck by the heavenly angel's willingness to eat earthly food, Adam notes that "these earthly fruits" cannot "compare" to "Heav'n's high feasts" (5.464–67). Raphael takes Adam's interest in a comparison of earth with heaven as an invitation to spell out the metaphysics of Milton's poem. The universe is not structured by a strict division of heavenly spirit and earthly matter,

he explains. Spirit is material, just as some matter is spiritual, and the ontologically unified spiritualized matter constitutive of both heaven and earth has its ultimate origin in God:

O Adam, one Almightye is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return,
 If not deprav'd from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
 But more refin'd, more spirituuous, and pure,
 As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending. (PL 5.469–76)

The substance constitutive of both heaven and earth derives from the same source of original substance: “one first matter all” is the remarkable phrase Raphael uses to identify the origin of all things earthly and all things heavenly in the original substance from which the “one Almightye” created both earth and heaven. What we call spirit is but an elevated form of matter, “more refin'd, more spirituuous, and pure,” and the whole of creation can be imagined as spanning a vertical continuum from the least refined, least spirituuous substance on the bottom and the most refined, most spirituuous substance at the top.²⁵

The unarticulated implication of this philosophy of substance, for Adam, as for all humans, is extraordinary and, the poem wants us also to know, potentially dangerous. The idea that humans are made of the same stuff as angels has the potential, if drawn out logically to an extreme, to ennoble all human actions, supplying an almost metaphysical foundation for any aspiration human beings might have to godhead. This passage, after all, follows Eve's distressing account of the transgressive dream in which an angel encouraged the fantasy of a human's ascent of the scale of nature from earth to heaven: “be henceforth among the Gods / Thy self a Goddess, not to Earth confin'd, / But sometimes in the Air, as we” (PL 5.77–79). And the passage looks forward to Raphael's speculative suggestion to Adam and Eve, that their bodies “may at last turn all to Spirit, / Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend / Ethereal, as we” (5.497–99). Perhaps it is with an eye to checking the full liberatory

potential of a monistic metaphysics that Milton takes care to articulate the limits of matter's ascent to the purer height of spirit. All matter, Raphael insists, isn't equally poised to ascend the scale from base substance to airy spirit. It's true that all things, at least theoretically, proceed upward to God. But objects and beings in the natural world are nonetheless ontologically differentiated. The baser things on the low end of nature's scale are endued more with substance, and the purer and more refined things on the higher end endued more with spirit and life. All things, regardless of purity, may well share a *general* tendency to move upward, but the extent of any particular thing or being's upward ontological mobility is limited by some form of pre-determination, as Raphael explains just after identifying the origin of all things in the “one first matter”: “Each in thir several active Sphears assignd, / Till body up to spirit work, in bounds / Proportiond to each kind” (5.476–78). Raphael concludes his paean to the monistic continuum of Miltonic creation with this limiting insistence on what is ultimately creation's ontological circumscription: all created things, we learn in these final three lines of Raphael's metaphysical disquisition, have been assigned by their creator specific, hierarchically segregated, spheres of being, appointed specific “bounds / Proportion'd to each kind.”

As noted above, early nineteenth century America had been alerted to the import of Raphael's vision of the origin of all things in the “one first matter.” Raphael's is the poem's account of the relation of matter to spirit to which in 1825 Charles Sumner drew the attention of the readers of chapter 7 of Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, in which Milton the theologian explains that “man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body, — but that the whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body, or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational.”²⁶ Raphael's account of spiritualized matter in book 5, and Milton's account of spiritualized matter in the treatise, are both cited and praised by William Ellery Channing for their elevation of material substance to

the status of divinity. Mormonism's visionary founder, Joseph Smith, followed Sumner's and Channing's lead and attended closely to Raphael's account of nature, explaining in 1843 that "all spirit is matter": "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure." Taking from Milton's poem the idea of spirit's identity as "more refined, more . . . pure" matter, Smith adds yet another Miltonic touch, though not one introduced in this particular passage by Raphael: as if in deference to the younger Milton's Pythagorean interest in the "heav'nly tune, which none can hear / Of human mould, with gross unpurged ear," Smith points out that the physical particles of matter we call "spirit" "can only be discerned by purer eyes; we cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified we shall see that it is all matter."²⁷

Apostle Orson Pratt takes from Smith the use of Milton's poem as a seedbed of language and ideas about the metaphysics of the purer, more refined material substance known as "spirit": "there is another material substance called spirit, of a more refined nature, possessing some properties in common with other matter, and other qualities far superior to other matter."²⁸ Further yet, Pratt, while modernizing Milton's metaphysics with references to post-Miltonic discoveries such as that of electricity, takes Raphael's phrase "one first matter" and transmutes it into (the admittedly homelier) phrase, "one elementary simple substance": "all the ponderable substances of nature, together with light, heat, and electricity, and even spirit itself, all originated from one elementary simple substance, possessing a living self-moving force, with intelligence sufficient to govern it in all its infinitude of combinations and operations, producing all the immense variety of phenomena constantly taking place throughout the wide domains of universal nature."²⁹ Pratt clearly goes further than Milton when he calls the "one elementary simple substance" a "living self-moving force, with intelligence sufficient to govern it in all its infinitude of combinations and operations, producing all the immense variety of phenomena."³⁰ Milton, we know, would himself never stretch his monistic materialist vision as far as would his younger contemporary Margaret Cavendish, who preceded Pratt in attributing all material

phenomena to the self-moving capacity of matter that only appears to be inert and inanimate.³¹ But Pratt can be seen nonetheless to be indebted to Milton for his organization of matter into hierarchical categories, although Pratt uses "intelligence" rather than Raphael's concept of "purity" as the main criterion of distinction separating inferior from superior matter.

So how did, for Orson Pratt, the "one elementary simple substance" produce "all the immense variety of phenomena" of creation? Pratt's version of Milton's "one first matter" populated the world with the diversity of creation, I want to suggest, in imitation, at least in part, of Raphael's explanation of the boundaries and constraints by which the spiritually hierarchized matter is organized: "There is a law given to all things according to their capacities, their wisdom, their knowledge, and their advance in the grand school of the universe." But while Pratt follows Milton in his mention of the constraints limiting the upward mobility of different forms of being, he clearly exceeds Raphael's vision of the universe when he insists on matter's capacity to overleap those hierarchically assigned boundaries when that matter virtuously and intelligently "keeps the law": "To every law there are *bounds* and conditions set, and those materials that continue within their own *sphere* of action, and keep the law, are exalted to new *spheres* of action." In stark violation of the ontological limitations Raphael describes in *Paradise Lost* when noting the assignment of all things to their differentiated "active spheres," Orson Pratt permits materials in *his* metaphysical vision to be "exalted to *new* spheres of action when they have served their appointed times."³²

What for Pratt permits this remarkable exaltation from one seemingly segregated rung of the ladder of nature to another is the capacity of matter to "keep the law." As he writes in his essay on "The Pre-Existence of Man," if the spiritual particles of matter "abide the laws and conditions of its several states of existence, who shall say that it will not progress until it shall gain the very summit of perfection, and exist in all the glorious beauty of the image of God?"³³ This image of the conditions attached to upward ascent also has an origin in Milton's poem. Raphael, we know, would go on to explain to Adam,

no more than 20 lines after his account of the “one first matter,” that Adam and Eve’s bodies may “at last turn all to spirit” and even “wing’d ascend / Ethereal,” on the condition that the happy pair “be found obedient.” Pratt lights on this later Miltonic detail of obedience, removing it from the ethical human register of Raphael’s warning to Adam and Eve, and returning it to the metaphysical register of the preceding discussion of the “one first matter.” The process of the self-organization of spiritualized matter is thus attuned to the obedience and disobedience of the different degrees of matter. All matter in general has the capacity to become increasingly refined and pure, but its exaltation to these more spirituous states is strictly contingent on its obedience to the laws of nature: “those materials,” explains Pratt, “that have been refractory or disobedient will either remain stationary or be lowered and abased in the scale of being, till they learn obedience by the things they suffer.”³⁴ Base matter is not consigned as it is in Milton’s poem to remain within its appointed sphere. Base, more substantial, matter for the American Pratt is eminently educable and capable of advancement, though its exaltation to higher spheres of being will require a period of suffering in something like a metaphysical purgatory.

It would be reasonable to assume that Orson Pratt intended us to imagine God having imposed on the world of spiritualized matter the physical laws that his conscious, conscientious, and surprisingly ethical matter is expected to obey. But Pratt hastens to correct any such assumption, since in his vision the elements of matter, which only move when they move themselves, don’t just obey but actually prescribe the physical laws by which they willingly bind themselves. In refuting the notion embraced by the majority of his nineteenth century metaphysical contemporaries that matter is inert and implicitly “unintelligent,” Pratt explains the logical necessity of matter’s fundamental intelligence, and then accounts for the process by which the “conscious, intelligent, self-moving particles” of matter produce in their obedient and orderly fashion all the immense variety of creation’s phenomena:

[They] prescribe laws for their own action. . . . An unintelligent particle is incapable of understanding and obeying a law, while an intelligent particle is capable of both understanding and obedience. It would be entirely useless for an intelligent cause to give laws to unintelligent matter, for such matter could never become conscious of such laws, and therefore would be totally incapable of obedience. . . . It is evident that each particle must have not only perceived the utility of such laws, but must have mutually consented to obey them in the most strict and invariable manner.³⁵

It is their obedience to these physical laws of their own design for which the intelligent particles of matter are rewarded with exaltation from sphere to sphere. The study of physics, then, for Pratt, is but a testimony to the intelligence and virtue of the elements of matter, as in his truly remarkable account of how and why it is that matter obeys Newton’s law of gravity:

All these self-moving materials must be possessed of a high degree of intelligence, in order to obey with such perfect and undeviating exactness the innumerable laws which obtain in the universe. There is no disobedience on the part of the materials. Under the same circumstances they invariably act alike. What depth of knowledge, for instance, is requisite in order for particles to obey the single law of “Gravitation.” Each particle must not only know of the exact quantity of matter existing in all directions from itself, but must also know its exact distance from every other particle, that it may know, during every moment, how to regulate the intensity and direction of its own motions, according to the law of the “inverse square of the distance.” Obedience to this one law on the part of material particles requires in them a degree of intelligence far beyond our utmost comprehension.³⁶

It is by just such an account of a physical law — far wilder, surely, even than Sir Isaac Newton’s own most outlandish alchemical or apocalyptic musings — that Pratt articulates his powerful rejection of “the philosophy of modern times,” which “does not admit that material particles possess intelligence or knowledge.”³⁷ Matter can in no way be seen as inert, inanimate, or, in Pratt’s words, “unintelligent.” Even an unswerving law such as Newton’s of gravity functions for Orson Pratt as proof of the intellectual self-possession and moral probity of

every particle of matter. Humanity may be fallen, but the elemental world of matter in which fallen humans find themselves is a state of perfect prelapsarian innocence, wisdom, and obedience.

“DOCTRINE WHICH WE WOULD KNOW WHENCE LEARNED”

Joseph Smith, we noted earlier, had insisted near the end of his life that God had not created the elements comprising the material universe; rather, says Smith, God “organized” the elements already existing. For Smith, the most important preexisting element was the spirit of humanity, over which Smith’s God could assert no rights as creator. In the 1844 King Follett discourse, Smith makes clear that every human being, or at least his spirit, is as old as God himself. “God found himself,” Smith explains, in his own account of the origins of the divine being as we know it, “in the midst of spirits and glory.” If for Smith the coeternity of God and the material spirit of humanity was a belief to be asserted with oracular certainty, for Orson Pratt it was a doctrine to be argued for with the tools of logic. And in his shocking midrash on Smith’s King Follett discourse, Pratt outpaces in conceptual courage the prophet’s already daring sense of God’s creation as little more than the organization or rearrangement of preexisting spiritual matter. In *Great First Cause*, the organization of preexisting matter wasn’t necessarily the work of any creator God. “All the organizations of worlds, of minerals, of vegetables, of animals,” Pratt tells us, were the product not of God’s creating hand; they came about, rather, as the result of the “self-combinations and unions of the preexistent, intelligent, powerful, and eternal particles of substance.”³⁸ The eternally existent elements themselves, having moved on from a mastery of the basics of self-motion to the higher learning of cohesion and repulsion, united and combined themselves into the material world as we know it. And why stop there? Pratt presses his case yet further, denying God any claim to the creation, or organization, of “men, of angels, of spirits,” which, he explains, were also themselves but the product of the unions and self-combinations of eternal matter.

Smith’s King Follett discourse has long, and rightly, been held up as one of the most exuberant visions of heavenly existence ever proposed. But, as I hope I have made clear, Orson Pratt’s *Great First Cause* of 1851 has to be viewed as outstripping Smith’s own account of the origin of things, at least in terms of what it permits itself to picture and explain. If not the Follett sermon, what, then, could have inspired Pratt not only to imagine but actually to assert as a formal point of belief the idea that men and angels emerge as the consequence of the glorious self-motion of preexistent matter? We can find no such imagining in Boscovich, Paley, Herschel, and Whewell, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century natural philosophers Pratt was reading as he prepared *Great First Cause*, and with whom he argues throughout his pamphlet. Nor could Milton’s radically monistic, but nonetheless theocentric *Christian Doctrine* have offered Pratt anything like an understanding of the mystery of self-creation. In the discussion of angels, Milton makes no mention of any belief, modern or ancient, that the angels were not created by God: angelic createdness is a given in the treatise, and the only question Milton takes up there is *when* they were created (245–46).

But the treatise’s nineteenth century editor and translator, Bishop Charles Sumner, nonetheless takes the opportunity to cite, in relation to the treatise’s insistence on God’s creation of the angels, the literary epic’s account of Satan’s extraordinary claim that the angels in effect created themselves. Let us turn now to that episode of *Paradise Lost*, featuring a debate about Creation that, I would like to suggest, helps shape some of Orson Pratt’s most startling theological speculation. In the epic’s book 5, in Milton’s wholly original account of the crisis of authority in the celestial polity that preceded the war in heaven, the Father calls to assembly all the sons of heaven and announces the anointing of his vicegerent and successor, the being “whom I declare,” the Father says, “My *only* Son . . . whom ye now behold / At my right hand” (5.603–04). A still sinless Satan, however, “could not bear / Through pride that sight, and thought himself impaired” (5.664–65). It is with this wounded sense of impairment that Satan resolves to “leave / Unworshipped, unobeyed the throne supreme” (5.669–70),

and to call his followers to reject what he characterizes as the Son's unjustifiable usurpation of power: "by decree / Another now hath to himself engrossed / All power, and us eclipsed under the name / Of King anointed" (5.774–77).

The Father and the newly anointed Son of *Paradise Lost* are not without their angelic supporters, loyalists who clearly reject Satan's interpretation of the Son's "exaltation" as an unjust assumption of authority by a hitherto inconsequential heavenly being. Chief among the loyalists is the zealous angel Abdiel, who takes Satan to task for daring to question

The just decree of God, pronounced and sworn,
That to his only Son by right endued
With regal scepter, every soul in Heav'n
Shall bend the knee, and in that honor due
Confess him rightful King. (5.814–18)

On what grounds, Abdiel asks, does Satan dare to question the creator Father, "who made / Thee what thou art, and form'd the pow'rs of Heav'n / Such as he pleas'd?" (823–25). On what grounds, Abdiel continues, can Satan question the authority of the Son, the being

by whom,
As by his Word, the Mighty Father made
All things, even thee; and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crowned them with glory? (5.835–39)

It is difficult to tell whether Abdiel, in claiming not only that the Father "form'd" or "made" the angels but that he did so by means of the Son, is sharing with Satan information already widely understood in heaven, or whether he is making a pronouncement hitherto unarticulated. But we can know with certainty how Satan responds to Abdiel's claim that the angels are dependent for their creation on both the Father and the Son:

That we were formed then sayest thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferred
From Father to his Son? strange point and new!

Doctrine which we would know whence learned: who saw
When this creation was? rememberest thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised
By our own quickening power. (5.853–61)

This is the speech of Satan's to Abdiel that Bishop Sumner cites in a lengthy footnote to the passage concerning the creation of the angels in chapter 7 of the *Christian Doctrine*. Aware that the passage from the poem has no direct correspondence with any argument in the treatise, Sumner simply notes that "the opinion that angels were not created, but self-existent, is with great propriety attributed to *Satan* in *Paradise Lost*."³⁹ What is for Sumner, and surely also for Milton, the satanic antithesis of any proper assertion of God's direct responsibility for the existence of his creatures, is the audacious creaturely claim of ontological independence from God. It is Milton's God, and he alone, who supplies the foundation of being for all of creation. Any claim to the contrary must be dismissed as the hyperintellectualism of a resentful and brooding fellow creature. But it is just such a claim that Satan makes. On the evidence either of sight or of memory (5.856–57), he asserts, it cannot be proven that the angels did *not* create themselves, that they are *not* "self-begot, self-raised / By [their] own quickening power."

It is this very assertion of Milton's Satan, the denial of angelic createdness and the assertion of self-creation, that plants itself at the conceptual foundation of Orson Pratt's theologico-metaphysical account of origins in *Great First Cause; or, The Self-Moving Forces of the Universe*. To be sure, Pratt doesn't situate Satan's woefully unamplified claim directly in the treatise. A better logician than Satan, Pratt knows he cannot tell us that the angels are "self-begot, self-raised." He has already exposed the weakness of such a claim in his implicit critique of Milton's *ex deo* theory of Creation, which, he argues, presumes falsely that "the Deity must have created the elements, or parts of which he himself consists, which would be the very height of absurdity."⁴⁰ What "self," or coherent unit of identity and subjectivity,

could possibly exist to precede an act of creation responsible for laying the very foundation of that "self"? Pratt's version of the satanic denial of God's responsibility for the creation of angels clears up that lapse into absurdity and posits a creative agent, or, rather, *innumerable* creative agents, distinct from the angelic "self" that emerges fully formed from the creative process performed by the infinitesimal particles of matter. It is a myriad of "preexistent, intelligent, powerful, and eternal particles of substance" who at some particular point in time decided consensually to apply their newly acquired capacities for cohesive union and combination to constitute, through aggregation, the joint venture that becomes each individual angel. Each angel, human being, and spirit in Pratt's vision is a fundamentally corporate entity, an elaborate unit not conjured magically by an omnipotent God, nor even "organized" from preexisting materials as by the creator God of the prophet Joseph Smith, but by what we have to assume is the more politic, perhaps more democratic, means of the innumerable decisions, movements, and actions undertaken by each of the fully distinct and individuated atomic particles participating in a massive group effort of consensual will.

In offering his own, more logically sustainable, version of the satanic myth of angelic "self-creation," Pratt can be seen to redeem, or at least reconsider the value of, the central ontological heresy providing the intellectual justification for the disastrous rebellion in the heaven of *Paradise Lost*. Could this mid-nineteenth-century American theologian possibly go any further, we have good reason to ask? The answer is yes. Orson Pratt completes his sweeping reconfiguration of our understanding of the material universe with a final, yet more shocking, extension of his vision of creation as the product of the decentered consensual congregation of distinct material particles. God, he avers, is himself a creature. God himself is but a belated effect of matter's capacity to combine and unite itself into meaningful formations: "the spiritual personages of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, must, if organized at all, have been the result of the self combinations and unions of the preexistent, intelligent, powerful, and eternal particles of substance. These eternal Forces and Powers are the Great First Causes of all things and events that have had a beginning."⁴¹

The "personage" of the Father in heaven, along with the personages of the Son of God and the Holy Ghost, are, in the end, denied anything like a stable, self-sufficient ontology. Orson Pratt offers an account of the origin of the "spiritual personages of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," which emerge in this account as the glorious consequence of the "wise adaptations and arrangements of the different portions of substance of which they consist."⁴² Surely there are not many such instances in the Judeo-Christian tradition in which a major theologian denies the eternity of God. It could likely be said that for most Christian belief systems God's priority over creation emerges logically from his status as *uncreated*, or, to use Milton's term in *Paradise Lost*, "increate" (3.6). No such eternal deity exists for Pratt, as the figure known as "God" is but a historically contingent union of the "most intelligent material particles of the universe." The Deity is demoted from cause to effect, an entirely contingent consequence of the "anterior and eternal powers of each individual particle" comprising a "God"-like being. Pratt's God is less a deity than what we can think of as a "deity effect," a non-necessitated union — a union with a beginning and, too, very likely with an ending⁴³ — of the powers embodied in what are for him the only truly eternal beings in the universe, the preexistent, intelligent, powerful particles of substance.

In *Great First Cause*, Orson Pratt treats literally Raphael's claim of the origin of all things in the "one first matter" in a manner that could only have shocked the affable archangel and the poet who created him. The "one . . . matter" from which all things sprang, in Pratt's amplification of Raphael's speech, was truly, literally "first." It was not, for Pratt, as we have seen, the first thing God created. Nor was it, from the perspective of Milton's *ex deo* theory of Creation, a portion of the divine matter that the deity contributed to Creation from his own material being. Orson Pratt's "one elementary simple substance" was not in fact a product of divinity at all. "First," in a radical sense never intended by Milton, the "one elementary simple substance" didn't simply predate God. It was that God's creator.

We do not have in Orson Pratt's *Great First Cause* a treatise that anticipates later developments in nineteenth or twentieth century theology or metaphysics. If anything, Pratt looks to the late twentieth

century work of young adult science fiction that shares with Pratt a powerful and unmistakable origin in the metaphysical speculation that comprises *Paradise Lost*, Phillip Pullman's fantasy trilogy, *His Dark Materials*. A seeming stepchild of Pratt's theology, Pullman's Miltonic arabesque likewise privileges Satan's implicit theology of self-creation and sketches a universe whose contingent God had begun as a mere angel, who, like all of Pullman's angels, came into existence by means of the "condensation" of the infinitesimal "particles of consciousness" known as "Dust."⁴⁴ If we ask of the imaginative systems produced by Pratt and Pullman the question Satan poses in *Paradise Lost*, book 5, concerning Abdiel's theory of angelic createdness — "Doctrine which we would know whence learned" — the answer would be the same: the doctrine of the contingent and created God was learned by means of a rigorously antithetical, satanic reading of *Paradise Lost*.

To some extent we could consider Pratt's affirmative engagement with Satan's great heresy in *Paradise Lost* as a late contribution to an earlier generation's emotional and intellectual investment in Milton's fallen angel. Thomas Jefferson would in the late eighteenth century copy in the Commonplace Book he kept between the ages of 15 and 30 some of the most rousing of Satan's speeches, invariably wrenched out of context, from the epic's first two books. A few decades later, William Ellery Channing, aligning himself with some of the English Romantic poets, would give readers of his *Remarks on Milton* an explicit model of the readerly practice of disentangling a pious fear of satanic evil from an intellectual appreciation of the magnificence of satanic genius: "We gaze on Satan with an awe not unmixed with mysterious pleasure, as on a miraculous manifestation of the *power of mind*. What chains us, as with a resistless spell, in such a character, is spiritual might made visible by the racking pains which it overpowers. There is something kindling and ennobling in the consciousness, however awakened, of the energy which resides in mind; and many a virtuous man has borrowed new strength from the force, constancy, and dauntless courage of evil agents."⁴⁵ Virtuous men may actually borrow strength from the likes of Milton's Satan, who for

Channing could be safely admired once his italicized "*power of mind*" is dissociated from his status as an "evil agent." It might be tempting to write off Orson Pratt's *Great First Cause* as just a belated manifestation of this Romantic approval of Milton's Satan. But Pratt has gone infinitely further than a Jefferson or a Channing, who could only admire a Satan whose intellectual courage and zeal for liberty could be carefully cordoned off from his unequivocal status as an enemy of God. Instead of finding, as Channing did, the redemptive quality of mind resident in a metaphysically evil Satan, Pratt works to rewrite Milton's theology so as to redeem Satan and his fallen metaphysical vision *tout court*. All Gods, in Orson Pratt's version of Joseph Smith's vast Mormon cosmology, had originally been fallen men: "as their world was exalted from a temporal to an eternal state, they were exalted also, from fallen men to Celestial Gods to inhabit their Heaven forever and ever."⁴⁶ Just as Satan's seemingly irredeemable state of fallenness doesn't preclude his ultimate redemption, so too, perhaps, Satan's seemingly irredeemable theory of angelic self-begetting might likewise find reevaluation. Far from being a source of worry, the satanic origin of Pratt's key theological argument for the createdness of God may well serve for Pratt as *proof* of the Mormon concept of the eternal progress of all beings and all things — perhaps we could add all ideas — from lower states to higher ones.

WAR IN HEAVEN

As noted above, in face of the strong opposition of Orson Pratt himself, Brigham Young was in 1847 striving to establish himself as the president of the church, the holder of the keys of the priesthood, including the key of salvation itself. It was in the same year, at the height of the succession battle with Young, that Orson Pratt first publicly speculated, in a sermon, about the role of the infinitesimal particles of intelligent matter in the original organization of the being who became God.⁴⁷ Gary James Bergera, the great historian of the rift between Brigham Young and Orson Pratt, is careful not to assert any formal, or even informal, link between the political struggle of

the succession, on the one hand, and the doctrinal struggle about the nature of God and the cosmos, on the other. But I take his impressive study, *Conflict in the Quorum*, as an attempt to intimate, however gently, that such a link might be valid. I suggest that we take seriously the possibility that Orson Pratt turns to the discursive world of metaphysical and theological speculation as a privileged language in which decidedly nonmetaphysical, nontheological matters of political ecclesiology can be questioned and proposed. We can certainly find in the statements of Brigham Young an implicit confirmation of the idea that theology could function for this first generation of Mormons as a politically resonant field of symbolic expression. In response to Orson Pratt's suggestion of the temporal finitude of the almost makeshift "personhood" of the Gods, Young only worked harder to affirm the eternity of Deity, coming close at times to an unlikely formulation almost akin to orthodox Christianity, with its grounding vision of an eternal creator God: "there never was a time or Eternity but what a God did exist."⁴⁸ Likewise, as Pratt pushed for the disintegration of the newly orthodox Mormon godhead into its constituent parts of divinized particles of matter, Brigham Young only increased his investment in the idea of God's status as a fully individuated, self-sufficient "person," an anthropomorphism so strong that Young eventually developed the theory that God was none other than Adam, and Adam God: "both the father of all humankind and, in the pantheon of gods, its reigning deity."⁴⁹ The concept of the eternal personhood of God supplied the conceptual basis for Young's implicit justification of his own authority to preside over the church and, eventually, to preside in heaven as well: "I was begotten by the God I worship who reigns in the heavens and I shall also in my turn reign as a God & so will you."⁵⁰ In a manner surely impossible for him to acknowledge, Young responded to Pratt's politicized theology with a politicized theology of his own.

Offering President Young his services as a writer and theologian, Orson Pratt's brother Parley would provide a philosophical defense of the new Mormon Presidency by countering Orson's *Great First Cause* with a metaphysical theology designed to champion, rather

than disintegrate, the God who had personally called Brigham Young to his position of power in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Within two years of Orson's publication of *Great First Cause*, Parley had written the *Key to the Science of Theology*, in which many of Orson's most corrosive philosophical positions were countered with a much less unsettling, more comfortably "orthodox," Mormonism.⁵¹ It must be said that Parley never embraces the traditional Christian, indeed Western, understanding of an almost oppositional divide between body and soul, matter and spirit. Both of the Pratt brothers are always attuned to Joseph Smith's powerful commitment to Milton's monistic spiritual materialism. As noted above, Smith had proclaimed in 1843, echoing both Raphael's "one first matter" speech and a key passage from chapter 7 of Milton's *Christian Doctrine*, that "all spirit is matter, but it is more fine and pure." Parley is as keen as Orson to honor and amplify the prophet's animist materialist philosophy. "Gods, angels and men," Parley would declare in his *Key*, in explanation of the unity of all things in Milton's "one . . . matter," "are all of one species, one race, one great family widely diffused among the planetary systems."⁵² The universal kingdoms, Parley writes, in his own version of Raphael's account of matter's ascending scale in book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, "present every variety and degree in the progress of the great science of life, from the lowest degradation amid the realms of death, or the rudimental stages of elementary existence, upward through all the ascending scale, or all the degrees of progress in the science of eternal life and light, until some of them in turn arise to thrones of eternal power."⁵³ Like Orson, Parley invests all intelligent particles with the "power of self motion," explaining as well that such a power "implies an inherent will, to originate and direct such motion."⁵⁴ But Parley is unequivocal in his implicit rejection of Orson's vision of an almost libertarian, decentralized cosmos in which Gods, angels, and men are all utterly free and self-determining. He comes down especially hard, it would seem, on Orson's ecstatic claim that "all . . . Gods are equal in power, in glory, in dominion, and in the possession of all things."⁵⁵ The Gods were by no means equal in Parley's defense of President Brigham Young's vision of cosmological

hierarchy. "Over them all," Parley will insist, in what strikes me as an unmistakable, though quite possibly inadvertent, exposure of the political subtext lurking beneath the surface of the early Mormon theological speculation we have been examining, "there is a *Presidency* or Grand Head, who is the Father of all. And next unto him is Jesus Christ, the eldest born, and first heir of all the realms of light."⁵⁶

Parley has accepted much of Orson's fundamentally liberal physical universe: the material elements that make up "all things" are intelligent and self-moving, and most of the discernable phenomena of the material world can be explained in terms of the language of this intelligent self-motion. But Parley's elementary particles, just like the deities in Parley's decidedly unequal pantheon of Mormon Gods, must perform their actions only "by consent and authority of the head."⁵⁷ In fact, Parley has fashioned the symbolic structure of his theological science in such a way as to resound analogically with Brigham Young's claim to have been divinely authorized, by a personal God, to assume the Mormon Presidency. Orson had, much to Young's dismay, argued for the almost utter lack of integrity in the "person" of that deity known as the Holy Spirit: the eternally wise particles that filled the personal "tabernacle" of the Holy Spirit were indistinguishable from the particles that filled the personal "tabernacle" of *any* human being. Parley agrees that the Holy Spirit is "composed of individual particles," and in that respect "differs nothing from all other matter."⁵⁸ But he dissociates himself most pointedly from his younger brother's controversial liberation of the Holy Spirit's matter from his divine "person" or "personage." For Parley, the Holy Spirit is "under the control of the Great Eloheim," Eloheim being the Mormon God who sits above the God of our world, Jehovah.⁵⁹ The Spirit, in fact, performs a governmental function as the Great Eloheim's vicegerent, laboring to consolidate and maintain that chief God's control over creation: "His Holy Spirit centres in [the Great Eloheim's] presence, and communicates with, and extends to the utmost verge of His dominions, comprehending and controlling all things under the immediate direction of His own will, and the will of all those in communication with Him, in worlds without end!"⁶⁰

The particles of the Holy Spirit may be, for Parley, as they were for Orson, "widely diffused among the other elements of space," but they are not left entirely on their own to cohere and unite at will to produce new organized creations. The work of creation, according to Parley, must be left to a "General Assembly, Quorum, or Grand Council of the Gods." It is that assembled body, acting not independently as brother Orson might have speculated, but "with their President at their head," that "constitute[s] the designing and creating power" of Parley Pratt's universe.⁶¹

Despite Parley's metaphysical efforts at reconsolidating the power of the one presidential God in his *Key to the Science of Theology*, President Young would continue to feel the threat of the libertarian ecclesiological energies unleashed by Orson Pratt's speculative metaphysics in the *Great First Cause* and other writings. As late as 1865, Young would take the time to print in both the *Deseret News* and the *Millennial Star* a formal "PROCLAMATION of the First Presidency and the Twelve" in a stern rebuke of Orson's then 15-year-old theory that each individual atomic particle of God's material being was "all-wise and all-powerful, possessing the same knowledge and the same truth." The *Great First Cause* and other publications by "brother Orson," Young proclaimed publicly, "contain doctrines which we cannot sanction, and which we have felt impressed to disown, so that the Saints who now live, and who may live hereafter, may not be misled by our silence, or be left to misinterpret it." Immediately following the 1865 rebuke was a formal printed retraction by a downcast Orson himself, who "embrace[d] the present opportunity of publicly expressing my most sincere regret, that I have ever published the least thing which meets with the disapprobation of the highest authorities of the Church."⁶²

CONCLUSION

We recall that in book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, it was an apparent succession crisis that spurred the thrilling speculative energy fueling the debate between Satan and Abdiel concerning the creation of the

angels. In that section of Milton's epic poem, so important, I believe, not only for Orson and Parley Pratt, but for Joseph Smith before them, the pressing political matter at hand was the obligation in heaven to acknowledge and obey a newly exalted heavenly authority, the Son of God. In the end, the debate between the loyalist angel Abdiel and the rebel angel Satan did not center itself exclusively in a direct or unmediated language of political obligation or resistance. The question of the *political* obligation to obey the Son moved quickly to a question of the *ontological* obligation to obey him. God had *formed* the angels, Abdiel insisted, and he had done so by means of the Son. In the face of Abdiel's seemingly undeniable ontological justification of the creaturely obligation to obey not only the Father but now his Son as well, Satan brilliantly, and of course self-destructively, conjured a competing ontological vision that denied the Father's agency in his creation. The angels were "self-begot, self-raised / By [their] own quickening power." Crucially, what Satan didn't go on to envision was the corollary political structure logically entailed by a doctrine of angelic self-creation. Satan, we know, was eager to establish himself as a supreme heavenly authority. Given his own aspirations to glory, he understandably declined to represent the liberal universe of self-directed equals that one might reasonably extrapolate from the premise of universal angelic self-creation.

But it was a version of the radically liberal political structure logically entailed by the satanic metaphysics of self-creation that Orson Pratt labored not just to represent but actually to champion in his cosmogonical, theologonical masterpiece, *Great First Cause*. Having suffered a number of rebukes and reprimands from Brigham Young for pressing his critique of Young's reestablishment of the First Presidency, Orson Pratt had no room by 1851 in which to continue the fight with Young and his supporters on anything like explicitly political or ecclesiological grounds. Brigham Young had unequivocally won the succession battle. The president, and not the Quorum of the Twelve, would function as the church's chief governor. The more straightforward discursive realm of politics and ecclesiology closed to him, Orson Pratt turned to cosmology, with what degree of

self-consciousness we cannot know, and fashioned with the tools of a materialist metaphysics an almost fantasy world of creaturely self-determination, a world liberated from impingement by anything that smacked of authoritarian control.

As if in uncanny recognition of his brother's assumption of Satan's intellectual subject position in book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, Parley Pratt seems almost effortlessly to have fallen into the role of Satan's authoritative foil, Satan's "brother," or fellow Son of God, Abdiel. Loyal to Brigham Young, Parley, in what must be read as his pointed response to *Great First Cause*, makes an Abdielian ontological argument in his *Key to the Science of Theology* for the necessity of political allegiance to the new regime. The presidential God of the cosmos, the God who stands as president even of the powerful quorum of angels, is firmly in charge, and not simply because he is the strongest of the candidates for heavenly leadership. He is the Creator. The "individual, spiritual body" that Orson had so recklessly conjectured was able to form itself from the diffused particles of all-wise and all-knowing matter can in no way for Parley justify a claim to self-determination, or independence from God or his authoritative representatives on earth. That "individual, spiritual body" in the unyieldingly theocentric *Key to the Science of Theology* was definitively, in Parley's words, "begotten by the heavenly Father, and placed under certain laws, and was responsible to its great Patriarchal Head."⁶³

The metaphysical speculations of the first generation of Mormon theologians could not be disentangled from the political, ecclesiological questions that pressed themselves on the Saints after the death of Joseph Smith. To justify the ways of God's church was to justify the ways of God, and to justify the ways of God in the heady intellectual climate of early Mormonism was to justify the ways of matter and spirit. Surely it was at least in part Parley's political loyalty to Young, as well as his corresponding metaphysical vision of a theocentrically governed cosmos, that explains his ascendancy as the new religion's chief theologian. "Servant of God, well done," Milton's God tells Abdiel upon the angel's rejection of Satan's apostasy and his reaffirmation of God's supremacy (*PL* 6.29). The Abdiels c

the world inherit the earth, or at least the heavens, as surely both Pratt brothers came to recognize upon Brigham Young's blessing of the superior loyalty of Parley, who, in Milton's words, "fought / The better fight" (PL 6.29–30), by affirming with the tools of theology and metaphysics the authority by which his leader ruled.

Orson Pratt's *Great First Cause* would be denied the new President's benediction (and, as we have seen, would need in 1865 to be retracted altogether), while the more dutiful *Key to the Science of Theology* would establish itself as a central work of Mormon doctrine, going through nine editions, and selling 30,000 copies, by 1884.⁶⁴ It was Parley, we have to assume, who would in the end, by means perhaps of his superior caution and loyalty, make the strongest claim for the official title of "Apostle Paul of Mormonism." But it was Orson who must earn our respect as the bolder thinker. Fueled by the exuberant heresies to which Milton gave voice in *Paradise Lost*, the younger brother went furthest in pursuing the logical implications of Joseph Smith's final envisionings of the birth of the cosmos and the birth of the gods.

21. *Ibid.*, 39.
22. Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 24.559.
23. Lateiner, *Sardonic Smile*, 60.
24. John M. Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters: Image and Idol* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 177–226; David Quint, "Ulysses and the Devils: The Unity of Book Two of *Paradise Lost*," in *Milton Studies*, vol. 49, ed. Albert C. Labriola, 20–48 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).
25. Richard Strier, "Milton's Fetters, or, Why Eden Is Better than Heaven," in *The New Milton Criticism*, ed. Peter C. Herman and Elizabeth M. Sauer, 25–48 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35.
26. One possible exception is the "stern regard" (*PL* 10.866) that Adam directs toward Eve before his misogynist rant.
27. Translation of "looking darkly" is from Lattimore; "glower" or "glare" is from A. Cook, cited from James P. Holoka, "'Looking Darkly': Reflections on Status and Decorum in Homer," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983): 1n1. Translation of "dark glance" is from Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin, 1998).
28. *Chapman's Homer: Illiad*, vol. 1, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 4.349, 12.230.
29. *Homer His Iliads Translated*, trans. John Ogilby (London, 1660), 2.245, 5.251, 12.230.
30. *Iliad* 14.89 and *Odyssey* 2.304–05, in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, 10 vols., ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, 1967), 8:162, 9:43.
31. Holoka, "Looking Darkly," 16.
32. *Iliad* 17.141 (Ogilby).
33. Holoka, "Looking Darkly," 8.
34. *Iliad* 17.169 (Nicoll).
35. On smiles in Homer, see Daniel B. Levine, "Homeric Laughter and the Unsmiling Suitors," *Classical Journal* 78, no. 2 (1982): 97–104.
36. Lateiner, *Sardonic Smile*, 43.
37. Cummings, "Animal Passions," 33.
38. Without presuming that Adam's psychology is Cartesian here, Descartes's discussion of the relationship between the will and the passions can help explain this paradox. The strength of the soul must be allied with knowledge of truth for actions to be properly regulated. Often it appears that men have "determinate judgements according to which they regulate part of their actions"; however, in some cases these judgments may be false because they are based upon a passion that has previously defeated the soul. René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soule: In Three Books* (London, 1650), 42.
39. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 2nd ed., ed. Alastair Fowler (Harlow: Longman, 1998).
40. John Leonard, *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of "Paradise Lost," 1667–1970*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1:386.

41. Leonard includes summaries of most of the major commentary on this simile in his chapter on the epic simile (*ibid.*, 1:327–90). Among others, this simile is discussed in Geoffrey Hartman, "Milton's Counterplot," *ELH* 25, no. 1 (1958): 10–12; Christopher Ricks, *Milton's Grand Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 129–30; and William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1974), 171–72.
42. Stanley Eugene Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in "Paradise Lost,"* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 174–75.
43. C. S. Lewis, *A Preface to "Paradise Lost"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 124.
44. Many instances of this gatekeeping are cited in the introduction above; however, this language is near ubiquitous even when critics allow that Raphael blushes. For instance, Michael C. Schoenfeldt explains that Raphael's blush is a "licit and benign version of the passion of shame that marks the moral descent of humans at the Fall." Michael C. Schoenfeldt, "'Commotion Strange': Passion in *Paradise Lost*," in *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, 43–67 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 61.
45. Michael's visit to Adam in books 11–12 might be described as an instance of bodily accommodation. He appears "Not in his shape celestial, but as man / Clad to meet man" (11.239–40), as apparently befits Adam's fallen state. Raphael, however, appears to Adam in his "proper shape" (5.276), and his interactions with Adam seem to presume honesty and transparency.
46. Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 86.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Iliad* 5.888 (Nicoll).
49. According to Levine, a smile is always a "true reflection a character's position: if he smiles in triumph or with anticipation of victory, he is always justified in doing so" ("Homeric Laughter," 104). In *Paradise Lost* the smiles and laughter of the Father and the Son follow this pattern. See John N. King, *Milton and Religious Controversy: Satire and Polemic in "Paradise Lost"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 109–32.
50. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, trans. George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2.6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 / ROGERS

1. See my "Latter-day Milton," in *Immortality and the Body in the Age of Milton*, ed. John Rumrich and Stephen Fallon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Let me thank Kristin Pruitt and Charles W. Durham for their invitation to speak at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and Thomas Festa and Kevin Donovan for including me in this volume and for permitting me to substitute this piece for the paper I delivered at the conference. For invaluable scholarly advice about Mormonism, I am very grateful to William John Silverman.
2. Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow, *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 331.

3. While in the mythology of Mormonism Joseph Smith clearly played the role of Jesus, it has been a matter of disagreement as to who played the role of Paul, who reshaped Jesus's message into something like a systematic theology. Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 299, suggests that Paul is Orson, "a Mormon Aquinas; a Mormon Aristotle; a 'philosopher apostle'—hence a Mormon Paul." Quoted from Gary James Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum: Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 88–89. Orson likewise is the "St. Paul of Mormondom" for B. Skabelund, "Cosmology on the American Frontier: Orson Pratt's Key to the Universe," *Centaurus* 11, no. 3 (1965): 191. But Parley P. Pratt also emerged as a Pauline interpreter of Smith's visions. Givens and Grow have perhaps settled the question with the subtitle of their book, *Parley P. Pratt: Apostle Paul of Mormonism*.

4. See the gripping narrative of Parley's death in Givens and Grow, *Parley P. Pratt*, 366–92.

5. See D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16, no. 2 (1976): 187–233.

6. All citations from the Scriptures of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are taken from the church's official website, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures>. This particular section of *The Doctrines and Covenants* is <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/107.14> (accessed July 15, 2015). On the succession crisis, see J. Spencer Fluhman, "Authority, Power, and the 'Government of the Church of Christ,'" in *Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson, 195–232 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), 195–232; and Kurt Widmer, *Mormonism and the Nature of God: A Theological Evolution, 1830–1915* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000), 27. The most powerful study of the succession crisis, and the reading of early Mormonism to which I am most indebted, is Bergera's *Conflict in the Quorum*.

7. Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 53.

8. *Seer* 1, no. 2 (February, 1853), 31.

9. Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 80. Scholars of Mormon history have every reason to be grateful to Bergera, who reproduces at considerable length the still unpublished contemporary transcripts of the succession debates in 1847. Bergera cites his source as "'Minutes of Councils, Meetings, & Journey,' 16, 30 Nov., 5 Dec. 1847" (54n) and notes in his preface that much of the research for his book had been undertaken in the LDS historical archives in the late 1970s, before the church officially blocked "access to the papers of general church officers" (x).

10. John Smith, "Baptism of the Dead," in *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1842, 761, Brigham Young University, Mormon Publications: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Collection, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/NCMP1820-1846/id/9200>. This passage is cited by the Mormon historian Boyd Jay Petersen, "One Soul Shall Not Be Lost: War in Heaven in Mormon Theology," *Journal of Mormon History* 38 (2012): 2–45. But citing John Tanner's caveat that Mormonism and Miltonism must be seen as distinct, Petersen adds, as if somewhat reflexively, that "whether Joseph Smith read Milton is not certain." My own hunch is that Smith and at least a few of his Apostles began their reading of *Paradise Lost* in the period shortly

before Smith's allusion to the opening of *Paradise Lost* appeared in 1842. It is that year, over a decade after the appearance of the decidedly non-Miltonic *Book of Mormon*, in which Smith initiated the extravagantly Miltonic ritual of "Endowment," and in which Parley Pratt's Miltonic *World Turned Upside Down* appears. There were, of course, many available U.S. editions of William Ellery Channing's essay and of *Paradise Lost*. These Mormon readers also may have had available to them one of the recent English editions of Milton's works prefaced by the American Channing's essay on the poetry and theology. See, for example, *The Poetical Works of John Milton: To Which Is Prefixed the Life of the Author: Together with Dr. Channing's Essay on the Poetical Genius of Milton* (London: Allman, 1836), or *The Poetical Works of John Milton: With a memoir, and Dr. Channing's Essay on his poetical genius* (London: C. Daly, 1840).

11. George F. Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964); Lydia Dittler Schulman, "*Paradise Lost*" and the Rise of the American Republic (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); K. P. Van Anglen, *The New England Milton: Literary Reception and Cultural Authority in the Early Republic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); Reginald A. Wilburn, *Preaching the Gospel of Black Revolt: Appropriating Milton in Early African American Literature* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2014). Although not committed to a history of the reception of Milton, Keith W. F. Stavely uses a reading of Milton as a lens through which to understand early American culture, in *Puritan Legacies: "Paradise Lost" and the New England Tradition, 1630–1870* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987). See Christopher Kendrick's insightful evaluation of Sensabaugh, Schulman, and Stavely's works in his "Un-American Milton: Milton's Reputation and Reception in the Early United States," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 77 (2008): 903–22.

12. See Rogers, "Latter-day Milton."

13. The Endowment rite's appropriation of certain lines of *Paradise Lost* was a common theme in some of the nineteenth century antipolygamy literature. See J. H. Beadle, *Polygamy; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, Being a Full and Authentic History of This Strange Sect from Its Origin to the Present Time* (1904; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2013), 397–99; Beadle's book first appeared as *Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National, 1970), microform, which was "an exposé of the secret rites and ceremonies of the Latter-day Saints with a full and authentic history of polygamy and the Mormon sect from its origins to the present time." An apostate wife of Brigham Young, Ann Eliza Young reveals the Miltonic content of the Endowment ritual in her *Wife No. 19; or The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism* (Hartford, CT: Dustin, Gilman, 1876), 357.

14. *Utah Magazine*, May 15, 1869, 24.

15. W. Wyl, *Mormon Portraits; or, The Truth about the Mormon Leaders from 1830 to 1880* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing, 1886), 272.

16. *Utah Magazine*, May 15, 1869, 24.

17. George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008), 530–31.

18. William Ellery Channing, *Remarks on the Character and Writings of John Milton: Occasioned by the Publication of His Lately Discovered Treatise on Christian Doctrine*

(Boston: Isaac R. Butts, 1826). No aspect of Channing's revelation of Milton's heresies was more shocking to the American public than his enthusiastic revelation of Milton's views on polygamy. The *Congregational Christian Magazine* 3 (1826): 178, for example, gave the simple title "Polygamy" to its article about Channing's account of Milton's *Christian Doctrine*. Channing's striking sympathy with Milton's position on polygamy is noted with even more alarm in a later article, "Milton and Channing on Polygamy," *Boston Recorder* 31 (1846): 205. See also Francis E. Mineka, "The Critical Reception of Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*," *University of Texas Studies in English* 23 (1943): 115–47.

19. In *Seer* 1, no. 1 (January 1853), Pratt presents the treatise "Celestial Marriage" as a transcription of a divine revelation "given to Joseph Smith, The Seer, in Nauvoo, July 12th, 1843."

20. "Milton on Polygamy," part 1, *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 16, no. 21 (May 27, 1854): 321–24. The second part of Milton's discussion of polygamy from chapter 10 of the *Christian Doctrine* is printed in the next issue, no. 22 (June 3, 1854): 342–45.

21. "Milton on Polygamy," part 1, 328.

22. G. S., "John Milton on Plural Marriage," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 38, no. 11 (March 13, 1876): 161–65.

23. For a discussion of Joseph Smith's borrowing of the specific language of Milton's *ex deo* theory of creation, see my "Latter-day Milton."

24. Channing, *Remarks*, 37.

25. Key accounts of Milton's monistic spiritual materialism include Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 79–110; and William Kerrigan, *The Sacred Complex: On the Psychogenesis of "Paradise Lost"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 193–262.

26. John Milton, *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, Compiled from the Holy Scriptures Alone*, 2 vols., trans. Charles R. Sumner (Boston, 1825): 1:250–51.

27. Milton, "Arcades," line 73. Joseph Smith, "Doctrine and Covenants," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints website, 131.7–8, accessed July 4, 2016, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/131>.

28. Orson Pratt, "Figure and Magnitude of Spirits," *Seer* 1, no. 3 (March 1853): 33.

29. Orson Pratt, *Great First Cause, or the Self-Moving Forces of the Universe*, in *A Series of Pamphlets*, by Orson Pratt, *One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool: R. James, 1851); repr. in *The Essential Orson Pratt*, ed. David J. Whitaker (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 196. All subsequent citations of *Great First Cause* will be taken from this edition.

30. *Ibid.*, 196.

31. I have discussed Cavendish's theories of self-moving matter in *Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 177–211.

32. Orson Pratt, *Great First Cause*, 196; italics mine.

33. Orson Pratt, "The Pre-Existence of Man," *Seer* 1, no. 7 (July 1853): 103.

34. Orson Pratt, *Great First Cause*, 196.

35. *Ibid.*, 187–88.

36. *Ibid.*, 188.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, 196.

39. *Christian Doctrine*, p. 245; Sumner's italics.

40. Orson Pratt, *Great First Cause*, 176.

41. *Ibid.*, 196.

42. *Ibid.*, 197.

43. "[God's] person may have had a beginning" (*ibid.*, 173).

44. For the constitution of "Dust" or "Shadows" as "particles of consciousness," see Philip Pullman, *His Dark Materials*, vol. 2 (New York: Random House Bluefire, 2011) 364. Later, in volume 3, the angel Balthamos offers this explanation of the origin of God known primarily in Pullman's work as "The Authority":

The Authority, God, the Creator, the Lord, Yahweh, El, Adonai, the King, the Father, the Almighty — those were all names he gave himself. He was never the creator. He was an angel like ourselves — the first angel, true, the most powerful but he was formed of Dust as we are, and Dust is only a name for what happens when matter begins to understand itself. Matter loves matter. It seeks to know more about itself, and Dust is formed. The first angels condensed out of Dust, and the Authority was the first of all. He told those who came after him that he had created them, but it was a lie. (569–70)

45. Channing, *Remarks*, 25.

46. Orson Pratt, "Pre-Existence of Man," 23.

47. See Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 89–91, who valuably reproduces the note taken on the sermon by Apostle Wilford Woodruff.

48. *Ibid.*, 145.

49. *Ibid.*, 95. Early Mormonism's now disavowed "Adam-God" theory was another feature of the religion likely indebted to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The God Adam who comes from another world to help "organize" this one, and to become its first earthly progenitor, is identified with the Archangel Michael, the angelic being who features prominently in Milton's poem, converting Adam to Christianity shortly after the Fall. Youn would make this celebrated formulation of the Adam-God, or Adam-Michael-God, the origin in 1852: "When our father Adam came into the garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives, with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is MICHAEL, the Archangel, the ANCIENT OF DAYS! About whom holy men have written and spoken — HE is our FATHER and our GOD, and the only God with whom WE have to do." See *Journal of Discourses* 1, no. 50 (April 9, 1852), cited in Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 95. There is some speculation that Young's Adam-God theory had an origin in Joseph Smith. As reproduced in *Doctrines and Covenants*, 27.1: Smith had identified Michael as "Adam . . . the ancient of days." See Boyd Kirkland, "The

Development of the Mormon Doctrine of God," in *Line upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, ed. Gary James Bergera, 35–52 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

50. Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 146.

51. Givens and Grow, *Parley P. Pratt*, 331, note that while *Key to the Science of Theology* wasn't published until 1855, Parley had completed it by May 1853.

52. Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology: Designed as an Introduction to the First Principles of Spiritual Philosophy; Religion; Law and Government; as Delivered by the Ancient, and as Restored in This Age, for the Final Development of Universal Peace, Truth and Knowledge* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855), 33. Givens and Grow, *Parley P. Pratt*, 332, write usefully of Parley's materialism: "By so naturalizing Deity, Pratt furthered Smith's work of collapsing the entire universe of God and humankind, heaven and hell, body and spirit, the eternal and the mundane into one sphere." I have made a case for the presence of Milton in Parley's early pamphlet, *The Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter* (1840), in "Parley Pratt, the Broken Planet of *Paradise Lost*, and the Creation of Mormon Theology," forthcoming in *Milton Studies*, vol. 58, *Milton in the Americas*, ed. Elizabeth Sauer and Angelica Duran (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2017).

53. Parley P. Pratt, *Key*, 36.

54. *Ibid.*, 37.

55. Orson Pratt, "Pre-Existence of Man," 24.

56. Parley P. Pratt, *Key*, 35; italics mine.

57. *Ibid.*, 35.

58. *Ibid.*, 39.

59. *Ibid.*, 39.

60. *Ibid.*, 41.

61. *Ibid.*, 45.

62. "Proclamation of the First Presidency and Twelve, October 21, 1865 (Rebuke of Orson Pratt)," from James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 2:235–40.

63. Parley P. Pratt, *Key*, 51.

64. Givens and Grow, *Parley P. Pratt*, 331.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8 / HARPER

Epigraph is from Cory Doctorow, "Printcrime," *Nature* 439 (January 2006): 242. Quotations of Milton's prose in this chapter are taken from *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Don M. Wolfe et al., 8 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953–82), hereafter cited as YP. The views in this chapter are those of the author and do not reflect the opinion of the U.S. Military Academy, the U.S. Army, or the U.S. Department of Defense.

1. Doctorow explained the inspiration for "Printcrime" in the preface to his 2007 collection. Cory Doctorow, *Overclocked: Stories of the Future Present* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2007), 1. "Printcrime" originally appeared in *Nature* 439 (January 2006): 242.

2. *The Matrix*, dir. Andy Wachowski and Larry Wachowski; perf. Keanu Reeves, Laurence Fishburne, Carrie-Anne Moss, Hugo Weaving (Warner Bros. Pictures, 1999).

3. Glenn Beck, interview with Cody Wilson, on "The Blaze," January 17, 2013, <https://youtu.be/iwkX8sWSxNQ> (accessed December 18, 2016). Wilson is customarily vague about who "they" are.

4. Gary Wills, "Our Moloch," *New York Review of Books*, December 15, 2012, www.nybooks.com/daily/2012/12/15/our-moloch (accessed December 18, 2016).

5. In the *Second Defense* (1654) Milton reflects on *Areopagitica* as part of a long engagement with the "three varieties of liberty without which civilized life is scarcely possible, namely ecclesiastical liberty, domestic or personal liberty, and civil liberty" (YP 4:624).

6. Elias Groll, "Meet Cody Wilson, the Anarchist behind the World's First 3-D Printed Gun," *Foreign Policy Blog*, May 6, 2013, foreignpolicy.com/2013/05/07/meet-cody-wilson-the-anarchist-behind-the-worlds-first-3-d-printed-gun (accessed December 12, 2016).

7. Beck interview with Wilson.

8. "Should We Print Guns? Cody R. Wilson Says 'Yes,'" video interview on Slashdot.org, posted by Roblimo on September 5, 2012, hardware.slashdot.org/story/12/09/04/1837209/should-we-print-guns-cody-r-wilson-says-yes-video (accessed November 15, 2016).

9. Beck interview with Wilson.

10. See Stephen Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and *Milton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

11. Groll, "Meet Cody Wilson."

12. See Seth Herbst, "Sound as Matter: Milton, Music, and Monism," chapter 2 in this volume.

13. Given the nature of 3-D printing, one should likely consider it more as "manufacturing" than as "printing," but parallels between this technology and the rise of print culture, and later computer-aided printing and publication, are unavoidable.

14. Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 187.

15. Reprinted in *ibid.*, 162.

16. Contrary to popular belief, the Stationers' Register is not a mechanism for state censorship or control, but instead a mechanism for regulating the business of the stationers. There is no record, even in the tumultuous years of the civil wars, that the register was used by the government to identify authors or printers of suspect texts.

17. Advances in self-publishing since the early 2000s have already far surpassed the freedoms in manufacturing promised by 3-D printers. Blogs, social media platforms, and the ability to self-produce and publish e-books provide far more freedom than those printing presses "in corners" that the Commons worried about in the 1640s.

18. Doctorow, "Printcrime," 242.